CUDES JOURNAL CURRENT DEBATES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Gönüllü, G. (2021). Environmental Movements: Searching for a New Path in Environmental Policies and Practices?. *Journal of Current Debates in Social Sciences*, 4(2), 140-148.

Research Article

Environmental Movements: Searching for a New Path in Environmental Policies and Practices?

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DOI: 10.37154/cudes.2021.38

Article Info

Received: 08.11.2021
Accepted: 05.12.2021

Keywords: Environmental movements, environmental policies, new social movements

Abstract

Environmental movements emerged in the second half of the 19th century, when the increasing industrialization became a threat to the health of the cities, as modernity began to use every opportunity that came before it to deepen its roots. As a matter of fact, environmental movements sometimes only included protectionist understandings, sometimes included radical thoughts, and sometimes took on a more political structure, depending on the situation of the local and global world in which they were born. With these features, they started to come to the forefront among the new social movements. In this context, while the environmental movement, which includes actions such as environmental protection, is examined as a part of new social movements, it will also be questioned whether this movement seeks a new way in environmental policies and practices.

1. INTRODUCTION

Industrialization, which has led to important / crucial social and economic results in history, has brought positive developments in human life as well as some negative results. The negative consequences of industrialization, especially after the Second World War, started to show itself as the pollution of nature, as a result of the advancements in science and technology combined with wrong policies. The inability to make environmental awareness an effective state policy in the industrial society has led to the rapid destruction of the environment and thus an environmental crisis has emerged that threatens the future of the world.

The harms of industrialization on natural life and the gradual growth of these damages have brought about reaction movements in the social field. With the deep and rapid transformation that has been clearly observed in the world especially since the 1960s, the student, new left and civil rights movements of the 1960s; LGBT, environmental, women's, peace and human rights movements of the 1970s and 1980s; the global justice movement of the 1990s and 2000s emerged one after the other, and the spectrum became wider.

In addition, this transformation has not only changed and diversified the forms of social movements, but also the focus of new social movements has shifted to topics such as quality of life, autonomy and identity.

It is necessary to read the theory of New Social Movements (NSM) in the context of the effects of this transformation. According to Tilly and Wood (2009: 71), NSM theory emerged as an attempt to make sense of those feminist, environmental, peace and other social movements that waxed as the workers' movement waned. And whereas old social(ist) movements were widely perceived to be class-based and orientated to the seizure of state power, NSM theorists argued that these new movements are best understood in terms of identity-based struggles against 'the grip of power'. Because, as Taylor and Van Dyke (2008: 273) note, 'the core thesis of (New Social Movement theory)

is that new social movements, such as the women's, peace, gay and lesbian, environmental, animal rights, disability rights, mental health, antiglobalization movements are unique in that they are less concerned with economic redistribution and policy changes than with issues of the quality of life, personal growth and autonomy, and identity and self-affirmation'.

As can be seen, new areas of opposition have emerged from the base of the opposition movement, which is accepted to have started with the student movements since the end of the 1960s. When we evaluate the environmentalist movement in this context, it is seen that social movements, whose main purpose is to prevent the pollution of the environment, have a great importance on social awareness. In other words, the idea of protecting the environment has found a wide base especially in the West thanks to the stimulating activities of environmentalist social movements and has made a significant contribution to the establishment of environmental values in today's Western societies.

Of course, it is possible to see similar developments in developing countries. In these countries, citizens sometimes come face to face with local governments, central government, various private enterprises or public institutions in order to protect environmental values. In this context, in this study, it will be questioned whether the environmental movement seeks a new way in environmental policies and practices. In addition, the study will allow environmental movements to be understood as an important 'social movement' that observes a common interest in environmental protection and leads to changes in environmental policies and practices.

2. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements, which represent the change in some elements of the social structure, demand change in the social sphere and are strengthened by the belief of *acting together* to achieve the goal. Acting together gains continuity thanks to the collective identity. Tarrow (1999: 119-120) summarizes the main issues surrounding collective identity in four brief points:

Firstly, 'natural' or inherited, identities are often the basis of aggregation in social movements, as we saw earlier in discussing the importance of religion in framing contention. But movements often struggle to change the meaning of these identities.

Secondly, social movements require solidarity to act collectively and consistently; creating or accessing identities around their claims is one way of doing so. Thus, feminists identify themselves with woman's oppressed face since the dawn of time; environmentalists present themselves as the representatives of most of humanity; and well-paid, skilled "aristocrats of labour" present themselves as the suffering proletariat.

Thirdly, while such 'categorical' identity claims are often the outward apparel that movements wear to mark their members off from others, the solidarity of their militants is often based on more intimate and specialized communities.

Finally, we should not regard the collective identity of a social movement as either permanent or impermeable to external influence. Just as their repertoires of contention, their programs, and their emotional valence evolve, identities are not simply woven out of whole cloth, but respond to changes in political opportunity and constraint, strategic needs, and available cultural materials.

In addition, collective identity helps to set the other actors of the society outside the movement in motion, and it appears as a special type of social conflict. According to Touraine (1985: 760), social movements should be conceived as a special type of social conflict. Many types of collective behaviour are not conflicts. A conflict presupposes a clear definition of opponents or competing actors and the resources they are fighting for or negotiating to take control of.

It is a fact that social movements, like many other phenomena, cannot be handled independently of time and space. But the origins of the movements emerging today go back to the 18th century in terms of the problem areas they define and what they demand. Early theorists focused on the 'extremism, deprivation and violence' dimension of the movements. The 19th century sociologists led by Emile Durkheim, on the other hand, evaluated social movements as the result of 'anomie' and 'social disintegration'. The definition of 'crazy crowds' is common in this period (Tarrow, 1998: 4). The first systematic approach to social-scale movements is the Crowd Psychology; and in this

perspective, which Gustave Le Bon represents, the destructive role of masses and crowds was emphasized (Le Bon, 1997).

Charles Tilly, on the other hand, states that social movements have various components. These components can be expressed as follows (2005: 309):

- worthiness
- unity
- numbers
- commitment

The demands for change in the social sphere gain strength through the collective identity and values created within the social movement that contains these components. The importance of these demands is measured by their impact on the political system and social transformation and is a necessity for transformations in the social sphere.

In fact, another reason for the emergence and/or strengthening of social movements is that the groups that resist these movements play an active role in the political system. Therefore, it is natural for some segments of society to have a negative attitude towards social movements. Every social organization brings along a counter stance with it. In addition to these oppositions against the new social movements, analysts and researchers also collect their criticisms of the new social movements under certain headings. For example, according to Tarrow (1999: 107), this dilemma produces three sets of problems for analysts and practitioners of social movements:

First, most scholars agree that meanings are 'constructed'.

Second, how do the intended subjects of social movements interpret the symbols challengers array?

Third, we often hear the term 'identity policies' when social movements are discussed, by which is meant that contention is fought in the name of collective identities.

Although this dilemma or debate is in question, social movements are not the source of social unrest, but rather an expression of the problems existing in society. For example, the activities of citizens who are against the extraction of cyanide gold in Bergama cannot be seen as the cause of social unrest. These activities appear as a new social movement in which citizens express their democratic reactions against decisions that are not based on consensus with citizens at the local level (Kılıç, 2002: 96). In other words, the remaking of space by social movements is at the same time a remaking of democracy, as it calls for the permanent participation of people in civic life.

Thus, 'new' types of social movements emerged, which do not aim to transform by seizing power but specifically aimed at the change in cultural sphere, and in which the participation of the new middle classes increased significantly, and the identity orientation predominated (Topal, 2014: 134).

3. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements, which gained momentum after the 1970s and expanded in the 1980s, have become a phenomenon recognized by all societies, especially by the developed countries. In order to distinguish these movements, which manifest themselves as an alternative thought against the existing value system in the social field, from other movements such as workers' movements, they have been defined as 'New Social Movements' in many countries, especially in Germany and Switzerland. These organizations, called new social movements, involve students, women, racial, ethnic, or sexual minorities, and whether they involve peace, ecology, or justice themes, all have important historical predecessors that span at least the twentieth century (Buechler, 1995: 449). In other words, the concept of new social movements has become the common name of movements such as *citizen initiatives, alternative movements, feminist movements, ecology movements, anti-nuclear movements*.

These new social movements draw attention with the following features (Herkenrath, 2011: 51): they

- consider the cultural change in society more important;

- seek autonomy rather than power over the state;
- are driven by spiritual values rather than material conflicts;
- are based on sensitive, ever-changing collective identities, not on the class position of the participants;
- are decentralized networked structures that contain basic democratic decision-making mechanism and are rarely organized around a single NGO or basic group;
- demonstrate a high level of self-critical and strategic flexibility.

These remarkable features also show that the new social movements, unlike the old social movements, are flexible, decentralized, and arise from local reactions becoming collective. For example, the target of environmental movements is to show that a malfunctioning system causes great destruction in many areas from the production of dirty energy to the consumption of resources, from pollution of water, sea, and air to the protection of all living things.

In fact, the workers' movements, which were accepted as the locomotive of social change in the previous periods, could not show the desired effect in the issues which are constituting the main headings of today's organizations such as environmental protection or women's rights. And even at the point reached today, it is accepted that organizations such as labour unions are in a sense integrated or reconciled with the system, and in this context, it is stated that the criticisms of these institutions against the system are limited to their own interests. However, the groups within the new social movements have more concerns than a class interest relationship (Kılıç, 2002: 97).

Table 1: The Main Characteristics of the "Old" and "New" Paradigms of Politics

	"Old paradigm"	"New paradigm"
Actors	Socioeconomic groups acting as groups and involve in distributive conflict	Socioeconomic groups acting not as such, but on behalf of ascriptive collectives
Issues	Economic growth and distribution; military and social security, social control	Preservation of peace, environment, human rights, and unalienated forms of work
Values	Freedom and security of private consumption and material progress	Personal autonomy and identity, as opposed to centralized control, etc.
Modes of action	a) internal: formal organization, large-scale representative associations b) external: pluralist or corporatist interest intermediation; political party competition, majority rule	a) internal: informality, spontaneity, low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation b) external: protest politics based on demands formulated in predominantly negative terms

Claus Offe, 1985: 832.

As can be seen, the old social movements presupposed a solidly working-class base and ideology, and the new social movements are presumed to draw from a different social class base (Buechler, 1995: 453). With the new social movements, the issues such as income distribution and social security, which were seen in the previous understanding, have been replaced by issues covering all social groups such as peace, environment and human rights. In addition, it is observed that the members of the society who want to have a greater say in the social and political field, those who are not satisfied with the functioning and practices of the established order, and those who struggle for the change in the existing order, are the bearers of the demands of the new social movements. In this context, one of the most important features of the new social movements is that they discuss the topics they have made the subject of politics in front of the public and force official institutions to include these issues on their agenda (Della Porta and Diani, 1999: 197-198). New social movements, according to Habermas (1987: 391-97), appear at the 'seam between the system and life world'. As a matter of fact, these movements make demands for the liberation of their living spaces.

In terms of living spaces, Castells (2008) analyzes the emergence of new social movements by focusing on the impact of capitalist dynamics on the transformation of urban space and the actions that take place in this process. Thus, it recognizes the role of both class-based and non-class-based actors/demands in urban social movements. While Castells (2008: 100) considers the city as a social

commodity, he states that this commodity is the result of conflicting social interests and values. In other words, urban social conflicts are the embodiment of the struggle for the improvement of living conditions.

According to Harvey, who developed Lefebvre's call for the right to the city, the working class and urban citizens should act together in today's anti-capitalist social movements. Because in post-famine welfare societies, beyond the middle classes, who secure their material conditions and demand their liberal rights, the movements of the poor emerge, whose living spaces and material conditions are threatened by capitalism. Those who have been deprived of their living and livelihood spaces in the city or in the rural areas neither demand to seize power with class consciousness like the Old Social Movements nor demand just their identity rights with the New Social Movements. They try to protect their material conditions without class consciousness and without seizing power (Eryılmaz and Akman, 2016: 20). Environmental movements appear at this point.

Because today, it is getting more and more difficult to protect environmental values due to reasons such as urbanization and industrialization. While science and technology provide people with various opportunities in many areas such as health, transportation, and communication, they also bring along many problems for nature. It is better understood with each passing day that the developments in the field of technology have a certain cost as well as the benefits they provide to people, with environmental disasters such as global warming and depletion of the ozone layer.

In other words, the financial concerns of the individual have been replaced by concerns such as the protection of environmental values and nuclear war. Some social movements such as the environmental movement, the peace movement, and the women's movement have emerged on the basis of these concerns of the individual in modern society (Maitern, 2001).

4. ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

It is possible to say that environmental movements generally emerged as a reaction against environmental problems such as population growth, deterioration of ecological balance, extinction of plant and animal species, and misuse of natural resources.

While the 'protectionist wave' was dominant in these movements named as 'Environmental Social Movements', 'Ecologism Movement' or 'Environmentalist Movement' at the beginning of the century, the movements in the 1960s and 70s shared common points with the protectionist wave, but differed in terms of ideological and collective identity (Dalton, 1997: 82).

In this context, we can talk about two different periods in the development of the environmental movement. The first period from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, in which the first social movements and organizations for nature protection emerged, and the distinctive feature of the environmental movement in this period was that it was aimed at protecting natural habitats, wildlife, wild animals especially birds, and old forests. The second period is the modern environmental movement born in the 1960s, which gave environmental activism and organization its current appearance. Although nature conservation and industrial pollution, which were the primary concerns of the first period, are also on the agenda of the movement in this period, it radically differs from the first period due to the new problems put on the agenda by the environmental movement, which now has mass characteristics, being the form of problematization of nature conservation and industrial pollution and the values represented by them (Mazlum, 2012: 213).

This distinction relates to 'new social movements' which claim that the demand for political power belongs to the industrial society, and that cultural and social values are at the centre of today's struggle, and that social movements should stay away from the political arena.

Groups in the environmental movement can be grassroots, decentralized, pluralistic, and participatory structures, and they can also be organized hierarchically (Mazlum, 2012: 210). In other words, the environmental movement is not uniform. Groups considered within the framework of environmental movements have very different values, needs, organizational forms and behavioral strategies. Environmental movement; it includes a wide range of social groups, from groups that oppose the construction of dams, mining and the creation of pollutants in settlements, to groups that oppose nuclear and demand effective climate change or conservation measures. Environmental movements also have different requirements. In addition to the reformist groups that try to improve the

existing structures for environmental problems, there are also fundamentalist groups that advocate a complete change of the existing order in line with the principles of environmental protection.

Although environmental movements, which are not in a unique and homogeneous structure, first emerged in the United States and England, they have a very long history and started to come to the world agenda with the global discussion of environmental problems as of the early 1970s. One of the important factors in the globalization of environmental movements is the new identity-based social movements that have emerged with globalization.[1]

As a matter of fact, the environmental movement is evaluated within the theory of "radical democracy" by some authors and within the theory of 'new social movements' by some authors. In support of these views, on the one hand, environmental organizations such as Greenpeace and Earth First continued their activities as non-governmental organizations, on the other hand, as Carmin and Balser (2002: 366) stated, many environmentalist movements emerged with more political and different behaviours in the 70s and later; these brought different activities such as lobbying, litigation, protest, boycott, and street theatre to the agenda.

For example, the number of members of the Audubon Association in the USA, which was 45,000 in 1966, increased to 321,500 in 1975, and the number of members of the Sierra Club increased from 35 thousand to 147 thousand; more than 5 thousand environmental organizations were identified at the beginning of 1973. In France, the local consciousness that was formed in the 70s reached the level of mass demonstrations; the environment created by environmentalists enabled the environmental dimension to be included in politics. In Germany, on the other hand, although environmentalist social movements started in the 1960s, they developed more quickly than in western countries and France; in West Germany, the number of citizen initiatives, which are the leading movements of environmental protest at the local level, reached 15-20 thousand in the mid-70s (Öz, 1989: 29; Keleş, 1992: 158-161).

The emergence of environmentalist movements in Turkey has been delayed compared to western countries. Environmental organizations in Turkey are generally in the form of associations and foundations or communities organized around local issues. The organization took place at national, regional, and local levels. Some of the organizations aimed to protect an element of the environment, some of them aimed at more general protection, some were formed only for the solution of a certain problem, while others, although adopted goals beyond the environment, were also interested in the environment (Turgut, 2009: 25). It should be stated that environmentalist organizations in Turkey differ on some issues and they meet on a common ground on some issues. It is possible to say that the social positions, fields of activity, worldviews, and perceptions of the environment of the participants of the environmental movement play an active role in the development of the environmental movement.

However, albeit belatedly, the process of environmental interest and massification in Turkey shown a trend that started in the 60s and gradually increased in the 70s.[2] The movements, which initially appeared as a limited elite movement, later assumed the task of raising environmental awareness, focusing public attention on problems, and forcing administrators to take precautions (Öz, 1989: 30-34).

The environmental movement in Turkey started to become politicized to some extent towards the end of the 1980s. It is possible to observe this situation both from the developments in the form of

[1] Another development that affected environmental thought and movements in the 1970s was that the 'sustainable development' approach, which represents the search for balance between the environment and the economy, brought liberal and conservative civil society-oriented environmentalism to the fore (Carmin and Balser, 2002: 366).

[2] The lawsuits that were filed by the local people as a result of the damages to the vegetation caused by the Etibank copper enterprises, which started operating in Murgul in 1975, and similarly, the factories opened in the Çarşamba Plain after the 1970s were subject to compensation lawsuits, the march held by local people in Samsun in 1975 to protest the damage caused by copper processing facilities to agricultural products, the complaint of the villagers of Elmadağ in Ankara through their municipalities about the damage caused by the gunpowder and cement factories in the region to their agricultural activities, the demonstration staged by the members of Silifke Taşucu Fishermen's Cooperative with their sea vessels upon the rumors that a nuclear power plant would be built in Akkuyu can be given as examples of the reactions shown during this period against practices that will have negative effects on the environment (please refer to Duru, 1995 for detailed information).

the activities put forward and from the changes in the intellectual resources that feed the environmental movement.[3] In this sense, the environmental movement, which was only concerned with nature conservation and pollution prevention previously, has now begun to see the strong link between environmental problems and social relations/politics.

Accordingly, the efforts of environmentalist movements to organize as a political party intensified in 1987; The Green Peace Environment Association and the Turkish League Against Air Pollution worked towards politization, and later this movement was renamed as 'Green Party' (Keleş, 1992: 163-165). However, radical ecologists did not support the Green Party, and the "Greens" engaged in 'pressure group' like activities rather than being a political party.

The post-2000 period has been recognized as a period in which social movements in Turkey evolved into environmentalist and feminist movements rather than being political or unionist. In this process, the role of civil society has expanded further in terms of content and laws have also strengthened this platform. The institutionalization of non-governmental organizations and the increase in their public recognition have given these organizations a new strength. Struggle against space-oriented interventions and social struggles carried out over third-generation rights came to the fore in this period. Civil society has found the opportunity to open a new field for itself on the political platform. This transformation, of course, did not occur spontaneously. For the sake of articulation of the neoliberal process in the world, it should be taken into account that the EU accession and harmonization efforts also have an impact on this transformation.

When we look at the important social movements of the period, the first thing that comes to mind is the exemplary struggle of the Bergama villagers against the extraction of cyanide gold, which started in 89 and turned into real action in the 2000s. The initiative to prevent Munzur Valley from becoming a dam, which collected 30 thousand signatures in 2002, the struggles against the investments in nuclear power plants and then against hydroelectric power plants (HES) such as Fırtına Valley, Rize İkizdere example, against Ulla Ship, Asbestos Highway Ship, cement factories in Maraş, the actions carried out against unplanned industrialization in Trakya, the feminist movements that started after 1980 and became stronger in the recent period, and the actions organized through identity can be counted among the important social movements of the recent period (Cengiz and Özden; 2013).

5. CONCLUSION

Environmental movements observed in Turkey were organized first as societies, then as associations, foundations and groups. The pre-1950 movement focused primarily on specific regional issues such as infrastructure defects, zoning, forest protection, urban reforestation, historic environment. After 1950, problems such as population growth, industrialization, urbanization, industry, and air pollution were at the forefront of the environmental movement. Since the 1980s, various and regional issues such as environmental protection, endangered species, green and thermal power plants have been more on the agenda.

As can be seen, new social movements, including environmental movements, have begun to overlap more and more with the problems experienced in the times we live in. For this reason, environmental movements are becoming more important at the social level. Negative things such as the future of industrial society, environmental pollution, war, economic problems, unemployment, etc. make people pessimistic. These concerns have led individuals to seek new social movements such as environmental and anti-nuclear movements. In other words, the individual perception that there is a close relationship between environmental problems and the future of the person has caused individual concerns, which have become the dynamo of today's social movements, to turn into social concerns.

[3] Some developments that have flourished especially under the leadership of radical environmentalists since the second half of the 1980s and represent the politicization of the environment to some extent can be listed as follows: The activities carried out against the construction and operation of the Gökova thermal power plant starting from 1984; Campaigns organized for Zafer Park in Ankara in 1986 and for Güven Park in 1987; Reactions for the touristic facility planned to be built in Dalyan in 1987; Activities aimed at preventing the conversion of Taşkışla into a hotel and Maçka Barracks into stock exchange building and the construction of a thermal power plant in Aliağa in 1989; The campaign launched to save Pamukkale in 1990; "Anti-Nuclear Platform" and "Anti-Nuclear Congress" formed in 1993; Activities held within the scope of the "II. Anti-Nuclear Week" in 1994, the 1st Utopias Meeting held in Datça, the alliance formed for the nuclear power plant to be built in Akkuyu; Bergama Resistance, which started in the 1990s and has continued until today... (please refer to Duru, 1995 for detailed information).

At this point, the role of the environmental movement in the environmental policy and the implementation of these policies becomes important. Namely, with the addition of effective and inadequate policies to Turkey's environmental problems after the 1980s, it is seen that the size of the problems and the focus of the movement have changed. This situation has made the idea of preventing environmental problems, protecting environmental values, raising public awareness, implementing effective and appropriate environmental policies becoming the main themes of the movement in recent years.

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