

ENVIRONMENTALISM AND THE RELATIVIZATION OF THE
STATE POLICY IN REGARD WITH THE ENVIRONMENT IN TURKEY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Department of
Political Science and Public Administration
of
Bilkent University
In Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

By
Ömer GARA
September 1990

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We certify that we have read this thesis and in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

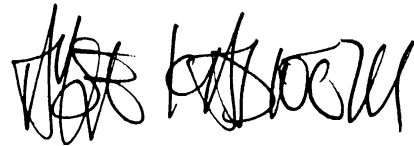


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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the relationship between state and society in regard with the environment. It is a common view that the state has been quite autonomous and independent of social groups in Turkish political history. It has smothered the social groups whenever possible and originated the main source of the political norms and the value system. However, some new arguments draw attention to the 1980s in Turkey and discuss that there has emerged a shift in state policy. The state's emphasis given the consumption galvanized the emergence of politically organized social groups dealing with the same matter.

The study results with the evidence indicating a change in trend of state policy under the two different impacts. First, the environment transcends the national boundary and thus creates an international concern. The international treaties put a limit on the state power and end its being an ultimate authority for its citizens. This is argued in that study as fulfilling the function of aristocracy. Second the environmental groups in Turkey have influenced the state policy both in local and national level. The state policy comes frequently be determined on the basis of the recommendations of the environmental groups. The changing trend in state policy in regard with environment is termed as the "relativization of the state policy."

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı Devlet-toplum ilişkisini çevre konusu üzerinde analiz etmektir. Türk siyasi tarihinde devletin toplumdaki bağımsız, özerk bir konum teşkil ettiği, toplumdaki değer sistemlerinin yegane kaynağını oluşturduğu ve kendisine karşı ortaya çıkabilecek siyasi gruplara musamaha göstermediği kabul edile gelen bir tartışmadır. Ancak 1980 sonralarında devletin üretim peşinde koşan bir mekanizma olmaktan çıkıp, tüketimi regule eden bir birime yönelmesinin aynı konuyla uğraşan sosyal grupların ortaya çıkmasına neden olduğunu kabul eden tartışmalar ortaya atılmıştır. Sosyal grupların devletin politikalarını etkileyecek kadar belirginleştiği kabul ediliyor bu tartışmalarda.

Araştırma sonucunda devletin çevre konusundaki politikalarının iki farklı etki altında olduğu ortaya çıktı. Çevre konusu sadece bir ülkeyi değil bütün ülkeleri ilgilendiren bir konu olması nedeniyle, uluslararası düzeyde tartışılmaktadır. Uluslararası platform devleti üstten regule eden bir mekanizma haline gelmiştir. Bunun Türk siyasi tarihinde yok olan aristokrasinin fonksiyonunu icra ettiği bu çalışmada tartışılıyor. İkincisi de Türkiye de Çevre ile ilgilenen gruplar hem ulusal hem de yerel düzeyde devlete isteklerini kabul ettirmektedirler. Devlet politikası zaman zaman bu grupların istekleri doğrultusunda belirlenmektedir. Devlet politikasında meydana gelen bu değişiklik "devlet politikasının yerelleşmesi" şeklinde ifade edilmektedir.

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INTRODUCTION

The "environment" can be defined as the natural and social conditions of human existence. However, concerns over the environment are now so broad as to exceed this definition, making it one of the foremost issues of the last several years. Environmental issues have been discussed at the national level through newspapers and periodicals, pressure groups, political parties and among the public. Moreover, it has dominated daily life so as to create a social movement known as "environmentalism". Finally, with the enlargement of concern it has been observed that some environmental issues have become matter of international rather than merely national concern. With this development states have lost their role of being the ultimate authority for their citizens.

The roots of the environmental movement can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, when reactions against the environmental consequences of urban and technological change were witnessed. The first national environmental organization was founded in Britain during this time. In the United States about two decades later two prosperous movements flourished. The Preservationist and Conservationist movements. While the former emphasized the preservation of wildlife the latter concentrated on the efficient use of environmental resources.

But neither in Britain nor in the United States were the environment discussed as a political issue until the

1960s. After this time a variety of movements emerged under the banner of environmentalism. In the United States movement mentioned under the banner of environmentalism after 1960s included the Consumer Movement, the Movement of Scientific Responsibility, the Public Health Movement, the Birth Control and Population Stabilization Movement, and various other movements formed by those who emphasized direct action. The issues emphasized by all these movements were different and each was new in its type. The emergence of an environmental movement in the 1960s is associated mainly with the growing familiarity of population with environmental issues. Nuclear testing programs environmental scientific disciplines, and environmental accidents has created such a familiarity. Moreover other movements, particularly the protests against the Vietnam War are accepted as factors playing a role in the emergence of environmental movements of that time.

Environmental issues began to be discussed at international level after the 1970s, with the determination of environmental issues which exceeded national boundaries. The United Nations began to held international conferences after the Second World War. Many of these conferences were on a single issue, but the Stockholm Conference held by United Nations in 1972 emphasized multiple issues and opened new ground in dealing with environmental problems. The Stockholm Conference was concerned mainly with the characteristics of the environment affecting the quality of life. It brought a shift in activities towards the

environment, which increasingly became a matter of international rather than national concern. The principles divided in the Conference galvanized many of the countries in the world to establish a central organization, such as the Department of the Environment or Environmental Protection Agencies.

When coming to the 1980s, a reactionary version of environmentalism has arisen mainly against the state policies of development symbolized in such terms as "industrialization", "growth", and "advancement". Any attempt by governments to realize one of these as a target met with strong protests after the 1980s from various alternative groups organized under the banner of Green parties. The first party with a clear cut value of "Green Politics" was founded at the beginning of the 1970s under the name of "Value party". By the late 1980s about 14 countries had founded the Green party which gained seats both in their parliaments and in the European parliament.

In general the emergence of new environmentalist groups is associated with the increased economic development and prosperity of advanced western industrialized societies during the past decades which has transformed the basic value priorities of succeeding generations. This process is described as a transition from "old politics" emphasizing values of economic growth, public order, national security and traditional life style, to "new politics", emphasizing value of environmental quality, social quality, alternative life

styles, minority rights and participation.

Environmental groups in Britain and in the United States have had a great impact on the policies of their governments. Particularly in Britain, environmental policies are determined in consultation with environmental groups. They in turn are supported by their governments. The British government is one of the main financial supporter of the voluntary environmental organizations.

In Turkey environmental concerns have arisen mainly in parallel with problems which began to emerge after the 1950s. Industrialization and urbanization are the two main factors behind environmental problems in Turkey. Some environmental organizations have been founded with the purpose of dealing with the environmental problems, particularly with air pollution in Ankara. The government's attention to the environment in Turkey followed the Stockholm Conference. On the other hand, the environmental concern by the public has gained pace during the 1980s. Moreover, it has become an issue discussed in the newspapers and periodicals as well as by the voluntarily established non-governmental organizations. Finally the radical and reactionary version of environmental concern has come into being under the banner of the Greens party in the late 1980s.

All these developments require a more detailed analysis. The relationship between state and environmental groups is the main concern of this study. It is argued by Heper that the Turkish state has autonomous characteristics

independent of the social groups. The absence of an aristocracy and that of the politically well organized social groups prevented the development of a set of value systems independent from the one developed by the state. On the other hand, it is argued by Göle that after 1980s, the emphasis given to the "politics" in the part of the state has shifted to the "policy", dealing with special and concrete problems such as transportation, consumption, health and the like. Moreover, the politically organized social groups also paid attention to these issues. For Göle through emphasizing these issue, the social groups have gained autonomous characteristics. Whether these social groups really have an impact on the state policy in Turkey is the main question of this study.

This work consists of five chapters. In the first environmentalism and the state policy are studied. Environmentalism as an issue, the emergence of social and political movements around it, and its elevation to an international priority is briefly discussed. In the second chapter the state policy in general is studied. To better understand the case of Turkey it has been necessary to analyse the situation in the US and Britain. The reason is that both these societies have a society-center polity whose policies are mainly determined in cooperation with social groups. In this chapter the Turkish legislation on environment, the Development plans prepared by the SPO (State Planning Organization), and the state agencies on environment are studied. The main purpose of the chapter is

to understand the main processes of state policy pertaining to the environment.

In the third chapter the voluntary associations in Turkey are studied. As it was done in the second chapter, in the third chapter too the case of the United States and Britain is briefly analysed. Voluntary environmental organizations are studied at two levels. At the first the local "amenity" societies which are found at almost every province of Turkey are studied. At the second the national environmental organizations are studied. In Turkey there are more than 30 such organizations, as each deals with a single issue not all have been studied. Only four voluntary environmental organizations are studied through this chapter. The main aim is to understand the structure and the activity of these organizations.

In the fourth chapter the Greens party in Turkey is studied. The factors creating such a party and even the specificity of these factors originating from the cultural history and the sociological conditions of Turkey is analysed. Whether it has emerged on a similar basis to western industrialized countries, or whether has emerged in accordance with the sociological conditions of Turkey is the main question to be dealt with in this chapter. These questions are studied through an analysis of the conditions in which the Greens party developed, the programmatic profile of the party and its activities.

Finally, in the fifth chapter the impact of environmental groups on state's environmental policy is

studied. The impact of the social groups are analysed at two levels, local and national. At the local level the impact of environmental organizations on the implementation of state policy is analysed. At the national level however the impact of the environmental organizations on the formulation of the state policy is taken up. In addition to the impact of domestic social groups on the state policy, the impact of international concern on the Turkish government in its dealing with environmental issue is also studied. How state policy is influenced by the actions of social groups is the main question. Throughout the study state policy is used as one of the key issue. It is used for the legislation; state organizations; development plans; laws, rules and regulations, and even the policies of the municipalities are included in the part of the state policy.

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENTALISM AND THE STATE POLICY

I-ENVIRONMENTALISM

The environment can be defined as the natural and social context of humans life. Its different aspects include wildlife as a part of nature, urbanization and over population as processes of social life. The environment as a "problem" has been debated both on the institutional and social agenda, it has concerned movements, governments and political parties. All have proposed different ways of responding to it. From the 1960s onwards care of the environment was emphasized by the media, by pressure groups, social movements and political parties, particularly the "Greens". Three statements can be made concerning the environment: First, the environment has become an issue; second a movement has developed around that issue; and finally, the environment has transcended national boundaries and has been argued at international level. These three steps need to be analysed under the head of environmentalism.

A-Environment As an Issue

Crenson defines an issue as "any unresolved matter controversial or non-controversial, which awaits an

authoritative decision".(1) Caldwell goes further and defines an issue as a social phenomena which redefines the problems as the means to cope with them.(2) He maintains that the causes and consequences of an emergent phenomena is the initial issue, but the development of a circumstance as an issue or problem depends on its perception by the individual or collective actor. When the strength of advocacy is sufficient the problematic issue is forced into the political process and moved toward policy formation. An environmental issue then might be accepted as a result of an emergent change in the environment, with consequences arousing social concern and creating problems leading to political action.(3) Sandbach gives four indicators of the environment as a political issue, i.e., when the environment is discussed by newspapers and periodicals, pressure groups, political parties, and the public, one can easily say that the environment has become politicized.(4)

Environmental problems are commonly regarded as local regional or national but they have international and even global ramifications. Some issues arise beyond the jurisdiction of any national government and are inherently international.(5) For instance, the ozone layer, the use of outer space, the use of the sea bed and the like are issues that go beyond national boundaries. International environmental problems may require international cooperative action, and such problems may have implications and consequences extending beyond the particular countries to the entire world.(6)

Caldwell describes six environmental issues as critical: genetic loss, disruption and destruction of the ecosystem, deforestation, contamination of the environment, decertification of historical monuments, and finally the degradation and depletion of fresh water. He also talks about six environmental issues that are becoming critical: over-population, deterioration and erosion of the top soil, changing chemistry and quality of atmosphere, sources and uses of energy, disruption of biogeochemical cycles, and finally the maintenance of man's built environment.(7) The significance of these issues may change from nation to nation. For instance some of the issues are the foremost problems of Turkey.

Many countries, particularly those that have completed the main process of their industrialization, are today under the threat of environmental issues. It has been said that 52 percent of Germany's forests are threatened by acid rain.(8) Similarly, for the same reason 20 percent of Sweden's forests have died and 40 percent are expected to die in the near future.(9) It has been argued that misdirected tourism and construction cause about 100 plant and animal species to lose their lives every day. Pollution is another environmental issue. Industry leading to the pollution constituted 14.9 percent of GNP of the USA in 1970 and 12.4 percent of Britain's GNP in the same period(11) The 50 percent of the global pollution either in air, water or soil has come into being only in the last three decades, i.e. from the beginning of life up to 1960 only 50 percent of the existing pollution was created(12).

The expansion of the weapons industry is another issue. According to 1983 figures \$1 million is spent on weapons every minute worldwide. The United States is capable of destroying Soviet cities 40 times over, and Soviets can retaliate 25 times. One out of four scientists in the world is connected with the weapons industry.(13) Nuclear energy which constitutes a significant energy source in industrialized societies is still another environmental issue. For instance in 1985 nuclear energy represented 65 percent of the electricity production in France.(14) Last, there is the problem originating from the growth of population especially in the Third world. The population of the world in the 1750s was about 0.5 billion. By 1950, world population stood at about 1.3 billion, by 1960 it was 1.6 billion, by 1970 3.6 billion and in the 1980s it exceeded 5 billion.(15) Finally, a new global environmental issue has come under discussion: perforation of the ozone layer with resulting increase in cancer, and danger to foresting and agricultural production(16).

Environmental issues in Turkey came into prominence and its consequent infrastructural problems (shantytowns, transportation and the like).(17) Further, both the penetration of machinery into agriculture and the erosion of soil have created a great problem in cultivated lands after 1950s. It was found that 50-60 percent of the surface of Anatolia had suffered active erosion.(18) While meadow and pasture land constituted 52 percent of the land area of Anatolia, in 1938, it decreased to 28 percent by 1985.(19)

Another overwhelming environmental issue in Turkey is the tremendous growth of the population, leading to the population planning efforts of 1965.(20) Migration constituted a further significant environmental issue in Turkey Sixty-six percent of the population were living in villages in 1965 but by 1985, 53 percent of the population were living in urban areas.(21) Air pollution and noise were the great problems faced in urban life after the 1950s.(22) Another major environmental issue in Turkey is the pollution of the sea by ship as well as by the city sewage waters, garbage and industrial wastes. The areas where this form of environmental pollution is most concentrated are the sea of Marmara, the straits of Istanbul, the Golden Horn, the bays of Izmit, Gemlik and Izmir, the Antalya harbor and the bay of Iskenderun.(23) The whole range of environmental problems in Turkey are surveyed in a book published by the Turkish Foundation of Environmental Problems. According to its findings environmental issues in Turkey include air pollution and water pollution, soil erosion, need for protection of flora and fauna, energy requirements, solid wastes, pesticides and noise.(24)

Turkey has not yet faced problems associated with the nuclear power industry. It has no nuclear station but it does have several thermal power plants. According to the finding of a newspaper Yatağan Thermal Power plant has caused the death of thousands acres of forests over two or three years.(25) But problems associated with thermal power

plant have not been debated at the national level.

These are only some of the issues of world concern. Many other significant issues deserve to be mentioned, because they arose before the 1980s and galvanized the emergence of a social movement known as environmentalism. It is the time to turn to the roots of this movement.

B-The Emergence of The Environmental Movement

The roots of environmentalism are linked to the development of science and technology. However, environmentalism did not emerge in reaction to scientific and technological questions but rather in response to local concerns. "The earliest environmental issues were local. Once the most immediate and personal costs of pollution or hunting or the loss of forests were appreciated individuals formed groups, which formed coalitions, which became national movements and finally a multinational movement." (26)

The emergence of the environmental movement could be traced back to the 19th century reaction to the environmental consequences of urban and technological change. In Britain there were movements concerned with public health, in America with forests and soil conservation. In both countries, there were romantics who were critical of what they saw as a philistine obsession with "machinery". The need to safeguard rural areas and rural common land, the nature of the industrial threat, the

ecosystem and the environmental consequences of imperialism were all issues that were discussed.(27) The roots of a broader movement can be first discerned in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first protectionist groups were created in Britain in 1860s. The first national amenity pressure group in England the "Commons Preservation Society" was founded in 1865; it took direct action in its attempts to preserve common land in London.(28) In the United States a two-pronged movement of wilderness preservationists and resource conservationists began to emerge at the turn of the century. The public following of the early movements was small, but as science revealed more about the structure of nature and as people became aware, and more mobile and looked beyond their surroundings the movement spread and grew. Yet, the true environmental revolution began only after the 1960s. (29) It had never manifested itself in the United States or in Britain as a politically organized movement reacting to authority and the status que until that time.

After 1960s great concern for environmental issues became apparent in the United States and Britain. In April 1970, 300,000 Americans took part in "Earth Day" celebrations, the largest environmental demonstration in history.(30) Newspapers proclaimed that the environment was the issue of the 1970s.(31) The components of this new movement could be described as the consumer movement; the movement for scientific responsibility; a revitalized public health movement; birth control and population

stabilization groups; movements stressing participatory democracy; youth groups emphasizing direct action; and a diffuse movement in search of a new focus for politics.(32) During the time under discussion environmentalism shifted from narrow conservation issues to a broader movement which sought answers through political action and debate. For the conservationists the issue was wildlife and habitat but for the new environmentalists human survival itself was at stake. New environmentalism was a social and political movement and the issues it addressed were ultimately universal. It was an accumulation of organizations and individuals with various motives and tendencies with roughly similar goals but often different methods.(33)

Some writers argue that "protest" environmentalism was in part a by product of the more serious and intractable problems of the Vietnam War, race relations, violence, poverty and urban blight.(34) Evolving environmental values were closely associated with rising standards of living and levels of education. After World War II both real income in America and the level of education increased. It was found that the social context within which environmental values flourished was twofold: youth and educated^{ed}.(35) An important change since the Second World War was an increase in leisure time and affluence which led to greater contact with environment. In the US for example, the number of people visiting national parks increased from 33.2 million in 1950 to 150.8 million in 1968, an increase of 450 percent.(36) Such changes in

economic circumstances made environmental concern a much more relevant policy issue. Thus material comfort and rising income must be taken into account as factors which contributed to the emergence of environmentalism. Americans with six percent of the world's population, are producing and consuming more than one-third of the world goods and services. (37)

Inglehart developed the concept of post-materialism in the 1970s as a result of studying 11 industrialized western societies. He found that after the Second World War the affluent background and physical security of western people tipped them towards post-materialist value system including the notions of belonging, more participation in decision making, environmentalism, equal distribution of wealth and the like. Inglehart, argued that this began to happen because these individuals had satisfied their objective need and were turning to the subjective needs which he describes as post-materialist values. He concluded that well educated young people of affluent middle class origins were likely to have post-materialist value priorities. (38)

Environmentalism as a global protest movement during the 1960s arose in response to several different concerns, of which McCormick has identified five as being especially significant. First of all, he draws attention to the nuclear testing programs of governments. Between 1945 and 1962 a total of 423 nuclear detonations were announced, by the US the USSR, Britain, and France. (39) An early

indication of the environmental costs of nuclear testing came in October 1952 when radioactive hailstones fell 1750 miles from a British test site in Australia. In April 1953, radioactive rain fell on New York state and gradually the danger of fallout became a public concern in the US. In 1955 only 17 percent of American citizens knew about fallout; this figure had increased to 57 percent in 1961 and 81 percent in 1963 and all respondents favored a ban on nuclear testing.(40) McCormick then pays attention to the dangers of misusing chemical pesticides and insecticides. The first book on this subject, "silent spring" was written by Rachel Carson in 1961. It detailed the negative impacts of the misuse of synthetic chemical pesticides and insecticides on soil, water, wildlife and man himself. "Silent Spring" became a best-seller and was later published in 15 countries. The book helped to turn pesticides and insecticides into an issue of 1960s, not only in the US but also in other Western countries.(41) McCormick also discusses environmental disasters and accidents. An increasing number of accidents has helped to create a public climate of environmentalism. In 1948, 20 people died and 43 percent of the population of Donora Pennsylvania feel ill because of a sulphurous fog. In 1951 a winter smog caused the death of more than 455 people in Britain and in 1966 a mud slide above the village of Aberfan in south Wales resulted in the death of 544 people, 116 of whom were children(42). Accidents after 1970s have been more dramatic and their impacts have been felt on a

much larger scale. The chernobyl nuclear disaster of 1986 created danger within the Soviet Union; as well as its effect on animal, plant and human physiology were felt in many other countries. The material loss to Turkey alone was TL. 400 billion.(43)

McCormick also discusses advances in scientific knowledge and their contribution to turning "the environment" into a familiar issue for discussion. The scientific disciplines of most relevance are statistics, cybernetics, thermodynamics, systems theory, biochemistry, biology, oceanography, mineralogy, medicine, epidemiology, meteorology, genetics, physiology, agricultural science, urban studies, demography sociology and economics(44) and all have enhanced public awareness of environmental issues. Finally McCormick concentrates on the influence of other social movements on the environmental movement. During the late 1950s and 1960s a number of political and social issues led to mass protests which created a new climate of public activism from which environmentalism benefits. The anti-racism, poverty and antiwar (particularly Vietnam) movements emerged in the US and many other countries after the second world war. The common feature of these movements was their rejection of every kind of authority and their criticism of a range of values inherited from the old generations; materialism, technology, power, profit, growth and so forth. All these were taken as symbols of all that was wrong in western society.(45) It has been claimed that both in Britain and US many young supporters of the

environmental movement were introduced to activism through the experiences of other protest campaigns.(46)It is a fact that all these factors have had an impact on the emergence of a universal form of environmentalism. At the same time the nature of each individual environmental movements is shaped by sociological variables and the cultural history of the society in which it arises. This matter will be analyzed in this study in order to describe the specificity of environmentalism in Turkey.

C-Environmental Concern at the International Level

The environmental revolution emphasized by McCormick has manifested itself at the international level. While the environment became a matter of national policy, it also became an important element in relations between states at the global level. Some Global issues include atmospheric problems such as the carbon dioxide balance, the presence of sulphates and the impact of fluorocarbons on the ozone layer and the release of heat by industrial activity.(47) Global issues such as these have led to the emergence of a series of international conferences.

The United Nations began to held international conferences on the environment after the Second World War. The first conference was held in 1949, and emphasized only one issue, i.e., the conservation and utilization of resources, was debated and the conference led to not tangible results. A second conference was held, also on a

single issue. This was an intergovernmental gathering of experts called to discuss a scientific basis for the national use and conservation of the resources of the biosphere. The conference was held in Paris in September, 1968, under the leadership of UNESCO and further led to some steps being taken.

First truly significant environmental gathering after the war was the UN Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm from 5 June to 16 June in 1972. It was attended by the representatives of 113 countries and 400 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. It was concerned mainly with those aspects of the environment affecting the quality of human life. "Before Stockholm people usually saw the environment as something totally divorced from humanity. Stockholm recorded a fundamental shift in the emphasis of the human environmental thinking"(48) Moreover it raised environmental problems in the context of a threat to all of humanity rather than individual states and societies. The significance of Stockholm lies in that it brought together national and global concern for the environment. "Stockholm was without doubt the handmark of event in the growth of international environmentalism. It was the first occasion on which the political, social and economic problems of the global environment were discussed at an intergovernmental forum with a view to actually talking corrective action. It aimed to create a basis for comprehensive consideration, within the United Nations, of the problems of the human

environment and to focus the attention of governments and public opinion in various countries on the importance of the problem. It resulted directly in the creation of the United Nations Environmental programme. It also marked a transition from the emotional and occasionally native new environmentalism of the 1960s to the more rational, political and global perspective of the 1970s."(49)

Sandbrook has summarized the Stockholm conference by saying that it produced "a set of internationally coordinated activities aimed first at increasing knowledge of environmental trends and their effects on man and his resources, and secondly at protecting and improving the quality of environment and the productivity of resources by integrated planning and management."(50)

As a result of the conference governments came under a responsibility to observe the main principles which had been decided. Environmental concern also grew in almost every country. "It was found that after 1976, seventy countries had created central organizations like the Department of the Environment or the Environmental Protection Agency and that only twenty-eight countries, nearly all of which were less developed, had failed to establish such organizations."(51)

In conclusion one can clearly see the development of the environmentalist revolution. The first environmental association established in Britain in the second half of the 19th century came to result in various political parties in the world. The rapid growth of environmentalism

can be summarized like that: In 1863 Britain passed the first broad-ranging air pollution law in the world and created the first pollution control agency. By 1971 there were still only 12 national environmental agencies in the world but today there are more than 140. The world's first private environmental group was founded in Britain in 1865 but today the world has more than 15,000 of such groups. The first international agreement on the environment was signed in 1886 but today there are more than 250 of them. Moreover in 1972 the United Nations created a new environmental program and by 1980 almost all the major international organizations (e.g., the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and so forth) had taken a position on the environment. The more tangible result can be seen in the emergence of "Green" parties, challenging the old order. The first was founded in New Zealand in late 1960s. By 1988 14 countries of Europe had Green parties of which eight had members in national assemblies. Eleven Green party members sat in the European parliament. For many, Green parties offered a new alternative to the inconsistencies and insufficiencies of the traditional left/right axis.(52)

II-STATE POLICY

Obviously the government as a focus of the state can be analyzed by means of its policies. "Policies are seen as the outcomes of government activity and for this reason,

policy formulation and policy implementation are seen as central to the political process."(53) The study of public policy can focus either on the concerns of particular policies (its economic, social or political circumstances) or on the consequences of the policy such as its effects on a specific problem. Issues such as poverty, urban decay and pollution all require specific policies. The state policy studied here is concerned with the environment. As a single issue.

In giving a definition of policy we see that for Dye policy or public policy is simply "whatever governments choose to do or not to do."(54) Public policy is further defined by Caiden as "what government does rather than the process by which it makes a decision."(55) Moving from these definitions one can accept that public policy is not only what governments decide but also the process of deciding. How state policy is determined is important and in the ongoing section attention will be paid to the pluralist perspective and to policy formulation in Turkey.

A-The Pluralist Perspective

The pluralist perspective is based on the view, that all of society is represented in the political arena by means of ongoing competition among pressure groups. Rourke develops the concept of responsiveness which refers to the extent to which the system "promotes a correspondence between the decisions of bureaucrats and the preference of

the community on the officeholders who resume to speak for the public."(56) If the public bureaucracy substantially influences public policy, it would seem only proper to consider ways of assuring that actions of the bureaucracy reflect the values of society.

Redford develops the idea of democratic morality which refers to the responsibility of citizens to participate in decision making. The citizen is one aspect of the pluralist perspective. There are also government administrative agencies which Redford defines as specialized interest groups.(57) In the pluralist perspective the public interest is best served by the pursuit (of groups and individuals) on special interests; that government should act only as a referee.

One of the principal exponents of the pluralist perspective is that every citizen has the right and possibility within a pluralist society to seek access to the political process in pursuit of his or her own preferences. Whether; executive members of pressure groups or elected politicians, there are elites, as key element in representating the citizen demands. When there became a popular demand about any case, it is accepted as policy recommendation. The bulk of the population consists not of the mass but of integrated groups and publics stratified with varying degree of power. The power and resources that pressure groups can command derive largely from their public support.(58)

Two critical elements in pluralist perspective are

resources and the pressure groups directing and controlling them with the goal of mobilizing the rest of the population. These resources are accepted by Sandbach as access to information, relationships with mass media, wealth, leadership, skills, cohesiveness, the utilization of money, labor, institutional networks and so forth.(59) On the other hand, there is no accepted definition of pressure groups. Lowie defines pressure groups in the following: "When people come together into organized groups to seek to influence the decisions of public authorities we speak of them as forming pressure groups . They are the appointed spokesman for particular sections of the community with a definable interest".(60) Duverger argues that pressure groups do not directly participate in party politics but seek to influence them from outside.(61) Finally, for Ural "pressure groups, without affiliating to any political party, are the serious groups which are charged by the objective duties, in being responsible to the society.(62)

Pressure groups may have an impact on legislatures with the aim of enacting or rejecting laws. They also play an informational role in society and try to create an aware and active public that is conscious of ongoing social and economic problems.(63) In short, "in a typical liberal and pluralist account, environmental problems arise at various stages during the process of industrialization. Consequent strains lead to the development of social movements. The state, pressure groups, and the public reach to these

problems and depending upon the nature of the political system, there are varying degrees of consensus and conflict before acceptable solutions are found."(64)

B-Arguments on the Turkish Case

Studies on the Turkish case emphasize the traditional role of the state in Turkish Culture. Those who share this perspective concentrate on the domination of state, which is so inclusive that politically organized social groups have played almost no role in presenting the interests of society at large. Mobilization and direction of the society is decided by the state. However, there is an argument that social groups standing between the state and society have saved society from total state domination. Those who share this perspective take particularly the 1980s as an example and they argue that a significant number of organized political groups have come into the arena to limit the power of the state. The following part emphasize the two perspective in a detailed manner.

1-The Turkish State Tradition in Heper

Heper studies the Turkish case in the context of cultural history which has resulted in the creation of institutions that can only be understood within the specific dynamics of the culture itself. According to Heper conflicts in continental Europe between the church and

secular powers, between the industrial bourgeois and the industrial proletariat, between territorial focus and national focus were not seen in Ottoman-Turkish history. Rather, there was a clash between the state and the communities. What is particular to Ottoman-Turkish history, compared to continental European countries, is that there has been neither an aristocracy beyond the state nor politically organized social groups between the state and society. The state with absence of aristocracy beyond and the politically organized social groups under it has become quite autonomous, independent of any social organization. (65)

According to Heper ideology, in the absence of a civil society, became a "filler" for the Ottoman social structure, a situation which did not change much during the Republican period. The development of modern Turkey has been characterized by the absence of a genuine middle class, both in the economic sense and in the sense of a middle-class ethic. Even after 1960 by which the conflict of interest sharpened there were no social groups with their own interests. (66) Moreover, in the absence of a politically influential civil society there were no "bourgeois politics". What the Democrat party did after 1950 was to mobilize the people by appealing to symbols, there being no classes or institutions to work as an intermediary. (67)

Heper associates the emergence of social groups in the experience of western societies with the existence of

absolute monarchies and middle classes. To him, in the Western experience, that rise of absolute monarchies was followed by the strengthening of the entrepreneurial middle classes contributed by the state. The manifestation of this development has been seen in the emergence of social groups with their own needs and interests.(68) However, in Ottoman-Turkish history the state elites tried to impose on civil society a normative system they had formulated. Later on, the transition to democracy in Turkey generated the political elites who were autonomous from the interests of society, and operated as a protest movement against the state elites.(69)

Heper insists that the state elites have been sensitive to the crisis of integration and therefore have not been sympathetic towards the periphery. In its turn the periphery has been over-defiant, reinforcing the prejudices of the state elites. This process has been attributed to the fact that the opening up of the political system in Turkey did not bring different socio-economic groups face to face. Instead a dominant state with an ill organized and politically subordinate periphery developed.(70) Then the state for him in Turkey is seen in the group of society having a high stateness which created a respect and importance of itself on behalf of the public.(71)

Heper's analysis brings him to argue that even after 1950s, with the advent of a multi-party system, the civil society or autonomous social groups did not emerge in Turkey. For him in the case of political system in Turkey

the party centered polity has been evident which means a system largely autonomous from social groups(72) "Under the circumstances, political parties in Turkey, which developed after the first decade of this century, did so in the absence of an aristocracy and of entrepreneurial middle classes with political influences. In fact, for the 1965-1975 [it was](73) found very weak linkages between political parties and social groups in the country."(74) Heper concludes that even political parties in Turkey developed as a means of conflict. As a remaining of that process even the Turkish version of the Green movement amounted to no more than the emergence in 1950s of the Democrat party as a protest movement.(75) The Green uprising has been seen by Heper as the protest of the political elites to the values developed and defended by the state elites. This is the case of analysis by having a detailed study of the Greens party in Turkey, its emergence, its policies and its activities. All these will be held in a subsequent chapter in this study.

2-The Perspective of Civil Society in Turkey

The arguments on the existence of a civil society in Turkey emphasize the role of autonomous social groups between state and society.

One argument is raised by Mardin in the case of Ottoman society. He claims that at the very beginning of Ottoman society the ulema of the "madrash" and the "erkhan"

stood between state and society. In addition to slaves recruited from non muslim groups, The ulema were also recruited into the bureaucracy. The "ulema" tradition for Mardin was institutionalized in the "madrasah" and the "vakhif" which protected the interests of the citizens against the state. The second social group he places between state and society is the "intelligentsia" which emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries. The intelligentsia established their supremacy vis-a-vis sultans and even created some successful reforms. Finally Mardin discusses such aspects of society as the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, the banking system and the laws developed by Kemalist regime as representing the interest of society against the state. In other words, they constructed a bridge between state and society during the early period of the Republican Turkey. Shortly, Mardin comes to the conclusion that the bridge has always existed between state and society in Ottoman-Turkish history and thus society was protected against the arbitrary rule of the center. (76)

The argument raised by Göle concerning the case of Turkey in the 1980s is important in this respect. She argues that in term of state-society relationships, the 1980s promised to be a turning point in Turkish political development. During this decade the 'autonomization' of civil societal elements from the grip of the center - a process which started in the 1950s and continued during the 1960s - has become even more pronounced. The autonomization in question has, in fact, taken on a novel coloration." (77)

She found that three changes took place in Turkey in the 1980s: the shift in political discourse, the emergence of a new state-society relationships and the role of the political parties in these changes.(78) According to Göle "during the 1980s political discourse tended to shift from confrontation to tolerance and from questioning the legitimacy of the regime to debates on specific public policies. In other words, search by political actors for tacit contract of parliamentary democracy underlined the political discourse of the 1980s."(79)

Unlike the earlier period defined by Heper she argues that in the 1980s the political agenda included the question of pluralism. For her, the political debate was policy rather than politics-oriented. Whether economic, political or cultural, pluralism has been tolerated. Every attempt on the part of civil societal elements has been tolerated, to free themselves from the state domination.(80) Göle says that in the 1980s, the conflict around "big" issues tended to be replaced by debates on more immediate problems such as pollution, public health environment tourism and the like. These issues were also placed on the social agenda by different social groups.(81)

The veiled girls movement, the leftist movement which shifted from being utopian to being ideological and the movements of such disparate groups as homosexuals and ecologists constitute for Göle the autonomization of social forces.(82) All these movements have the same nature and have further contributed to the emergence of a plurality of

identities at the level of civil society. Consequently Göle insists that "in Turkey of the 1980s, first the political dynamics shifted from ideological confrontation to a pursuit for pluralism, and secondly the political discourse were liberated from the system questioning political doctrines, and has tended to be characterized by a policy-questioning stance" (83)

Both perspective analysed above need a more detailed study on any issue in Turkey. The study of environmental groups and the changing trend of the state policy is the matter studied here. The following four chapters shall consider that point, i.e. whether the traditional role of the state domination maintains or it comes under a change by environmental groups.

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY OF THE STATE

Environmental problems began to influence public opinion in the 1960s. It was inevitable that environmental issues would affect the standards of living in all countries and would affect domestic and foreign policy. The 1972 Stockholm Conference, sponsored by the UN, was the most influential outcome of the concentrated interest in environmental matters. In the wake of the conference national and international organizations were formed and attention was paid to environmental issues in the constitutions and legal systems of various countries. Environmental policies gained significance in almost all nations of the world as the result of growing public concern.(1) The industrialized countries faced the problem earlier and the first environmental measures were put into effect by these countries. To understand the case of Turkey it is necessary therefore to analyze state policy in Britain and in USA.

I-THE CASE OF BRITAIN AND USA

Britain faced environmental problems (mostly from air pollution) before many other industrialized countries. In the second half of the 18th century extensive burning of coal caused heavy pollution in urban centers and led to the

enactment of an act to control air pollution necessarily in 1821. Several decades later in 1863 parliament enacted the Alkali Act requiring the manufacturers of Alkali to reduce 95 percent of the hydrochloric acid emitted by their factories. To enforce the law the government opened its first pollution control agency, the Alkali Inspectorate. The Alkali Act remained the legal basis for the government's control of industrial emissions until 1974.(2) Another early environmental law issued in Britain was concerned with water pollution. Between 1849 and 1854, 250,000 people died in cholera epidemics. The death of so many people was attributed to sewage dumped into the Thames and two decades later in 1876 parliament approved the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, however, unlike the Alkali Act which was enforced by the government the Rivers Pollution Act was enforced by local authorities.(3)

The smoke produced by the burning of coal both in home and industry remained the most serious environmental problem in Britain. In 1898, the Coal Smoke Abatement Society was formed. Two decades, later in 1926 the Public Health Act was approved, like the coal smoke Abatement Society one of its principal concerns was air pollution.(4) After the Second World War there was a significant expansion in the British government's efforts to reduce pollution and protect the physical environment. The most important legislative accomplishment was the Town and Country Planning Act, approved in 1947. In accordance with this act each County Council designated a local planning

authority, and no private development could take place without its consent.(5) Another law was the National Parks Act, issued in 1949, which was followed by the creation of a commission to select areas for designation as national parks. Further legislation was passed in 1954 to establish, maintain and manage Britain's nature reserve.(6) The British government continued to expand its controls over industrial emission and land use, and numerous laws concerned with the environment were approved in the two decades after the war. They included the Navigable Water Act (1953); the Protection of Birds Act (1954); the Rural Water Supplies and Sewage Act (1955); the Litter Act (1958); the Radioactive Substances Act (1960); the Estuaries and Tidal Waters Act (1960); the Deer Act (1963); the Water Resources Act (1963); and the Rivers Act (1966).(7) Clearly the British government had taken many environmental measures before the environment came up for discussion at the international level.

In the United States virtually all of the important policy initiatives in the postwar period were taken after the 1960s. Between 1969 and 1972 the United States enacted the National Environmental Act, the Clean Air Act Amendments, and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, all of which transformed the scope and enforcement of American environmental controls. Environmental regulations remained in a considerable state of flux and through the 1970s eight major laws were either enacted or substantially amended between 1970 and 1980. (8) As environmental

regulations took effect in many areas there was displacement of smaller enterprises, and loss of employment and revenue.(9)

In the decade following the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970, the United States gave its highest priority to the reducing emissions from automobiles that the average concentration of carbon monoxide in urban areas declined by one-third between 1972 and 1978. Air quality was improved as well in a significant degree. Overall pollution also declined significantly in the years following passage of the Air Pollution Act during the same period.(10) Similar legislation governing the country's lakes and streams had such positive effects that by 1983 half were judged to be safe for fishing and swimming.(11)

It is clear that both Britain and the United States approached environment problems not as a result of international agreements but on the basis of their own experiences. In the case of Turkey it can be seen that its environmental concerns has developed largely as a result of international agreements on the environment. Turkey took part in the World Environmental conference at Stockholm in 1972, and international agreements signed since then have had a direct impact on Turkey's own environmental priorities.(12) Turkey, as a member country also follow the decisions and recommendations of the OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) on the environment.(13) To see the pace of environmental concerns in Turkey, its environmental policy should be

analyzed in the light of legislation passed after the 1960s as well as action taken by relevant environmental organizations dealing with the question.

II-TURKISH LEGISLATION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

In the years immediately following the foundation of the republic Turkey remained primarily a backward agricultural country. Industrial plants were so few as to be non-existent, and it was not possible to see any urbanization. As a result of long years of war, public welfare and health services had been neglected. There were new problems, such as the housing shortage which followed the population exchange with Greece. (14) Laws issued during this period were inevitably concerned with the measures for solving immediate problems. Thus bulk of the problems Turkey now faces appeared after the second world war. The foremost one is rapid and unplanned urbanization which began in the 1950s and has grown incrementally ever since then. Regulations issued since the 1950s have reflected many other problems and a study of the legislation including the constitution, environment law and other related laws helps to clarify what they are.

A-Constitution

Like many Constitutions drawn up after the Second World War, the 1961 Turkish Constitution devoted a large

amount of space to economic and social rights as well as making the state responsible for ensuring that everyone could live in physical and psychological health. In the conditions which prevailed in 1961, these provisions may be regarded as an indirect state guarantee of environmental right.(15) It is evident that the Constitution was passed at a time when there was little awareness of the environment; the problems of the day were economic and social. It was the 1982 Constitution which placed emphasis on environmental issues.(16) About 20 articles are related to the environment either directly or indirectly. Of these the article 56, appearing under the heading of "Health Services and Protection of the Environment" can be taken as particularly important. About five additional articles are directly related to environmental issues; in each, traditional role of the state as the only authority capable of dealing with such questions in Turkish society, is emphasized(17)

Though, the constitution states that it is also the duty of citizen to develop and protect the environment, no mechanism is specified which would enable citizens to fulfill this responsibility. On the other hand a range of principles are set out how the state should perform its duty. According to article 56, "everyone possesses the right to live in a healthful and balanced environment. It is the duty of state and its citizens to develop the environment, to protect environmental health and to prevent environmental pollution. The state shall plan and arrange

institutions under a single management with the purpose of ensuring that everyone may live his life in a physical and psychological health and of providing for cooperation among such institutions by stepping up, saving and yielding in human and material resources. The state shall fulfill this duty by utilizing and overseeing the health and social institutions in the public and private sectors. General health insurance may be established by law in order to ensure that health services are provided on a widespread basis."(18)

The most significant point here is that the protection of the environment is seen by the state as being necessary for human health, rather than as an end in itself, as it is regarded by radical environmental groups. In addition to the article devoted completely to the environment as a whole, five others deal with specific environmental matters. Article 43 is devoted to the protection of coasts; article 44 to the land, its protection and ownership; and article 63 to the protection of historical, cultural and natural assets.(19) Further, article 168 is devoted to natural resources, their protection and ownership; and article 169 to the forests and their protection.(20) It should be noted that in all provisions pertaining to the environment in the Constitution all responsibility is given to the state and none to citizens or to private organizations representing the interests of society.

B-Environmental Law

The most important law affecting and governing Turkey's environmental policy is the environment law enacted in 1983 (No. 2872). As far as the environment is concerned article 56 of the constitution and the environmental law are the two most important documents in the Turkish legal system.(21) The environment Law has six sections in which 34 articles deal with separate environmental issues.

The first section defines the purpose of the law as being "to govern, according to definite, legal and technical principles and in conformity with goals of economic and social development, the arrangements to be made and the measures to be taken in order to protect and improve the environment, which is the common property of the citizens; to protect and make optimal use of land and natural resources in rural and urban areas; to prevent water, soil and air pollution, and to develop and guarantee the standard of health, civilization, and living of the present generation and of future generations by preserving the nation's plant and animal life and its natural and historical wealth".(22) In the second section of the law the central and administrative decision and their functions are mentioned through four articles. Mainly the purpose, function and authority of the central and provincial environmental councils are defined as well as those of the local environmental councils. In the third section,

mainly the measures and prohibitions regarding environmental protection are specified through 9 articles. As well, the Environment General Directorate is authorized to terminate the activity of firms, business and corporations held to be in breach of the law. The fourth section of the law establishes the Environment Pollution Prevention Fund, defines the source of its revenue (A tax on airline tickets, bank interest, payments to the Environment General Directorate and etc.) and describes the purposes for which the fund may be used. The fifth section defines penalties and fines to be imposed on individuals, firms, business and ships whose action lead to the pollution. Finally, the sixth section of the law deals with miscellaneous provisions, such as the polluter's responsibility and incentives to protect the environment. (23)

The purpose of the law is not merely protection of environment, but includes use and management of the environment as well. Clearly the environment law aims at establishing a balance in relations between man and the environment, and at creating an awareness that man is a part of the ecosystem. Keeping in mind the relationship between the environment and economic development, the law stipulates that the measures to be taken and improvements to be made and the environment must be carried out in harmony with the targets of economic and social development. (24)

C-Other Related Laws

A range of other laws enacted since 1930s could rightly be regarded as environmental. Eight of them similar to laws enacted in Britain and the USA, will be discussed here.

The first is the Hygiene Law enacted in 1930. In article 242 this is states that "it is forbidden, for factories to pour their wastes into the rivers or streams unless they purify the chemical substances considered as dangerous to the health of citizens"(25) In fact, there was only a small industrial sector in Turkey at the time and thus the danger from waste was negligible. The Municipalities Law and the Public Health Law which directly or indirectly deal with the environment, were also passed in 1930. Article 15 of the Municipalities Law states that municipalities have the duty of "providing for the cleanliness and orderliness of public places."(26) Similarly, Public Health law, No.159 specifies that "one of the public services of the state shall be to improve the country's health conditions and to combat all diseases or other harmful agents which might endanger the health of the nation, to ensure the healthy development of future generations and to provide medical and social assistance to the people."(27) Another important measure was the Forest Law passed in 1937. It was amended by another law issued in 1945 which nationalized all forests with only one or two exceptions. A third Forestry Law was passed in 1956

(No.6831) which divided the forests into state forests, private forests, and forests belonging to public legal entities.(28) In 1971 the Aquatic Product Law (No.1380) was enacted with the aim of protecting animate beings in the seas.(29) Since 1980, the Turkish government has passed new laws regulating other aspects of the environment. One was the law of the Coast Guard Command (1982) which aims to "protect Turkey's coasts and territorial waters, to guarantee their security, and to exercise the state's rights and authority in the seas over which it possesses sovereignty under national and international law."(30) The Law on Protection of Cultural and National Assets passed in 1983 Defines movable and immovable cultural and natural assets which required protection, and establishes a central authority to recommend policy.(31) The National Park Law (No.1873) was enacted in 1983 with the aim of setting up the principles of selecting and designating national parks and their protection, development and management.(32) Finally, the Bosphorus Law (No.2960) was enacted in 1983; its purpose is to protect, and develop the cultural and historical values and the natural beauty of the Istanbul Bosphorus area.(33)

One can see that over time Turkey either as a result of internal factors or as a result of international obligations has began to develop an integrated environmental policy. Implementation, however, has not been so positive. Statutes and regulations which give life to laws have never been put into effect at the necessary

speed.(34) But the appointment of a state minister for the environment and the establishment of relevant organizations Reflect the growing state concern on the matter. Finally, one can say that Turkey is not so back than Britain and USA in terms of the time it gave pace to the relevant regulations on the matter. While in both Britain and US the regulations have followed the manifested problems, in Turkey the regulations have been undertaken more before the problems were manifested.

III-THE ENVIRONMENT IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Insofar as the administration is concerned principles and statements concerning the environment began to appear in development plans drawn up by the SPO (State Planning Organization) in the late 1970s. International developments, sparked by the Stockholm Conference of 1972, played a major role in bringing about this new emphasis as they did in many other countries.(35)

The five-year development plan period in Turkey started in 1963, and its aim was to overcome problems associated with the backwardness of Turkey and to set up industrial development. Neither the first nor the Second five-year development plan made any specific reference to the environment as such. In the first plan, the priorities were given to development, agriculture, and manufacturing industry.(36) It must be sad that Turkey did not face any serious environmental problems in this period any way. In

the Second Plan policies were again directed toward development and industrialization, together with regional development; urbanization and settlement; and health sector planning. In the Second Plan the main aim was to enhance the share of industrial sector and reduce that of the agriculture in the GNP, to modernize economic activity and to replace the traditional agricultural mechanism with advanced technology. (37)

Environmental problems are specifically mentioned for the first time in the Third Five Year development plan, (1973 to 1977). As a starting point it must be mentioned that this period immediately followed the Stockholm Conference. The plan notes that while the environment was already a matter of concern to the state, the international debate the requirement of inter-state laws and the attempt of Turkey to industrialize had created the need to allot a special section to the environment. (38) Development through industrialization is the main target and the plan states that no international obligation would be undertaken that could cause Turkey to deviate from this path. (39) The environmental policies should not be allowed to impede economic development efforts, but, the plan does oblige the state to develop a theoretical and legal framework for environmental policies, to identify environmental problems in Turkey, to raise public awareness and to follow closely developments abroad. (40) In summary one can say that a certain amount of progress was achieved in defining the environmental problems between 1973 and 1977, yet no

widespread awareness of environmental problems was created on a countrywide basis.(41)

The Fourth Five Year Development Plan (1979-1983) brought more clear and effective measures concerning environmental issue, and significant steps were taken in practice. Its basic targets were to bring rapid industrialization and healthy urbanization into harmony with agricultural development; to preserve human environment and health and the country's historical and natural assets during the process of urbanization and development; to exploit the resources both above and below the ground; and to exploit Turkey's natural and historical assets and geographical position in such a way so as to promote tourism.(42) Four main issues are defined as environmental: water pollution, air pollution, soil pollution and erosion, and noise. Each is defined in a way and several measures are defined to solve each problems.(43) It is a fact that a range of steps was taken to implement provisions enacted in the plan. Foremost was the establishment of the Environmental Undersecretariat connected to the Prime Ministry as well as the enactment of laws dealing with environmental issues.(44)

Environmental policy was given even greater emphasis in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan. Measures were revised according to Turkey's relations with the EEC (European Economic Community), and according to the steps necessary for economic integration with the EEC within the period covered by the Plan. The following principles were

endorsed: the adoption of environmental problems as an integrated whole and in a coordinated fashion: the protection of natural and human structures in the environment; the elimination of the causes of air and water pollution; and giving priority to preparing and implementing programs in areas where pollution and destruction is particularly intense.(45) The plan notes that Turkey faces environmental problems arising from urbanization, erosion and natural disaster as well as industrialization and the modernization. It envisages an environmental approach based not only on existing problems but on the need to safeguard the environment for future generations. It is stated that institutions and universities will be supported with the aim of promoting environmental studies.(46) Following the Fifth Plan a great variety of measures were taken, particularly to overcome air pollution in Ankara and other provinces. Factories were required to install purification systems and an early warning system against radiation was established following the accident at the Chernobly Nuclear Power Plant, in the Soviet Union in 1986.(47)

The Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1990-1994) devotes more space to environmental issues. The development of Turkey is still a priority but is taken into account with the protection of ecosystem. About 23 principles are envisaged each of which deals with an aspect of environmental concern. It is stated that the relevant public institutions will be responsible for the collection

of environmental data in a center, and that environmental control and coordination should be coordinated from one center. Under the impact of this requirement the Environmental General Directorate was replaced by a more larger institution, the Environmental Undersecretariat, connected with the Prime Ministry. The plan says the environment aspect is to be considered in all economic policies and that ministers are obliged to develop policies in accordance with that principle. Finally, consistency is sought with the European Community on environmental matters.(48) In summary the plan reflects Turkey's desire to be a member of European Community as well as it has been influenced from the domestic environmental groups.

IV-THE ENVIRONMENTAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE STATE

All societies deal with environmental problems, through a mix of governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations. Britain and the United States are example of society-centered politics in which private organizations Dominate government bodies and determine the dimensions of the relevant policies. In both societies governmental organizations on the environment were established before even the Stockholm Conference was held.(49) Turkey, on the other hand, started to establish relevant organizations only under the impact of the Stockholm Conference. It was only after Stockholm, in 1973 when air pollution (particularly in Ankara) had reached an intolerable level,

that the government created "Environmental Problems Coordination Board". Its objective was to coordinate the activities in solving environmental problems.(50) In the late 1970s, as the number of environment-related studies increased, other organizations were established and Turkey has since kept pace with environmental developments. The relevant organizations will now be analyzed.

A.TGNA Research Commission for Environment

The Environmental Research Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly was established as a result of an initiative by Tekirdağ deputy Güneş Gürseler with his 33 fellows on May 24 1988.(51) The main purpose of the commission is to protect the assets Turkey has, to inquire for the existing environmental problems of Turkey, and to construct a bipartisan environmental policy. The commission includes nine members through whom all parties represented in parliament are represented in proportion to their numbers.(52) The commission has maintained its activities in cooperation with public, Universities, industrialists, foundations, voluntary associations, and other public institutions with the aim of improving public environmental sensitivity. The activities of the commission come into being either through meetings held at the GNA or researches coordinated outside Ankara. Nineteen have been held in Ankara, each resulting in a significant environmental decision, and five research projects have

been coordinated outside Ankara.(53) The commission evaluates information from various sections of society, and presents its finding to the GNA. However, since the recommendations are not approved by the ruling party many of the proposals presented by the commission are not accepted in GNA.(54)

B-The Environmental Undersecretariat

The Environmental Undersecretariat was established on 29.10.1989 by law no 389 as part of the prime Ministry.(55) Although the secretariat is seen as a new one, its history goes a back a decade. It can be regarded as last remaining legacy of the environment General Directorate established in 1978. The directorate was replaced by an Environmental Undersecretariat several years later, but in 1984 the undersecretariat was dissolved. The General Directorate remained as the governing body until 1989, when Environmental Undersecretariat was established. Given the importance of the Environmental General Directorate some remarks about its functions are relevant to this discussion. The directorate charter described its purpose as being "to improve and protect the environment, to ensure the use and preservation of urban and rural land of natural resources in the most appropriate way, to prevent water, soil and air pollution and to protect the nation's plant and animal wealth and her natural and historical riches".(56) Coordination and cooperation of research

projects were among its general responsibilities.(57) And it coordinated a variety of environmental projects in Turkey in cooperation with voluntary organizations and through its own groups.

The Environmental Undersecretariat was the natural heir to the EGD. Its duties include the previous studies aimed at protecting the country's natural, historical and cultural wealth; the formulation of principles, policies and programs of environmental protection; and the development of programs for the protection of the environment, in all its aspects.(58)

The EU supports the state minister responsible for the environment in producing environmental policy at the national and international level. Advice is given from several levels. The undersecretariat has 18 departments each of which is assigned to a specific aspect of the environment.(59) One might inevitably expected a lot of activities and a further advanced perspective of environment from that association which has been equipped with a great assigned possibility coordinated in behalf of the state.

C-The Head Office for Special Environmental Protection Regions

A head office for environmental protection in special regions was established in accordance with the Barcelona

Treaty of 1986 concerning the "protection of the Mediterranean Against Pollution". The criteria for areas to be selected as a Special environmental protection Region depend on its biological and ecological significance, as well as aesthetic, historical, archeological and cultural considerations.(60)

The Council of Ministers is authorized to declare such areas as Special Protection Regions.(61) Based on that authority, Köyceğiz, Fethiye bay and the Gökova bay were identified and declared as "Special Regions" by the Council of Ministers in 1988. The Head Office for Special Environmental Protection Regions was set up in the same year.(62) According to the regulations describing its responsibilities the office is charged with ensuring protection and development of the environment in general in these regions. It has been given power to take various measures, for health activities, to determine special standards and even to nationalize the areas in question if necessary.(63)

D-Other Agencies

There are many other different agencies in Turkey with authority in the area of environmental protection. Under the current regulations the Ministry of Health and Social Security and local officials have important powers to the environment. Other relevant agencies include the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Affairs; the

Ministry of Public Works; the State Department of Water; the Turkish Standards Institute; and the Coast Guard Command.(64) Since the last three of these are the most relevant their role will be shortly analyzed here.

The General Directorate of the State Department of Water was established before the Stockholm Conference. Its functions and powers relating to the environmental are described (in article 2 of law No.6200 issued in 1953) as being, to introduce flood control; to set up irrigation works; to drain swamps; to construct dams for generating hydroenergy, to examine, approve and monitor the projects of cities and towns for drinking water and sewerage; and to effect improvements in rivers.(65)

Moreover, Turkish Standards Institute also carries out some duties concerning to the issues that could be mentioned as environmental. The Institute's chief functions is stated (in article 2 of law number 13) as to draw up standards of all kinds, to examine the standards drawn up either within Institute's own structure or outside it, and to adopt those that are deemed suitable as Turkish standards; to issue the standards so adopted, encourage their voluntary implementation, and to submit to the approval of the relevant ministry these deemed worthy of compulsory implementation. Finally it has function to follow similar studies in foreign countries to establish relations with foreign and International Standards Organizations and to cooperate with them.(66) The last environmental concern stipulated the Institute's concern on

environment. It was stated that 397 new standards will be prepared until the end of the 1990 concerning to the air, water sea and soil.(67)

Finally, the other agency assigned to the environmental issue can be mentioned as the Coast Guard Command established in 1982 (by law No.2692) with the aim of ensuring the security of all coasts and territorial and inland waters. It is empowered with the function and authority "to prevent and monitor acts in violation of these provisions pertaining to pollution of all kinds caused by marine vessels and air craft and by other installations on the seas, to apprehend violations, and to undertake the necessary proceeding."(68)

V-TOWARDS BUREAUCRATIC ENVIRONMENTALISM

"Bureaucratic Environmentalism" refers to attempts to solve the environmental problems by using the formal organizations, laws, rules and regulations as the main tools with respect to the development of the country as to be given priority. Policy recommendations according to "Bureaucratic Environmentalism" do not imply a political consensus achieved through any comprehensive, objective and value-free scientific analysis, but rather emphasize "growth" and "development" as the foremost targets.

"Bureaucratic Environmentalism" in Turkey emerged after 1978 with the attempt of the government to establish the Environmental Undersecretariat and continued to grow

with the creation of a new Undersecretariat in 1989. Other state agencies, such as the relevant ministries, the SPO and the Environment Research Commission of the GNA underline the strength of "Bureaucratic Environmentalism".

"Bureaucratic Environmentalism" reflects the views of the government policy on the environment. According to a report prepared through the cooperation of the Environment Undersecretariat and SPO it was stated that the formal view of Turkey as a developing country is "firstly being industrialized and then dealing with the environment", because of the the assumption that developing countries have had no negative impact on world environmental problems. (69)

Such an environmentalism in Turkey aims to present the environmental outlook of government at international conferences, meetings and the like; to determine the environmental policy both through planning, and education and the relevant activities for the training of the mass on environment, to carry out relevant scientific studies pertaining to different environmental issues, and to make contact with international organizations in the name of the Turkish government.

It yields mainly the issues such as pollution, population, urbanization, public health, the erosion of land, forests, fires and the construction of relevant infrastructures and so forth. It was stated that Turkish environmental issues are industry, energy, urban challenging and the managing of the commons, in the

conference held in Bergen in date between May 8-12, 1990 in the level of the experts.(70) One of the main purpose of such an environmentalism is to mobile the mass of population by addressing them through various publications, prepared by the bureaucratic organizations, which have in fact the main richness in Turkey in terms of the economic possibilities. A large activity has emerged especially after 1980 with the aim of training the citizens. The television and radio have been used effectively as well as various books and brochures have been published for the benefit of the population. The song "Türkiyeni temiz tut, yeşili koru", (Keep your Turkey clean, and protect the green) has emerged after 1980s and has been heard almost everyday either in television or radio. Furthermore, it tries to develop close relations with voluntary organizations to get support in its studies, and with local environmental organizations to impose its environmental policies through them to the society. Finally, it has the authority to punish those who are in breach of environmental laws and regulations.

CHAPTER III

VOLUNTARY ENVIRONMENTAL ASSOCIATIONS

I. THE CASE OF THE US AND BRITAIN

In the USA the first environmentalist groups were the Mountain Clubs which emerged in the second half of the 19th century, aiming to bring together people who love nature. The Appalachian Mountain Club established in 1876 was the very first. The Sierra Club was formed in 1892 in California and has been active ever since.(1)

Throughout the history of this environmental movement in the US two approaches have prevailed. The first expresses aesthetic appreciation for the spiritual value and beauty of nature, the second one has given rise to the field of ecology.(2) Together they have created a kind of environmentalism which be described as the preservationist (expressed in art and literature) and the conservationist (undertaking studies relating to ecology).(3) The preservationist branch of the movement expanded during the 1950s and 1960s under the impact of increased affluence and leisure and the growth of outdoor recreation. This movement is supported by hunting and fishing groups and has come into conflict with large land-owners and extractive industries.(4)

On the other hand, the conservationist movement differ sharply in its approach and has advocated policies

that would apply principles of scientific management for the efficient use of natural resources.(5) The conservationist movement represent an effort by leaders in science, technology, and government to bring about the more efficient development of physical resources.(6)

The conservationist movement as it developed between 1890 and 1910 was a political movement which aimed to protect the forests, destroy monopolies and maintain Anglo-Saxon supremacy.(7) After the Second World War it gave rise to a movement which had broader concern and was interested in raising the quality of life beyond efficiency in production.(8) Unlike the earlier movement the later environmentalism become a challenge to the existing social structure.(9) The main feature of American environmentalism in the 1960s was its functions as a movement attempting in protest to mobilize the citizens.(10) In the last two decades it has gradually adopted a "power" rather than a "participatory" strategy in dealing with environmental issues. The interests of voluntary organizations are focused on litigation, political lobbying and technical evaluation rather than on mass mobilization, for protest, petition sign and the like.(11)

The three largest and oldest American environmental organizations are the National Wildlife Federation, the National Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club. Newer organizations include the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Resources Defense Council, Zero Population Growth, Friends of the Earth , Environmental Action, the Nature

Conservancy and so forth.(12) Each association in USA has a great finance and possibilities. For instance the Audubon Society manages 76 sanctuaries and 90 preserves and the Nature Conservancy has preserved about two million acres of land. They have demonstrated great ability to wage national campaigns to employ larger staffs and pay them higher salaries. They have won extensive rights to obtain information about various public policies, as well the right to challenge administrative decisions in the courts and to be heard in various administrative proceedings.(13)

In the United States the extent of citizen participation is also great. The National Center for Voluntary Action has estimated that there are 40,000 environmental voluntary organizations, representing perhaps 20 million citizen environmentalists. Some 55 million people are estimated to belong to or contribute to 19 so called "primary" environmental organizations.(14) These figures are drawn from data collected before 1980. Concern and interest has been even greater in the last decade. According to research reported by the "New York Times" on Earth Day in April 1990, 71 percent of the population were seen as ready to pay more tax and 51 percent to leave their jobs for the sake of environmental protection.(15)

In the Britain, the roots of environmental organizations go back even earlier than in the US. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the first British organization concerned with environmental protection, was founded in 1824.(16) Then followed Alpine

Club of 1857.(17) But this was local rather than national. The first national amenity pressure group in Britain was the Commons Preservation Society, founded in 1865, which took direct action in attempts to preserve common land in England. In the last two decades of the 19th century a conservationist movement emerged which emphasized issues such as historical monuments, the market town, the traditional structure of England, the village, the trees, the lands, the streams, the farmlands and so forth.(18) In 1889 the Fund and Feather Group was established in Manchester to prevent the usages of bird's feathers in clothes and bedding. During the same period the National Trust was founded with the aim of protecting land and historic buildings from the danger of industrial development. In 1907 the Trust was given a statutory status by an act of parliament while the Fund and Feather Group became the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. The interwar period brought an increase in the number of such groups. During 1920s the Ancient Movement Society, the Ramblers' Association, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, the National Trust for Scotland and the Central Council for River Protection were all established.(19) Three more international environmental organizations were later founded: Greens Peace, the Friends of the Earth, and the Conservation Society.(20) Most national environmentalist groups have local branches.(21) The common explicit value of local amenity groups in Britain are aesthetic not social or political.(22)

After the 1960s number of environmental organizations rapidly increased. By May 1974 there were 1.130 registered societies; these increased to 1.313 in 1978, and it was found that about three million British citizens belonged to at least one environmentalist organization.(23) According to Barker's study on 605 local amenity groups only 15 percent of groups emerged before 1958 the rest had emerged after 1960s.(24)

A unique feature of environmental organizations in Britain is that, the functions that are carried out primarily by governmental bodies in industrial societies are in Britain performed by private bodies. The National Trust, for example, rather than the British government, acquires historical buildings and scenic land areas to preserve them for public use. The trust, owns one percent of land and more than 200 historical buildings. A similar role is performed by the Royal Society for Nature Conservation which owns more than 100,000 acres of nature reserves.(25) At the same time government is a major source of financial support for many environmental organizations. In one survey on British environmental groups, more than one-third listed the government as one of the three most important sources of their funds. In addition, the government relies on such organizations to be assisted in its policy implementation. The Keep Britain Tidy Group for instance is the instrument for government in carrying out its policy in the field of litter prevention and abatement and it receives half of its income from the

government.(26) Vogel explains that nearly half of the environmental organizations have representative of one or more official advisory committee, and some enjoys quasi-official or official status.(27) A further point about British environmental groups is that while "the earliest environmental issues were local, once the most immediate and personal costs of pollution or hunting on the loss of forests were appreciated, individuals formed groups, which formed coalitions which became national movements and finally a multinational movement".(28)

II.THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENTAL ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKEY

In Turkey there has been a great interest in the environment, partly because of a cultural system based on a religious heritage which places man in a Green and fertile paradise after death. In the Koran the word "green" is mentioned in 253 places; and the growing of trees is strongly emphasized in Islamic tradition and people are encouraged to nurture a green environment.(29) Greenery and gardens are also important in Turkish culture. This is the reason why people take place in the gardens when they take a picture.(30)

This might be accepted as the motive behind Turkish population why they have established local organization, to promote natural beauty and green. Another factor behind the Turkish population who have founded various local

organizations might be seen in ongoing environmental problems. Before industrialization and urbanization have processed the main environmental problems were the erosion of the soil, marsh land and the lack of green in Turkey. Therefore the attempt of Turkish citizen on environment goes back to the early period of the Republic. It becomes necessary to study the local amenity(31) groups different than the national ones emerged after 1950s.

Local Amenity Groups dealt with environmental problems such as deforestation the plenty land in agricultural sectors, and the pollution of the Golden Horn. These issues were in fact, given attention in the last period of Ottoman Empire. One early environmental association was Istanbul Lovers Association of Historical Monuments which was established in 1911. It had about 180 members including bureaucrats, teachers and writers.(32) Later on, after the 1920s, a number of local environmental organizations established: Bursa Lover Association for Lovers of Great Mountains, the Association for the Beautification of the Islands, the Association for the Beautification of Çamlıca and the like. A large organization was founded with the aim of promoting the local beauty and green areas at the local level, namely the "Association for City Development and Beautification"; this still operates in various cities of Turkey.(33)

One of the main important environmental issue of the time was the preservation of the forests. The cutting down of trees by peasant was banned in 1920, and the citizen

was encouraged to establish foundations dealing with the problem. In 1928 The Association for the Preservation of Trees and the Association for the Preservation of Animals were both established, but had no significant political impact on government agencies.(34) An annual "Festival of Trees" was proclaimed by Izmir Economic Congress and the planting of at least one tree by each citizen was encouraged. The festival is still held and is celebrated even in mosques.(35)

Environmental problems started to emerge more clearly after the 1950s. The industrialization of Turkey and the modernization of the agricultural sector through the penetration of machinery into agriculture were two elements condensing the population in urban areas. Various problems resulted with that process, such as the growth of slum houses, the lack of infrastructure support, inadequate transportation and increasing unemployment. The most visible environmental issue was the air pollution of Ankara. The multiparty system has stimulated the establishment of environmental organizations and they have increased tremendously since the 1950s. By 1968 the number of local environmental organizations had increased to 316 in Ankara and to 315 in Istanbul.(36) A "Beautification Association" was formed almost in every provinces and even in some villages.(37) Yücekök studied such local amenity societies active between 1946 and 1968, and found about 4644 "Beautification Associations" operating in 1968 compared to 34 in 1946.(38) The various associations he

gathered under the name of beautification include the following: associations for the beautification of small towns, villages, and cities; associations for the development and construction of water, bridges and roads; associations for the construction, beautification and reparation of historical monuments and statues; associations of lovers of cities, towns and villages; and associations of the lover of trees.(39)

The consequences of urbanization were seen in Ankara with a gradual growing air pollution, studied firstly by Ertuğ, in 1956-1958.(40) The result of his research was published by the press and had considerable impact on the public. An association with the aim of solving problem has founded in 1969 under the name of the "Association of Anti-Air Pollution of Ankara". Its purposes are defined in one of its publication(41) as being to preserve the health of the people by struggling against air pollution in Ankara to organize studies aimed at controlling of air pollution; to organize conferences, seminars and so forth, to arouse public awareness; and to maintain contact with authorized agencies. Voluntary organizations subsequently developed a close relationship with the bureaucracy as a matter of policy.(42) In the 1970s interest in the environment began to grow rapidly largely under the stimulus of scientific studies of voluntary organizations.(43) It is accepted that public attention to the environment began with the air pollution of Ankara from which it extend to concern of of water, soil and noise pollution as well.(45)

III-1-SELECTED TABLE OF BEAUTIFICATION ASSOCIATIONS
BETWEEN 1946-1968

TOWNS	Y E A R S											
	1948	1950	1952	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1968
Adana	1	1	2	3	7	10	18	39	48	56	70	77
Adiyaman	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	5	11	6	7	3
Ankara	2	4	6	13	24	30	41	69	121	240	273	316
Balikesir	1	2	2	3	5	9	21	37	63	119	120	147
Bilecik	-	-	1	2	2	3	4	8	12	20	20	24
Bursa	4	5	8	9	10	16	25	37	67	121	147	160
Corum	-	-	-	-	1	5	6	10	19	36	38	41
Edirne	-	-	-	1	1	3	6	10	19	27	29	32
Erzurum	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	6	14	17	19	23
Hatay	2	3	4	6	9	11	12	16	20	28	32	35
Icel	-	1	1	1	4	6	7	12	22	38	60	76
Ist.	10	17	29	41	107	138	166	196	226	260	270	315
Izmir	3	7	8	9	19	25	29	38	57	84	91	104
Kars	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	13	23	28	32
Kirfehir	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	13	24	30	37
Kocaeli	-	2	6	13	19	24	27	41	57	79	93	110
Mardin	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	5	6	9
Ordu	-	1	3	3	4	4	5	8	16	33	42	53
Sakarya	-	-	-	1	2	5	12	19	35	57	69	88
Samsun	-	1	2	2	2	3	4	9	22	39	44	60
Sinop	1	1	3	3	4	4	5	6	10	13	24	29
Trabzon	1	1	2	7	10	24	33	53	104	162	183	217
Tunceli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	11	14	16
Van	-	1	1	2	3	5	5	5	5	8	8	9
Zonguld.	6	6	20	25	32	39	46	58	77	162	196	210

Resource: From "Türkiye'de Dernek Gelişimleri" by Ahmet Yücekök, from the tables between pages, 16-149 (45).

Local Amenity Organizations were disrupted by the military intervention of 1980, but, after three years with the transition to multi-party system and democracy they were able to resume their activities either locally or nationally. For instance the Samsun Association for Preservation of Nature has held conferences, seminars, excursions, and competitions among students. It further arranged 73 conferences after 1983 up to 1990.(46)

It is evident that the local organizations have emerged and developed on the basis of the convergence of two elements, i.e., the Islamic cultural heritage and environmental problems that have gradually emerged in Turkey parallel with its development.

III-NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKEY

Some 33 associations dealing either directly or indirectly with the environment were established after the 1950s.(47) They include EPFT (Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey) and the SPW (Society for Preservation of Wildlife) which fall into multiple issue category, and the TAF (Turkish Association of Forester) and the TMA (Turkish Monuments Association) which are single-issue groups. In the foregoing pages attention will be paid to four associations which have had considerable impact on state policy and which have encouraged an approach to environmental research based on scientific and technical analysis.

A. The Turkish Association for Preservation of Nature

The Turkish Association for the Preservation of Nature is the oldest non-governmental voluntary organization. This Association has been active since 1955 and has provided major services in the area of nature conservation through its regularly publications, conferences and meetings. (48) In its introductory booklet the association is identified as national, non-governmental and non-profit seeking. (49) Its purpose is defined as being to preserve the natural resources of the country especially agriculture, forest, meadow, and pasture; to preserve game animals and flora and fauna; and to ensure the balance among water, soil, plant and people. Moreover, the association seeks to combat pollution and other environmental problems created by urbanization and industrialization. Finally, it seeks to gain public support for the protection of natural resources through television, radio, conferences and publications. (50)

The principal issues of concern to TAPN between 1955 and 1960 was the land and its erosion. The Association drew attention to the problem by publishing brochures and distributing them through TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), and the press. Messages such as "Pay attention to erosion danger" and "Save our land" were written in these brochures and distributed to the citizen with the aim of warning the public. (51) In this period the association played an intermediary role between the state

association at the national and international level. The Chairman of the association Hasan Asmaz, represented the Turkish government at the "European Conservation Year Conference" organized by the European Council in Strasbourg in 1970.(55) Until the establishment of the Environmental Undersecretariat in 1978, the association functioned as a pseudo-governmental organization by representing Turkey at the international level.

The period between 1980 and 1990 has showed the lobbying power of the association. It has had a great impact on government decisions.(56) The association has continued its activities through publications, symposiums, seminars, conferences, the slide contests and the like. In 1988 the association received an award from the UNEP for its long activities on environment.(57) The association has also cooperated in preparing a Turkish copy of the magazine "Naturopa" published by European Community in five languages including Turkish(58).

The association has a close working relationship with governmental organizations, universities, non-governmental organizations, and schools. It also maintains a close working relationship with international organization such as the WWF, (World Wide Fund for Nature), UNESCO, FAO, and UNEP and it has represented the European Information Center for the Nature Conservation Council of Europe in Turkey.(59) The association is funded through revenues coming from membership dues, grants, publications, and support from the private and public sectors.(60)

B-Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society of
Turkey

The Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society of Turkey is another association which was founded before the environmental issues discussed at the international level as well as in Turkey. It was established in Istanbul in 1972 by 48 volunteers from different occupations and backgrounds in Istanbul.(61) The purpose of the Society as stated by its chairman, Selahattin Uzel, is to contribute to studies aimed at solving environmental problems such as pollution of the air, water and soil; noise pollution; the destruction of the ecosystem; poor constructions and the like. The society is described as a non-political, non-governmental voluntary association, accepted by the Council of the Ministers as an organization working for the behalf of the public.

The EWPST, engages in preservation of green areas, and protection of the environment through publications, and research.(62) Its activities are strongly focus on seminars, and conferences in cooperation with the scientific institutions such as the universities, and TUBITAK "Turkish Association of Scientific and Technical Research" and with other environmental associations. It also pays great attention to the public education. The society produces scientific publications and published "Çevre Koruma Dergisi", (Review for Protection of the Environment), from 1978 to 1987. The society maintains

close relations both with the governmental agency in Turkey and international organizations. It is a member of UNEP which is found in Nairobi, and inevitably supported by that association.

The society deals with issues that do not hinder the development and advancement of the country. The chairman has defended the establishment of nuclear power plants as long as the dangers associated with them can be reduced. The society regards local municipalities as political institutions and thus incapable of solving environmental problems objectively and scientifically. It believes existing laws are not strong enough to prevent environmental pollution caused by industrial activities on land or ships at sea. The society has a problem of finance in comparing with other associations. Its revenue comes from publications, exhibitions, excursions, grants and the dues coming from its 1200 members. The overall amount limits the scope of its activities, but the society plans to open branches and publish a new magazine to improve its financial standing and enhance its ability to do more.

C-Society For the Protection of Wildlife

The Society for the Protection of Wildlife was established in 1975 in Istanbul by concerned scientists, artists, hunters and the lovers of nature.(63) The society describes its purpose as being contributing to the preservation of nature and natural resources directly or

indirectly through educational programs and researches.(64) It sees itself as a monitor of the commitments made by Turkey under such conventions as the Bern and Barcelona treaties and encourages the government to sign other international treaties.(65)

The SPW has stepped up its activities in the past ten years and has had increasing influence on government policies.(66) Sensitizing the population on matters of environmental concern is one of society's foremost activities, it has undertaken. It has pursued this aim through the arrangement of slide contests, panels, symposiums, and the distribution of brochures of various kinds.(67) The society has published a series of posters introducing 100 common birds and their legal status and has sent them free of charge to all hunting clubs in Turkey.(68) Likewise, the society has sought to educate children on environmental issues. With this aim it distributed 40,000 copies of a magazine "Kuşları Tanıyalım", (Let's Recognize the Birds), to secondary and high schools in 1986,(69) and 70,000 copies of another magazine "Kuşların Dünyası" (The World of the Birds), to primary schools in 1988(70). The society publishes a magazine, "Kelaynaktan Haberler" (News from the Ibis) every two months. This is mailed to the mayors of different provinces, government agencies public institutions, and private individual. It has been decided to mail the magazine to biology teachers with the aim of informing them on the wildlife. The society also maintains contact with

the press. (71)

The SPW, has relations with international associations such as UNEP, WWF, IUCN, and the ICBP (International Council for Bird Protection) and it has arranged various international symposia in cooperation with many of these associations. (72) It represented Turkey in undertaking the part in project held by ICBP. (73) The society is the only private organization charged with a formal responsibility (together with the Environment Undersecretariat and the Directorate of the Special Environment Protection) to train people and introduce special protection zone under the direction of the project sponsored by the German Ministry of Economic coordination in Dalyan. (74)

In addition to its lobbying activities, the Society Launched a campaign to take the sea turtle, Caretta-Caretta, under the protection, and to ensure a condition in which they could lay their egg easily. Society described in distributed brochures that they have done so for about 95 million years and Dalyan was the last remaining major breeding sites for the loggerhead sea turtles in the Mediterranean. The society has also launched a campaign to protect the Mediterranean seal, Monachus-Monachus. (75) Its activities are funded by philanthropists, tourism companies, publishing houses, and other businesses, endowments and international associations. (76)

The SPW has received prizes from national and international institutions. Its first prize was awarded by

the Prime Ministry Environment General Directorate in 1988. It won the UNEP's "Global 500" environment prize in 1989. Finally it gained the environment prize of the German Tourism Unions in 1989. (77) Issues the Society deals with also include the preservation of the wetlands, the protection of birdlife as well as tourism and education. The bulk of the society's time and money is mainly devoted to bird-related projects. As a concluding remark it could be said that the international supports enables the society to run a professional office with four full-time staff members. (78)

D-The Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey

The Environmental Problems Foundation was established on 1 February 1978 as a private, independent, non-profit and non-governmental organization. Permission was given to the Foundation by the Council of Minister in 1983 to cooperate with similar foreign and international organization. (79)

The foundation publishes a monthly bulletin. Its aim and activities are described as firstly, to develop public opinion in such a way as to arrive at positive solutions to problems involving human beings and their environment; secondly, to arrange publications and to organize conferences, seminars and panel discussions. Thirdly, to engage in research covering all aspects of environmental problems and to cooperate with individual or organizations

working toward these ends. Finally, the foundation is committed to projects of broad socio-economic scope in cities and rural areas for the purpose of preserving and enhancing nature, particularly forests, green areas, soil, water, and all variety of fauna and flora.(80)

Since its establishment the foundation has published studies on public awareness and the results of scientific research. The law and environmental policy are also given strong emphasis.(81) The foundation publishes a quarterly newsletter with the purpose of increasing public awareness; it also has a large library and a documentation center to serve the needs of the public and of researchers. It was involved in framing environmental issues for inclusion the fourth and sixth five-year development plans and it has engaged in dialogue with various international organizations particularly the UNEP, the EC, and the World Bank. It prepared the first environmental profile of Turkey in 1981, published both in Turkish and English and its revised editions are being published every two years. In addition, the foundation is benefited from the media through special radio and television programs as well as newspaper articles and other press releases to publicize environment, population and energy issues. Finally, it has organized various conferences, and studies on environmental issues; and it has published about 70 books, concerning different subjects of environmental problems up till now.(82)

The EPFT, has great possibilities in the economic

sense and as a lobby group with government agencies.(83) Four founders of the foundation are the former ministers, one is lawyer, one industrialist and one is economist and high chemical engineer. The high career of its founders bring a great advantage for the Foundation to enlarge the area of its activities. Moreover, it has a large variety of the supporters financing the Foundation to a significant extend. In its introductory booklet about 52 establishments are mentioned as the financial supporters: they include trading and industrial companies, rotary clubs, banks (both of national and foreign), embassies found in Ankara, foreign universities, tourism companies, UNEP, and unions.(84) In view of its large range of activities the foundation can be regarded as an auxiliary-unit of the government on environmental matters.

IV-THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTALISM

From an analysis of local and national environmental organizations one can see the development of two different environmental tendencies which might be identified as "Social" and "Institutional" environmentalism. "Social Environmentalism" is based on local groups which are non-political, and have as their goal the beautification of their immediate environment, without any thought for broader concern. Then "Social Environmentalism" can be identified simply as an environmentalism which is raised

through the local studies undertaken on the part of social agenda with the purpose of overcoming the local problems as well as to make a local beauty, the environmental perception of which is reflection of Turkish culture that has a romantic view of environment. The common characteristics of local organizations is that they are non political although they have occasionally been mobilized by the new environmentalism after 1980s. The "Social Environmentalism" has developed under the influence of Turkish culture and is mobilized by the state agencies. The main supporters of this environmental orientation are local merchants, nature lovers, and local resident, usually well educated. For instance only 10 of the 221 members of Samsun Association for the Preservation of Nature are merchants, 8 housewives, 1 worker and the rest are doctors, engineers, architects and other professionals. At least 130 of the members of the association are university graduates.(85) Finally, "Social Environmentalism" deals with local issues such as beauty, the promotion of towns, cleaning the environment, green areas, promotion of the love of natural livings and so forth. Issues such as migration, over-population, and urbanization are not among its immediate concerns.

On the other hand the "Institutional Environmentalism" can be identified as the attempt to search for environmental problems through a comprehensive, objective and value-free scientific analysis: The "Institutional Environmentalism" has been depicted by means

of the four environmental organizations analysed, which are unaffiliated with political parties but achieves their ends through continues publishing activities at the same time openly follow up the concept of environmental policy-through litigation and lobbying.

The main feature of "Institutional Environmentalism" in Turkey is its status as an auxiliary arm of the state on the environmental issues. The main aim of this form of environmentalism is to influence corporate planners, state agencies and the political elites, by mobilizing the resources of scientific and technological experts and corporate managers. With such features "Institutional Environmentalism" has the same characteristics of the environmentalism which Shnaiberg describes as the Conservation Efficiency in America.(86) Environmental organizations committed to "Institutional Environmentalism" show their characteristics in their choices of environmental issues, in their analysis of the social causes of ecological changes, and in their prescriptions for appropriate social changes. Yet what is shared by all these organizations is their attempt to produce an environmental policy for the state agency.

This type of movement might be accepted as elitist, dominated by engineering and other specialists well integrated into the state's structure and internalized in some large-scale production enterprise. "Institutional Environmentalism" does not involve reaction against either large scale corporate business or state agencies. The

Chairman of TAPN, Hasan Asmaz has said that "It is admitted that benefiting from our beautiful Turkey in a rational manner as a developing nation is very significant. The role of techniques can not be ignored, with that of the science in enhancing the economic level of nation without destructing the natural resources which is the main necessity of being a great and powerful state".(87) Technology and science are the two crucial elements in "Institutional Environmentalism": they are to be used efficiently in such way that Turkey can develop with a minimum of environmental problems.

Finally, some remarks should be made concerning the way "Institutional Environmentalism" influences and mobilizes the state agencies. Its methods are persuasion through face-to-face contact or indirect contact, and reward in the form of prizes, plaques and etc. The persuasive power of such form of environmentalism rests on the shoulders of the experts and specialists who use a variety of means (litigation, lobbying, public relations, and use of the media) to affect state policy.

CHAPTER IV

GREENS PARTY

It has been previously discussed that voluntary organizations have no political characteristics nor are they sympathetic to the politicization of environmental issues. However, an active and politically involved trend in environmentalism has developed in recent years basically against the state policy of development. In other words a reaction has set in against "industrialization", "progress", "growth", "development", and so forth. Attempts by governments to realize these aims have met with vigorous protest from various alternative groups, later organized under the banner of Greens party. The emergence of such activities in western societies is associated with the dissatisfaction of socialist parties despite their long survival in the rule on the one hand, and with the attempts of governments to produce the chemical products and substitute nuclear energy for traditional energy resources, on the other hand. These are accepted as the motives behind the emergence of Green Politics in Western Europe, rapidly expanded to the other countries in the 1980s. Turkey has had its own Greens Party since 1988, despite the absence of conditions motivating Green Politics in the west. To understand Turkish Green Politics a short analysis of Green Politics in Western European countries is perhaps necessary.

I-GREEN POLITICS IN THE WEST

It has been argued that the increased economic development and prosperity of advanced Western industrialized societies in recent decades has transformed the basic value priorities of succeeding generations. This process is described as a transition from "old politics" which emphasizes the value of economic growth, public order, national security and traditional life styles, "new politics" which emphasizes the value of environmental quality, social quality, alternative life-styles, minority rights and participation. (1)

Inglehart argues that younger age groups and particularly those with higher education and a middle class background have been socialized in such a way that makes them emphasize social needs, a less impersonal society, worker participation in decision making, freedom of expression, greater appreciation of creativity and so on. (2) The activities of these new groups after 1960s include protests against the state policy not only on environmental issues but also on issues ranging from democracy to anti imperialism. They were canalized at least up to 1970s under the umbrella of left parties, but later on came together under the banner of a new party different from traditional left and right parties.

The factors spurred this alternative movement are described by growth of nuclear power and growing dissatisfaction with government leftists parties. In the

mid 1970s nuclear energy became a dominant issue in several European countries largely because of the oil crisis. The decision of governments to expand nuclear energy programs was strongly opposed both at the national and the local level. Action groups formed national "Anti-Nuclear Power" organizations.(3) These movements could not be satisfied and leftist parties could not respond to their demands. First of all, socialist parties held power in many European countries during the 1970s but they could not overcome social and economic crises. Secondly, the hierarchical and bureaucratic structure of most socialist parties made it almost impossible for new political movements to implement any major policy change in a short period of time. Rommel argues that these characteristics of left parties became a major reason for the growth and electoral success of Green parties.(4)

The first party with a clear cut "new politics" program was founded in the late 1960s in New Zealand under the name of the value party. It failed to gain a seat in parliament because of electoral system requiring the majority vote in a given electoral district.(5) The Greens of West Germany are the strongest group in West Europe. They were founded as a federal party in 1980, and have won representation at all level of West German government; they have occasionally held the parliamentary balance of power at the state level and frequently at the local level.(6) Since 1979 the Greens have won more than 10 percent of the votes in local elections on three occasions; Berlin (1985),

Hamburg (1986), and Bremen (1987). The Greens received 5.6 percent of the vote and 27 seats in the 1983 parliamentary elections.(7) In the 1987 parliamentary elections they enhanced their success by winning 8.3 percent of the vote and 42 seats in the parliament. Die Grünen party also participated in the election for the European Parliament in 1979 and in 1984. On the first occasion it received 3.2 percent of vote not enough for a seat, but in the second election it won seven seats with 8.2 percent of the vote.(8) The existence of Social Democratic Party in government for about 17 uninterrupted years and its failure to achieve fundamental reforms is seen as the major factor behind the emergence and success of the Greens in West Germany.(9)

The 1980s Green parties in Western Europe continued to gain representations in national parliaments. The last elections of some countries indicates this very clearly. In the Swedish national election of 1988 the Greens crossed the four percent barrier of electoral system to win 5.6 percent of the vote and 20 seats in parliament.(10) Their success may be associated with the 1980 referendum which resulted in a ban on the further expansion of nuclear power. In Austria the alliance of the "United Greens" and the "Alternative Lists" gained 20 seats in the 1988 election.(11) In Switzerland the alliance of two green parties gained 14 seats with 9.4 percent of vote in the 1987 election.(12) In the same year in Italy the green party Liste Verdi gained 2.5 percent of the vote and

thereby 13 green representatives in the lower assembly. (13) The Belgium Greens won nine seats in the 1987 election. (14) The Greens of Luxembourg secured seven representative among 64 members of parliament in the same year. (15) This success of the Greens in most West European countries has not been reflected in Britain and the US. In Britain the Green party was established in 1985 on the base of its long tradition before 1985 under different names. It gained only 1.4 percent of the vote and therefore no seat in the 1985 election. (16) In the US, despite the existence of 75 local green parties, a federal party has not yet been founded. (17)

Almost all of the green parties in west have the same characteristics and defend almost the same issues. Poguntke has described the common characteristics of European Greens. To begin with, all greens emphasize ecology. Their position involves opposition to large-scale projects which symbolize the negative impact of technology on the environment. They are in favor of individualism, which they emphasize as a necessary element of self-actualization. They respect individual and minority rights and supports feminism. Moreover, they require a participatory democracy as the main principle of political and social organization. Participatory democracy should be expanded in every aspect of life. They emphasise decentralization. They also concentrate on Third World needs, and demand a redistribution of resources from north to the south. Finally, Poguntke found that they emphasize such values as

"belonging" and "reconciliation".(18) It should be recognized that each green party is shaped by its own specific culture which perhaps explains why some are successful and other not.

II-THE EMERGENCE OF GREENS IN TURKEY

The Greens party in Turkey comes into existence on the basis of demonstrations held by various groups against government policy and pollution of the environment by industry.

The first demonstration on the social agenda in Turkey was made by the resident of 21 villages of Samsun in 1978. They were protesting against air pollution from a copper factory. The villagers held a silent demonstration with the aim of just solving their problem.(19) No demonstration of this period had any political content and it must be remembered that even in European societies the Greens were not yet organized. Another demonstration was held in Izmit by fishermen in July 1978 to protest the pollution of Izmit bay.(20)

A political version of environmentalism gradually began to appear after the 1984 protests against the government decision to build Thermal power plant on Gökova bay. Various groups protested it at the national level, expressing their opposition through proclamations, petitions and in their publications.(21) The Gökova campaign was the first national protest against the

development policies followed by the state.

The actual recognition of environmentalist groups as greens by the public began in April 1987 when a group of young people travelled from Istanbul to Dalyan Iztuzu to protest against the construction of a huge hotel which would threaten the breeding cycle of sea turtles, Caretta-Caretta. They were given overwhelming public support and remained in their action at Dalyan for several months.(22) The year 1987 created a social milieu in which Greens could introduce themselves as a coherent social group. One action which enabled the Greens to make their presence felt was their protest against the decision by Ankara Municipality to destroy Güven Park (in the center of Ankara) and construct a multi-story car park in its place. The campaign was launched by the "Group for spreading Environmental Sensitivity" under the slogan of "not car park, but Güven Park". It continued for about two months, resulting in a petition by 57.906 people supporting their action. Another campaign was launched in Izmit in 1987 with the aim of coordinating a variety of petitions, which included a protest against the pollution of Izmit Bay. Some people went on hunger strike during the campaign.(23) One further action was the protests in Istanbul against air pollution from a cement factory in Çekmece.(24)

All these actions in 1987 encouraged Green groups to come together under the banner of a united party. The idea to unite came from Istanbul. There a group of Greens sought to construct a federation of atheist, homosexual, and anti-

militarist groups which could be identified as "anti-authoritarian and anti state". A second attempt was made by Izmir environmentalists to construct a party which is neither socialist nor capitalist and which would fill the gap caused by the deficiencies of both. A further attempt came from the Ankara group of environmentalist led by Ertuğ (25) and this resulted in the creation of the Greens party on 5 June 1988, World Environment Day. Celal Ertuğ was elected as the chairman of the party.(26) Izmir environmentalist gave their support but the Istanbul group criticized the party strongly and has remained as autonomous group refusing to accept the scientific and institutional characteristics of the party.(27)

Although at the beginning the Greens party was pessimistic about its future the party chairman said two years later that it has developed rapidly and now had a significant place in the world. He said that the Organization of Mediterranean Greens had been constructed with the cooperation of the Turkish Greens.(28)

Over two years a variety of activities in various cities have been launched by local branches but the party has not yet participated in any election. Its first congress was held in June 1990. Several alternative groups participated with programs that were often in conflict. These programs ranged from a strongly anti-industrialist stand to the more sympathetic notion of a bureaucratically-organized party.(29) For instance the Izmir candidate for the chairman said that "party needs time, and the Greens

party can develop only on the streets, a view which will be accepted sooner or later; we have no other choice." (30) Ertuğ was again elected as chairman in the congress. The party has now been organized in 17 provinces and 35 districts. (31)

III-THE PROGRAMATIC PROFILE OF THE PARTY

The Greens party is identified in its regulation as a party aiming to create a democratic society. "The Greens party is a political party which aims to create a democratic society and its philosophy is based on the view that human relations cannot be isolated from the environment." (32) The Greens party is not a single movement, as its foundation articles make clear: "The purpose of the party is to create a democratic society and ensure that the citizens would become the initiatives of the collective life. Further to secure world peace, and finally to prevent the destruction of the ecosystem." (33)

The principal factor behind the emergence of Green Politics in Turkey, is associated with the failure of both left and right parties to solving the country's environmental problems. The party argues that the ecological and environmental system has been damaged repeatedly ever since 1950s without serious measures being taken to stop the process. All administrations have given priority to social, economic and industrial growth and none have paid attention to the measures necessary to prevent

the destruction of the ecological system. This is given as the real factor behind the emergence of Green politics, which are neither marxist nor bourgeois.(34)

It is emphasized that the Greens party in Turkey represents a break with tradition of other parties being led by one person at the top. The Greens have emphasized a democratic model which draws its power from the bottom, i.e. from the autonomous social groups.(35) One proposal during the first congress of the party would have required party to have several chairmans.(36) The Greens say their main duty will be to criticize the state and its institutions; it will never accept the government because governing involves playing according to the principles of the game. The party denounces that it does not care for how many voter it can win but for how many people it can mobilize.(37) Unlike socialists and Social Democrats who give priority to the state, the Greens prefer a local, decentralized and autonomous social structure which draws its power from social groups.

The Greens party in Turkey may be identified with for main issues. The first emphasizes democracy, a system which is representative as well as being enriched by the notion of a participatory democracy. Politics is emphasized as the natural right of man and then the party support citizens to have participation right as well as it sees it necessary to promote various social groups autonomously as an inevitable process for reaching a participatory democracy. The party insists on the importance of civil society and says issues

such as culture, education, health, consumption, transportation and communication should be raised by social groups. Its program declares that the party supports such groups as well as a decentralized social structure, characterized by the strengthening of local government. (38)

Second the Greens focus on the environment. They support an economic system which takes into account natural and cultural assets and opposes industrialization which pollutes air, land and water in the name of production and development. The party is strongly opposed to the construction of nuclear power stations and offers clean energy resources. The Greens propose a range of measures to protecting cultural, historical and natural assets. Measures developed by the state to protect all species of flora and fauna threatened with extinction are approved by the Greens party. (39)

The third issue taken up by the party is respect for human rights. The Greens stress equality and are opposed to every kind of aggressive attitudes either national or international. Further, the Greens are opposed to weapons production in any form, whether chemical, biological, nuclear or conventional. It approves the ban of their production and sale to the Third World countries. (40)

Finally, Greens party gives attention to the women problems. Women rights are described as a central issue in Turkey. Defending the rights of women to have their own autonomous organization, is seen as a natural stand for the Greens movement. (41) All these proclaimed in the program of

the party are seen in the practice of its members as well, when the activities of the party over two years are analyzed.

IV-THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY

A member of the Greens party has written that "man is a protesting animal".(42) In fact, this view manifests itself in many of the activities undertaken by the Greens over two years. The party at present is at the stage of introducing itself to the public, by opposing the government whenever the occasion demands. At first sight, Turkey does not appear to be a promising milieu for the growth of a Greens party. There are no nuclear power stations, only a few Thermal Power Plants and the danger from industry (at present) is not great. Party has taken various activities to raise various environmental questions, and at the same time promote its own name.

The party has sought to protect the environment against the innovations of the government, municipalities and private industry. It has organized rallies and protests in support of its aims. It protested against weapons production at the second International Defense Equipment and Aviation Fair in Ankara in 1989, arguing that weapons would never safeguard peace.(43) In another demonstration the Izmir branch of the party held a meeting in Agora square under the name of "Demokrasi, Hemen Şimdi" (Democracy, Immediately, now), protesting government's

recent activities imposing various limitations on freedom and human rights. In a demonstration of a different kind the Bodrum branch of the party organized a meeting which invited democrat inhabitants of the planet to turn their lights off between 20:30 and 21:00 every day and think of the environment for half an hour.(44) These activities are only indirectly environmental but they fall into the general context of Greens party activities. Other activities include a protest in Konya against the proposal to use the area west of the Eregli marshes as a training area by Nato.(45) The Greens protested that the project would endanger the survival of various species of birdlife. Under the impact of the Green campaign and with the support of the public the project (to stand often 1989) was abandoned. Similarly, Greens protested against plans to construct an airport near Bodrum in cooperation with the British firm Gammount and British Airport Service. The Bodrum branch of Greens party undertook a research project on the impact of the airport on the ecosystem together with the Muğla Architects Chamber and argued that construction of an airport in the area would threaten the life of various species of birds and flamingo. The dispute brought the Greens into conflict with local businessmen and the campaign is still continuing.(46)

The Greens became better known with its campaign against the construction of the Aliaga Thermal Power Plant for which it faced criticism from relevant minister. The campaign brought together the Izmir Greater City

Municipality, the Union of Aegean Municipalities, the Union of Bakırçay Municipalities and the Greens party. On May 6 1990 thousands of people came together and stood hand in hand between Izmir and Gençali, where the plant was to be built. Members of almost every parties and individual citizens took part in action.(47) A campaign was also launched against the construction of the Gökova Thermal Power Plant through organizing many people to set up a tents and live within them for several days.(48)

Members of the Istanbul branch of the party yielded a campaign against the use of plastic bottles, and they mailed empty plastic bottles to the Prime Minister, the parliamentary opposition chairmen and to various deputies to encourage them not to remain different on issue.(49)

The Aliaga demonstration encouraged the Greens to accelerate their activities. The party arranged meetings in three different provinces of Turkey in two days. The Adana branch of the party arranged "love of man, respect to nature" meeting on June 9, 1990, various aged groups taking part.(50) On the same day, the Izmir branch of the Greens party called a meeting to oppose to turn the KÜLTÜR Park into a fairground.(51) A day later the Iskenderun branch of the party held a "Let's protect the bay" meeting in Iskenderun: a large number of citizens and the chairman of the party took part.(52)

In addition to all these, protests against actions of public sector, and government organ, the Greens protested against threats to the environment arising from the action

of private sector. They demonstrated against an Austrian ship carrying barrels of toxic waste which anchored in the sea of Marmara. The Greens also protested at air pollution coming from two factories in the Cevizli district of Istanbul. It protested against pollution of the environment by an acid factory in Bandırma, (53) and against the activities of 47 factories in Manyas leading to both the air pollution and the pollution of Manyas lake.(54) On most of these occasions the party enjoyed considerable public support. In the demonstration against pollution it arranged in Bursa on 20 January 1990 the mayor of the city participated and made a speech.(55)

All the activities were undertaken in cooperation with local branches of the party. In fact the local branches are more active than the center. The party has had only TL 45 million revenue over two years and has spent TL 38 million of it.(56) The party rejected an offer of support from the state minister in charge of the environment, Vehbi Dincerler. The assistant chairman of the party, Aydın Ayas, said the Minister was simply trying to make propaganda.(57)

Besides all these activities the Greens have a monthly magazine "Yeşil Dünya", (Green World), published by members of Istanbul branch of the party. It focuses on such issues as ethnic problems, anti-militarism, environmental problems and status of women. These issues are another indicator that the Greens do not emphasize only environmental matters but also the other current issues.

V-TOWARDS THE EMERGENCE OF NEW ENVIRONMENTALISM

"New environmentalism" in Turkey as well as in Western societies involves giving political direction to environmental topics. It grew after 1984, on the shoulders of various environmental groups, ranged from the radical and anti-institutional to the scientific and institutional. The Greens party is not the only representative of the "New environmentalism"; other radical groups, also can be included but as the Green Movement is known as the vanguard of "New environmentalism" in Turkey the analysis here will concentrate on the issues highlighted the Greens.

The ecological perception of new environmentalism is that production in advanced industrial capitalist societies inevitably exceeds the ecological limits and that only a total socio-economic restructuring of capitalist industrial societies can provide social welfare and environmental protection. (58) Moreover, "the issue of new environmentalism is a new style of life; the philosophy of this life style is based on respect for the planet and an understanding of the significance of the role of man who should step back from the precipice of materialism, competition and aggression." (59) These views are emphasised by the Greens in Turkey and are shared by the Western Greens as well.

But, the conditions motivated the emergence of movement having such views must be elaborated. In industrialized western societies the emergence of alternative social movements is associated with the

development of a post-materialist value system. Post-materialism is characterized by the economic domination of the service sector, by the development of complex nationwide communication networks, by the expansion of the knowledge industry, by the growth of the public sector and by a widespread affluence.(60)Green politics have grown out of value changes brought on by post-materialism. The recent affluence enjoyed by the citizens of most western democracies has meant that they have been able to satisfy basic material and security needs and are able to pursue an interest in "higher order" needs such as beauty, recreation and reflection. A new set of beliefs concerning the relationships of humans to nature is posited as having emerged from post-materialism, which is commonly referred to as the "New Environmental Paradigm".(61)

As a developing country Turkey is still seeking development through industrialization. Terms such as "development", "progress", and "growth" are still the foremost concepts. One can conclude that the cultural history and sociological conditions of each country determine and shape the characteristics of its social movements. For instance Pierce found that in Japan the view of the new environmental paradigm differs from that found in western societies even though both societies are accepted as post-industrial. The difference clearly was rooted in Japanese culture, i.e. it originated from the Japanese concept of interdependence between humans and nature. This was found to be the reason why people

supported the views of new environmentalism. (62)

The same thing can be observed in Turkey. It is clear that Turkish society has neither an affluent background nor a set of post-industrial values associated with it. Every social movement is influenced by the need for development; any social and political movement which ignores this need will not survive in Turkey. The Greens party is no different. It states in its program that "contemporary technology is necessary to reach the level of contemporary civilizations, but the party believes that the purpose of contemporary civilisation should be to secure the physical and moral health of man that is, to make him happy. Technology should, therefore, be appropriate and directed with this end in mind. (63) The principles depicted in the program show party's position being encompassed by the formal attempt of Turkey, with their attempt favoring to the industrial growth as well as their emphasis given to the human safe in their vocabulary as an environmental issues, i.e. environment "not for itself" rather "environment for man" is applicated as model. Furthermore the Greens have involved the formal ideology of Republican Turkey with their reference to reaching the level of contemporary civilizations. These views of the Greens are conspicuously similar to the early attempts of Western countries under the name of economism. How a factor leading the environmental problems can be accepted also as the way to solve the problem is the question pertaining to the Greens attempts of development.

The public image of Greens in Turkey has been that of an organization of homosexuals and non-believers but this is disappearing because of the actions they have undertaken to express the common problems of the Turkish citizen. Their actions are seen to have respect both from the citizens and the state agencies. They are seen as supporting the peasants and the natural habitat against the dangers of pollution. They are also seen as a component part of the state agency informing it on environmental issues and reacting when the state adopts policies it cannot accept. Green issues do not threaten the existence of the state but rather the state policy. In the state tradition of Turkey the movements organized around the discourses challenging the state institutions itself have been smothered in various ways. Since the Greens have no such characteristics one can expect them to survive for a long time in Turkish society.

The following table shows the various types of environmentalism discussed in this study. The four main types of environmentalism emphasized have been "Bureaucratic Environmentalism" discussed in the second chapter "Social" and "Institutional" "Environmentalism" discussed in the third, and the "New Environmentalism" discussed in the fourth. In the spaces that the same numbers are coinciding, the characteristics and the issues defended by the type of environmentalism, and in the other spaces the comparisons of each type of environmentalism and their relations with the institutions are seen.

IV-1. TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARISON OF FOUR TYPES OF ENVIRONMENTALISM

TYPES OF ENVIRONMENTALISM		ESTABLISHMENTS			
		I	II	III	IV
I	Bureaucratic Environmental.	Industrialization Growth Development Advancement	Mobilizing Sympathetic to Imposing its policy	Supporting Sympathetic to Following their proposals	Smothering if it is possible Not sympathetic to Not supporting
II	Social Environmental.	Following its proposals Respect to its policy	Beauty Preservation Non political Local level	Sympathetic to Following their paths	Supporting when their interest coincides Alien to its known image
III	Institutional Environmental.	Mobilizing Producing policies Sympathetic to Representating abroad	Sympathetic to Supporting Promoting Encouraging	Non political Scientific Priority to development National level	Not Sympathetic to Not Supporting Thinking as provocative
IV	New Environmental.	Not Sympathetic to Not Supporting Accepts as initiator of environmental problems	Sympathetic to Mobilizing Promoting	Not Sympathetic to Issues are seen as reason behind the problems	Political Environment Democracy Human rights Women problems

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIVIZATION OF STATE POLICY

A states environmental policy is influenced by three main developments. First, international treaties pertaining to environmental polices and measures; second the impact of internal environmental organizations and movements; and finally, the impact of ongoing environmental problems ranging from pollution to noise and urbanization to pollution or transportation.

The same features can be observed in developed and developing countries, to a different degree and under different conditions. It has been observed in previous chapters that the last two were the main factors influencing governments in the US and Britain to introduce a series of measures and to overcome environmental problems. In the 1970s, under heavy pressures coming from Third world countries, both the US and Britain were forced to obey international treaties. Turkey has been influenced by the first and the third factors but later on, following the rapid growth of voluntary environmental organizations and later the Greens in the 1980s, the second factor too has come to the fore in influencing state policy.

Turkey in the period before 1980s, is usually accepted as having the characteristics of the traditional domination of the periphery by the center because of the fear of any crisis that might bring disintegration. According to Heper,

writing of the 1970s "... Turkish politics was moving in a vicious circle. On the one hand, the state elites were intolerant of the periphery. On the other had there was a periphery for the most part smothered and therefore whenever possible over-defiant, which therefore added fuel to and reinforced the prejudices of the state elites in question. The late 1970s were the triumphant years of the over-defiant periphery."(1) But, through this study drawn on environmentalism in Turkey, particularly given attention to the period after 1980s, it was observed that the traditional mission of the organized social groups is under a great shift towards gaining a more autonomous characteristics so long as to impact state policy and even bring into being a change in the traditional role of the state having rigid in its policy. The approach of the state to the voluntarily organized social groups and movements has gained more flexible characteristics under the impact of international treaties and internal social groups as well as under the impact originating from the nature of the problem which also interests the part of the state. This process is called as the "relativization of the state policy", in that study.

It has been observed that; "experience in statecraft, respect for the state and importance of the state in Turkish culture have all been specific steady factors in the history of the Turkish Republic endowing it with a degree of political granites..."(2), has become questionable following the emergence of socio-political

movements in the 1980s which have questioned the various institutions of the state on the basis of their own policies. It is obvious that the traditional central structure of the state authority has been "relativized" in dealing with the environmental issues. By the "relativization of state policy" two things are meant. The first refers to the place that the state takes in international forums charged with the responsibility of finding solutions to environmental problems. Many issues have international and even global characteristics. They include the carbon dioxide balance, the presence of sulfates in the atmosphere and the impact of fluorocarbons on the ozone layer. On these issues the state takes the role of just a partner. The "relativization" of each state becomes inevitable due to the fact that none of them maintain to become an ultimate authority for their citizens and that each is under the obligation of international treaties. In the light of such a case it is simple to claim that states take the role of a local unit rather than being the ultimate and unique authority for its citizens. Moreover, international and global environmental issues bring together a range of non-governmental organizations, cooperating and deciding on joint action. All of the environmental organizations in Turkey are members of one or more international environmental organizations. On any environmental issue they exceed the state boundaries and thus determine their own action either by themselves or in cooperation with international organizations. Sometimes a

voluntary organization becomes more active and influential than the state organization, in other words, than the government. Therefore one can see easily the shift of the state from being an ultimate authority and ultimate decision-maker who could not be reached by the citizens, to the role of being just an actor.

The further meaning of "relativization of state policy" is the process by which the autonomous social groups come to interfere in state policy and force the government to make concessions from its traditional role. In the following pages examples will be given of how the state agency has changed decisions under the impact of environmental groups. This attitude of the state can also be associated with the shifting emphasis of the state in the 1980s from "production" to "consumption". In the last decade the state has focussed on health, education, infrastructure and the consumption of goods. In dealing with these issues it has been forced to consider the demands of the population. Thus conflicts have emerged between the state agency and autonomous social groups over such matters as pollution, public health and tourism. Previously conflict had arisen over such issues as "saving" Turkey or changing the regime of Turkey.

The characteristics of the Motherland party in government might be argued as another factor stimulating the action of autonomous social groups. The attempt of the Motherland party to produce a technocratic version of bureaucracy and to follow liberal politics has created the

possibility for social groups to play a crucial role in determining policies. In the foregoing pages the impact of international treaties and of internal social groups on state policy will be analyzed. As we shall see, together they have prepared a milieu in which state policy could be "relativized".

I-THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

The policies of international organizations of which Turkey is a member affected the legal arrangements of Turkey issued after 1970s. A parallel can be seen between these arrangements and the official decisions of the European Council on the subject of nature conservation.(3) A further, parallel can be seen between the measures Turkey has taken during the time under discussion and the conferences held at the international level.

The first impact was felt in 1970. European Council declared 1970 as the "Year of Preservation of European Nature" and advised its member countries to establish a National Committee to specify its own environmental problems. Turkey consequently established a Turkish national committee which served, however, for only one year.(4) In the same year NATO members decided to establish a "Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society" in each country with the aim of advising governments.(5) The Turkish government consequently established 'Coordination Committee on the Challenges of

Modern Society', with the participation of members of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health and Social Aid, the SPÖ, and TUBITAK.(6)

Moreover, the impact of international concerns and treaties has been increasingly felt on development plans drawn by the State Planning Organization, after the 1970s. International moves sparked off by the Stockholm Conference in 1972 played a major role in this development.(7) Under the impact of the conference environmental issues were taken up in the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977). It was the first time that environment had been considered in a development plan. the 1973-1977 plan acknowledges the impact of international concern in the following language: "The environmental problems have been dealt by different ministries and institutions up to today. But increasing international concern on the matter, the necessity of having regulations that conform with the Law of nations and the stability of Turkish government on industrialization, make it necessary to analyze environment in the general context of the planning system."(8)

The impact of Stockholm Conference was also evident in the establishment of the Prime Ministry Environmental Undersecretariat in 1978. Another state agency was established under the impact of international concern is the "Head Office for Special Environmental Protection Regions". The Barcelona Treaty of 1986, relating to the "protection of the Mediterranean against pollution" called for the identification and proclamation of special

regions by each government. (9) The Turkish government consequently declared a "Special Environmental Protection Region" in 1988. Fethiye, Köyceğiz and Gökova were chosen as the areas which are the most sensitive to environmental degradation and pollution according to national and world scale ecological importance and were taken under protection.

All these measures indicate that dealing with environmental issues in international level have brought a single nation to the position of a local body. It simply becomes an instrument to international decisions. It has a relative power as well as characteristics under the effect of international level decisions. International concern on the environment is seen as the mechanism which has placed the gap emerged with absence of an aristocracy beyond the state in Turkey. Like aristocracy seen in west in proceeding centuries international agreements limit as well as enforce the state power in Turkey. One can conclude that the aristocracy survived beyond state in western case has come to be seen as "internal concerns" on the environmental issues beyond the state in Turkey. But it is not seen in the case of creating certain ethics and values rather is seen in limiting the power and domination of the state. This is seen as novel in the case of Turkey.

II-THE NATIONAL LEVEL IMPACTS ON STATE POLICY

The influence of voluntary organizations in Europe and the United States is partly expressed through their contacts with their governments, international organizations, and even organizations of the other countries.(10) For instance in Britain relatively few environmental policies have come to the attention of either parliament or a government minister; most are decided in more private and less visible forums usually set up between the civil service and the representatives of industry. For the most part such private organizations continue to work closely with Britain's permanent civil servants on both the formation and implementation of the policy.(11) In 1969, in Britain, "the Committee for Environmental Conservation" was established to represent the views of environmentalists, planning officials, and industrialists.(12)

In Turkey, on the other hand, there has not been body bring the representatives of private interest and that of the state face-to-face to handle any issue. Still, despite the absence of such an organization, voluntary environmental organizations have been able to have a great impact on state policy through face-to-face contact with the relevant authorities, and through litigation and lobbying. The main environmental issues Turkish governments have had to deal with since the 1960s, have been rapid urbanization, over-population and increasing air pollution, particularly in Ankara.(13) The emergence of environmental

issues in Turkey is associated with rapid urbanization and industrialization as the government attempts to reach a certain level of development. As environmental issues have emerged Turkish governments has taken a range of measures. In addition to government attempts to solve such problems, the voluntary organizations have concentrated on them as well, bringing the environment to public attention even before the governments.

The air pollution of Ankara has been studied by various organizations, including TUBITAK (Turkish Institution for Scientific and Technical Research), TAPN (Turkish Association for Preservation of Nature), the Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, and later the Ankara Association for Anti-Air pollution. These organisations have held meetings, conferences, symposiums and so forth to discuss environmental concerns. The Ankara Association for Anti-Air pollution was established in 1969 with great public support in the same year, it published a book on the reasons, effects and measures of air pollution.(14) All these organizations emphasized the need for a government agency to deal with the environment, particularly in view of the air pollution in Ankara. The government finally responded in 1973, through law no 5/5863 "the Commission for Air Pollution of Ankara"(15) And "the Environmental Problems Coordination Board". Several measures were also taken by the Council of Ministers to reduce air pollution.(16)

The need for a comprehensive governmental body was

felt in Turkey well before 1978, when the Environmental Undersecretariat attached to the Prime Ministry was established. Before its establishment the TAPN had performed the function of government organization at international meetings. It represented the government at the European Conference on Environmental Conservation Year organized by the European Council and held at Strasbourg in 1970. It also performed the function of a government organization in its dealing with governments, both at the national and international level.(17) Furthermore, the association prepared the National Park Law in 1977, which was enacted after 1980, as well as a rough draft of the Hunting Law.(18)

Various activities were undertaken in the 1970s with the purpose of emphasizing the need for a government organization responsible for environmental matter. The activities included symposium, conference and meetings were arranged every year by TAPN and other associations. IN 1977 the Turkish Association for Anti-Air pollution held a seminar, at which the need for a government organization was emphasized.(19) Various seminars, conferences and symposiums held in Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara by voluntary organizations emphasised the same need.(20) It was the EPFT (Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey) which proposed the formation of an Environmental Undersecretariat attached to the Prime Ministry.(21) As a result of these concerns, a meeting was held in March, 1978, with the participation of government members, and members of public

institutions and voluntary organizations such as TAPN, and EPFT. Discussion centered on the need for a government organization on the environment.(22) All these actions eventually resulted in the establishment of an Environmental Undersecretariat, through a decree of the Council of Ministers of July 27,1978.(23)

The provision in the Constitution pertaining to environmental protection was also prepared under the impact of voluntary organizations. Immediately following the military takeover of September 12, 1980, at a time when the need to draft a new constitution was felt, the EPFT launched a campaign with the target of including an environmental provision in the new constitution.(24) This development is interesting in the sense that a pressure group in Turkey, which is assumed to have a rigid state tradition, took action ahead of any legal development and long before the state took action. As a result of its campaign, as soon as the constitution commission was founded in 1981, the views of the foundation were submitted to the commission.(25) The result of the foundation's campaign was the inclusion of a provision directly related to the environment (article on the health service and the protection of the environment) in the 1982 Turkish Constitution.(26)

The environmental law was also enacted under the impact of voluntary organizations. The TAPN has a long history in its attempt to secure of an environmental law. In 1969 the association felt the necessity of such a law it

prepared a draft which it submitted to the grand National Assembly.(27) The EPFT also launched a campaign for an environmental law and with this aim analyzed the legislation of various countries and prepared a draft form of law on environmental protection.(28) It launched a campaign through symposiums, seminars, conferences and so forth. It convened conference on "Population and Environment" in June 1982 and published a declaration calling for a regulation on environmental conservation.(29) The Foundation's experts formulated a draft form of environmental which was submitted to the relevant authorities at the end of 1981.(30) As a result, an Environmental Law was enacted in 1983 on the basis of the draft prepared by the foundation.(31)

One can also see the impact of voluntary organizations on the development plans of Turkey. The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan Envisages a dynamic relationship between the SPO and voluntary associations: "... the foundations, associations, and similar organizations studying environmental issues in compromising with the plan will be supported and encouraged."(32) One of the voluntary organization which has such a dynamic relationship is the EPFT. This association proposed additional issues to be included in the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan.(33) Participation of the voluntary organizations in the development plans also is significant because it indicates their priorities. Besides, the voluntary organizations the Greens and some individuals have had an impact on issues

included in the Development Plans. The drafting of the Sixth-Five Year Development Plan was clearly influenced by the campaign launched after 1987 by the radical groups for the protection of aquatic products especially sea turtles. The sensitivity of the public was respected: an article in the plan states that "environmental protection policies concerning sea conditions will include regions considered as significant in terms of their having richness of aquatic products necessary for the health of man."(34) Although the aim of protection is described as being for benefit of man, its importance in the context of this study is that the article was inserted in the plan under the pressure of voluntary organizations.

Finally, the impact of social organizations might be observed on the educational programs. Following a Three-Year dialogue between TAPN and the Ministry of National Education it was decided to add a subject under the name of "nature preservation" to the curriculum of primary schools. A special program was also created for secondary schools.(35) Moreover, the State Minister in charge of the environment said that in all classes of primary, secondary and high schools an "Environmental Protection Section" would be established in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education.(36) He also announced that foundations for the protection of the environment would be created in 71 provinces of Turkey.(37) With regard to the concern of government and its attempt to mobilize local governments, in protecting the environment from pollution,

TL 24 billion were distributed to the local governments in July 1990.(38)

All the evidences indicate that in following developments abroad and in trying to adapt them to the conditions of Turkey, voluntary organizations have constituted a moderate pressure group. The impact of these intermediate organizations in persuading the relevant agencies to accept their proposals has constituted a break with state tradition in Turkey. The voluntary associations have taken a vanguard position on environmental concerns and have shown the state how they could be approached.

III-THE LOCAL LEVEL IMPACTS ON STATE POLICY

Environmental groups in other countries have had a great impact on planning particularly in Britain. In the British planning process the government has created a broad consultative body in which the planning is decided in cooperation with local environmental groups.(39)

In the case of Turkey there is no such a consultative body, but local organisations in Turkey are in a position to influence state agencies. National voluntary organizations are able to affect policy formulation rather than its implementation, but the reverse is true of local organizations and the local branches of the Greens party. The characteristics of voluntary organizations in their attempts to influence state policy at the national level are litigation, lobbying, scientific research and face-

to-face contact with the relevant authorities. Local movements on the other hand attempts to extract concessions from the authorized agencies. Thus if "persuasion" is the key issue at the national level "extraction" is the key issue at the local level.

The Turkish people in the 1980s have been seen as aware that "where people do not act in defense or pursuit of their interests, they must be reasonably satisfied with the way in which political leaders are using their power"(40). The actions by social groups indicate that they are not satisfied with government decisions. They have protested against the policies of state agencies as well as the action of industrialists. The decision making process of the state agency in direction of the demands of the local groups is the indicator of its "relativization". Environmental decision are no longer shaped according to the demands of the central government but are determined under the impact of local groups and in accordance with local conditions. This development has not proceeded as part of the natural evolution of the state, voluntarily yielding some of its domination in favor of more flexible structure. Rather it has originated in the changes which have taken place in the nature of social groups as they take a more direct role in influencing policies.

Local movements in Turkey are stimulated mainly by local branches of the Greens party, by radical groups, by professional associations, and by local residents whose interests harmed. One activity of such groups as previously

mentioned was the campaign against the municipal decision in 1987 to construct a multi-stored car park in Güven Park at the center of Ankara. After a two month campaign which resulted in the collection of 57.906 signatures the decision was reserved and Güven Park was saved.(41) Local groups also successfully protested against the NATO proposal to create a training base on marsh land of Konya. Greens, other social groups, newspapers and local inhabitants protested the project's negative impacts on the ecosystem and the project was abandoned.(42) The most striking local protest was launched in Aliağa against the project of Thermal Power Plant planned in cooperation with the Japanese firm EPOC (Electrical Power Development Corp).(43) A referendum held by environmentalist groups resulted in 7619 votes against and 98 votes in favor.(44) The project has not been cancelled but it has been suspended.(45) The Minister of Energy and Natural Resources has insisted that the project will be completed, however, the Greens say that they will launch a global campaign, utilizing the support of other Green parties to block it. (46) The arguments are still unresolved, with the government now planning to petition of citizens on whether they approve or disapprove of the plant.(47) But local groups have already been successful in the sense that they have succeeded in stopping the project from going ahead for the time being and have forced the state to consult its citizen on the matter. The successful campaign against the Aliağa project has fostered the growth

of a dynamic social milieu in which various social groups have emerged with different perspective and interests. Thus the Federation of Grocers and Tradesmen in Izmir campaigned against an increase in the price of soft drinks. The campaign extended to the whole country and received widespread support. It resulted in the Pepsi company announcing that in the interests of their consumers the price of their products would be reduced.(48) Coca-Cola dropped its prices as well, but a day later.(49) Another protest which came to the attention of the public in the wake of the Aliğa campaign was launched by the parents of private school students against increases in private schools fees.(50) An increase in the price of tea on Istanbul's ferries was dropped because of the fear of protests similar to those which had taken place at Aliğa and Izmir.(51)

The protests against the decision to construct an airport near Bodrum created widespread public interest at the local level. The Muğla chamber of architects and Bodrum branch of Greens party stood on one party and the industrialists, tourist agencies and the government on the other. Some ministers took the part in discussion and a number of law suits were filed and the situation remains unresolved. A similar case in Britain remained unresolved for a long time. The British government planned to develop a third international London airport in 1964, but more than two decades later the government was still deciding where to put it because of well-organized and highly

sophisticated opposition on the part of local residents. (52) A further example of successful reaction to public policy at the local level took place at Bodrum Paşabahçe, where the municipality decided to fill in a part of sea for construction purposes. The Bodrum branch of the Greens protested and filed numerous petitions with the municipality; as a result the municipality abandoned the project. (53)

All the activities mentioned so far were launched against government or local municipality decisions. A variety of action were also taken against private companies and industrialists. A particularly successful campaign was launched by SPW in 1986 against the construction of 300-bed hotel at İztuzu beach, near Dalyan on the Turkish south coast. The SPW argued that the beach was of major importance as a breeding ground for the loggerhead sea turtles, Caretta-Caretta, providing a unique habitat which not be found any where else in the Mediterranean. The SPW campaign and lobbying forced cancellation of the project. (54) Moreover, the association sponsored researches into the life-cycle of sea turtles death and persuaded the government that the beaches should be closed so that the turtles could lay their eggs in beaches. As a result the Dalyan and Köyceğiz bays were proclaimed as "Special Protection Zones". (55)

Another protest in 1988 centered on plans to construct a holiday complex between Ağöl and Paradeniz lake in Silifke Göksu. The SPW saw that the inevitable drainage of

the surrounding area would adversely affect all ecosystems. It was also announced that the Turkish government planned to build an airport at north of Paradeniz lake. A shrimp farm was also to be established in the same area. The SPW launched a large campaign against all these developments, and as a result the Turkish government banned the construction of the shrimp farms and the hotel as well as the airport. Consequently in March 1990 the Göksu delta was designated as "Specially, protected area".(56)

In addition to the campaigns raised by the SPW, some of the successful actions of local branches of Greens party should be mentioned. The activities of 47 factories in Manyas, leading to both air pollution and the pollution in Manyas lake, was strongly protested by the Balıkesir branch of the Greens party. The party demanded that the factories fit filters to their chimneys. The Greens enrolled the Municipality and the public. As a result the municipality enacted a decision banning the activity of factories unless filters were fitted to their chimneys.(57) Similarly in June 1989 it was decided to construct a cement factory in Antalya Kemanlı village with the purpose of which about 85 acres of land were expropriated by the authorities. The Antalya branch of Greens party launched a campaign in cooperation with the local villagers which resulted in the 85 acres being handed back.(58)

One last campaign of the Greens should be mentioned, because of the influence demonstrated on local government. Some members of the Ankara branch of the party saw that

many accidents were occurring because of the way cars were parked in Cevreli street in Aydinlikevler district. The cars were parked on both sides of the street, making it narrower and leading to numerous accidents. The Ankara Greens petitioned the province Traffic Commission to erect a no-parking sign in the street. This demand was accepted in April, 1990, by the Traffic Commission. (59)

In conclusion it should be remembered that the nature of the issue under discussion is the main factor behind the emergence of a consistency between the part of the state agency and that of the society. The environment is in fact an issue which does not create any threat to the existence of state institutions. It is seen as a matter of health an area to which the state agency had shifted already its attention in the 1980s. As an issue the environment has galvanized social groups; they have sought to gain public support as well as to influence the state, they have succeeded in softening the policies of the state agency which have been "relativized" and reshaped parallel to the increasing pressure and strength of the social groups.

CONCLUSION

As an issue the environment has been discussed firstly at the local level, then at the national level, and finally at the international level. Two main developments have caused the environment to be taken as a serious subject at the international level. First, environmental problems have been gradually raised in many countries; and secondly governments have taken measures to solve these problems.

Environmental development in western countries was galvanized from the second half of the nineteenth century. Up to the 1960s there were basically two movements, preservationist and conservationists, but after the 1960s a large variety of protest movements emerged under the banner of environmentalism. The decade between 1960 and 1970 witnessed the domination of these movements. International concern at the environment started after the 1970s. The Stockholm Conference constituted a particularly important shift in both the tendency of the issue and in perceptions of how it should be dealt with. The conference stimulated many countries to deal with environmental problems at government level. The years after 1980s witnessed radical and alternative versions of environmentalism, organized under the banner of Green parties. It has been observed in this study that both in the United States and Britain environmental pressure groups have had a great impact on state policy.

In Turkey on the other hand, environmental concerns emerged at the national level after 1950s with the attempts of governments to galvanize urbanization and enhance industrial investments. At the local level environmental concerns in Turkish society can be traced back to earlier times, under the impact of the Islamic cultural heritage in which paradise symbolizes green and gardens are posited as an ideal future. It has been observed in this work that Turkish people are close culturally to concept of green, and then the history of the beautification associations founded at the local level is very old. Studies of the environment in a rational and scientific manner began after the 1950s with gradually growing environmental problems, particularly air pollution in Ankara. To dealing with environmental problems various nationally organized voluntary associations were founded after the 1950s. International concern at the environment has stimulated the Turkish government to concentrate on the environment as well. Government concern has been marked since the 1970s. The last years of 1980s has been the emergence of the Greens party as an alternative environmental movement in Turkey.

Environmental concerns in Turkey have stimulated the emergence of four types of environmentalism, which have been discussed in this study. Firstly, "Bureaucratic Environmentalism" has been identified as the attempt to solve environmental problems by utilizing laws, rules regulations, and relevant agencies as the main tools. The

policy recommendations of "Bureaucratic Environmentalism" give priority to "growth" "development", and "advancement" as the foremost targets, rather than comprehensive, objective and value-free scientific analysis. Positive values are associated with "development", which is put as the main target by "Bureaucratic Environmentalism".

Secondly, "Social Environmentalism, developing at the local level. It is identified simply as an environmentalism which has been raised through local groups with the purpose of overcoming local problems as well as enhancing local beauty; and whose environmental perception is a reflection of the romantic view of the environment in Turkish culture. The common characteristics of "Social Environmentalism" in Turkey are that it is involved neither with the politics of the issue nor with the discussion of global issues at the national level in Turkey.

Thirdly, "Institutional Environmentalism" has been discussed in the study. It is identified as the searching for solutions to environmental issues through a comprehensive, objective and value-free scientific analysis. "Institutional Environmentalism" has developed out of the activities of the national voluntary organizations unaffiliated with political parties. They achieve their ends through publication as well as litigation and lobbying. The associations constituting "Institutional Environmentalism", can be described as auxiliary units of the state agency on environmental matter. Such an environmentalism in Turkey has the target of influencing

corporate planners, the state agency and political elites through mobilizing scientific and technological experts and corporate managers. Its benefit from society is through gaining the financial support. This form of environmentalism can be regarded as elitist, dominated by engineering and other specialists, well integrated into the state's structure and internalized in some large-scale production system. Therefore "Institutional Environmentalism" does not react either to the state policy or to the large scale corporate business; rather it approves the state policy of "development" as the main target.

Finally the "New Environmentalism" has been emphasized in the study. It is identified as a radical and alternative version of environmentalism, dealing with environmental topics by being involved in political activities. It has come into being out of the activities of social groups which ranged from the radical and anti-institutional to the scientific and institutional. The ecological perception of "new Environmentalism" is that production in advanced industrial capitalist societies inevitably exceeds the ecological limits and that only a total socio-economic restructuring of capitalist industrial societies can provide social welfare and environmental protection. One of the main actors of the "New Environmentalism" is the Greens party. It has more than one issue, i.e., its concern exceeds environmental topics as such. The additional issues emphasized by the Greens are

participatory democracy, human rights, and women rights. It should be remembered that the historical and sociological conditions of each society creates its own institutions. Therefore the most healthy way is to understand the characteristics of social movements on the base of internal social dynamics which shape its outcome. It does not give one, a healthy result to understand any institution with having the assumption of that, every country are under the impact of global developments and then the characteristics and the direction of institutions in every country are the same. If we move from such a prigri we could easily conclude that the Greens in Turkey are the same as those in western society and that they are strongly against industrialization, civilization, technology, science and the like. However, it was found in this study that the Turkish Greens are also influenced by the social conditions of Turkey and are sympathetic to development, technology, and civilization. Reaching the level of the contemporary civilization is even described as one of the main targets of the party. Consequently it should be remembered that the historical and sociological conditions of each society are the main factors behind the characteristics of its institutions.

When considering this as a fact, it becomes necessary to give attention to the position of the state in any study of environmental issues relating to Turkey. This has been considered in this study and it has been found that the state policy of environment is changing from being

centralized and rigid to being relatively flexible. International agreements on environmental issues put limits on the power of the state and end its role as an being ultimate authority for its citizens. This is because environmental issues in recent decades are not merely the concerns of government but have global ramifications. The international platform is seen as a mechanism filling the gap emerged with the absence of the aristocracy beyond the Turkish state, but only in regard to the environmental issues. On the other hand, various social groups have emerged in Turkey and they now influence the formulation and implementation of state policy with regard to the environment. They are seen as additional regulatory mechanism, emerging after the 1980s and representing a new approach to environmental matters. Both attempts brought state policy with regard to the environment into a relative position. "Relativization of te state policy" implies that it becomes flexible and is shaped differently from time to time and from place to place in parallel with the strength and influence of social groups devoted to the environmental issues.

NOTES

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- 42.Ural, Çevre ve Hukuk, p.130.
- 43.Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey, Environmental Policy of Turkey, (Ankara, 1987), p.14.
- 44.Ural, Çevre ve Hukuk, p.130.
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- 47.The list of Environmental Organizations in Turkey is given in Appendix.
- 48.Environmental Policy of Turkey, p.14.
- 49.Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği, Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği Tanıtımı, (Ankara), p.1.
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- 52.Ibid.
- 53.Hasan Asmaz, Tabiatı Korumada 33 Yıl, (Ankara: Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği, (1988), p.21.
- 54.Previous Activities of the Association, p.2.
- 55.Ibid., p.3.
- 56.The impact of Association on state policy with regard to environment will be analyzed in Chapter 5.
- 57.Previous Activities of the Association, p.5.
- 58.Ibid., p.6.
- 59.Ibid., p.18.
- 60.Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği Tüzüğü, p.8.

- 61.All informations related the Association were given to me by Selahattin Uzel, the chairman of the Environmental and woodlands protection society of Turkey.
- 62.Environmental Policy of Turkey, p.15.
- 63.Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği, Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği Özgeçmişi, (Istanbul), p.1.
- 64.Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği, Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği Tüzüğü, (Istanbul, 1976), p.1.
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18. Thomas Poguntke, "The New Politics Dimension in European Green Parties", in New Politics in Western Europe, p.179-182.

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44. Güneş, May 9, 1990.
45. Milliyet, May 8, 1990.
46. Güneş, August 4, 1990.
47. Güneş, August 7, 1990.
48. Güneş, May 11, 1990.
49. Milliyet, May 12, 1990.
50. Cumhuriyet, May 16, 1990.
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58. Ibid., p.11
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APPENDIX

The Main Institutions On Environmental Protection in Turkey

Aegean Association for the Center of Environmental Health.
Anti-Air Pollution Association of Turkey.
Arkeologists Association.
The Association for Cancer and Ecology.
The Association of Environment and Architecture.
The Association of Environment Engineering Sciences.
The Association of Food Technology.
Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey.
Environmental and woodland protection society of Turkey.
Green Turkey, Foresters Association.
The Institution of Turkish Geography.
The landscape Architecturing Association.
The Nature Preservation Foundation in Turkey.
The Society for preservation of wildlife.
Turkish Agricultural Association.
Turkish Association for cancer Research and struggle.
Turkish Association of Ecology.
Turkish Association of Geomorphology.
Turkish Association of Medicine.
Turkish Association of Microbiology.
Turkish Association of Monuments
Turkish Association for preservation of Animals.
Turkish Association for preservation of Nature.
Turkish Association for preservation of Plant.
Turkish Foresters Association.

Turkish Foundation for preservation of Monument
Environment and Tourism worth.

Turkish Foundation for Research and Development of Solar
Energy.

Turkish Geology Institution.

Turkish Institution for Touring and Otomobile

Turkish Municipality Association.

Turkish Soil Sciences Association.

Turkish Union of the Architect and Engineer Chambers.

Wildlife Foundation of Turkey.

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