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**The Role of NGOs and INGOs as Norm Advocates in Turkey's Climate
Change Policies**

MA Thesis

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Authorship Declaration

I have prepared this thesis independently. All the views of other authors, as well as data from literary sources and elsewhere, have been cited.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the role of climate NGOs and INGOs as advocates of international climate change norms in Turkey's climate change policies. The study seeks to analyze how international climate change norms affect and internalize national policies through NGOs and INGOs. For this purpose, the spiral model from a constructivist approach to norm literature has been applied to the field of climate change in this study. To investigate the impact of international climate change norms on the historical development of Turkey's climate change policies and the role of NGOs/INGOs, data collected from multiple sources were analyzed using qualitative research methods. The study concluded that, according to the theoretical model, the internalization process of international climate change norms in Turkey's national policies has not been completed. Climate change norms have reached the prescriptive status phase in Turkey's climate change policies but have not yet become a consistent-rule behavior in the national political structure. In addition, it has emerged that the role played by NGOs and INGOs for the compliance and internalization of international norms in Turkey's climate change policies can be considered in two dimensions. On the one hand, NGOs and INGOs have been identified as playing an effective and direct role as norm advocates in Turkey's domestic climate change policies and other relevant domestic policy areas. On the other hand, in the findings of this thesis, it has been determined that NGOs and INGOs have an indirect and limited effect on Turkey's access to international climate change policies and agreements.

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List of abbreviations

AKP – Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)

CAN – Climate Action Network

CBDR – Common but Differentiated Responsibility

CCCB – Climate Change Coordination Board

CCS – Climate Change Strategy Document

COP – Conference of the Parties

DHKD – Natural Life Protection Association (*Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği*)

ECOSOC – United Nations Economic and Social Council

EEC – European Economic Community

EU – European Union

GATT – General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GHG – Greenhouse Gases

ICBC – Industrial and Commercial Bank of China

IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

INC – Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee

INDC – Intended Nationally Determined Contribution

INGOs – International Nongovernmental Organizations

IOs – International Organizations

IR – International Relations

NC – National Communication Climate Change

NDC – Nationally Determined Contribution

NGOs – Nongovernmental Organizations

NCCAP – National Climate Change Action Plan

OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

RC – Respective Capabilities

TTGV - Technology Development Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Teknoloji Geliştirme Vakfı*)

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

TEMA – Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (*Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı*)

TGNA – Turkish Grand National Assembly

TNCs – Transnational Companies

TÜSİAD – Turkish Industry and Business Association (Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği)

UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

US – United States

WMO – World Meteorological Organization

WTO – World Trade Organization

WWF – World Wildlife Fund

Introduction

In the past decades, scientific research on climate change has gained momentum, and climate change has been evaluated as a global “potential threat” in many studies. However, the problem of climate change is no longer a potential or future threat but a real threat today. It has been proven in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s (IPCC) 2007 report that the problem of climate change due to global warming as a result of the increase in greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions is caused by human-induced activities (IPCC, 2007, pp. 3-5). On the other hand, climate change has been on the agenda of international politics since the 1980s, and efforts have been made by the United Nations (UN), international organizations (IOs), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to establish international climate governance, common policies, and climate norms to prevent this problem.

Especially in 1992, with the signing of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the founding convention of the international climate regime, the normative structure of climate change in international politics began to affect national policies. Although the emerging climate norms in early climate change governance generally focused on the emission reduction of developed countries with historical responsibility, they also focused on shaping the reduction and adaptation policies in developing countries that continue to increase their GHG emissions rapidly in the following periods (Stevenson, 2011, p. 998). The process of internalizing these norms in the domestic dimension and influencing national policies is multidimensional and multi-actor.

A rich literature has been developed by different theoretical approaches about states complying with or following international climate change norms in their national policies and behaviors. Realist scholars have argued that states only adopt climate change norms that align with their national interests (Nielson & Tierney, 2003; Posner & Weisbach, 2010). Neoliberal institutional scholars have conducted studies demonstrating the importance of the efforts of IOs, the work of scientific research societies, and the influence of national institutions in shaping national state policies (Hall, 2016; Luken, 2009; Broadbent, 2017). Also, from a constructivist perspective, there are studies that reveal the effects of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), civil society and NGOs on the formation of international climate change norms and the expansion of the scope of IOs (Wade, 1997; Dörfer & Heinzl, 2023). On the other hand, many studies observe how international norms shape the behavior of states in different fields, such as human rights and nuclear weapons policies, and the influence

of actors such as INGO and civil society (Risse, Stephen, & Sikking, 1999; Carpenter, 2011). However, the literature on how climate norms are internalized/localized in national policies and the role of NGOs and INGOs as climate change norms advocators is quite limited.

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze how international climate change norms affect national climate change policies through NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates. Examples of studies on the importance of normative congruence building between local conditions and international norms in the diffusion of international climate change norms in national states (Stevenson, 2011) are found in the literature. To contribute to the existing literature, this thesis tries to determine the effect of NGOs and INGOs in the national policies of the state in the process of internalization of international climate norms. For this purpose, this thesis study employs international norm literature from the perspective of the constructivist theoretical framework. In the selected case analysis of the thesis, the “spiral model” developed by Risse et al. (1999) is applied as a theoretical model. The reason for choosing this model is that it provides a better understanding and analysis of the role played by NGOs and INGOs in the internalization and adaptation of international norms.

The spiral model enables NGOs and INGOs to be conceptualized as norm advocates and makes it possible to focus on the role of NGOs and INGOs as stakeholders of international advocacy networks in norm internalization. This model was initially developed in the field of human rights, but in this study, it will be applied in the field of climate change. In the literature, the first application of the model in the other political field was carried out by Schroeder (2008) in the analysis of Chinese environmental policies. This study will focus on Turkey's climate change policies to enrich the limited literature and further explore the role of NGOs and INGOs. More specifically, the thesis attempts to address the following research question: What role do NGOs and INGOs play as norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policies?

In line with the framework presented by the theoretical model, it is expected that NGOs and INGOs play an important role in the development and change stages of Turkey's climate change policies by establishing relations with transnational climate advocacy networks and ensuring or forcing the government to internalize international climate change norms. Turkey has refused to comply with climate norms such as GHG emissions reduction for a long period in the development of climate change policies due to some reasons, such as low historical responsibility and has also avoided becoming a party to international climate change conventions. However, in the following periods, changes were observed in Turkey's attitude,

firstly some concessions were made in its own climate policies against the international climate regime and norms and progress was achieved in the internalization of climate norms. Some of the most important examples of the internalization of international climate norms are that Turkey has set a net zero carbon goal for 2053 and has adopted GHG reductions in its domestic policies.

There are some studies in the literature on the analysis of actors in Turkey's climate change policies (Şahin, 2014) and the role of NGOs as pressure tools in environmental policies (Kart, 2021). However, there is no study on the internalization of international climate change norms and the role of NGOs and INGOs in this process. To fill this gap, the role played by NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates over different political periods in Turkey's climate change policies will be analyzed. In the analysis of this case study, qualitative research methods, particularly in-depth interviews and document analysis will be utilized to understand the historical process and significant changing of internalizing climate change norms in Turkey's climate change policies through NGOs and INGOs. The data sources of this study consist of relevant policy documents, national statements, annual reports, interviews with experts, news archive reviews, and scholarly articles, as explained in detail in the methodology chapter.

This thesis is divided into three main chapters. In the first chapter, the theoretical framework will be explained. Roles and functions of international norms in international relations (IR) literature, constructivist norm adaptation/internalization literature review and the selected theoretical model will be presented. The second chapter will explain the research design and method, case selection, data collection, and interviewees' choices. The third chapter will provide a periodic overview of developments and milestones in Turkey's climate change policies and an analysis of the role played by NGOs and INGOs in these policy developments as advocates of international climate change norms. In addition, this chapter will present the stages of the internalization process of international climate norms in Turkey's climate change policies according to the theoretical model and discuss the findings on the role of NGOs/INGOs. Finally, the thesis will conclude with a discussion of the results and a general summary of the findings.

Chapter 1

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the thesis based on the diffusion and internalization of international norms into national policies. The theoretical framework builds upon evaluating how international norms in the context of climate change affect national climate change policies through NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates. This study seeks to expand the literature and fill the gaps by investigating the diffusion and internalization of climate change norms, which is considered a new area in norm literature. By examining the changes in Turkey's climate change policies and the roles of NGOs and INGOs in these policy changes, this thesis aims to contribute to theoretical studies on whether policy actors at the national level take these norms into account and how international norms affect the behavior of states.

1.2 Norms in International Relations

The widespread use of norms in the discipline of IR began in the period of the challenges of post-positivist approaches and social constructivism of which norms form an essential part, challenged traditional positivist approaches, known as the Third Great Debate.¹ This does not mean that positivist approaches completely reject norms and do not include norms in themselves. In the IR discipline, norms have always played an important role in international politics.

The perspective towards norms in the IR discipline evolved in the late 1980s with the penetration of the “ideational turn” and social constructivist understanding into the IR discipline. In particular, the studies of the constructivist approach to measuring the institutionalized “identities” of actors (states) and the effects of the beliefs, thoughts, and principles that are effective in the institutionalization of these identities on the behavior of actors in the international arena have led to norms coming to the fore. The widespread use of norms in the IR discipline within the framework of social constructivist understanding was first revealed by the studies of Nicholas Onuf (1998) and Friedrich Kratochwil (1989), and the

¹ It is also described as a debate between “rationalists” and “reflectivists”.

social buildings of the structures and institutions that direct the behavior of the actors in the international arena began to be reconsidered.

1.3. Definitions of International Norms

Before discussing how norms affect state behavior, it is necessary to discuss the question of what norms are. One of the most widely accepted definition in the constructivist perspective is that norms are a set of standards and “collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity” (Jepperson, Wendt, & Katzenstein., 1996, p. 54). Also, international norms have several different behavioral definitions. Axelroad defines norms as “exist[ing] in a given social setting to the extent that individuals usually act in a certain way” (Axelroad, 1986, p. 1097). According to Joshua Goldstein, “international norms are the expectations actors hold about normal international relations” (Goldstein, 1994, p. 225). Another alternative is Finnemore’s definition of norms as “a set of intersubjective understandings readily apparent to actors that makes behavioral claims on those actors” (Finnemore, 1994, p. 2). Briefly, international norms are a set of rules consisting of collective expectations that regulate the behavior of actors within the framework of a given identity and lead them to comply with certain standards in their behavior.

In addition to different definitions of norms, international norms in the IR discipline have been diversified or categorized by different approaches. Scholars are generally distinguished among three types of norms: regulative, constitutive, or enabling (Björkdahl, 2002; Kratochwil, 1989; Jepperson, Wendt, & Katzenstein., 1996). Regulatory norms regulate, constrain, or order the behavior of actors. These norms provide certain standards and obligations to actors in line with a certain institutionalized identity. In other words, international norms are a “road map” for actors (Raymond, 1997, p. 128).

Regulatory norms generally consist of a set of rules and principles that are derived from constitutive norms and whose validity is sought to be increased by a major international organization or actor. These norms may consist of non-binding principles and behavior expectations, as well as laying the groundwork for binding contracts and agreements. An example of regulatory norms is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO). International trade rules already identified by the WTO serve as a roadmap for regulating or restricting states' international trade activities. These regulatory norms, which the WTO makes legally binding and encourages or pressures other actors to accept, are derived from a constitutive norm, the principle of free trade.

In contrast with regulatory norms, constitutive norms create new actors and actions or have the power to shape the identities of actors. While the constitutive norms create action categories, they cause the actors to determine their identities within the framework of these categories and force other actors to act within the framework of this action category. The most common example in the literature for constitutive norms is the modern norm of state sovereignty (Raymond, 1997, p. 214). The constitutive norms of sovereignty determine what the actors must fulfill and what characteristics they should have to be considered as a state. Although it is generally accepted that there is a clear distinction between regulatory and constitutive norms, it is also argued by some scholars that with the complete establishment of constitutive norms, these norms function as both regulative and constitutive norms (Onuf, 1997).

International norms can also create processes that will provide mutual benefit between actors and unexpected results can be achieved with the cooperation made possible by the norms (Keohane, 1984, p. 89). Allowing such specific actions, called enabling norms, enables actors to increase their gains. As an example of the enabling norm, we can cite the Paris Agreement commitments.² The agreement, signed in 2015, aimed to keep the global temperature rise below two degrees and brought new mechanisms to reduce carbon emissions. At the same time, it provides the opportunity to trade carbon for the actors who cannot comply with the carbon emission limits. Thus, some governments will be able to continue their carbon emissions above the limit by obtaining another country's carbon credit.

While the rational perspective generally focuses on the regulative and enabling aspects of norms, the constructivist perspective tends to see norms as constitutive factors. Mainstream theories in the IR discipline, such as neorealism and neoliberalism, view norms as externalized behavioral activities that can limit or expand behavior options for actors and are evaluated with cost-benefit analysis (Florini, 1996, p. 365). Neorealism sees norms as a set of obligations in which powerful actors try to limit or regulate the behavior of other actors about an issue or action, emphasizing the power distribution relationship with norms.

From the constructivist perspective, norms act as a guide that determines the choice strategies of actors and it is claimed that norms are much more than just a set of rules or obligations for

² Article 6 (1) of Paris Climate Agreement: "Parties recognize that some Parties choose to pursue voluntary cooperation in the implementation of their nationally determined contributions to allow for higher ambition in their mitigation and adaptation actions and to promote sustainable development and environmental integrity" (UNFCCC, 2015).

power maximization (Florini, 1996, p. 366). They suggest many behaviors of the dominant powers that cannot be explained by power maximization in the international arena. For example, the United States (US)' support for a ban on nuclear weapons or France and Britain's ratification of the 1997 "Ottawa Treaty," the world's two largest landmine producers, opposes the argument that norms are merely self-interest-based rules (Price, 1995). On the contrary, the constructivist argues that states' identities play a fundamental role in their behavior strategies, emphasizing that interests are shaped by international norms. In this perspective, states are viewed as socially constructed institutions whose behavior is influenced by limited rationality rather than as purely rational entities. In short, constructivists argue that the preferences and interests of states are not determined rationally, they arise from social construction and can change with different cognitive interventions in the decision-making process (Florini, 1996, p. 367).

In this study, a constructivist perspective on international climate change norms has been adopted. The norm approach of the constructivist perspective provides a more efficient theoretical framework to explain the climate change policies in Turkey. Although Turkey has accepted climate change as a problem for years, it has neglected the development of its climate change policies by considering itself a developing country, contrary to its inclusion in UNFCCC's Annex-1 and Annex-2 lists.³ However, in the following periods, the effects of international climate change norms on Turkey's policies began to be seen gradually. In the analysis of these changes in Turkey's climate change policies, the explanations of the mainstream theories that see international norms as externalized behavioral activities have been insufficient. In addition, the constructivist perspective makes it possible to analyze the change in the role of NGOs and INGOs as norm advocate actors in these policies.

1.4 Roles and Functions of Norms

Norms are factors that directly or indirectly affect the motivation of actors in their behavior. In the current literature, March and Olsen (1998) conceptualized how norm dynamics affect the behavior of actors as "the logic of consequences" and the "logic of appropriateness" within the framework of behavioral logic and presented them to the literature.

³ According to article 4 (2) of the UNFCCC, countries included in the Annex-1 list are responsible for limiting their GHG emissions (UNFCCC, 1992).

According to Article 4 (3), countries included in the Annex-2 list are responsible for providing the financial resources and technology transfers necessary for developing countries to develop their climate change policies (UNFCCC, 1992).

According to the logic of consequences, which is more adopted by the rational perspective, actors tend to look after their interests, therefore, rational action underlies their behavior. As March and Olsen present as the “logic of expected consequences,” the actors direct their behavior according to the outcome expectations of the actions and assume that the other actors will act according to their interest maximization (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 949). For this reason, it is mainly used by neorealist and neoliberal approaches that adopt a positivist understanding. These approaches generally see norms as “standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations” (Krasner, 1983, p. 186) and whether they comply or adopt these norms is determined by the interests of the states. In short, consequentialist logic sees norms as a material factor as the cause of behavior whose consequences are determined. According to Hoffmann, it remained an insufficient basis for theorizing actor behavior in IR (Hoffmann, 2010).

Constructivists have adopted the logic of appropriateness as opposed to the logic of consequences. According to the logic of appropriateness, actors decide their behavior according to their identity rather than acting in a way that maximizes their interests in the expected consequences of their behavior. In this logic, “norms are collective expectations about proper behavior for a given identity” (Katzenstein, 1996, p. 5). Accordingly, norms are the most important factor affecting the decision-making mechanism of the actors in line with their identities. Contrary to the rational point of view, the behavior of actors is more related to their identities and the rules their identities prescribe in certain situations, rather than their interests and individual rational expectations (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 951).

Constructivists assume that political actors act according to socially constructed and predetermined rules. However, scholars who adapted the logic of appropriateness do not claim that actors always behave uniformly. Risse (2000) states that the logic of appropriateness covers two different modes of interaction, in the first mode, the actor reasoning through social norms, while in the second mode, the actors determine their behavior by reasoning over social norms (Hoffmann, 2010; Risse, 2000, p. 6). In the first mode, actors seek to take appropriate actions and decisions according to a role or rules arising from their socially constructed identities. In the second mode, actors try to reach the best and most appropriate decision by reasoning about norms over normative contexts (Hoffmann, 2010, p. 9). In this mode, ethical and normative values are at the forefront.

1.5 The Impact of International Norms

“International norms tell us who shall play the political game, what the playing board will look like, and which moves are acceptable” (Oslander, 1994, p. 11).

International norms are elements consisting of a set of principles and rules that shape the political practices of states. Raymond defines the impact of norms on states in the international environment “normative standards as the principles that shape identities, interests, and behavior by communicating the scope of a state's powers, the scope of its obligations, and the scope of its jurisdiction” (Raymond, 1997, p. 215). It is generally accepted that international norms are important in a causal context by creating rights and obligations for states, but how these norms affect state behavior is more important.

In the rational view, it is viewed from the perspective of the norm-power relationship, and powerful actors are likely to threaten or encourage other actors to fulfill certain obligations within the framework of the norm. However, in the constructivist perspective adopted by this study, international norms are not rules followed or created in line with the interests of actors but collective expectations that bring rights and obligations to actors in a normative context.

From this perspective, international norms affect states in several different ways. Firstly, international norms, through the advocates of norms, can cause some policies to be formed, changed, or canceled by putting pressure and protests on national leaders or decision-makers (Nadelmann, 1990, p. 524). Secondly, national interest groups may pressure or support the government to adopt certain international norms into domestic or foreign policies (Raymond, 1997; McElroy, 1992, pp. 43–46). Especially in international trade and minority rights, this aspect of the effects of international norms is frequently seen. Thirdly, transnational advocacy networks promote certain norm diffusion, localization, and habitualization by “monitoring compliance with regional and international standards” (Keck & Sikkink, 1999, p. 90). Fourthly, certain international norms that contain binding commitments can be institutionalized within the framework of national law and administrative regulations of national institutions, localized, and affect national policies (Cortell & Davis, 1996, p. 453). Finally, international norms have the power to determine or regulate the foreign policy behavior of states in international affairs, they also affect national policies through the internalization of norms.

1.6 Adoption of International Norms

Gurowitz emphasizes the importance of adopting norms as “international norms can matter only when they are used domestically, and they work their way into the political process” (Gurowitz, 1999, p. 416). International norms can play an important role in domestic political processes as well as influencing the foreign policy behavior of states in the international system. This factor depends on how international norms are adopted in domestic politics and how they are interpreted.

In the constructivist perspective, which this study is based on, states adopt international norms by redefining their own identities through norm argumentation process, discussions, and persuasions in their interaction with norm advocators actors such as NGOs and INGOs (O’Faircheallaigh, 2014, p. 156). However, this process also depends on the results that will occur in the context of local cultural and political structures where international norms interact with domestic politics. Checkel argues that NGOs and policy networks support the diffusion of international norms in the national area but that the impact of international norms on the behavior of actors is determined by cultural matching and congruence with domestic political structure (Checkel, 1999, pp. 84,88).

International norms can also affect states' behavior in several different ways through domestic political processes. Firstly, transnational companies (TNCs), which have begun to play an increasingly important role in the political arena beyond the economic dimension of the international system, may cause the adoption of international norms in the politics of the states in which they are active (O’Faircheallaigh, 2014, p. 156). In addition to contributing to the adoption of international norms in state policies, some large-scale TNCs have reached the power to influence local politics through their own policies.

Secondly, potential domestic norm beneficiaries play an important role in the adoption of international norms. Norm beneficiaries can be local affiliations of INGOs as well as socially, economically, or politically marginalized groups. For example, some marginalized indigenous groups associated with domestic NGOs have come to the fore in the adoption of norms in Australia and Canada that give indigenous peoples the right to control their territories through the traditional property.

Thirdly, companies that expect a domestic gain from the adoption of international norms have the potential to influence the behavior of the state in the international arena through “feedback loops” (O’Faircheallaigh, 2014, p. 157). However, this factor has not been generally accepted

in the international norm literature due to the common view that states adopt international norms due to agreements, negotiations, or informal mutual communicative processes in the international system (Checkel, 2001).

1.7 Constructivist Norm Adoption Literature and the Internalize of International Norms

Another concern in the constructivist norm literature is how ideas that transform from “principal ideas” to norms affect the individual behavior of state actors (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 7). Different theoretical mechanisms have been developed in the norm literature to measure the norm-motivated behavior of states. These norm mechanisms, developed by constructivist scholars, focus on international norms in different dimensions in line with their scope, content, and validity. Some of these mechanisms concentrate on various aspects of international norm theories, such as norm diffusion, norm internalization, norm localization, norm emergence, and norm socialization.

In this part, it is worth mentioning a few norm models that aim at different norm mechanisms and are also related to the development of the spiral model. The first of these models is the norm life cycle model, which explains the evolution of norms. The second model is the boomerang model, which is the basis for the development of the spiral model. These norm models generally focus on human rights norms' emergence, diffusion, and internalization.

I. The Norm Life Cycle Model

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, p. 895) describe the evolution and impact of norms in three different stages with the norm life cycle model. The first stage is “norm emergence,” the second stage is the “norm cascade” after the general acceptance of the norm, and the third stage is the adoption of norms by the states, “norm internalization” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). This model presents an examination of the entire process from the formation of the norm to its adoption by states in their foreign policies and domestic policy processes in a single theoretical framework.

In the first stage, the norm entrepreneurs need to convince some actors that are part of the international community. It is seen as the critical “tipping point” between the first and second stages of the model because a certain number of actors must accept the norm and the norm must be institutionalized in the international system for the norm to move from the first stage to the second stage (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). In the second stage, actors

conforming to the norms pressure or try to persuade other actors in the international system to accept these norms. This stage, which can be called norm diffusion, covers the process of socialization of other target states to the norm. At this stage, policies are followed by norm-follower leaders to expand the international validity and legitimacy of the norm.

After the norm completes the prevalence process in the international system, the norm life cycle model states that the norm passes into the third stage, the internalization process. At this stage, discussions on the norm in the international system decrease, and the norm becomes unquestionable. For example, climate change is seen as a security problem by many states today and national climate change policies have begun to be formed. However, until recently, many states, including China and the USA, were discussing these norms in the international system. The European Union (EU) and other norm-following states have encouraged other states to accept these norms. With the widespread acceptance of the norms, the internalization of the process of norms envisaged by the third stage of the model continues in the domestic and foreign policies of the states that are part of the international system. However, there are also cases when emerging norms cannot complete the stages presented by the model and cannot have general acceptability.

II. The Boomerang Model

Keck and Sikkink (1998) introduced the boomerang pattern of influence for the diffusion of human rights norms in states. The boomerang model predicts that local actors who are pressured in their own countries try to influence the behavior of their repressive states by connecting with transnational networks. Local opposition actors or NGOs seek to pressure or persuade the norm-violating state by seeking international allies in case the state violates fundamental norms such as human rights (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 130). Many transnational advocacy networks cooperate with local actors, especially in less developed states, to influence the norm-violating state's behavior and enable it to make decisions in their own way (Keck & Sikkink, 1999, p. 93). According to Keck and Sikkink, a transnational advocacy network may consist of national and international NGOs, local social movements, foundations, the media, the church, trade unions, regional and international organizations, and parliamentary branches of governments (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, pp. 91,92).

The boomerang model is commonly seen in the campaigns and actions of domestic actors with their international connections in states that violate human rights norms. The dissemination of the campaign and the support of the society are also important for the norm-

violating state to change its behavior in the desired direction. On the other hand, the use of this model can be problematic in the international system (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Third-world states may accuse these actions of transnational networks of interfering in their internal affairs and local actors as agents.

Keck and Sikkink (1998, p. 95) point out that transnational advocacy networks work with several different mechanisms to regulate the behavior of norm-violating states. These mechanisms are information policies (the ability to move information to the place where it will be most effective), symbolic policies (important examples of symbols or stories that make sense of the violation), leverage policies (applying to powerful actors), and accountability policies. As an example, Keck and Sikkink explain the role of the “environmental network” in shaping the positions of states at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p. 98). However, this model has been criticized in the literature as it is insufficient to explain multiple communication mechanisms, state-local actors, and state-international organizations relations.

1.7.1 The Spiral Model

Risse et al. (1999) introduced the “five-stage spiral model” to measure how international human rights norms affect individual states' identities, policies, and interests. The spiral model seeks to explain the internalization of international norms in national politics with the promotion of transnational advocacy networks and the socialization process of individual states according to these norms. This model is based on Keck and Sikkink's (1999) “Transnational Advocacy Network” and proposes an enhanced version of the boomerang pattern of influence. In addition, although the five stages that the spiral model predicts for norm internalization follow each other in theory but they do not have to be linear in practice, that is, the stages can overlap with each other.

Phase 1: Repression and activation of network

The first stage the model presents is when domestic opposition to human rights norm violations is either too under pressure or too weak to pose a significant challenge to the government. The degree of pressure involved varies in different situations or states, the important point here is to put it on the agenda of transnational networks. To campaign against oppressive states, a certain degree of connection with transnational networks (NGOs, INGOs) and domestic opposition groups must first be established (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 133).

The transition hypothesis (1) from the first stage of the model to the second stage is: The transnational advocacy network can only bring the norm-violating state to the international agenda if it gathers enough information about the repression exerted by the oppressive “target state” (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, pp. 133,134).

Phase 2: Denial

At the beginning of the second phase, the transnational advocacy network brings the norm-violating state to the international agenda and directs the attention of other actors to the target state. Local norm entrepreneurs and transnational advocacy network share information about violations of human rights norms in a norm-violating state with the international public, and “lobby work” against the target state with other Western states and international institutions (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 134).

The first reaction of the target state to these lobby activities, which involves some pressure (shaming and moral consciousness-raising), is usually “denial” (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 134). The norm-violating state rejects the validity of these certain human rights norms and may criticize lobbying efforts as interference in its domestic affairs. Norm denial is seen as part of the norm socialization process and is progress, where states feel obliged to deny the accusations and engage in dialogue with the international community (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 135). At this stage, the national opposition is still weak and cannot sufficiently influence the states’ policies.

Transition hypothesis (2) to the third stage: Depends on the strength and mobilization of the transnational advocacy network, as well as the extent of the target state's vulnerability to international pressure (Alhargan, 2012, p. 600).

Phase 3: Tactical concessions

With the continuation of the increase of international pressure, the norm-violating state ceases to deny and begins to make some concessions to reduce the pressure. This stage is characterized by the practical acceptance of these norms and is the most unstable stage of the model (Schroeder, 2008, p. 508). At this stage, the transnational advocacy network enables the legitimized local opposition groups to increase their demands in the international arena and begins to cause the oppressive state to lose its domestic control. The norm-violating state, which gives tactical concessions to reduce international pressure, “falls into its own trap” and

legitimizes the transnational network and local opposition, accepting it as a counter-political actor (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 138).

Transition hypothesis (3) to the fourth stage: The norm-violator state, which begins to lose control against the local opposition and the transnational network, does not have much choice and begins to regulate its behavior in favor of the norm with “controlled liberalization” (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 138).

Phase 4: Prescriptive status

At this stage, even if the target state continues to violate human rights, it begins to justify its behavior according to the international norm and the discussion of the validity of the norm ends. Risse et al. (1999, p. 139) define a state's acceptance of the validity of human rights norms with the following indicators: ratification of international human rights treaties, the institutionalization of norms in domestic law, institutionalized mechanisms for citizens' complaints of human rights violations, and international criticism of human rights that should not be considered interference in domestic affairs.

The transition hypothesis (4) to the last stage of the model: The final stage is reached when the pressures on the target state from the domestic groups (from below) and the international advocacy network (from above) continue, and the target state continues to claim that it complies with the international norms of human rights.

Phase 5: Rule-consistent behavior

At this stage, norms are institutionalized domestically, and norms become “habitual practices of state” (Alhargan, 2012, p. 600). There may still be human rights violations in target states, but serious human rights violations begin to end, and “international attention might decline” (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 141). At this stage, it is essential that the transnational network and national groups maintain the pressure to complete the norm socialization process (Risse & Sikkink, 1999, p. 141). With the completion of the socialization process, the international norm is internalized in the target country.

1.7.2 Applying the Spiral Model to Climate Change

The transnational advocacy network and spiral model has been adopted by many scholars and is frequently used in the literature on the internalization and adaptation of international norms. Marsh and Payne state that for the spiral model, “almost every country in the world can

be placed in one of these five stages, making the model very valuable for international empirical research” (Marsh & Payne, 2007, p. 668). Although the spiral model was developed to research the impact of international norms on national human rights policies, the transnational advocacy network on which international norm socialization is based has also been applied in different areas in Keck and Sikkink's “*Activist Beyond Border*” book. Keck and Sikkink (1998) expanded the concept beyond human rights by examining the transnational advocacy network in different areas in their books, such as the Human Rights Advocacy Network in Latin America (pp. 79-120), the Environmental Advocacy Network (pp. 121-164), and Transnational Networks on Violence against Women (pp. 165-198).

Since rational approaches are insufficient to explain the norm-based behaviors and preferences of states that do not comply with the material interests of the states, it seems reasonable to apply this model in the field of climate change as well. An approach that focuses on the internalization of norms provides a productive analytical framework for explaining national climate change policies (Schroeder, 2008, p. 510). The spiral model was first applied by Schroeder (2008) to analyze the effect of the transnational advocacy network on the behavior of the norm-violating state in environmental policies, as illustrated in Figure 1. Similarly, Hochstetler (2002) applied the boomerang pattern of influence model in her article.

In this study, the five-stage spiral model is adopted based on the examples in the literature to research the effects of international climate change norms on national policies in the case of Turkey. However, there are some changes in the move of the model from human rights to climate change policies due to the nature of the applied political field. For example, in the process of socializing climate change international norms, the dominant modes of interaction, the pressure of transnational networks, and the reaction of the norm-violating state are moderate and less violent.

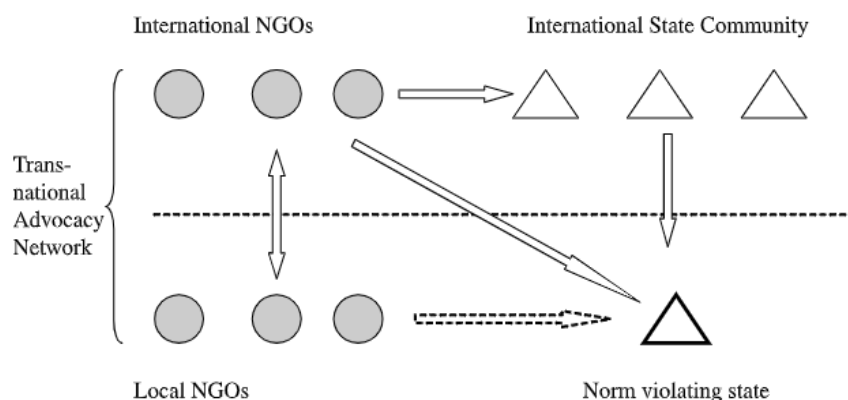


Figure 1: “The Transnational Advocacy Network” (Schroeder, 2008)

1.8 Conclusion

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter presents the necessary theoretical arguments, conceptualizations, and models to analyze how international climate change norms affect national climate change policies in Turkey through NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates. The theoretical argument of this study is based on how international climate change norms are internalized from top to bottom, within the scope of transnational advocacy networks, and their processes of affecting national climate change policies.

In this chapter, firstly, the definitions, functions, roles, and impacts of international norms are given in the context of rational and constructivist perspectives, respectively. In this study, the norm framework regarding the constructivist perspective will be applied by adopting the definition of norms as a set of standards and “collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity” (Jepperson, Wendt, & Katzenstein., 1996, p. 54).

After the conceptualization of international norms, a literature review on the adaptation and internalization of international norms from a constructivist perspective is presented. This part provides a few different theoretical models of how international norms are internalized into the domestic dimension and how they affect national policies. In this study, the spiral model by Risse et al. (1999) will be applied to this research. Since the spiral model focuses directly on the impact of international norms on domestic political processes within the scope of the transnational advocacy network and includes different modes of social interaction, it has been adopted instead of the other models presented in this section. However, since this model was developed on human rights norms, some changes will be presented in the application of this model to the field of climate change in the analysis section of this study. The following chapter presents the methodological framework of this thesis.

Chapter 2

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Design and Methods

This study is based on a single case study of the role of NGOs/INGOs as norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policies. The single case study enables an in-depth analysis of the role played by NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates, together with international advocacy networks, in different periods of Turkey's climate change policies. A single case study allows for an in-depth analysis of political processes that are unlikely to be measured quantitatively to answer the research question by collecting different qualitative data materials (Landman, 2008, p. 90; George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 6-7).

For this single case study, the thesis employs qualitative research methods, particularly in-depth interviews, and document analysis to answer the research question through a theoretical model adapted from a different field. In a single case study, researchers are expected to try to eliminate possible biases in the analysis by using different data sources and analysis methods (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). In this thesis, the research question is addressed in a more comprehensive way by analyzing the data and evidence obtained by the combination of different data sources.

In order to answer the role played by NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policies, first of all, the historical development and changes in Turkey's climate change policies should be analyzed. Turkey's climate change policies will be mapped by analyzing the data obtained from the relevant political documents, reports, and declarations. Thus, the internalization process of international climate change norms in Turkey will be revealed. To determine the role of NGOs and INGOs, reports of NGOs and INGOs and interviews with officials and experts will be utilized. Evidence for the impact of NGOs and INGOs will be analyzed from in-depth expert interviews with officials of organizations and climate experts. Interviews fill the gaps in answering the research question and make it possible to look at the question from different perspectives (Puyvelde, 2018, p. 378). Thus, this method helps to explain the role of NGOs and INGOs more consistently and clearly by evaluating the effects of other intervening factors in the internalization of international climate change norms as a result of the analysis of the collected data.

The effects of NGOs/INGOs and the internalization process of international climate norms in Turkey's climate change policies may show differences due to developments, changes, or

other factors in historical periods of political processes. In line with the theoretical framework, the spiral model will be utilized in different periodic processes of Turkey's climate change policies. Thus, the case analysis can answer the research question and prove the outputs obtained. Turkey's climate change policies will be examined in four different periodical processes and changes will be observed. The analysis of this case study within different periods is due to the fact that the spiral model explains the internalization process of international climate change norms in Turkey's policies with different stages conceptualized in these periods. These periods are as follows: The early climate change policies period before 1992, the period of 1992-2004, the period of 2005-2020, and finally the period of post-2021. Some milestones and important events such as the ratification of climate agreements have been decisive in the selection of Turkey's climate change policies to be analyzed between these specific periods within the framework of the spiral model.

As shown in Figure 2, the stages of the internalization of international climate change norms in Turkey's climate change policies were determined in different periods by applying the spiral model. Firstly, in the early climate change policies period before 1992, it is seen that climate change and environment NGOs started to be established and the first climate and environmental movements started to occur in Turkey. Secondly, with the signing of UNFCCC in 1992, Turkey's climate change policies have been fundamentally affected and NGOs/INGOs have been activated with transnational advocacy networks in this period. Thirdly, the fact that Turkey became a party to the UNFCCC in 2004 as the beginning of the third period led to some developments in climate change policies, but it was not intended to internalize climate change norms with concrete targets. Although Turkey's ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in 2009 seems to be an important milestone during this period, it was not considered the beginning of a separate period since it did not cause any substantial changes or obligations in Turkey's climate change policies. The post-2021 period was chosen as the last period due to Turkey's ratification of the Paris Agreement, known as the beginning of a new era in climate change policies, and setting the carbon-zero target for 2053. Analysis of Turkey's climate change policies and the effects of NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates between these periods within the case study will be able to answer the research question more clearly and consistently with the evidence to be obtained.

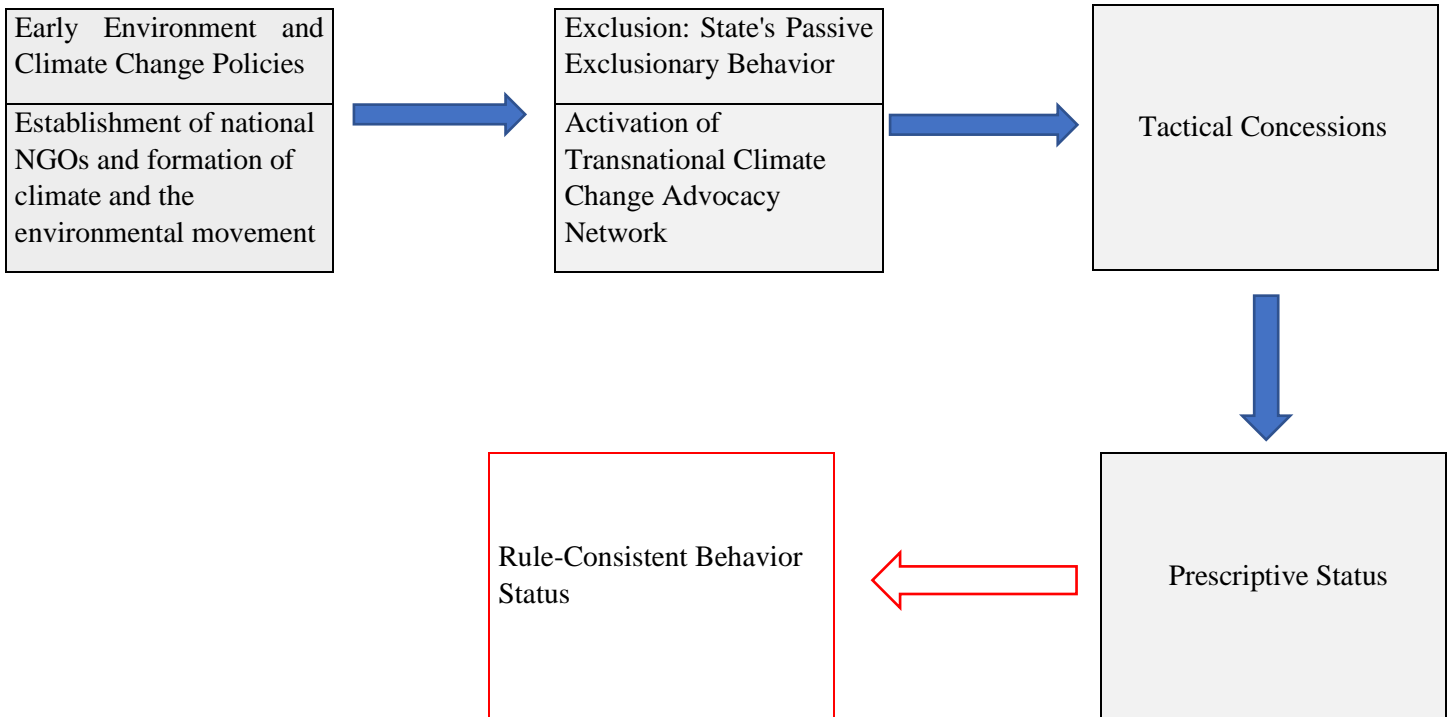


Figure 2: Stages of International Climate Change Norms in Turkey's Climate Change Policies (Source: author)

2.2 Case Selection

There are many reasons for choosing Turkey as the case study in this thesis. The development of Turkey's climate change policies provides a suitable basis for investigating how international climate change norms affect national policies and the role of NGOs as norm advocates in this. Although Turkey rejects climate norms such as GHG mitigation in its own policies for many reasons, the traces of the adoption of these norms in Turkey's climate change policies can be continued within the periodical policy processes.

The first reason Turkey was determined as a suitable case for this study is that Turkey is the last country to ratify the Paris Agreement in its parliament and raise its climate change policies to the ministerial level. Secondly, according to the UNFCCC, although Turkey is on the list of Annex-1 countries responsible for reducing carbon emissions due to its membership in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Turkey has proposed to be removed from this list and has opposed carbon emission reduction requirements for many years. However, as will be examined in detail in the analysis chapter, the adoption of climate norms in Turkey's climate change policies is observed within the political process. For example, Turkey became a party to the UNFCCC in 2004, and after this period, Turkey started to prepare climate change strategies and action plans, even though it continued to refuse to

comply with international climate norms. As of 2015, Turkey has submitted its first GHG emission reduction plan to the UNFCCC secretariat. Moreover, with the ratification of the Paris Agreement in the parliament, Turkey changed its previous political stance against international climate change policies and adopted the 2053 carbon-zero strategy. On the other hand, the fact that the mother tongue of the author of this study is Turkish makes it possible to collect many different data sources on this case and to conduct a comprehensive and in-depth case study.

In addition to the reason for choosing Turkey, it is necessary to justify why the focus is on the role of NGOs/INGOs as climate change norms advocates. Firstly, the organizations that will be analyzed in this study are climate and environmental NGOs/INGOs, which actively carry out climate change advocacy activities in Turkey and have ties to transnational advocacy networks. The use of NGOs and INGOs in this paper refers to climate and environmental NGOs/INGOs active in the field of climate change. On the other hand, the focus was on collecting data only from the activities related to climate change, especially after 2000, of NGOs established in the field of environment and continuing their activities. By its nature, climate change advocacy activities have developed within the scope of environmental policies, and it is unthinkable to consider them separately, especially in early policy periods.

The most important reason for focusing on the role of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate change policies in this study is due to the lack of studies in the literature investigating the effects of climate change norms through NGOs and INGOs on national climate change policies. Although there are few studies in the literature investigating the effects of climate change norms on the national climate change policies of states, there is no study focusing on the impact of climate change norms on climate change policies in Turkey. On the other hand, many climate INGOs are actively engaged in advocacy activities in Turkey and national NGOs have strong ties to transnational advocacy networks. Therefore, to contribute to the literature, this study will focus on the role of NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policies.

2.3 Data Collection

For this thesis research, multiple sources of data were used. Firstly, relevant data are collected from strategy documents, development plans, action plans, policy documents, national declarations, and climate change discourses of relevant decision makers at international summits for Turkey's climate change policies. Likewise, necessary data for the analysis of the

role of NGOs and INGOs in these policies were obtained from the annual reports and works of NGOs and INGOs and the climate strategies sections on their websites.

Another data source is semi-structured interviews with experts and officials. Within the scope of this research, as indicated in the table of interviewees in the appendices, interviews were held with representatives of NGO/INGO and relevant ministries, climate change experts, and a professor. In selecting the interviewees, care was taken to select both state and NGO/INGO institution officials to avoid bias in evidence and data. An independent climate expert and an academic were included in the interview list to provide an unbiased perspective. Due to the earthquake disaster that took place in Turkey during the thesis study, some planned interviews could not be carried out due to the busy work schedule of the representatives of the relevant institutions.

The interviewees were contacted via the e-mail addresses shared on the websites of the institutions they work with and/or via LinkedIn, and detailed information was given about the scope and purpose of the thesis study, and the use of the data to be obtained. All interviews were conducted online through the Zoom program, and voice recording permission was requested from the interviewees to extract transcripts. In addition, all interviewees whose data were used in this research signed the consent form and it is kept by the author. The data of an interviewee who refused to sign the consent form and be recorded was not included in the study. All interviewees were given the option to participate in the research anonymously, and many of them requested to participate anonymously. Therefore, although some interviewees do not have an anonymous request, to protect the participants from potential risks, the names of all interviewees are included in this study anonymously and the current working organization of one interviewee is kept confidential.

The third data source of this study is related news archives and scientific articles in literature. These resources were used as a complementary source of the study and provided the necessary evidence to support the outputs of the qualitative analysis. Due to the insufficient numbers of policy documents and INGO and NGO reports, especially in the early period policies, a search of the relevant news archive was necessary to collect the data of these periods.

Chapter 3

3. Empirical Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a periodic overview of the changes and milestones in Turkey's climate change policies and analyzes the impact of international climate change norms on these policies through advocacy networks -INGOs, NGOs, and domestic affiliations- as the subject of this research. More specifically, it explores the role of climate change NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate change policies. Here, in each periodical review of Turkey's climate change policies, two dimensions are taken into consideration: national climate change policies and the impact of advocacy networks -consisting of INGOs and NGOs- on these policies. The organization of the chapter is as follows: in the first sub-chapter, an overview of Turkey's climate change policies, milestones, and the periodic impact of the NGOs/INGOs are presented by analyzing the findings from the data collection sources specified in the methodology chapter. In the second subchapter, the internalization process of international climate change norms in Turkey's climate change policies through NGOs and INGOs has been evaluated with the spiral model, which is the theoretical model of this study. Finally, the overall impact and role of INGOs and NGOs in Turkey's climate policies are summarized within the scope of all periods.

3.2 Early Turkey's Climate Change Policies (Before 1992)

Studies on GHG emission calculations and their effects on the atmosphere started about a century ago in the literature (Archer, 2009), but it was only possible in the 1960s and 70s that this issue began to be addressed as a problem in international politics. Concrete steps towards climate change and environmental problems in the international community began to be taken in the early 1970s, and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) was established in 1972 after the "human environment" conference organized by the UN to provide governance at a global level for environmental problems. In addition to being evaluated in the framework of environmental problems, the first international forum, "World Climate Conference," which is the focus of only climate change, was organized by World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1979 and played a leading role in the development of the world climate program (Agrawala, 1998, p. 607). In the period after this conference, with the increase of awareness of climate change in the international community, many international actors, especially the UN,

focused on their policies in this area and paved the way for the formation of international protocols, treaties, and norms.

The issue of climate change, which has started to take an important place in the international policy agenda, has established the international climate change regime with the important institutions and agreements created in the 1980s. The IPCC was established in 1988 and it ensured that climate change, its effects and potential risks were evaluated and shared with the international public through the scientific reports it provided (IPCC, 2023). In 1992, due to the “Conference on Environment and Development” held in Rio under the auspices of the UN, the world's first climate agreement, the UNFCCC, was signed and entered into force in 1994. UNFCCC, which marks a milestone in international climate change policies, has aimed to provide international meetings, negotiations, and policies for combating the reduction of GHG and adaptation to climate change by recognizing the environmental pollution created by human activities (Jacobson, 2001).

Despite these early developments in international politics, environment, and climate change policies, these international environmental policy frameworks of Turkey have been neglected and awareness of climate change has been adopted very late. The fact that Turkey has priority industrialization development plans has been the main factor in neglecting environmental policies and not embracing the problem of climate change compared to developed countries. In Turkey, only during the 1970s, with the increase in environmental institutions and activities in the European Economic Community (EEC), environmental problems began conceptualizing and some environmental policies and institutions emerged (Kaya, 2012). The first independent structuring for solution policies regarding environmental problems took place in 1973 with the establishment of the “Environmental Problems Coordination Board,” and the first “Ministry of Environment” was established in 1991 (Ministry of Environment, 2023).

In addition to environmental policies, the arrival of climate change explicitly on the national policy agenda could only take place in the 2000s, with the impact of the Europeanization process that came with the EU membership candidacy and the increasing influence of international standards and norms (Wellmann, 2014). Evaluation of Turkey's adaptation studies on the international environment and climate change policies until 1992 is carried out by analyzing the “national development plans” documents published since 1963. Within the scope of the Five-year Development Plans covering the 1963-1967 and 1968-1972 periods, environmental policies were not included, only in the Second Five-year Development Plan

(1968-1972) the concept of environment was handled within the framework of solutions to the problems caused by urbanization, and the problem of human-induced environmental pollution was ignored (DPT, 1967, p. 263).

The 1973-1977 Third Five-year Plan had a two-page section in the 1000-page plan as “Environmental Problems.” In this section, international environmental problems are discussed within the scope of the irresponsible use of natural resources by developed countries. In addition, the principle of “no liability will be accepted that will deviate Turkey from its development goal by industrialization” (DPT, 1972, p. 866) is clearly stated. In short, environmental policies are conceptualized within the scope of development goals, and environmental problems are only considered an obstacle to industrialization in a developing country.

While environmental problems were still viewed from the perspective of development and industrialization in the early 1980s, some important political steps began to be taken in this period, with the concrete effects of environmental problems and climate change being felt. In the 1979-1983 Five-year Development Plan, due to the increase in environmental and climate change problems such as air and water pollution in Ankara and Istanbul, it was envisaged that the relevant foundations, NGOs, and local administrations should be included in the local environmental policy and project processes that bring solutions to these problems (DPT, 1978, p. 295). Moreover, in 1983, the “Environmental Law,” which can be considered as the basis for Turkey's climate change policies, was published and the distinction between environment and development was realized in this law (Orhan, 2013, p. 17).

Although the concept of climate change was not brought to the national political agenda in this period, the approach of the Fifth Five-year Development Plan (1985-1989) to the environment included not only the elimination of current environmental pollution but also the sustainability of resources for future generations and the protection of the environment. (DPT, 1984, p. 171). Despite that Turkey had not yet started to formulate climate change policies in this development plan, it was a sign that it had begun to adopt the concepts of “sustainability” and “environmental protection” within the scope of international climate change norms, which have an increasing impact on the international community.

In the period from the publication of the 1987 Brundtland Report, in which the concept of “Sustainable Development” was first mentioned, to the Rio Conference, the non-binding environment and climate change norms and discourses in the international arena increased the

importance of environmental awareness in Turkey's national policies (Özışık, 2020, p. 73). Following this, the “Environment and Settlement” section was included in the Sixth Five-year Development Plan (1990-1994). This plan states that the environmental dimension of all economic policies will be considered, environmental awareness will be expanded, and the environmental dimension will be evaluated at all planning stages (DPT, 1989, p. 312). In addition, in 1991, Turkey became a party to the “Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer” established in 1985 and the Montreal Protocol established in 1987, which stipulates the control of substances that cause the thinning of the ozone layer.

In the analysis of the development plans in this early period before the UNFCCC, it was observed that some policies were developed for adaptation to the environment and climate change, albeit late in Turkey. The first adaptation efforts of the climate norms, which started to gain importance in international politics, coincided with this period in Turkey. However, the effect of NGOs in these early norm adaptation trials was negligible. In the analysis of the interviews and the news of the period, the desire to comply with the EEC policies and the environmental problems created by the rapidly increasing industrialization were the main factors in taking these steps. As a summary of this part, although Turkey tried to keep up with the values, procedures, and norms that became widespread in international politics in its early environment and climate change policies, Turkey gave its priority to development and industrialization as a developing country, and a comprehensive policy area in climate and environmental policies could not be achieved.

3.2.1 The Milestone: The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

UNFCCC was signed in 1992 at the “Rio Conference on Environment and Development” held under the leadership of the UN in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and entered into force on March 21, 1994. This convention is the first international climate agreement signed by inter-governments for the reduction of anthropogenic environmental pollution and GHG. The convention, signed by 196 countries and the EEC, is the cornerstone of the international climate regime (Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2023). After the Convention came into force in 1994, the Conference of the Parties (COP) was formed and is held annually to discuss policies to reduce greenhouse emissions among the state parties (UNFCCC, 2023).

UNFCCC was founded on the “principle of equality and common but differentiated responsibilities” of the parties (UNFCCC, 1992, art 3.1.). In the convention, it was accepted

that the developed countries had more historical responsibilities in GHG emissions and required all parties to adopt the objectives of adapting to climate change and reducing GHG emissions. It also evaluated the states in three different categories that ascribe different responsibilities in the combat against climate change.⁴

Turkey, on the other hand, has been included in the list of Annex-1 and Annex-2 parties, which, due to its OECD membership, are expected to both reduce GHG emissions and provide financial and technology transfer support to other developing members. This situation caused Turkey to become a party to the UNFCCC much later than the date of its entry into force and to defend the “special condition” discourse. Thus, Turkey, which took late action in adapting the early developments in international climate change and environment politics to its own national policies, was able to join the UNFCCC, one of the most important agreements of the international climate regime, after a long struggle for categorization problem.

The climate change mechanism created by the UNFCCC has had a significant impact on both the internalization of international climate change norms and the roles of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey. Despite UNFCCC's annexes, Turkey has specifically refused to comply with climate norms such as GHG reduction. On the other hand, it has led to the start of climate change norm advocacy activities of climate NGOs and INGOs in Turkey and their activation with transnational advocacy networks.

3.2.2 The Presence of Climate/Environmental NGOs and Movements in The Early Period

The historical development of environmental and climate movements in the international arena can be followed from the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century. The environmental movements in this period were generally realized in the form of “protection of nature” and awareness-raising activities against industrial pollution (Aygün & Şakacı, 2007, p. 141). In this early period, the foundations of transnational advocacy networks that provide

⁴ The categories are organized as follows:

Annex-1 Parties: There are the members of the OECD, countries that have transitioned to a market economy, and the EU. Countries included in Annex-1 are obliged to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions (UNFCCC, 2023).

Annex-2 Parties: There are 23 OECD member countries and the EU, and countries in this category are expected to provide technological and financial support to developing party countries in adaptation to climate change in addition to their Annex-1 obligations (UNFCCC, 2023).

Non-Annex Parties: All other members of the Convention are included in the non-Annex category and are not responsible for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. However, with the support provided by Annex-2 countries, these parties are encouraged to follow policies such as emission reduction and expansion of carbon sink areas (UNFCCC, 2023).

communication channels between international and non-governmental organizations were laid. For example, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) was established in 1948, which brought together non-governmental organizations and enabled them to interact with the states (Mazlum, 2014, p. 196).

The most important reason for considering this period as the first phase of climate change norms internalization in this study is that environmental movements started to develop, environmental and climate NGOs were rapidly established, and local opposition that adopted climate change norms began to form in Turkey. In the early environmental and climate change periods, establishment of domestic NGOs related to environment and climate, activities of INGOs by opening branches in Turkey, and functionalization of transnational advocacy networks have been late and slow compared to developed countries. This is due to the fact that Turkey was able to implement effective industrialization and development programs only after the 1960s, and therefore, the effects of industrialization on the climate and the environment were reflected in daily life in these dates. During the late 1960s and 1970s, environmental NGOs began to be established in Turkey as a result of the increasing environmental and climate awareness in the international community, as well as the damage of rapid industrialization and unplanned urbanization in the country.

The environmental NGOs and movements that were established in the early period generally focused on awareness and education activities and did not carry out impact works on national policies due to their status (Aygün & Şakacı, 2007, p. 143). In the 1980s, environmental policies became controversial in the face of the coup regime's efforts to suppress all kinds of opposition in Turkey, and environmental movements began to work on influencing society and national policies. One of the first examples of active action by environmental movements was their protest of the establishment of a thermal power plant in Gökova in 1985. However, it should be noted that local people and villagers were more prominent in these protests and the effect of transnational advocacy networks was relatively weak.

The first traces of transnational advocacy networks in Turkey's early climate and environmental movements are the "chain of love"⁵ protests against the thermal power plant planned to be built in Aliğa in 1991 (Mazlum, 2014, p. 214). Until the early years of the 1990s, the activities of environmental NGOs increased in Turkey with the impact of their development

⁵ On May 6, 1990, a human chain action of 50 thousand people was carried out against the thermal power plant planned to be built in Aliğa, and the construction of the thermal power plant was canceled.

in the international community, transnational advocacy networks began to be established, and they began to push the governments of the period, who saw environmental problems only as obstacles to development and industrialization, to adapt to international environmental and climate norms.

It was mentioned in the previous part that there were limited changes in Turkey's early climate change policies. It can be said that there was an awakening of Turkey's environmental movement in this period and that environmentalist movements in the local context achieved some gains through activism against industrial investments given priority by the government. However, in the analysis of the policies of the period and the interviews, it was concluded that the role of environmental and climate NGOs in the gains achieved in the local context was also controversial. About some thermal power plant investments and national energy policies that the government had to cancel during this period, the lead author of Turkey's 7th National Communication (NC) stated in the interview, "I think the ones who have the most influence there actually chain themselves in front of the thermal power plant" (interview 2, March 2, 2023).⁶ In other words, according to the lead author, NGOs and INGOs did not have an organized effect on the gains made against the policies in which the government neglected climate change in this period. The resistance of the local people instead of the NGOs showed its effect at this point. In addition, in line with the examination of the news published in the period, local people and local municipal unions came to the fore in activism events (Ekoloji Birliđi, 2020). On the other hand, NGOs turned to awareness-raising activities instead of policy-influencing activities in this period, and they became organizations that supported the protests rather than organizing them.

According to the first stage of the spiral model, the process of international norm internalization begins with the state's suppression of norm-advocating opposition groups and the activation of national norm-advocating organizations with transnational advocacy networks. In this period, despite the first phase of the spiral model, there was no direct pressure of the states on environmental NGOs, however, compared to developing states, the favorable environment for the development of these NGOs was not provided by the state. In addition, the first interactions between national NGOs and transnational advocacy networks started in this period, but a common policy influencing goal was not carried out against the target state.

⁶ See original statement from transcript: "Bence en çok etkisi olan orda bilfiil termik santralin önünde kendini zincirleyenler..."

3.3 Turkey's Climate Change Policies in the Period of 1992-2004

With the entry into force of the UNFCCC, the first international convention on climate change, in 1994, the field of climate change has begun to be addressed by the international community as a political field outside the scope of environmental policies. UNFCCC played an important role in the cascade of some of the international norms such as sustainable development, climate adaptation and mitigation that started to emerge before the 1990s. By deciding to organize a COP every year since the UNFCCC came into effect, it is aimed to actively address climate change adaptation and GHG reduction policies of the parties and to establish common international policies. Many INGOs, IOs, and research groups carrying out scientific studies attend these meetings as well as representatives of the states (UNFCCC, 2023). In the third COP in Kyoto, the Kyoto Protocol, which includes binding targets for reducing GHG emissions of developed countries, was prepared. The Kyoto Protocol has been included as one of the fundamental agreements of the international climate change regime and studies have been carried out for the implementation and entry into force of this protocol in other COPs that continued until 2004.

In addition to these developments in climate change in the international arena, Turkey still mostly sees climate change as a foreign policy tool and preferred to discuss this issue in the international arena. Turkey was included in the list of Annex-1 and Annex-2 countries in the UNFCCC due to its OECD membership, but it was not at a level comparable to other countries in this list, neither in terms of economy nor industrialization. In Şahin's (2016) report, it was mentioned that in the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC), before the UNFCCC Annex lists were prepared, it was discussed that the inclusion of Turkey in Annex-1 could cause problems. In the continuation of the report, it was stated that due to the importance attached by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the period to Turkey's membership for OECD and EU candidacy, it was ensured that Turkey remained on the Annex-1 list (Şahin, 2014, p. 25). Likewise, in the interview conducted with Climate Action Network (CAN) Europe climate and energy policies officer for Turkey in this study, it was stated that it is claimed that Turkey will take some responsibilities as a developed country, which is happy to be included in the developed country category of the UNFCCC due to the importance given to EU membership in the early 1990s (Interview 1, February 22, 2023).⁷

⁷ See original statement from transcript: "...Tüm OECD ülkelerinin gelişmiş ülke olarak sınıflandırılırken , BMİDÇ gelişmiş ülke olarak sınıflandırıldık diye mutlu olan ve gelişmiş bir ülke olarak bazı sorumluluklar alacağını iddaa

On the other hand, it was argued by other units of the government that this situation hinders Turkey's "right to development" (Şahin, 2014, p. 25), and Turkey did not become a party to the UNFCCC until 2004. Although Turkey has officially stated its UNFCCC support, it has requested that the "special condition" be accepted and removed from the Annex-2 list. Turkey's climate change attitude in the international arena during the 1990s was formed by the discourses of historical responsibility and the right to development. The most important basis of Turkey in the discourse of special conditions is that the average emissions of other OECD members included in Annex-2 lists are twice that of Turkey and that Turkey's contribution to the global emission rate is less than 1% (Climate Watch, 2023). Turkey participated in the COPs of this period as an observer and reiterated its request to accept Turkey's special situation and withdraw from the annexes.

Turkey's request to withdraw from the annexes in the COPs it participated in until the 2000s was not accepted. Thereupon, Turkey decided to establish a "Climate Change Coordination Board" (CCCB) in the preparation process for COP 7 to be held in Marrakesh, in line with the decision of the Prime Ministry. Thus, it is aimed to represent the relevant public institutions and other stakeholders at a high level and to be a party to the UNFCCC under special conditions in a broad perspective (Gündoğan, Baş and Sayman, 2015, p. 59). Subsequently, the request to be removed from Annex-2 was accepted in Marrakech and it was recognized as the only party with the broadest special conditions in Annex-1 compared to other parties. Turkey approved becoming a party to UNFCCC in its parliament in 2003 with Law No. 4990⁸ and officially became a party in May 2004. In the interviews and literature reviews, the most important factors in Turkey's becoming a party to the UNFCCC and in the internalization process of the UNFCCC climate norms in this period are Turkey's EU membership and its effort to become an influential actor that adapts to the developments in global policies (Şahin İ., 2009, p. 135).

The influence of NGO formations in Turkey in the process of national climate change policies has been under the control of the state and has been included in the national policy processes to a limited extent. Climate policy expert Mazlum explains the limited impact of environmental and climate change organizations in the political process with the "passive exclusionary" structure of the state, that is, the state acts selectively while allowing social demands to access

eden bir yandan da AB grime hedefi olan bir Türkiye var o dönem." -Tam olarak hangi dönemden bahsediyorsunuz? 2002 öncesi hatta 90'ların başları olarak söylesem sanırım anlaşılır..."

⁸ See: https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/kanunlar_gd.durumu?kanun_no=4990

the political system (Mazlum, 2006, p. 300). In the interviews conducted, the climate expert and the lead author of the 7th NC in Turkey stated the following regarding this issue:

NGOs in developed countries are supported by the state economically, this is not the case in Turkey, and also NGOs pay taxes in Turkey. There is no political atmosphere in Turkey that will strengthen environmental NGOs. (Interview 2, March 2, 2023)⁹

As a result of the analysis of other interviews conducted, it was concluded that the state excluded environmental and climate NGOs, or that the state passively excluded these organizations, especially in this period. Therefore, NGOs in Turkey either support climate policies within the framework of the borders determined by the state in cooperation with the state, or they aim to influence the state's policies with lobbying, pressure, and awareness policies together with international advocacy networks. The spiral model explains this period as the state's excluding climate NGOs and INGOs from policy processes and hindering their development rather than their violent suppression. In addition, Turkey denied the responsibility of the climate norms that it had to fulfill due to its category, with the discourse of special conditions against the UNFCCC mechanism in this period.

3.3.1 The Kyoto Protocol

Although the UNFCCC includes binding targets for GHG reduction, it has not been able to provide an effective mechanism between governments and its enforcement power has remained weak. The Kyoto Protocol was opened to the parties for signature at the COP 3 held in Kyoto in 1997 to create a new legal framework for the binding GHG reduction of developed countries. The Kyoto Protocol adopted the approach of the common but differentiated responsibility (CBDR) and respective capabilities (RC) norms defined for the Annex-1 list by the Berlin Mandate¹⁰ at COP 1 in 1995 and set forth the commitments with clear reduction targets for the parties in this list (Chan, Stavins, & Ji, 2018, p. 342). The Kyoto Protocol, which is seen as the second most important agreement of the international climate regime after the UNFCCC, has been taken into consideration with its historical responsibility and relative capacities according

⁹ See original statement from transcript: "... Gelişmiş ülkelerde STK'lar ekonomik açıdan desteklenir devlet tarafından, Türkiye'de öyle bir şey olmadığı gibi bir de ayrıca vergi veriyorlar.... Yani biliyoruz devletin şu an da ki politik atmosfer çevre STK'ların güçlenmesini ortam sağlayacak bir politik atmosfer yok Türkiye'de..."

¹⁰ The Berlin Mandate is the agreement that also establishes the Ad-Hoc Group, which was established on the preparation of a draft for developed countries to provide binding GHG emission reduction commitments for beyond 2000 at the COP-3 to be held in Kyoto (UNFCCC, 2000).

to the annexes determined in the UNFCCC. The protocol has set the target of reducing GHGs emissions of developed countries by 5% below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012 (UNFCCC, 1998, art. 3).

Since Turkey was not a party to the UNFCCC on the date of the Kyoto Protocol, it was not included in the Annex-B list. Turkey still maintains the policy of leaving the UNFCCC annexes and making its special condition accepted during the Kyoto Protocol negotiations, and naturally, it did not sign the Kyoto Protocol and had to continue to follow the international climate change policies with a delay. Although Turkey became a party to the UNFCCC in 2004, it was only in 2009 that it ratified the Kyoto Protocol.

3.3.2 Effect of NGOs and INGOs in the Period of 1992-2004

The participation of many NGOs and INGOs at the 1992 Rio Conference accelerated the organization of environmental and climate NGOs in Turkey as in the world, many new environmental NGOs were established and relations with international advocacy networks were developed. In the post-Rio period, especially after the 1996 Habitat 2 conference, the function of NGOs in Turkey was not limited to education and awareness activities, they went to a new configuration. Now, climate/environmentalist NGOs in Turkey have redefined themselves with a political identity as an actor playing a role in shaping the government's environmental policies. In this context, Mazlum (2006, p. 303) state that in the period from Rio to the Johannesburg summit, environmental NGOs are no longer just “voluntary” organizations that support the state's environmental policies, but also are actors that demand a role as “stakeholders” in national environmental and climate policy processes. According to Mazlum, during this period, environmental NGOs aimed to become a partner of public environmental governance with their own agendas (Mazlum, 2006, p. 299). Although the influence of NGOs in Turkey's accession negotiations to the UNFCCC was limited in this period, they were the most important actor of social opposition in national environmental policies and were able to influence public policies.

One of the important factors in the institutionalization and organization of NGOs at the domestic level was the increase in the interest and participation of INGOs in Turkey. For example, Greenpeace, one of the most important environmental INGOs in the international arena, started its activities in Turkey in 1992 in connection with the Greenpeace Mediterranean office. On the other hand, there was an acceleration in the establishment of domestic NGOs shortly after the Rio conference. Turkey's widest current environmental NGO, The Turkish

Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion for Reforestation, and the Protection of Natural Habitats (TEMA), was established in September 1992.

The UN Habitat II conference held in Istanbul in 1996 is of great importance in the organization and transnational relations of many national NGOs established in the post-Rio period in Turkey. In Habitat II, national NGOs took part as a “stakeholder” in international negotiations for the first time (Arıkan, 2006, p. 16). On the other hand, this conference has been a breaking point for NGOs in Turkey to realize their shortcomings and inadequacies. According to the report published in 1998 by the Global Balance Association, which investigated the effects of environmental NGOs in Turkey from Rio to the Habitat conference (1992-1996), NGOs were aware of their compelling and influencing roles, but could not exert an adequate effect due to the lack of infrastructure (Global Balance, 1998, p. 11). As the most important infrastructural deficiencies, NGOs cannot obtain sufficient and reliable information from the government, have financial difficulties in attending international conferences, and cannot have developed relations with international networks.

Until 1996, although NGOs in Turkey carried out successful examples of activism in cooperation with transnational ties at Gökova and Aliğa thermal power plants, these movements did not have an organized form. In the period following the Habitat II Conference, environmental NGOs underwent an “ontological change” and became more organizational and professional in the institutional area and gained political visibility beyond activism in environmental struggles (Mazlum, 2006, p. 303). Strengthening ties with transnational advocacy networks has an important role in this institutional change of NGOs in Turkey. In this period, as some examples can be seen in Table 1, environmental and climate INGOs actively started their activities in Turkey under their own names and national NGOs expanded their advocacy activities. For example, the TEMA association, which is a member of international advocacy networks such as IUCN and the CAN, stated that its field of activity is “forming a certain state policy and raising public awareness on human-induced climate change issues” (TEMA, 2023) and drew attention to international cooperation.

In the analysis of climate policies published on the TEMA foundation's website, it is seen that UNFCCC norms such as GHG emission reduction have been adopted. It is also stated that the “TEMA continues its efforts to determine the right strategies for Turkey to set an absolute greenhouse gas reduction target and to combat climate change with a participatory method” (TEMA, 2023). In addition, in these climate policies documents, it is stated that TEMA is a

member of the UNFCCC accredited NGO and has the status of a consultant NGO of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). At the national level, it was stated that TEMA's investment and government policies that cause climate change are followed up. In addition, the effect of TEMA on the climate policies of Turkey in this period can be measured in the lawsuits filed by the foundation against regulations and decisions incompatible with the climate norms published by various government institutions.¹¹

In this period, the traces of activation with international advocacy networks were also identified in the policies and reports of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Turkey, the analysis of which was also focused on in this study. In the climate policies of WWF, which started its activities fully in Turkey in 2001, it is stated that “policy development, advocacy, public opinion creation, and awareness activities are carried out for the implementation of climate and energy policies by keeping the global temperature increase at the 1.5°C threshold” (WWF Turkey, 2023). In addition, WWF-Turkey states that they regularly follow the international climate meetings (COPs ...) and carry out additional work at these meetings to raise Turkey's climate targets (WWF Turkey, 2023). Also, national achievements focused on climate change have been shared in WWF-Turkey's annual reports and website since 2006, and the analysis of these reports has been presented in the following relevant periods.

Another example of the institutionalization of environmental and climate NGOs and the activation of transnational advocacy networks in the 1992-2004 period is the activities of Greenpeace in Turkey, analyzed in this study. In the archive review, it was observed that the first direct actions of Greenpeace in Turkey were the anti-nuclear protests, the iconic entrance to Izmir port with the ship “Sirius” in 1992, and the actions carried out in Akkuyu in 1994 (Işık, 2020, p. 174). Greenpeace has undertaken the advocacy of renewable and non-nuclear energy in defense of the GHG emission reduction norm and has turned to efforts to influence government policies against Turkey's climate crisis. Thus, in Turkey in the late 1990s and 2000s, international climate change norms were adopted by NGOs and INGOs, and efforts to influence policies at the national level gained momentum.

¹¹ For lawsuits, see: <https://www.tema.org.tr/calismalarimiz/savunuculuk-ve-cevre-politikalari/davalarimiz>

Table 1: Climate INGOs, NGOs, and Advocacy Networks in Turkey

Organization's name	Type	Field of activity on climate change	Start date of activities in Turkey
TEMA	NGO	Advocacy activities with international networks, state policymaking, public opinion work, monitoring of legal regulations	1992
WWF-Turkey	Office of INGO	Policy development, advocacy, public opinion, and awareness activities	1996-2001 as a Natural Life Protection Association (DHKD) From 2001 – WWF Turkey
Greenpeace Mediterranean Türkiye	Office of INGO	“Peaceful direct action, talks with authorities, participating as an observer in international agreements and lobbying, generating options and solutions” (Greenpeace, 2023)	1995
CAN Europe	Transnational Advocacy Network	Climate policy advocacy and communications in international meetings, lobbying in European Parliament, pressure governments with stakeholders for climate change policies	

(Source: Author)

By the 2000s, climate change was entirely on the agenda of national NGOs, climate change norms began to be brought to the national agenda with advocacy activities, and climate justice was spoken more loudly. One of the most significant proofs of this is the participation preparations for the 2002 Johannesburg “World Sustainable Development Summit.” Turkey attached great importance to this summit with the motivation of the UNFCCC in its effort to become a party and with the influence of NGOs, and a broad work program was established under the leadership of the Ministry of Environment. NGOs prepared the sections of the national report with six different working groups during the preparation process. The “National Assessment Report on Climate Change and Sustainable Development” was prepared by the Technology Development Foundation of Turkey (TTGV) and formed a part of the national

report (Türkeş, 2002). The fact that the national report was left entirely to the leadership of NGOs has been one of the uniqueness of the process and has created awareness in the preparations for the summit in the international arena (Mazlum, 2006, p. 314). This situation has led to an increase in the role and influence of NGOs as stakeholders and they have become important actors of the international summit for Turkey.

The increasing national role of NGOs with their participation in the Johannesburg Summit has led to the expectation that the role of NGOs will increase in the formation process of Turkey's international environmental policies. However, in this period, environmental NGOs did not try to influence Turkey's political attitude toward international policies within the framework of sustainability and climate change (Mazlum, 2006, p. 318). Instead, they turned to efforts to influence public policies. The most important reason for this was the government's exclusion of environmental and climate NGOs from policy-making processes and the lack of appropriate environments for their development. Even though NGOs were in the process of preparing a national report for the international summit during this period, this process was only participation within the borders determined by the state within the passive exclusionary attitude of the government (Mazlum, 2006, p. 318).

In the analysis of existing research, reports, and policies over the 1992-2004 period, a significant increase in the number of environmental NGOs and INGOs has been observed and they have undergone structural changes and become more professionally organized. On a national scale, NGOs have adopted functions from public awareness work to shaping national policies and creating their own agendas. According to the spiral model, climate NGOs have fully activated relations with transnational advocacy networks and established joint advocacy policies against the government violating climate change norms during this period. Thus, NGOs started their activities to ensure compliance with international climate change norms in Turkey's public policies. On the other hand, it was determined that NGOs and INGOs did not play an effective role in Turkey's international environmental and climate policy negotiations in this period.

3.4 Climate Change Policies in the Period of 2005-2020

Turkey restructured the CCCB in the same year it became a party to the UNFCCC, and after this period, it started to follow international climate change policies and meetings more actively. During this period, national climate change reports, strategies, and action plans were prepared by many different ministries, relevant commissions and other public institutions, and

high-level participation was made in international climate change summits. In this part, Turkey's climate change policies for the period of 2005-2020 are determined by examining these documents and literature studies. In the next part, the role played by NGOs and INGOs, together with international networks, in Turkey's climate change policies in this period is analyzed.

At the same time, Turkey faced intense pressure both nationally and internationally to ratify the Kyoto. At the national level, the more active work of NGOs since 2005 and their relations with international advocacy networks, as well as the pressure exerted by the EU at the international level, have been important factors pushing Turkey to the stage of ratifying the Kyoto Protocol. In addition, the handling of climate change in the UN Security Council has now led to the perception of climate change as a security threat, and in 2007, the drought, which was influential in Turkey, has increased the interest of the public in climate change policies (Gündoğan, Baş, & Sayman, 2015, pp. 59-60). Although the priority of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the government of the period was “economic development,” Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made an explanation in favor of being a party to Kyoto at the 2007 UN General Assembly with increasing interest and pressure and the Kyoto Protocol was approved by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) in 2009.¹²

It is seen that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and capital-based business organizations such as the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD) played an important role in the approval of Kyoto, where the impact of the pressure policies carried out by national NGOs and advocacy networks was limited (Şahin, 2014, p. 173). In addition, the climate expert who worked for the Ministry of Environment for many years and currently works in an IO stated in the interview conducted in this study that the “scientific research and reports” carried out by climate NGOs, are taken into account within the ministry and have an impact on politicians (Interview 4, March 07, 2023).¹³ However, the expert argues that this effect is only in the research dimension in the formation of policies and confirms that the advocacy activities of NGOs are limited at this point.

¹² See the relevant report by TGNA (2008):

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr//develop/owa/tutanak_g_sd.birlesim_baslangic?P4=20339&P5=B&page1=28&page2=28

¹³ See original statement from transcript: “Asıl NGO’ların yazdıkları raporlar çok paylaşıyor. Dolayısıyla TÜSİAD’da bunlardan faydalanmıştır, bakanlık da bu raporlara bakıp görüş oluşmuştur, ya da raporda yazan bir şeyi çürütmek için bir araştırma durumunda yapmak zorunda kalmıştır vs. Bence o açıdan da katkısı var, araştırmalar açısından katkısı var...”

Since Turkey was not a party to the UNFCCC in the preparation process of the Kyoto Protocol in 1999, it was not included in the Annex-B list of the Protocol, so there was no GHG reduction commitment for the 2008-2012 commitment period. While Turkey is responsible for the obligations determined by the Protocol for all Annex-1 countries, Turkey has succeeded in making all parties accept its special status in Annex-1 in COP-16¹⁴ and COP-17.¹⁵ In addition, Turkey did not sign the Copenhagen Accord in 2009 and the Cancun agreements, which include the net reduction targets and reduction plans of the parties for the post-2012 period (Şahin, 2014, p. 30). On the other hand, with the approval of Kyoto, Turkey moved to a different stage in climate change governance and started to prepare the national strategy document and action plans on climate change adaptation and mitigation.

Firstly, the Republic of Turkey Climate Change Strategy (2010-2023) document (CCS) was put into effect in 2010.¹⁶ The prominent statements in this national document, which determines Turkey's central vision on climate change policies, are as follows:

Turkey's national vision within the scope of climate change is to become a country fully integrating climate change-related objectives into its development policies, disseminating energy efficiency, increasing the use of clean and renewable energy resources, actively participating in the efforts for tackling climate change within its special circumstances and providing its citizens with a high quality of life and welfare with low carbon intensity. (T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2011, p. 8)

The special conditions of Turkey were emphasized in the report, and it was stated that UNFCCC's CBDR principle would contribute to global climate change policies. As a contribution to the international GHG reduction targets, it is aimed to “contribute by limiting the GHG emission increase rate without interrupting the development program” (T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2011, p. 9) by adopting policies compatible with sustainable development. It is planned that Turkey will not set a GHG reduction target in the coming years

¹⁴ See relevant decision 2/CP. 16 at Cancun COP-16:

<https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/docs/2010/cop16/eng/07a01.pdf>

¹⁵ See relevant decision 2/CP.17 at Durban COP-17:

<https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/docs/2011/cop17/eng/09a01.pdf>

¹⁶ This document was first published as the National Climate Change Strategy Document 2010-2020 by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2010, and then, as a result of the arrangements made in the ministries, the Directorate of Climate Change was included in the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and the document was revised to cover the 2010-2023 periods. (For the first version, see: https://www.bebka.org.tr/admin/datas/sayfas/files/Ulusal_iklim_Degisikligi_Strateji_Belgesi_2010-2020.pdf)

and will instead contribute to global targets by following a “decrease from increase” policy. The document focused on issues such as adaptation to climate change, capacity building, technology transfer, and determining policies by setting short, medium, and long-term goals.

A year later, Turkey announced its National Climate Change Action Plan (2011-2023) (NCCAP) and Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan (2011-2023). NCCAP presents a roadmap of sectoral targets determined within the framework of the national climate change strategy, transformed into actions. NCCAP presents an actionable roadmap of sectoral targets set within the framework of the national climate change strategy. The action plan covers climate change adaptation and GHG reduction targets in the building, forestry, agriculture, waste, energy, transportation, and industry sectors. The targets, benefits and responsible organizations in the relevant sectors are listed. Among the prominent targets of the action plan are the reduction of energy intensity and the expansion of carbon sink areas (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2012). In addition, the action plan does not contain a numerical GHG emission reduction target and weak objectives and actions compared to international climate change targets.

The Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan document, prepared in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), includes targets and policies focusing on climate change adaptation instead of GHG reductions. The study focused on areas such as water resources management, ecology, agriculture, and human health. In addition, this report states that although the activities of NGOs in Turkey have increased recently, they are not sufficient and therefore, NGOs consider climate change as “mitigation” and neglect the issue of “adaptation” (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2012, p. 39). Thus, it is understood that Turkey's climate change policy agenda in this period is not GHG emission reductions, but instead, as a developing country, reducing the GHG emission rate and adapting to climate change policies.

According to the officials and experts interviewed, the role of NGOs and INGOs in the formation process of climate change policy documents was limited to providing “technical support” and was not included in the formulation of these policies (Interview 2, March 02, 2023).¹⁷ In another interview with an academic who has studied in the field of climate change and sustainability, it was suggested that the AKP government did not act inclusively in the

¹⁷ See original statement from transcript: “... STK’lar teknik açıdan destek sağlayabilirler, ‘know how’ ları var çünkü...”

creation of Turkey's strategic documents, that there were only strategy documents that emerged as a result of policies within the central government, and that the most important factor was to adapt to the developments required by the global conjuncture (Interview 5, March 27, 2023). It has been concluded that the process of taking these strategic steps in Turkey continues in parallel with global developments and due to the new obligations brought by the global conjuncture.

As a UNFCCC Annex-1 party, Turkey is obliged to share its NC periodically and shared its first NC with UNFCCC in 2007. However, due to the slow progress of the second NC preparations, Turkey shared the 5th NC information, which includes the previous NC information (NC 2-3-4), with the public in 2013. A broad narrative of Turkey's climate change adaptation efforts and policies is presented in this report. However, the GHG emission reduction projections were not included in the report, since Turkey is not on the Kyoto Protocol Annex-B list and its special status has been accepted in the Annex-1 list.

Turkey followed the COPs and international summit closely in 2013 and beyond and wanted to take an active part in the climate regime after the 2020 period in line with its own special conditions with the new international climate agreement. Based on this, the prominent statements in Erdoğan's speech at the UN General Assembly Climate Summit held in New York in 2014 are as follows:

(...) Our main goal is to record a rapid growth process on the one hand, and to protect the environment and ecosystems on the other. In addition, we attach great importance to the negotiations under the Framework Convention on the post-2020 climate change regime. In the process of determining the binding provisions of the new agreement, which is expected to be finalized in Paris at the end of next year, we will continue the constructive stance we have followed so far. (Presidency of Republic of Türkiye, 2014)

In addition, Erdoğan, in his speech emphasizing the importance of promoting technology transfer, also took a positive attitude towards signing the new climate change, which is planned to be signed in Paris in 2015. Following this, Turkey submitted the Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) just before the 2015 Paris COP-21 and accordingly set a 21% reduction target for GHG emissions by 2030 (UNFCCC, 2021). However, this GHG emission mitigation target is set as a reduction from the business-as-usual scenario level by 2030 (see Figure 3). In other words, Turkey is planning to increase its GHG emissions until 2030, with

this target, it aims to reduce rather than increase. Compared to other international climate change agreements, Turkey signed the Paris Agreement immediately in 2016, along with 175 other states, but it was only ratified by its parliament in 2021.

In the interviews, it was observed that the influence of NGOs and INGOs in these developments in 2015 differed in political decisions. The CAN Europe Turkey climate officer stated in 2015 that the INDC and GHG emission target emerged with a strange calculation that came out “behind closed doors” (Interview 7, April 7, 2023).¹⁸ NGOs and INGOs were not included in the formation of INDC. In addition, it was stated in the interviews that the government excluded NGOs in the mitigation policy meetings during this period but included NGOs and INGOs in climate change adaptation policies. On the other hand, CAN Europe climate policy expert mentioned that they received invitations from the Turkish delegations as a result of the lobbying and pressure policies carried out especially in Paris COP-21 and before the G-20 country held in Turkey during the signing of the Paris Agreement (Interview 7, April 7, 2023). This shows that although the government is still against the full adaptation of climate change norms in its own policies, it gives tactical concessions to climate change norms according to the spiral model.

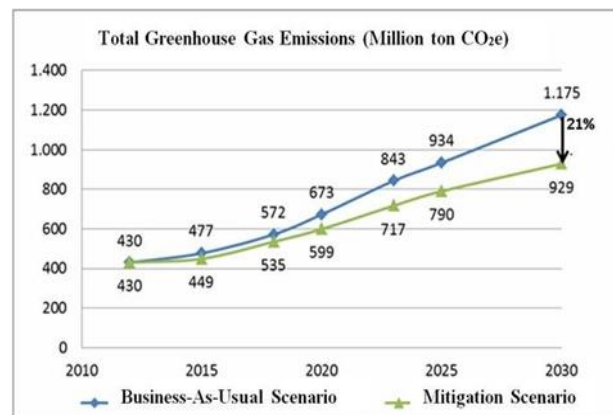


Figure 3: GHG emission mitigation 2030 target from business-as-usual scenario (UNFCCC, 2021)

After the signing of the Paris Agreement, Turkey continued its struggle to exit from the annexes in the COPs until 2020. Turkey, is defined as a developed country in the Paris Agreement since it is on the UNFCCC Annex-1 list, and the request to be removed from the Annex-1 list and to be transferred to the status of the developing country was not accepted at

¹⁸ See original statement from transcript: “NDC kapalı kapalı ardından çıktı, yani hiçbir haberimiz olmadı hatta biz değil bir sürü ilgili paydaşında haberi olmadı...”

the COP-24 held in Katowice (Sade, 2018). Turkey, which showed a high level and intense participation in Madrid COP-25 in 2019, repeated its requests to be removed from the annexes, as well as to receive technology and financial support, but still did not receive a positive response from the parties.

In summary, in the 2005-2020 period, although Turkey is in the Annex-1 category of UNFCCC, it sees itself as a developing country and aims to contribute to the international climate change regime in line with the principles of CBDR and RC by pioneering economic development. Despite Turkey's abstention from climate change agreements, it followed these agreements closely and became a party, albeit late, with the influence of international and national factors and pressures. Turkey's long-standing resistance to the UNFCCC's mitigation norms seems to have ended with the signing of Kyoto and the first mitigation commitments. However, since Turkey is a late party to the UNFCCC, there is no reduction obligation specific to the Kyoto Protocol, it does not establish a future target for carbon-neutral, and the reduction commitment of up to 21% in the INDC announced in 2015 is actually decrease from an increase. All these policy shifts show that Turkey gives “tactical concessions” against climate change norms. However, as a result of the interviews, it was determined that the roles of climate NGOs and INGOs in these tactical concessions given against Turkey's international climate change policies were indirect and limited. As the interviews pointed out, other evidence supported that the advocacy activities of NGOs and INGOs had a limited impact on Turkey's attitude towards international climate change policies during this period.

3.4.1 The New Framework: Paris Agreement

The preparations for the Paris Agreement, which will set the new goals of the international climate regime for the post-2020 period, started at the 2011 Durban Summit and were accepted by the UNFCCC parties at the COP in Paris in 2015. Paris, the second binding treaty after the Kyoto Protocol, was signed on 22 April 2016 by 178 UNFCCC state parties and the EU. In the Paris Agreement, the requirement of approval by 55 states and the state that creates 55% of total GHG emissions, unlike Kyoto, was quickly fulfilled and entered into force on November 4, 2016. The treaty aimed to keep global warming caused by anthropogenic GHG below 2°C compared to pre-industrial times and to limit it to 1.5°C (UNFCCC, 2015). In line with this goal, it is planned that each party will be liable for different GHG emission reduction commitments for the post-2020 period, taking into consideration the development levels and historical responsibilities between the parties within the framework of CBDR and RC principles.

The Paris Agreement adopted a cooperation model that includes GHG emission reduction commitments that all countries will voluntarily determine under their own national conditions through the NDCI (Mazlum, 2019, p. 18). Thus, unlike the Kyoto Protocol, GHG reduction was envisaged not only for Annex-1 countries but also for all parties, but technology transfer and financial support to underdeveloped and island states were kept on the agenda. Since all parties take responsibility with the new GHG reduction model of the Paris Agreement, Turkey's “special conditions” discourse is not valid for the GHG reduction obligation (Özışık, 2020, p. 80). On the other hand, Turkey continued its discourse of withdrawing from the annexes and accepting the special condition for climate funds and capacity transfers until 2021.

3.4.2 Effect of NGOs and INGOs during the period of 2005-2020

By the mid-2000s, the number of INGO and advocacy networks dealing with climate change rose and their influence on both national government policies and international climate change policies as international norm advocates increased significantly. In this period, networks of climate change advocates in the international arena, INGOs, and domestic movements diversified greatly and efforts to influence both national and international climate change policies were continued with different strategies. Many INGOs and NGOs, especially CAN, participated in the COPs and increased their lobbying, cooperation with the media, and advocacy activities. According to UNFCCC statistics, 344 NGOs were accepted (see Figure 4) to the COP 15 held in Copenhagen in 2009 and environmental NGOs constituted half of the accepted NGOs (see Figure 5) (UNFCCC, 2023).

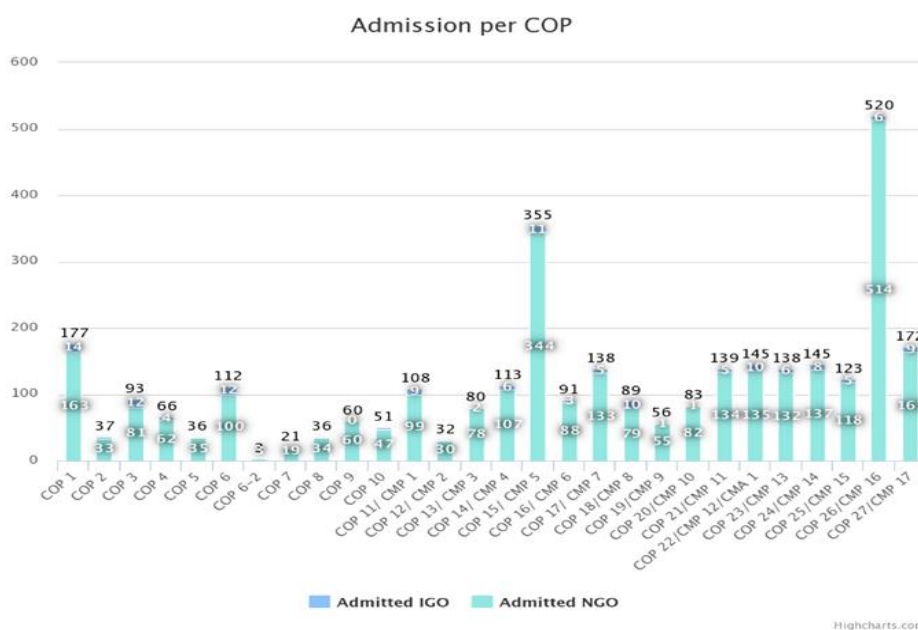


Figure 4: Participation of INGOs and NGOs in COPs (UNFCCC, 2023)

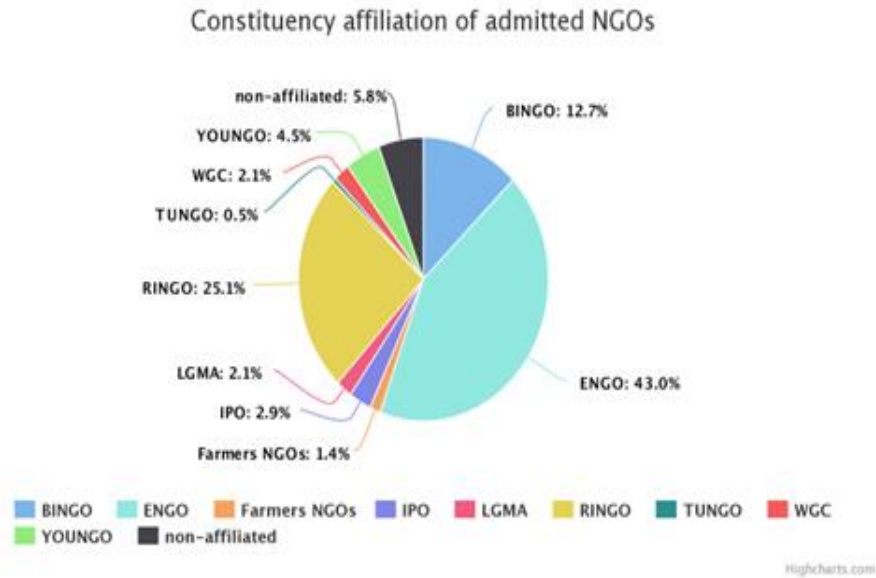


Figure 5: The share ratio of environment and climate NGOs among total participating NGOs (UNFCCC, 2023)

Increasing climate movements in the global arena after the 2005 period have also shown their effect in Turkey, and many national climate movements and networks have carried out studies for the adoption of climate norms in political practices. It is possible to analyze the impact of transnational networks, NGOs, and INGOs on Turkey's climate change policies in the 2005-2020 period within the framework of two dimensions -domestic and international- in the annual reports, strategies and common position papers shared by these organizations with the public.

In this period, the most important actions in Turkey were carried out for Turkey's ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. In 2007, under the leadership of Greenpeace, the “Turkey sign Kyoto” rallies were held with the participation of more than 70 NGOs and INGOs all over the country, especially in Istanbul (Baykan, 2013, p. 4). The climate movements in Turkey have generally been shaped in opposition to the government's intensification of coal-fired power plants in its energy policies and the 119% increase in GHG compared to 1990 levels (TUIK, 2021). Therefore, clean, and sustainable energy actions come to the fore in climate protests aiming to push the state to establish clean energy policies.

In the ongoing process, INGOs shared the joint statement “Tuvalu is Here, where is Turkey?” for Turkey to commit to a binding GHG reduction during the COP 15 process in Copenhagen in 2009 (WWF Turkey, 2023). At the international level, it has been concluded from conducted interviews that INGOs and NGOs together with transnational networks have only an indirect influence on Turkey's ratification of international climate change agreements. Turkey's 7th NC

lead author mentions that Turkey's attitude towards international climate policies and conventions is shaped by “firstly international obligations and secondly decisions stemming from international trade” (Interview 2, March 2, 2023).¹⁹ In other words, the impact of advocacy activities of NGOs and INGOs does not stand out as an important factor in Turkey's political stance on international climate change politics. In other interviews, it was argued that international pressure also plays an important role and that NGOs and INGOs have an indirect role in the formation of this pressure. CAN Europe officials stated that they are working to create international pressure for Turkey to comply with international climate change norms through lobbying activities carried out in the European Parliament and during the COPs (Interview 7, April 7, 2023). On the one hand, for example, during the COPs, by giving the Turkish delegation the “Fossil of the Day”²⁰ award, they work to create pressure on the international public for Turkey to take a more progressive stance in international climate change policies.

In the following period, the coalition of INGOs such as Greenpeace Akdeniz, WWF Turkey, 350.org and TEMA carried out pressure policies for Turkey's GHG emissions. In 2012, many NGOs and INGOs established a “national climate network” and aimed to continue their climate struggle with common advocacy policies in the national and international arena.²¹ The climate movements in Turkey focused on Turkey's commitment to reduce GHG emissions and complying with the sustainability norm by exiting coal in energy. As a result of the examination of the annual reports of Greenpeace, CAN Europe, and WWF in the 2015-2020 periods, it is seen that the main focus of these INGOs was established to ensure Turkey's exit from coal.

Firstly, the analysis of the Greenpeace annual reports shared with the public between the years 2015-2020 was carried out. In these reports, the efforts to influence government policies in the field of climate change, mostly the cancellation of investments in coal power plants and the studies carried out in the direction of alternative energy came to the fore. In these reports, the most important output of Greenpeace's work was stated as President Erdogan's cancellation

¹⁹ See original statement from transcript: “... iş aslında biraz birincisi uluslararası yükümlülükler, ikincisi de ticaret yani uluslararası ticaretten kaynaklı yani ekonomi ile alakalı olarak Türkiye bazı kararları alıyor...”

²⁰ “The Fossil of the Day Award is a daily ‘award’ given to those countries who are the best at being the worst and doing the most to do the least” (CAN International, 2023).

²¹ NGOs and INGOs that established the climate network: Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, Doga Association, The Nature Conservation Centre, EUROSOLAR Turkey, Greenpeace Mediterranean, Association of Kadıköy Friends of Science Culture and Art, TEMA, Earth Association, Green Thought Association, Yeşilist, WWF-Turkey, 350 Ankara

of the article that gave additional work permits to 15 coal power plants that could not fully fulfill their environmental investments in 2019 (Greenpeace, 2020).

Secondly, in the analysis of CAN Europe's annual reports, it is seen that the focus is on the summary of lobbying activities for the change of government policies for carbon-zero energy production in Turkey. These reports stated that as the most important achievement of CAN Europe, the lobbying and advocacy activities carried out with Turkish and French authorities prevented the French public utility “Engie” from funding a coal power plant in Ada Yumurtalık (CAN Europe, 2016). In addition, the CAN Europe climate policy official stated that “Generally, we attribute all our actions to influencing national policy... While we demand something from international financial institutions, we demand that China, for example, not invest in coal power plants in Turkey...” (Interview 1, February 22, 2023).²² The official argued that this is also an effort to influence national policies. As an example, the CAN Europe managed to cancel the capital loan it received from the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) by conducting lobbying activities for the coal-fired power plant planned to be established in Adana, together with other INGOs and NGOs (Interview 2, March 2, 2023).

In the same period, TEMA's annual reports summarize the roles played by CAN Europe in supporting the work in the European Parliament, international arena, and the international protests against coal-fired power plant investments. As a result, during the 2005-2020 period, the work of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey with international networks increased rapidly and 11 national NGOs became members of CAN Europe in this period (CAN Europe, 2023). In short, in this period, national NGOs expanded their relations with international networks, implemented a policy of pressure that forced the government to comply with climate change norms, especially in local energy policies and investments, and were successful in influencing policies in the domestic context.

3.5 Climate change policies in Turkey in the Period of Post-2021

Almost five years after the Paris Climate Agreement entered into force, President Erdoğan, in his speech at the UN 76th General Assembly in September 2021, announced that the Paris Agreement would be submitted to the parliament for approval before the COP 26 to be held in Glasgow. Following this unexpected development, the Paris Agreement was ratified on 7

²² See original statement from transcript: “Genel olarak, tüm eylemlerimizi ulusal politikaya etkilemeye bağlıyoruz. Onun yanında uluslararası finans kuruluşlarından bir şey talep ederken, Çin’den mesela Türkiye’ye kömür santrallerine dair yatırım gelmemesini talep ediyoruz...”

October 2021 and the 2053 carbon-neutral target was announced. On October 11, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was restructured and renamed the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change. Climate change policy expert Ari stated all these developments as a revolution in Turkey's climate policies and a new climate agenda was formed (Ari, 2022, p. 101).

On the other hand, although Turkey's new climate targets have been announced, there has been no change in factors such as the request to withdraw from Annex-1 and the provision of financial support, which are seen as the reasons for not ratifying the treaty until 2021. In the interview conducted in this study, the lead author of the 7th NC of Turkey made the following statements regarding Turkey's ratification of the Paris Agreement:

Even three months before the signing, there was a debate about whether we would sign or not... This tells us something. It was a very political decision. It was like a decision on the point that we should no longer resist international policies rather than let us become carbon-zero emissions. (Interview 2, March 2, 2023)²³

Likewise, the WWF Turkey official stated that the ratification of the Paris Agreement was an event that was not on the agenda and occurred suddenly and that it could be due to the balance of power in the international arena rather than advocacy activities (Interview 6, April 5, 2023). In an interview for a news outlet in Turkey, Mazlum (2021) also stated that there were three reasons why Turkey had to sign the agreement: Change in the international conjuncture, economy, and social demand (Ünal, 2021). In Mazlum's words: "The Paris climate agreement and the targets set by the countries have become a normative framework of international politics" (Ünal, 2021). In the process until the ratification of the Paris Agreement and to fulfill the commitments after the ratification of the agreement, NGOs in Turkey played an active role and worked for Turkey to adopt the normative frameworks in the international arena.

In the new period, advocacy networks in Turkey carried out awareness raising, lobbying and actions among the public upon the demand to ensure exit from coal by 2030 and to increase the 2030 GHG reduction target to 35%. In November 2021, the report "Out of Coal 2030" was published under the leadership of WWF, CAN Europe, Greenpeace, and many other NGOs.

²³ See original statement from transcript: "... İmzalanmadan ... 3 ay öncesine kadar bile acaba imzalar mıyız imzalar mıyızın tartışması yapılıyordu... Bu da bize şeyi anlatıyor. Bu çok politik bir karardı... Biz artık zero emission olalımdan ziyade biz uluslararası politikalara artık daha fazla direnmeelim noktasında bir karar gibiydi."

Emphasizing that Turkey needs to exit coal completely for the 2053 carbon-zero target, the report provides a roadmap for the government to exit coal by performing scenario analyses for the exit from coal by 2030 in energy production (APLUS Energy, 2021). Likewise, many NGOs working on climate issues have carried out joint works to increase Turkey's 2030 GHG absolute emission reduction target to 35% in COP 27 and have created their own policy agendas. For example, they have carried out works to establish policies such as the termination of electricity production from coal by 2030 and increasing the share of renewable energy sources in electricity production to 75 percent (WWF Turkey, 2022).

Alongside advocacy networks' efforts to increase Turkey's 2030 GHG reduction target, at COP 27, relevant Minister Murat Kurum announced Turkey's updated Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC). It has been stated that Turkey's new 2030 reduction target has been increased from 21% to 45%. In the interviews, it was stated that NGOs and INGOs were included in the process and many stakeholders were involved in this GHG emission target update compared to the GHG emission reduction policy established in 2015 (interview 7, April 7, 2023).

Although this target seems to be higher than the 35% target that NGOs are working on, instead of the absolute GHG reduction demanded by NGOs, the decrease from the increase approach has been considered. In addition, it was stated at this summit that Turkey will reach the highest point in GHG emissions by 2038 at the latest, and after this period, it will progress towards being carbon-neutral by 2053 (Robins, 2022). These decisions, which are the most up-to-date climate target declared by Turkey, were found insufficient by NGOs and INGOs, and they shared with the public in their statements that the continuation of carbon emissions until 2038 does not coincide with climate action (Greenpeace, 2022). The climate change advocacy networks currently active in Turkey continue their active lobbying, joint statements and protests on coal exit and green justice transformation and continue their policy-influencing efforts to achieve the government's absolute GHG emission reduction target before 2038.

In the analysis of the activity reports published by NGOs and INGOs since 2021, it is seen that these advocacy organizations played a more active role in the climate norms becoming a general “prescriptive status” in Turkey's policies compared to previous periods. Firstly, in WWF Turkey's 2021 Annual Report, it highlighted that the campaigns they carried out with advocacy networks throughout Turkey for the ratification of the Paris Agreement, the meetings with the Climate Change Research Commission in the TGNA yielded results and that they also

continue to work on the preparation of the Climate Law (WWF Turkey, 2022). Likewise, in Can Europe's 2021 Annual Report, the highlights of the campaign and lobbying work carried out with the ratification of the Paris Agreement are as follows: “The CAN Europe team coordinated key aspects of the campaign and successfully used policy briefs to reach out to government representatives, the business sector...” (CAN Europe, 2022). In addition, it was emphasized in the report that Turkey's coal capacity development has decreased in the last two years.

Another NGO whose annual activity reports for the post-2021 period was analyzed is the TEMA. In the 2020 and 2021 reports of TEMA, the work with the Parliament on the Paris Agreement and the activities carried out against government investments that do not comply with climate change norms are emphasized. Some of TEMA's gains against government investments and policies that violate climate change are stated. As an example, in the report, it is stated that the gains of stopping the capacity development decision of the gold and silver mines that are not prepared for climate change in Çanakkale and stopping the regulations regarding the reorganization of the storage of the wastes of the coal-fired thermal power plants were obtained (TEMA, 2021).

It is possible to see the evidence of the effects of INGOs and NGOs defended in the analysis of this report on the decisions and policies of the government in this period, in the achievements they shared in this report and the changes in government policies. For example, it is seen that the AKP government's energy policy based on coal power plants has been interrupted by the efforts of these climate advocacy organizations. Only in 2021, 26 previously planned coal-fired power plant projects were canceled (Cengiz, 2021). The impact of international advocacy networks' lobbying for funding cancellation, local pressure, and direct talks with government officials on these policy changes are included throughout the chapter as the report analyzes and interviews results.

In the current period, although Turkey's climate change policies are still unable to reach the desired targets, compared to previous periods, “mitigation” is now on the policy agenda, and many political processes have accelerated in the name of climate action, including the 2053 climate strategy. According to the spiral model, the climate change norms, especially the mitigation of carbon emissions, have reached a “prescriptive status” in Turkey's policies. The most important effects of NGOs and INGOs in this period were at the national level, and efforts were made to influence policies together with international advocacy networks. Although

Turkey's exit from coal in energy production has not been achieved yet, they have succeeded in influencing domestic policies such as canceling the funds provided for new power plants and vetoing the law that provides an exemption from environmental investments (yesilgazete, 2021). In the interviews with the experts, the most important factors in Turkey's ratification of the Paris Agreement and setting the carbon-zero target were determined as the pressure in the international arena and Turkey's obligations, the economic benefit-loss analysis, and the willingness to adapt to the new order.

3.6 A Summary: Internalization of the International Climate Change Norm in National Climate Change Policies through the Roles of NGOs and INGOs

The roles of NGOs and INGOs as stakeholders of transnational advocacy networks and norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policy processes are explained by different phases of the spiral model. In the analysis of this study, the stages of the spiral model were tested differently from the field of human rights and the model was adopted in accordance with the field of climate change in answering the research question. As stated in the theoretical framework chapter, the stages of the spiral model can be linear in practice or overlap with each other. In the analysis of this study, it is seen that the phases of climate change norms for the case of Turkey overlap with each other, not on a linear basis. In case of violation of international climate change policies and norms by the state, NGOs and INGOs aimed to ensure that international norms are adopted as government policies rather than causing the violating state to lose control.

The policy tools of the state's pressure on domestic NGOs and advocacy networks envisaged in the spiral model were also adopted with a different approach. Accordingly, policy influencing activities of NGOs and INGOs consisted of international lobbying, common statements, awareness-raising and occasional cooperation tools with the government. The state's relations with NGOs and INGOs have been shaped differently in non-violent ways compared to the human rights policy area of the spiral model. On the other hand, by adopting different phases, the spiral model provides the role of NGOs and INGOs in the development process of Turkey's climate policies and the impact of international norms.

First Phase: Establishment of NGOs on Climate and Environment (... -until the 1990s): This period, in which climate change was evaluated within the framework of environmental policies, was the period when national environmental NGOs began to be established with the influence of international environmental movements and the environment was also considered as a public

policy (Mazlum, 2014, p. 213). In adapting the first phase of the spiral model to this case, national NGOs could not integrate with international networks in common policies, instead, environmental protests and awareness-raising activities were carried out at the national level. Climate actions in this period did not progress in a coordinated manner. Therefore, despite the government, which determined economic development and industrialization as the primary political target, no organized pressure and influence efforts were realized. However, towards the 1990s, it was seen that the interest of INGOs in environmental actions in Turkey started to increase and international advocacy networks gave support to local protests, although not in an organized manner. As a result, in this period, with the support of NGOs, some local environmental movements affected some of the government's regulations, but no pressure was placed on the policies.

Second Phase: Exclusion and Activation of Network (1992-2004): The post-UNFCCC period is the period in which Turkey argued that it had no historical responsibility for GHG emissions and therefore denied its GHG emission obligations. While rejecting the “mitigation,” one of the UNFCCC norms, which is the founding convention of the international climate regime, Turkey has instead chosen to adopt the framework of sustainable development. On the other hand, after the UNFCCC, the number of environmental organizations started to increase in Turkey, and many INGOs actively implemented their activities and activation with international networks took place. Relations with transnational networks are not due to the pressure of domestic NGOs but because of Turkey's neglect of environmental and climate policies and caused by the exclusion of domestic environmental and climate organizations. As Mazlum (2006) puts it, Turkey has followed “passive exclusionary” behaviors against environmental organizations and has not allowed the demands of these organizations to be reflected in political processes (Mazlum, 2006, p. 300).

On the other hand, networks that started to set their own policy agendas adopted the GHG emission reduction norms of the international climate regime and carried out studies to influence national policies, especially after climate change began to come to the fore as a main area in the 2000s. It is seen that the role of NGOs and INGOs in this period was effective in national strategies and public policies but played an indirect role in accessing Turkey's international climate conventions. As an example of the indirect role, interviews with climate policy experts helped identify that transnational advocacy activities, such as CAN Europe's lobbying in the European Parliament, were an important factor in creating international pressure for Turkey to become a party to climate conventions.

Third Phase: Tactical Concessions (2005-2020): This phase is a period in which Turkey's climate change policies and behaviors overlap and intertwine with the previous phase. The transition hypothesis between these two stages is not conceptualized. The reason for explaining this period as a new phase in the analysis of Turkey's climate policies is that in this period, due to national and international pressure, the desire not to lag behind the conjuncture and financial expectations, Turkey gave concessions in its usual GHG emission increase policies. During this period, the activities of the international advocacy networks, especially before the COPs, had global repercussions, and the pressure on Turkey for the signing of the Kyoto Protocol and the establishment of emission reduction targets in national policies expanded. The AKP government, on the other hand, started to follow a more active climate change policy due to national and international pressures, with the effect of the importance it attached to EU candidacy, and the first reduction commitments were made. However, the fact that Turkey has not set a net carbon-zero target and non-binding increase-to-decrease GHG emission targets has shown that these are tactical concessions.

Fourth Phase: Prescriptive Status (2021-present): According to the spiral model, at this stage, although the target state continues to violate the international norm in practice, its discussions about the validity of the norm are over. Turkey's new era of climate change in 2021 can also be explained in this framework. In the interview about Turkey's new climate policy period, CAN Europe Turkey's climate official said, "It cannot be said that Turkey has a clear climate action, but the international climate movement forces Turkey to take such a path" (interview 2, March 2, 2023).²⁴ Although Turkey still has not implemented effective decisions and practices regarding reducing GHG emissions in the new period, climate change norms and targets are no longer a matter of discussion.

According to the spiral model, the transition to rule-consistent behavior, which is the final stage in the internalization of climate change norms, has not yet been fully realized in Turkey. The institutionalization process of the climate change norms within the state continues. On the other hand, the increase in carbon emissions has not been prevented yet, so the pressure and influence policies of transnational networks and INGOs-NGOs continue.

In the analysis carried out, it has been determined that the role of climate NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate politics has increased exponentially, especially since the 2000s. In the

²⁴ See original statement from transcript: "Türkiye'nin bir eylem iklimi şu an da var denilemez, ancak şöyle birşey var, uluslararası camia, iklim hareketi veya uluslararası politikalar, Türkiye'yi böyle bir yola girmeyi zorluyor."

analyzed NGO and INGO annual reports, the achievements of these organizations' pressure and influence activities against government policies, together with their transnational advocacy networks, are clearly stated. At the same time, as a result of interviews with representatives of different organizations and climate experts, it has been determined that there is a general opinion that these organizations are effective at the domestic level.²⁵ In addition, in the interview, the CAN Europe official stated that they could more clearly measure the results of their effects at the domestic level. As an example, the official said:

Two years ago, we ran a campaign for coal thermal power plants that do not operate in accordance with national legislation to comply with the legislation or to close them, and this campaign was a very clear demand. It succeeded, and these thermal power plants were closed for a while. We see our impact clearly when we have such a campaign, but it is not possible to see our impact so clearly in every campaign. For example, the approval process of the Paris Agreement...

(interview 1, February 22, 2023)²⁶

Moreover, it has been determined that these NGOs and INGOs have strong relations with international advocacy networks. For example, Turkey is one of the countries with the highest number of NGO and INGO members in CAN Europe with 11 members (CAN Europe, 2023).²⁷ The state's reluctance to support climate NGOs and their passive exclusionary behavior played a role in these advanced dialogues between transnational advocacy networks and organizations in Turkey. Climate organizations in Turkey have generally taken an active role in the role of advocates of international climate policies and norms and have focused on GHG emission reduction targets. It has been concluded that the role of these organizations in the formation and change of domestic policies in the field of climate change in harmony with international climate change norms is more effective and more definable.

On the other hand, it is noticed that the role of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's attitude toward international climate policies is indirect and limited. In the interviews, NGO/INGO representatives argued that they made great efforts for the ratification of international climate

²⁵ 6 out of 7 interviewees stated that NGOs and INGOs have an effective role in Turkey's climate policy.

²⁶ See original statement from transcript: "Daha sabit şeylerde rolümüzü anlamak daha kolay oluyor. Örneğin 2 yıl önce kömür termik santrallerin ulusal mevzuata uygun çalışmayanların, mevzuata uyması veya kapatılması için bir kampanya yürüttük ve bu kampanya talebi çok net olan bir kampanyaydı.. Başarılı ulaştı, bu termik santraller bir süreliğine kapatıldı... Mesela böyle bir kampanya olduğumuzda etkimizi net görüyoruz ancak her kampanya da etkimizi böyle net görmek mümkün değil, örneğin Paris antlaşmasının onaylanma süreci..."

²⁷ After the membership of 20 NGOs and INGOs in the United Kingdom and 18 in Germany, Turkey is the country with the third most CAN Europe member NGOs and INGOs.

agreements such as the Paris Agreement, but at the same time, actors such as business organizations and the EU were collectively influential in this decision of the governments and the precise impact of the actors was not fully understood. Climate official of Can Europe also stated that:

The ratification of the Paris Agreement is indeed a multilateral process. ... we ran a serious campaign; we carried out serious lobbying and pressure activities in every stage of this campaign... But at that point, there was an extra tax burden that would come to Turkey with the carbon border adjustment mechanism. Along with this came a demand from the private sector for the approval of Paris. On the one hand, support came from the EU in the form of a serious economic loan.

When all these were combined, Paris was actually approved. (Interview 1, February 22, 2023)²⁸

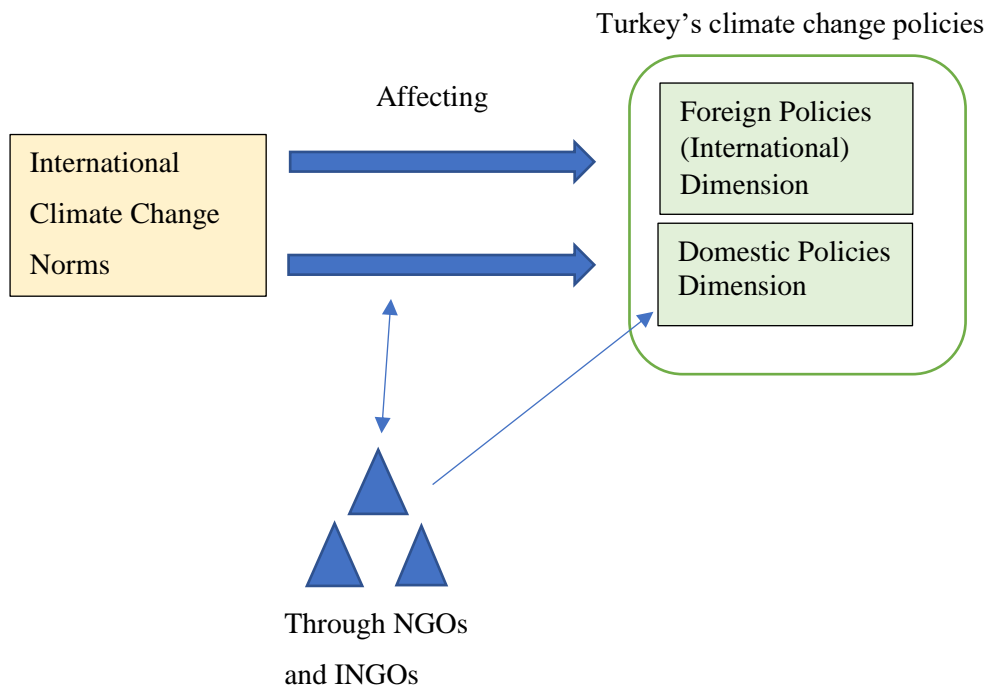


Figure 6: Effect of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's Climate Change Policies (Source: author)

²⁸ See original statement from transcript: "Paris antlaşmasının onaylanması gerçekten çok taraflı bir süreçtir. ... ciddi bir kampanya yürüttük, bu kampanyanın her ayağında ciddi lobisel faaliyetler ve baskı faaliyetleri yürüttük... Ama bir yandan da o noktada sınırda karbon uygulamasıyla Türkiye'ye gelecek ekstra bir vergi yükü vardı, özel sektörden bununla birlikte Paris'in onaylanması ve karbonsuzlaşmasına dair çaba gösterilmesi talebi geldi, AB'den bir yandan ciddi bir ekonomik kredi şeklinde bir destek geldi. Bütün bunlar birleştiğinde aslında Paris'in onaylanması sağlandı."

In the policy and report analyses made, it has been determined that international obligations, national and international pressure, and financial concerns play an important role in Turkey's structuring of its climate targets. The role of climate organizations in these policies is indirect, consisting of lobbying, activism, cooperation, and scientific research for international pressure, together with transnational advocacy networks. As visualized in Figure 6, while climate NGOs and INGOs, as norm advocates, are important actors in shaping Turkey's domestic climate policies, they have partially had an impact on Turkey's access to international climate change policies.

Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to analyze the impact of international climate change norms on national climate change policies through NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates. To achieve this goal, norm adaptation/internalization of the constructivist approach is used as a theoretical framework in this thesis. Moreover, in the thesis, the spiral model by Risse et al. (1999) has been applied to the case of Turkey to understand the role of NGOs and INGOs in the internalization of international climate norms. The thesis sought to determine the role and impact of NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates in Turkey's climate change policies in different periods. The spiral model, which was originally developed in the field of human rights, was used to conceptualize the development process of Turkey's climate change policy at different historical stages, thus making it possible to analyze the roles of NGOs and INGOs during these periods.

This thesis utilized qualitative research methods to apply the theoretical model to the selected empirical case study. Multiple data sources were used to analyze the role of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate change policies. The primary data were collected from the climate change policy documents of the Republic of Turkey, the speeches of the authorities at the international climate summits and the NGO/INGO reports. These data provided a general picture of the historical development of Turkey's climate change policies. Secondary data were obtained from interviews with climate change policy experts and representatives. The interview results provided a more straightforward explanation and evidence of the impact of NGOs and INGOs on policies. The third data source was the search of scientific articles and news archives. These data were beneficial in analyzing early climate change policies and the impact of NGOs during that period.

According to the theoretical model of this study, national-level NGOs and local oppositions against the target state that refuses to comply with international norms develop relations with transnational networks and INGOs to defend relevant international norms. In line with the relations developed with international advocacy networks, different advocacy activities are carried out at the national and international level for the target state to comply with international norms. These activities generally consist of pressure, shaming and lobbying, and the target country is expected to make some tactical concessions first. With the efforts of transnational advocacy networks, the relevant international norms are expected to reach prescriptive status in national policies and eventually become rule-consistent behavior in the following periods.

This model, borrowed from the field of human rights, has been adopted in the field of climate change policies and the case study has helped answer the research question. As a result of its application in a different political field, differences in the conceptualization of the norm internalization stages and the behavior of the actors were considered.

Turkey's early climate change policy decisions started to develop within the scope of environmental policies. Until the signing of the UNFCCC in 1992, Turkey only tried to keep up with the climate and environmental norms that started to develop in the international arena but did not compromise on its industrialization goals. In this period, environment/climate NGOs began to be established rapidly with the harmful effects of industrialization on the climate and environment, and it was the awakening period of the environmentalist/climate movement. Although NGOs started to adopt climate norms during this period, their advocacy activities were limited to public awareness and education and did not attempt to influence policy.

In the period following the entry into force of the UNFCCC, Turkey started the struggle to withdraw from the UNFCCC annexes and refused to comply with the climate norms in its own policies based on the argument that it has no historical responsibility. During this period (1992-2004), it was observed that the state did not carry out a policy of repression against climate NGOs and INGOs but followed an exclusionary attitude. Again, in this period, it was observed that INGOs started to operate in Turkey, national NGOs prioritized their policy-influencing activities by making structural changes, and activation with international advocacy networks took place. The impact of climate NGOs and INGOs as norm advocates has been analyzed mostly in the studies of influencing public policies in the domestic dimension.

After Turkey became a party to the UNFCCC, Turkey needed to develop its climate change policies rapidly and many strategy documents and action plans were prepared. Especially after 2015, Turkey started to make concessions against international climate norms, particularly in terms of GHG mitigation, and created its first GHG mitigation targets. The formation process of these policies for international climate agreements was generally under the control of the government, and NGOs/INGOs played a role in the formation of international pressure through lobbying activities and in some political decisions in cooperation with the government through information sharing. On the other hand, in this period, NGOs and INGOs, together with their transnational advocacy networks, played an important role in Turkey's domestic policies, especially in the energy field, for adaptation to climate change norms.

Towards COP-26 in 2021, Turkey started a new era in climate change policies by ratifying the Paris Agreement and establishing the 2053 net carbon-zero goal. Despite the long-standing resistance to international climate change norms, especially to reducing carbon emissions, climate norms have reached a prescriptive status within Turkey's climate change policies and other relevant policy areas. In the post-2021 period, it was concluded in the report analysis and interviews that NGOs and INGOs took a more active role in this period compared to previous periods to reach international climate agreements and to observe climate norms in practices in the domestic field. Nevertheless, it was understood as a result of the findings that the effects of NGOs and INGOs are more clearly revealed in domestic politics.

In sum, the thesis suggests that NGOs and INGOs, as advocates of international climate norms, play multiple roles in the case of Turkey's climate change policies. NGOs and INGOs, together with their international advocacy networks, have played a pressuring and coercive role in adaptation to climate change norms, as well as a collaborative role such as information sharing. The analysis in this thesis showed that the effect of the role of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate change policies varies in two different political dimensions. Firstly, the analysis suggested that NGOs and INGOs play a key role in the internalization of international climate change norms in Turkey's domestic policy and in forcing the government's compliance with climate change norms in its domestic policies. Secondly, the impact of NGOs and INGOs on Turkey's attitude towards international climate change policies and participation in international climate change conventions has been indirect and partial. The indirect effect of NGOs and INGOs on Turkey's attitude stems from being an actor in the formation of international pressure and sharing information with the government for compliance with international policies.

Although this study focused on the internalization of climate change norms through NGOs and INGOs in the case of Turkey's climate change policies, it has helped to reveal the contribution of different actors in this internalization process. Accordingly, in this case, actors such as trade and business organizations and the EU played an important role in complying with climate change norms. In future studies, it will be helpful in the literature to examine the roles of regional organizations, business organizations and transnational companies in the internalization of international climate norms.

Focusing on the role of NGOs and INGOs in Turkey's climate change policies as norm advocates, this thesis has contributed to the literature in three different perspectives for future

studies. Firstly, the thesis paved the way for the evaluation of Turkey's climate change policies from the perspective of the norm literature. Moreover, the findings in this thesis contributed to the discussions on the role of NGOs and INGOs in the development process of Turkey's climate change policies. Secondly, this thesis can help scholars conceptualize climate change NGOs and INGOs as stakeholders of international advocacy networks and advocates for the international climate change norms. Finally, the thesis has attempted to, at least in part, contribute to the constructivist norm internalization/adaptation literature. The theoretical model developed in a different political field has been applied to the field of climate change, contributing to the expansion of literature. In future studies, applying this theoretical model to different cases and focusing on the analysis of other actors in the internalization of international climate change norms in national policies will certainly further enrich the literature.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview List

	Organization	Occupation	Date
Interviewee 1	Greenpeace/CAN Europe	Climate and Energy Policies Officer for Turkey	February 22, 2023
Interviewee 2	Freelance	Senior Climate Change Policy Consultant/ lead author of 7 th NC	March 02, 2023
Interviewee 3	Development Agency	Development Specialist	March 02, 2023
Interviewee 4	Former Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change Official / current IO representative	Specialist/Project Manager	March 07, 2023
Interviewee 5	Izmir Dokuz Eylül University	Prof. Dr.	March 27, 2023
Interviewee 6	WWF-Turkey	Climate and Energy Senior Specialist	April 05, 2023
Interviewee 7	CAN Europe	Senior Energy Policy Coordinator	April 07, 2023

Appendix 2: Interview Questions List

1- General information about the interviewee

- a. Affiliated organization (if any) and areas of expertise.
- b. What is your position in the affiliated organization? How long have you been involved in climate change policies?

2- What are your views on international climate change norms? Which norms do you think are influential in national policies?

3- What are your general thoughts on Turkey's climate change policies?

4-How can you describe the impact of international climate change norms on Turkey's climate change policies? Which actors come to the fore in the internalization of these norms in the national arena?

5- What are the relations of NGOs in Turkey with the international advocacy network?

6- What is the impact of international advocacy networks on Turkey's climate change policies? How do advocacy networks and climate organizations strive to influence climate change policies in Turkey?

7- What are the relations of climate change NGOs and INGOs with the state in Turkey? Has the state pursued policies to suppress or exclude these climate NGOs and INGOs? If yes, in which periods were these policies implemented?

8-What role did your organization (for NGO/INGO officials) and other INGO/NGOs (for other interviewees) play in the internalization of climate change norms in Turkey?

9- What is the role played by NGOs/INGOs in the latest developments in Turkey's climate change policies (ratification of the Paris Agreement and net carbon-zero target)? What kind of a change can we discuss in this role if we compare it with previous periods?

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