

The Impact of the European Union on the Environmental Discourse of Turkish Governments since 1980s

Hakan CAVLAK¹

Abstract

Environmental issues have long been neglected by the governments in Turkey and thus Turkey lack a comprehensive and consistent environmental policy until recent years. Although, Turkey's environmental policy is still questioned on the bases of whether it is an operational and influential one by numerous researchers, it would be argued in this study that the process of Europeanization, i.e. the impact of the European Union (EU), has been the most significant element in the alteration of, at least, the perception of environment by the governments and forced them to be more attentive on environmental issues. This study attempts to answer the question of whether Europeanization has changed environmental discourse of Turkish governments since EU – Turkey relations have been intensified by the era of TurgutÖzal. The method of this analysis would be examining the parts about environment in the government programs since 1980s and dig up if there is a change under the impact of Europeanization. The reason why government programs have been chosen as the dependent variable is analyses of those programs help the researcher to control if the governments keep their promises and follow the alteration of understandings between different governments on specific issues within a period of time. Moreover, the government programs give solid clues about governments' perceptions on certain subjects, since those programs include the plans and priorities of governments. Furthermore, the purpose to start this analysis from 1980s has a global and a local reason: respectively, the international environmental movements of 1970s, which entailed a consciousness on environmental issues that had an impact on political ideas in numerous countries including Turkey and the negative consequences, which became more visible in 1980s, of rapid urbanization and industrialization in Turkey.

Keywords: EU – Turkey Relations, Europeanization, Environment, Government Discourses

¹Dr. T.C. Düzce Üniversitesi Gölyaka MYO
E - mail: hakancavlak@duzce.edu.tr
Tel: +90 380 711 31 23/7605
Fax:+90 380 711 31 93

1980'lerden itibaren Avrupa Birliđi'nin Trk Hkmetlerinin evre ile İlgili Sylemleri zerindeki Etkisi

Hakan CAVLAK²

zet

evre sorunları, uzun yıllar Trk hkmetleri tarafından grmezden gelindi ve bunun sonucu olarak da son yıllara kadar Trkiye kapsamlı ve tutarlı bir evre politikasına sahip olamadı. Trkiye'nin evre politikasının operasyonel ve etkili olup olmadığı konusu hl pek ok arařtırmacı tarafından sorgulansa da bu alıřmada Avrupalılařma srecinin, yani Avrupa Birliđi (AB) etkisinin, en azından, hkmetlerin evre algısının deđiřmesinde ve evre sorunlarına karřı daha dikkatli olmalarında en nemli etmenlerden biri olduđu ne srlecek. Bu alıřma, AB – Trkiye iliřkilerinin yođunlařmaya bařladıđı Turgut zal dneminden itibaren Avrupalılařmanın Trk hkmetlerinin evre ile ilgili sylemlerini deđiřtirip deđiřtirmediđi sorusuna cevap arayacak. Bu arařtırmanın yntemi 1980'lerden itibaren hkmet programlarındaki evre ile ilgili blmlerin tek tek incelenip daha nceki dnemlere gre Avrupalılařma etkisi ile bir deđiřiklik olup olmadıđının keřfedilmesi olacaktır. Hkmet programlarının bađımlı deđiřken olarak seilmesinin nedeni bunların analizinin belirli bir zaman sreci iinde hkmetlerin szlerini tutup tutmadıklarının ve belli konularda hkmetler arası bir anlayıř farkının ortaya ıkıp ıkmadıđının kontrol edilmesinde arařtırmacıya yardımcı olmasıdır. Ayrıca, hkmet programları, hkmetlerin planlarını ve nceliklerini ierdikleri iin bunların belli konulardaki anlayıřları hakkında somut ipuları vermektedirler. Bu arařtırmanın 1980'lerden bařlamasının ise bir kresel bir de yerel olmak zere iki nedeni vardır: bunlar sırasıyla, Trkiye'nin de iinde olduđu eřitli lkelerin siyasi dřncelerinde etkili olan 1970'lerin uluslararası evre hareketleri ve hızlı Őehirleřme ve sanayileřmenin 1980'lerde belirginleřmeye bařlayan ve dikkat eken olumsuz sonularıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: AB – Trkiye İliřkileri, Avrupalılařma, evre, Hkmet Sylemleri

²Dr. T.C. Dzce niversitesi Glyaka MYO
E - posta: hakancavlak@duzce.edu.tr
Tel: +90 380 711 31 23/7605
Fax:+90 380 711 31 93

1. Introduction

Since the declaration of the Republic, sixty governments have been formed in Turkey. Each of them informed the society about their plans and priorities by a government program which they read before the Turkish Parliament. The issue of environment has also been subject to those programs especially since late 1970s. The governments declared their intentions, sensitivity, plans and policies about environment in the government plans, similarly to numerous other subjects.

There are two main reasons why this analysis starts from 1980s. The first one is global; the environmental movements emerged in 1970s, both at governmental or nongovernmental level, entailed a consciousness on environmental issues which had an impact on political ideas in several countries. The second one is local; the negative consequences of rapid urbanization and industrialization of 1960s and 1970s became more concrete in 1980s, especially the air pollution in Ankara and water and air pollution in the densely industrialized regions.

Analyses of those programs help the researcher to control if the governments keep their promises and follow the alteration of understandings between different governments on specific issues within a period of time. In this study, government programs would be analyzed to understand views of different governments on environmental policy and to follow the change in perception of environment in years. Furthermore, these programs would be a source of reference for following chapters of the study where Europeanization of Turkish environmental policy is analyzed.

Additionally, the European Union's approach to environment would also be mentioned briefly in this study. This would assist to follow up the changes in governments' discourses and trace the impact of the EU on Turkish political discourse on environment.

2. Methodology

Various documents, written media, periodicals, journals and books can be subject to document analysis (Bailey, 1982). According to Bailey (1982), periodicals, books and such documents enable the researcher to analyze a research question based on an extensive period

of time. In this type of research, researcher can find the required data without making an observation or an interview. In this sense, document analysis would help the researcher to save time and money (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2008: 188). In the process of document analysis, the words, themes, paragraphs in web sites were evaluated as research units and their contents were analyzed. Coding and conceptualization studies about some expressions were made in the process of analysis and significant conclusions had been driven from secondary information. Extension of the sample was provided through qualitative data collected from various documentary sources such as books, dissertations, articles, reports and web sources. Purposive sampling has been made in the study. In this research, articles, reports, dissertations and web sources have been considered sufficient for analysis. Furthermore, it is assumed that the information and data collected from printed and web sources are valid and neutral.

3. European Union's Approach to Environment

The idea of environmental policy as a policy field on its own is a relatively new one. Indeed, since the beginning of civilization decisions made by governments have reaped positive and negative environmental consequences, but not until the second half of the 20th century was the political will created to make policies for this express purpose. Now it is arguably one of the most important policy fields for modern societies (Orhan, 1999: 35). Since the societies of Europe are some of the most contemporary in the world, it follows that environmental policy should be an important field in the European Union. It is also interesting to note that the time period of the rise of environmental policy as an important modern policy field roughly corresponds to the time period of the rise of the European Union as an influential actor. These factors indicate a broad relationship between European integration and environmental policy, and here I will provide ideas about connections between the two phenomena through exploration of the field's development history in Europe and the principles that have guided and continue to influence the institutionalization of Europe's environmental endeavors. One of the guiding principles of modern international environmental policy has been the idea of sustainable development, an idea born from the World Commission on Environment and Development in a report titled *Our Common Future* published in 1987. The report is generally credited with putting environmental policy on the international agenda and establishing the need for an integrated approach to environmental problems. This approach has become a guiding principle for the European Union even despite the fact that it was not mentioned in

the original Rome treaty, and as such provides an example of EU policy that has grown outside of the original supranational framework. The modern EU treaty now requires that the concept inform all EU policies. This notion, according to the European Portal on Sustainable Development, “contributes in an integrated way to meeting economic, environmental and social objectives”, and thus is a key concept in the process of integrating policies in Europe (European Commission Environment Directorate General (ECEDG), 2006). In accordance with this commitment to sustainable development, the EU has created a Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS) which aims to set out a coherent course for continuous improvement in quality of life for current and future generations, and has been renewed as recently as 2006 (European Commission, 2007). Environmental Policy is now among the most important issues in Europe, stemming from a series of forces such as general degradation of the environment, highly publicized environmental disasters, and the political forces of environmental movements in the 1970s and 80s (Dinan, 2005: 47). It is interesting that though war was fresh on the minds of the European Union’s founders, its defense capacity remains a relatively underdeveloped sector in terms of competence, and while environment was not an explicit concern at the dawn of what would eventually become the European Union, it now enjoys a level of supranational competence that is comparatively high. Yet the environment did not become an explicit concern for Europe until 1972, and an environmental action program was not put in place until November of 1973 (Orhan, 1999: 38.)

3.1. Development of Environmental Policy in the EU

When the founding Member States drafted the Treaty of Rome in the fifties, they did not think it necessary to develop an environmental policy at Community level. Nonetheless, intensive economic growth, the fast pace of industrialization and increasing energy consumption resulted in rising levels of environmental pollution. As damage to the environment was growing steadily worse all over Europe, at the beginning of the seventies the Member States came to recognize environmental protection as one of the areas that called for concerted Community efforts.

In October 1972, at the Paris Summit, the Heads of State or Government decided that Community environmental policy was essential and initiated the process of designing the necessary legislative framework and common action programs in the field of environmental

protection. However, the effect and scope of the first two action programs - introduced in 1973 and in 1977 - were limited. The objectives and basic principles of the Community environmental policy started to gain their true shape under the Third Action Program set up in 1983. The Third Action Program shifted the emphasis from treatment to prevention, which has been the guiding principle of the sector ever since.

The breakthrough came with the Single European Act, which amended the Treaty of Rome with new articles on environmental protection. The new provisions institutionalized Community environmental policy and its objectives under the Treaty (Part Three Title XIX of the EC Treaty). In accordance with the objective of establishing a single market, the emphasis of the policy has shifted to the introduction of common provisions (for example Community standards and quantifiable limits on air and water pollution).

The Treaty of Maastricht expanded the scope of environmental policy and supplemented it with new objectives. The increasing importance of environmental policy is shown by the fact that the Treaty of Maastricht incorporated into the EU Treaty the objective of environmental protection, linking the principle of sustainable development to the need to respect the environment. In compliance with the Treaty of Maastricht and the Treaty of Amsterdam, one of the fundamental principles now is to take account of environmental protection in all sectorial policies, namely to integrate environmental considerations into all other Community policies (Article 6 of the EC Treaty).

The main objectives of the Community environmental policy, as set out in the EC Treaty (Article 174), are:

- Preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the environment;
- protecting human health;
- encouraging prudent and rational utilization of natural resources; and
- promoting measures at international level to deal with regional or worldwide environmental problems.

As an established EU practice, in addition to the pursuit of the above objectives, Community environmental policy also observes the following basic principles:

- The principle of prevention (which has priority over remediation);
- The principle of rectifying environmental hazards at source;

- The 'polluter pays' principle;
- The integration principle;
- The principle of avoidance (European Commission, 2007).

Thus, environmental policy has become a Community policy institutionalized by the Treaties. In the area of environmental protection, the Community's main responsibility is to provide a legislative framework for the activities of the Member States, to ensure the conditions that facilitate the cooperation of the Member States and the improvement of the quality of the environment at European and international levels. To this end, the EU adopts Community legislation and action programs and provides the necessary financial instruments for the implementation of Community objectives.

The Commission plays a key role in environmental policy-making. On the one hand, it makes proposals for Community legislation on the environment and for Community action programs while, on the other hand, it monitors their implementation by the Member States. The decisions on the protection of the environment are jointly adopted by the Council and the Parliament under the co-decision procedure, apart from a few exceptions³ when the Council has the exclusive right of decision and the Parliament is only consulted. It must be noted that the environment is an area of Community law where the Treaty allows the Member States to adopt and apply rules stricter than those of the Community. Nonetheless, these measures must always be compatible with the Treaty.

4. Environment in Government Programs

The parts of the government programs concerning environment are analyzed one by one in this section of the study. Progresses and novelties brought by each program are pointed out and the necessary ones are evaluated. The first program would be the government program of first Özal government of who opened up Turkey to outer world and the last one would be the 60th government of Erdoğan's.

³ The exceptions are following: issues primarily of fiscal nature (environmental levies); measures related to spatial planning and water supply management; land use matters (except for waste management); the choice of Member States between various energy sources and the general structure of its energy supply.

4.1. Environment in 45th Government Program (Prime Minister TurgutÖzal - 13.12.1983-21.12.1987)

This government was a single party government and headed by TurgutÖzal which remained in power between 13.12.1983 and 21.12.1987. The ruling Motherland Party (ANAP), was a socially conservative but economically liberal party which is quite common in the tradition of Right wing politics in Turkey.

In their program, it is stated that “measures necessary to improve environmental conditions would be taken” when mentioning about health services. Following that, air pollution and possible solutions of air pollution is mentioned. On the issue of industrial pollution it is articulated that: “It would be harder to solve the problems where water pollution is intense like Marmara Sea, Golden Horn, bays of İzmit and İzmir if immediate actions are not taken. Existing industrial facilities would be obliged to comply with liquidation procedures” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp45.htm>, 2012)

As it can be observed in this program environmental problems were limited only to industrial pollution. Especially, pollution in industrialized regions was a major concern. However, the environmental consciousness of the time was, as it is reflected by the program, limited to the understanding of removing the pollution.

4.2. Environment in 46th Government Program (Prime Minister TurgutÖzal - 21.12.1987-09.11.1989)

This government was also formed by TurgutÖzal after he was reelected in the elections of 1987. This was again a single party government of Motherland Party.

It is stated in this program that “protecting environment and nature is an issue which our government gives utmost importance.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp46.htm>, 2012) There was no remarkable progress in this program compared to previous one; only industrial pollution is not limited to Marmara Sea, Golden Horn and bays of İzmit and İzmir. Instead a general term preferred: “Measures would be taken to ensure the establishment of new industrial plants that are not polluting the environment and building of refinement facilities for plants still polluting the environment in

a certain period of time.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp46.htm>, 2012) This plan stresses the concept of clean technologies in industry. Different from the previous one the understanding of preventive action took place in this program.

4.3. Environment in 47th Government Program (Prime Minister YıldırımAkbulut - 09.11.1989-23.06.1991)

After TurgutÖzal elected as President by the parliament YıldırımAkbulut was charged with forming of the government. It was a single party government but an interim one until the coming Party Congress.

It is stated in the program that “protecting environment and nature is an issue which our government gives utmost importance. A constant economic development should be provided by protecting natural, physical and social environment. Protecting ecological assets and economic development are integral to each other.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp47.htm>, 2012) This program reflects an approach in which environment and development are interconnected.

It is said that “In order to decrease the effects of air and water pollution brought by urbanization and industrialization, high quality fuel would be used and industrial wastes would be refined. Therefore, high quality coal import for urban areas has begun and natural gas projects are prepared for some metropolitan areas.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp47.htm>, 2012)

Same as in the previous program, it is declared that, “Measures would be taken to ensure the establishment of new industrial plants in a way that will not pollute the environment and building of refinement facilities for plants still polluting the environment in a certain period of time.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp47.htm>, 2012)

For the first time sustainable development was implied in a government program, moreover this program suggested some concrete actions for preventing pollution.

4.4. Environment in 48th Government Program (Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz - 23.06.1991-20.11.1991)

Mesut Yılmaz was elected as the head of the Motherland Party in the Congress of 1991 and consequently charged with formation of a new government. However, the governing term was quite short; it had just lasted five months.

Constant and balanced development is mentioned by asserting “Protecting and improving natural, cultural and social environment is one of the basic principles of our government. Protecting ecological assets and economic development would be considered as a whole and in accordance with the objective of constant and balanced development; measures would be taken in legal, administrative and technical fields.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp48.htm>, 2012)

“Parallel to 5 year development plans, priorities would be ranked by determining environmental situations.”

Support of environmental friendly technologies for the industry is asserted as: “Legal measures would be taken for providing credits with low interest rates to either existing or newly founding plants for building refinement facilities in order to prevent pollution created by industrial development and take preventive action to stop pollution at its source. Technologic systems which do not pollute and harm physical and biological structure of the environment would be promoted.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp48.htm>, 2012)

The international responsibilities are mentioned as follows: “All activities initiated by international organizations with the aim of solving the global environmental issues would be followed closely and contributed actively. Alongside, the works which have been initiated with the aim of protecting Black sea would be pursued in accordance with the countries border to Black sea. Furthermore, legal and technical measures would be taken for complying with the international conventions and protocols about environment which Turkey is a party.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp48.htm>, 2012)

As for education it is said that: “the *Turkey Children Environment Clubs*, which were founded with the aim of providing self-esteem and sense of responsibility to the society for our children by bringing conscience of recognition and protection of the environment, would be spread nationwide.”(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp48.htm>, 2012)

Environment was dealt quite broadly in this government program, including environmental aspects of education, development, international relations and technology. The balance between environment and development was stressed and both of them declared as having same weight in this program. International relations about environmental issues were for the first time mentioned in a government program. Most fascinating aspect in this program was emphasis made on the importance environmental education in order to raise environmental consciousness.

4.5. Environment in 49th Government Program (Prime Minister SüleymanDemirel - 21.11.1991-25.06.1993)

This government was a coalition government which is formed by True Path Party (DYP) which was headed by SüleymanDemirel and Social Democrat People’s Party (SHP) which was headed by Erdal İnönü. DYP was a central right party and SHP was a central left party. Thus the program was product of a compromise between left and right political ideas but weight of left was quite obvious.

This program referred the environment firstly under the topic of Tourism policy. “A tourism policy, which is sensitive to nature, environment and cultural values, would be developed. ...the main goal of our government about environment is to protect the historical, cultural and natural environment.”(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/hp49.htm>, 2012) The environment, in this statement, is connected with tourism and addition to natural environment; cultural and historical environments are also mentioned.

“Our government, by considering raising environmental consciousness in all society as the most important condition for protecting the environment, would concentrate on activities about environmental education and raising consciousness in all sections of society and put

environmental issues in syllabuses starting from primary schools. In order to protect environment, actions would be taken for reducing pollutions of sea, river, ground, air and noise and developing consciousness on environment. Emphasis would be put on projects about recycling of wastes. In line with this belief, a real environment management model, either at local or national levels, would be implemented. Environmental sanctions would be re-regulated and a new credit, incentive, charge and tax system would be brought.”(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp49.htm>, 2012)

A wide range of issues about environment had been dealt in this program compared to previous ones, including tourism, education, environmental consciousness, waste management and environment management. Environmental education integrated with environmental consciousness had an important place in this program, even putting environment in syllabuses of primary schools is recommended which is a significant progress in terms of raising consciousness on environment in Turkey.

4.6. Environment in 50th Government Program (Prime Minister TansuÇiller - 21.11.1991-25.06.1993)

TansuÇiller was in charge of forming the government after SüleymanDemirel was elected as the president of Republic of Turkey in 1991. The coalition between DYP and SHP was pursued.

Different aspects of social state are stressed by putting environment as one of the most important issues in this program: “Turkey would be provided with, as a necessity of being a social state, an efficient structure in implementation of public services, especially in the fields of education, health and environment. All measures would be taken to produce inexpensive, reliable, abundant and high quality energy through a nonpolluting way. The strengthening of social state would be realized by the progress made in health, education and environment.”(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp50.htm>, 2012)

Development would be realized in accordance with nature not against it. In the process of development, human health and natural balance would be preserved. All public, local and voluntary organizations which work in the field of environment as decision-makers, implementers and controllers would be institutionalized and education of the human resource

in this field will be supported(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp50.htm>, 2012).

In addition to principle of “polluter pays” the principle of “user pays” will also be effectively implemented. Incentive mechanisms would be developed for preventing environmental pollution and these mechanisms would be financed by credits with reasonable conditions(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp50.htm>, 2012).

Environmental issues, alongside with development policies, were considered within the framework of social policy in this program. For the first time in a government program, due to the impact of international agreements on environment signed by Turkey, two important environmental principles, ‘polluter pays’ and ‘user pays’, were pronounced.

4.7. Environment in 51st Government Program (Prime Minister TansuÇiller - 05.10.1995-30.10.1995)

This single party minority government of TansuÇiller could not obtain a vote of confidence. It had just lasted 25 days. It is stated in this program that “In accordance with the purpose of protecting and improving the environment, a sustainable economic development would be aimed. In the long term, utmost attention would be paid for constituting a balance between economic development and environment. In order to clarify the distribution of responsibility and authority among different organizations, Law No. 2872 ‘Environment Code’ would be revised.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp51.htm>, 2012) The balance between development and environment stressed again in this program, similar to other government programs, however revision of ‘Environment Code’ was the focal point of this program about environment. Besides, the term of “sustainable development” was pronounced for the first time in a government program.

4.8. Environment in 52nd Government Program (Prime Minister TansuÇiller - 30.10.1995-06.03.1996)

This was a coalition government formed by DYP and Republican People’s Party (CHP), a central left party. This government again could not last too long, only five months, however, the period of this government was dominated by the Customs Union decision of Turkey with the EU and reflections of this process can easily be noticed in this program.

In accordance with the purpose of integration to world markets and full membership to the European Union, the government would pursue its efforts pertinaciously to increase the effectiveness in economics and to provide liberal market conditions which are organized, competitive and environment friendly(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp52.htm>, 2012).

The special point in this program was emphasizing made on environment within the framework of market economy and accession to the European Union.

4.9. Environment in 53rd Government Program (Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz - 06.03.1996-28.06.1996)

This government was a coalition government formed by ANAP and DYP, two central right parties. Coalition of two central right parties was not quite common in Turkey.

In order to protect the environment and be compatible with health conditions and national standards, importation would be regulated in line with the principles and regulations of World Trade Organization and the European Union(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp53.htm>, 2012).

The incentive policy would be implemented in a way that it should provide new employment opportunities, support to small and medium sized businesses, environmental protection, contribution to improvement in priority regions for development and structural harmonization necessitated by Customs Union. Furthermore, Research and Development policies and investments of firms would be supported in order to provide, produce and adapt to high technology (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp53.htm>, 2012).Environmental protection would be dealt with in an economically, commercially, socially and politically harmonized and unified approach. Alongside with environmental restoration approach in which the action is taken after the pollution happens, preventive policies would be preferred which protects environment before it got polluted.

Environmental policy would be integrated with all economic and social policies and, for this reason, economic means would be exploited. Action plans would be prepared after coordinating public organizations, voluntary organizations and local administrations for developing and disseminating environmental consciousness in the society(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp53.htm>, 2012).

Besides the place of environment in economic and social policies, in this program the type of environmental actions are defined and in line with the EU's environmental policy, preventive action was announced as the preferred one. Moreover, coordination at different levels and sections of government and civil society for environmental action plans is officially pronounced.

4.10. Environment in 54th Government Program (Prime Minister NecmettinErbakan - 28.06.1996-30.06.1997)

This was again a coalition government formed by Welfare Party (RP) and DYP headed by RP's NecmettinErbakan, who was an Islamist politician. The RP and its follower Virtue Party (FP) was closed by the Constitutional court as being hostile to the principles of Republic, especially to the principle of Laicism.

Protection of environment would be dealt with in an economically, commercially, socially and politically harmonized and unified way. In addition to environmental restoration policy, preventive policy would be preferred for protection of environment. Actions towards developing consciousness on environment would be pursued. Entrance of any kind of waste to our country would be prevented and recycling activities would be supported for minimizing the amount of waste emerged in the country(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp54.htm>, 2012).

Beside the messages on harmonization and unification policies, significance of recycling and preventive action is stressed in this program.

4.11. Environment in 55th Government Program (Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz - 30.06.1997-11.01.1999)

This government is formed by three different parties, ANAP, Democratic Left Party (DSP), and Democrat Turkey Party (DTP) and by independents in the parliament. The formation of this government was just after the turbulence of party closures. Thus, the main objective of this government was to reduce the tension in social and political life in Turkey.

“In Energy projects, the priority would be given to ones which are clean and efficient in usage. In line with sustainable development approach, the main purpose is to leave a humanely natural and social environment to next generations by protecting human health and natural balance and providing a natural resource management which allows a sustainable

development. The disposal of wastes which are hazardous to environment and natural life would certainly be prevented. The biochemical opportunities for dissolving of liquid wastes would intensely be used. In line with this purpose, a highly polluted river would be chosen as pilot region.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp55.htm>, 2012)

The concept of clean energy and protection from wastes were emphasized in this program and for the first time environment has its own special section in a government program.

4.12. Environment in 56th Government Program (Prime Minister BülentEcevit - 11.01.1999-28.05.1999)

After the fall of the 55th government the President had given the charge of forming the government to DSP’s BülentEcevit. He formed a minority government supported by two other parties in the parliament. The main aim of this government was to pursue the governing mission until the coming elections. Thus their government program was not detailed and long. In this program environment was only mentioned as “balance of nature and environmental health would be dealt with utmost sensitivity.” (Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp56.htm>, 2012)

4.13. Environment in 57th Government Program (Prime Minister BülentEcevit - 28.05.1999 - 18.11.2002)

This government was a three party coalition formed by DSP, ANAP and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which is a right wing nationalistic party. These three parties had different political roots and thus diverse political agendas. In order to compromise, all parties within the coalition did not insist on conflicting issues and as a result this government program quite vague in terms of objectives and statements about most of the problems.

The environmental problems the solution of which has been delayed constantly are now in a position that disturbs the balance of nature, although they have been among the most primary problems for years. Our government would elaborate on the protection of environmental health and balance of nature in undertakings of development. The pollution created by untreated industrial and residential wastes in our rivers and lakes would be prevented. Special importance would be given to the treatment of sewage in the metropolitan areas(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp57.htm>, 2012).

The both government programs of BülentEcevit did not offer a concrete policy for environment. They just mentioned environment very vaguely.

4.14. Environment in 58th Government Program (Prime Minister Abdullah Gül - 18.11.2002 - 14.03.2003)

After more than ten years of coalition governments period, in 2002, a single party government was formed by Justice and Development Party (AKP) headed by Abdullah Gül. Actually, the leader of this political movement was TayipErdoğan, but he was banned from politics and thus the second man in the movement was charged to form the government. This party has Islamist roots; it was one of the strands entailed from the closed Welfare Party.

The authority and responsibility of ministries in the provinces would be delegated to Governorships and special provincial administrations. The services of health, education, culture, social cooperation, tourism, environment, rural services, agriculture, animal breeding, town planning and transportation would be held at provincial level by taking local preferences into consideration. The polluters in energy sector would be controlled elaborately and with the purpose of protecting the environment, clean energy sources and transformation technologies would be used. In mining sector, utmost importance would be given for protecting the environment. Every measure would be taken to protect our natural and environmental assets and to leave a habitable environment for next generations(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp58.htm>, 2012).

The different point in this government program compared to previous ones was the expressions about administrative decentralization in some fields including environment and for the first time negative environmental effect of mining was pronounced.

4.15. Environment in 59th Government Program (Prime Minister TayyipErdoğan - 14.03.2003 -29.08.2007)

In 2003 the ban of TayyipErdoğan was lifted and firstly he became a parliamentarian then he took over the leadership of AKP and formed a new government. The program of this government was a little revised version of the previous one.

The issue of decentralization was repeated in this program as same as the previous one. The significant points in this one are competition and environment were linked with each other and the notion of “social responsibility” pronounced for the first time.

Restrictions that prevent competition would be removed by legal arrangements and protection of environment and efficient regulation and control would be realized. Social responsibility approach would be imposed to all economic units(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp59.htm>, 2012).

4.16. Environment in 60th Government Program (Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan - 29.08.2007 -2011)

In 2007, AKP won the elections again by a vast majority of 47% of the votes.

The principle of ‘...right to live in a healthy and balanced environment’ which can be found in our constitution forms the basis of our environmental policies.” We are aiming to make Turkey a country in which the biological diversity is protected, natural resources are managed in line with the sustainable development approach and the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment is respected. We will provide the spread of facilities of waste refinement and recycling(Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp60.htm>, 2012).

There is nothing new and interesting about environment in this last government program, just for the first time the article on environment in the Constitution was referred.

5. Conclusions

Environmental issues have been limited to industrial pollution and the major concern was the pollution in industrialized regions in 1980s. Removing the pollution was the only solution to environmental problems at first, however in the 45th program mentioning the concept of clean energy has given the sign of preventive action for the first time. Even, in late 80s and early 90s, sustainable development was implied in a government program and some concrete actions were suggested. Although born of some contemporary concepts could be observed in the 1980s, the main point about environment was still industrial pollution and removal of that pollution.

The context of environment has been widened by the 1990s. Education, development, international relations and technology have also been related with the environmental issues in

the first government program published in 1990s. For the first time in Turkish political history, development and environment declared as they have same weight in the plans of the government and even environmental education was stressed in order to enhance consciousness about environment. Moreover, placing environment in syllabuses of primary schools was suggested in 1990s for raising consciousness of young generations. The direct impact of the EU was also firstly witnessed in 1990s on Turkish environmental policy; the principles of ‘polluter pays’ and ‘user pays’ were pronounced in Çiller’s government program at 1991. Çiller, in following government programs, also pronounced the term of ‘sustainable development’ for the first time and openly stressed the environmental aspect of Turkey’s accession to the EU. In the second half of the 1990s, Turkish environmental policy was explicitly defined in line with the principles introduced in the EU’s environmental action plans, such as the preventive action and recycling.

In 2000s, the main concern about environmental problems announced in governmental programs has been the administrative decentralization of environmental issues. Moreover, the notion of ‘social responsibility’ was firstly pronounced and it has been linked with industrial firms’ environmental sensitivity of which providing competitive advantage to them.

To conclude, the impact of the EU on Turkish environmental policy could be traced through the decades analyzed in this study. In 1980s, except for a weak sign, the EU had almost no effect on Turkish environmental policy. However, combined with the progress in Turkish – EU relations such as joining of Turkey to Customs Union and Turkey being recognized as an official candidate, the programs of 1990s reflects strong EU effect on Turkish governments’ discourse on environmental issues. 2000s witnessed the internalization attempts of European environmental values by Turkey through decentralization efforts made for coming in line with the EU’s main principle of environmental management: subsidiarity which is a form of decentralized administration.

References

- 45th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp45.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 46th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp46.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 47th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp47.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 48th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp48.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 49th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp49.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 50th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp50.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 51st Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp51.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 52nd Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp52.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 53rd Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp53.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 54th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp54.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 55th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp55.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)
- 56th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp56.htm> (Retrieved in 11.03.2012)

57th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp57.htm>(Retrieved in 11.03.2012)

58th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp58.htm>(Retrieved in 11.03.2012)

59th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp59.htm>(Retrieved in 11.03.2012)

60th Government Program of Republic of Turkey. Web:
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/hp60.htm>(Retrieved in 11.03.2012)

BAILEY, Kenneth D. (1982), Methods of social research (2nd ed.). New York: The Free Press

DINAN, Desmond (2005), Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, Third Edition. Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc. Boulder, CO.

EC Treaty, Article 6.

EC Treaty, Article 174.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION ENVIRONMENT DIRECTORATE GENERAL (2006), EU Environment Related Indicators 2006: Measuring Environmental Progress in Europe. Printed in Belgium.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2007), Sustainable Development: Together for Tomorrow, The Renewed European Sustainable Development Strategy 2006.

ORHAN, Gökhan (1999) European Environmental Policy at the Intersection of Institutions and Ideas. In European Discourses on Environmental Policy. Marcel Wissenburg, Gökhan Orhan, and Ute Collier, eds. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. UK.

YILDIRIM, Ali and ŞİMŞEK, Hasan (2008), Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri, 6. Baskı, Ankara: Seçkin Kitapevi.