

THE TRANSFORMATION OF GREENPEACE: FROM A NEW SOCIAL  
MOVEMENT TO A MODERATE SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE TRANSFORMATION OF GREENPEACE: FROM A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT TO A MODERATE SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION**

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In this thesis, my argument is that Greenpeace has transformed from a new social movement to a moderate social movement organization (SMO), and it has lost its new social movement features. To understand this transformation, I examine new social movement literature. Firstly, I investigate under what circumstances new social movements emerged, and how the new social movements were in the 70's and 80's. Therefore, I summarized the economic, political, and social changes in the 1960s and analyzed how these changes affected new social movements in the sense of actors, issues, values, and modes of action. Following, I investigate new approaches which aim to clarify new social movements and try to find out if they explain the evolution of movements. Since there is no comprehensive explanation for movements' transformation, I analyze both new social movement and social movement organization (SMO) conceptions. As a result, I reach a comprehensive new social movement definition which includes all features of new social movements. I also argue that the concept of 'social movement organizations (SMOs)' does not refer to a homogeneous category. While there are moderate social movement organizations

(SMOs) which have lost their movement characteristics, there are also radical social movement organizations (SMOs) which protect these features. My objective is to show that Greenpeace is a moderate social movement organization (SMO), and in order to demonstrate that, I summarized the recent form of Greenpeace International. Besides, I also argue that although Greenpeace was a new social movement at the beginning, it has lost its movement features. In order to demonstrate this process, I analyze the historical story of Greenpeace.

**Keywords:** New Social Movements, Social Movement Organizations, Greenpeace

## ÖZ

### GREENPEACE'İN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: YENİ TOPLUMSAL HAREKETTEN ILIMLI TOPLUMSAL HAREKET ÖRGÜTÜNE

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Bu tezde Greenpeace'in yeni toplumsal hareketten ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütüne dönüştüğünü ve yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini kaybettiği iddia edilmiştir. Bu dönüşümü anlamak için yeni toplumsal hareket literatürünü araştırılmıştır. İlk olarak yeni toplumsal hareketlerin hangi koşullar altında ortaya çıktığı ve yeni hareketlerin neden yeni olduğu incelenmiştir. Bu nedenle, 1960lardaki ekonomik, politik ve toplumsal değişiklikler özetlenmiş ve bu değişikliklerin yeni toplumsal hareketleri nasıl etkilediği aktörler, konular, değerler ve eylem biçimleri üzerinden incelenmiştir. Daha sonra yeni toplumsal hareketleri açıklamaya çalışan yeni teoriler araştırıldı ve hareketlerin dönüşümüne dair bir açıklama getirip getirmediikleri analiz edilmiştir. Hareketlerin dönüşümüne dair kapsamlı bir açıklama olmaması nedeniyle toplumsal hareket ve toplumsal hareket örgütleri kavramları incelenmiştir. Sonuçta yeni toplumsal hareketlerin tüm özelliklerini içeren bir toplumsal hareket tanımına ulaşılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, toplumsal hareket örgütü kavramının homojen bir kavram olmadığı da iddia edilmektedir. İlimli toplumsal hareket örgütleri yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini kaybederken radikal toplumsal hareket örgütleri bu özellikleri

korumaktadır. Greenpeace'in bir ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütü olduđu iddia edilmiş ve bunu göstermek için Greenpeace International'ın şu anki durumu incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, Greenpeace'in ilk dönemlerinde bir yeni toplumsal hareket olmasına karşın zamanla yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini kaybettiğı iddia edilmiştir. Bu süreci göstermek için de Greenpeace'in tarihi incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler, Toplumsal Hareket Örgütleri, Greenpeace

To my family and my love



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

DMWC	Don't Make a Wave Committee
GPI	Greenpeace International
IWC	International Whaling Commission
NROs	National/Regional Organizations
SGC	Stichting Greenpeace Council
SMOs	Social Movement Organizations
The US	The United States

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The concept of new social movements has emerged in the post-war area, mainly in the 1960s and 1970s. The reasons for adding 'new' adjective in front of the concept of social movements are several. Actors, values, issues, and modes of actions have changed. In the 2000s, the new social movement studies have become popular again due to the full range of protest waves. The process which started in 1999 in Seattle against the World Trade Organization continued in the 2000s in all over the world from Latin America to Arab countries (2001 Argentina, and Brazil, 2008 Greece, 2010 and 2012 Greece again, 2011 New York Occupy Wall Street, 2011 Arab counties, and 2013 Turkey Gezi protests). Although they occurred in different political, cultural, and social environments, there are still some common points between them. Their actors, for example, do not identify themselves in economic terms. Their values are not materialist but have post-materialist features. In the sense of modes of action, they have left old types of organization models and adopted radical ways. Issues of these movements are not purely economic but based on gender, body, or environment. Women's movements, lesbian-gay movements (LGBTI movements), and environmental movements are the most remarkable examples of new social movements.

Environmentalism is one of the best examples of the new social movements (Mertig & Dunlap, 2001). Although environmentalism is not a 'new' issue, it has gained a radical dimension by the 1960s. Greenpeace, similar to other organizations which originated as a new social movement, came into view under these circumstances with environmentalist concerns. The emergence of Greenpeace, firstly built with the name of 'Don't Make a Wave Committee,' fits perfectly the definition of social movements, however, in time it has lost its features which made it a 'new' social movement. In

1969, a group of adventurers headed to the Pacific Ocean in order to stop nuclear tests of the US in Amchitka Island (Timmer, 2007). Amchitka protests, on the one hand, demonstrates the mistrust of people in existing structures. Although other environmentalist groups preferred to use traditional ways to prevent the US, they refused these ways since they did not trust in existing structures. On the other hand, due to the mistrust, they chose a radical way, witness-bearing, which represents the differentiation from old modes of action (Susanto, 2007; F. Zelko, 2013). While Don't Make a Wave Committee became popular in Canada, and to a certain extent in the US, their popularity increased with the French protests in the South Pacific, which was also an anti-nuclear protest. Due to the popularity gained in the French protest, when their agenda expanded to the whaling and sealing in the 1970s, Don't Make a Wave Committee became Greenpeace foundation in 1972, and became more moderate. This might be clearly observed in the anti-sealing campaigns. While radicals within Greenpeace, were removed from the organization, during the anti-sealing campaigns environmentalism was considered as conservationism, and lost its radical dimension. As their issues and supporters increased, its organizational structure changed as well, namely during the anti-whaling campaigns. Firstly, they took the name of Greenpeace Foundation, had a professional manager class, permanent offices, paid staffs (Harter, 2004; F. Zelko, 2013, p. 111, 204). Institutionalization and bureaucratization of Greenpeace brought division of labor (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Every participant could be active previously; however, due to the division of labor, participants became estranged from the campaigns. Therefore, direct participation was undermined. Furthermore, as Greenpeace gained popularity, it became moderate in order to protect supporters from different perspectives. Inevitably, Greenpeace has become moderate in the sense of its protests (Susanto, 2007). In this context, the central claim of this study is that although Greenpeace was a new social movement at the begging of its history, it has transformed into a moderate social movement organization (SMO) and it has lost its movement characters. Therefore, I will try to demonstrate how this transformation occurred by investigating Greenpeace history. However, before such investigation, it is also essential to define what is a new social movement, what is



moderate social movement organization (SMO) and how new social movement theories explain the transformation of a movement to a social movement organization (SMO).

Due to the massive changes in economic, political, and social lives in the 1960s (see chapter 2), a requirement for new theories to understand new social movements has emerged. Due to this inadequacy, an extensive study of new social movements has emerged, such as collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory, and identity-based theories. Although they aim to analyze the newness of social movements, they have different definitions and explanations. While collective behavior theory evaluates social movements as irrational 'behaviors,' resource mobilization theory emphasizes rationality, thus uses 'action' instead of behavior (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). However, the rationality emphasis of resource mobilization theory is criticized by European-based identity approaches, which are called new social movement theories. Collective behavior theory defines the new social movements as irrational reactions of rootless people, contrarily, resource mobilization theory considers participation into movements as a rational choice resulting from the cost and benefit calculation. New social movement theories -not theory but theories since there is no one single approach- emphasize identity. One of the main claims of collective behavior theory is that there is a relation between crises and movements since movements are the reactions of people who are negatively affected by the crises. However, with the 1960s, it has been observed that there is no such relationship between these two (Cohen, 1985). Since it has been demonstrated that the core claim of collective behavior theory which states that there is a relation between crises and movements seems to be not valid, particularly in the movements which occurred after the 1960s, resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories are the core sources in this study.

In order to understand the transformation of Greenpeace from a movement to a moderate social movement organization (SMO) by losing its movement features, firstly, there has to be a comprehensive new social movement definition. To reach such

a definition, Mario Diani's valuable definition might be helpful. He demonstrates the common points of the definitions of resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories, and identifies social movements as 'informal networks of interactions' which have 'shared beliefs and solidarity,' and its 'conflictual issues' are derived from 'cultural areas' (Diani, 1992, p. 9-10). Della Porta and Diani (2003) empathize other features of new social movements. According to this, new social movements have decentralized, egalitarian and non-hierarchic structures which have participants instead of members with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 140-141). I claim that at the beginning Don't Make a Wave Committee was a new social movement since it fitted this definition of new social movement. However, I claim, Greenpeace transformed to a moderate social movement organization (SMO) and it has lost these features. In order to be able to understand Greenpeace's transformation, it is also vital to investigate social movement organizations (SMOs) which is not a pure category and has different versions as moderate and radical SMOs.

Resource mobilization theory deploys the concept of social movement organizations (SMOs) in order to explain the transformation of movements. According to resource mobilization theory, shifting from movement to organization is inevitable, because resources require an organization (Bulut, 2014, p. 54). Therefore, SMOs are defined as institutionalized and bureaucratic organizations by resource mobilization theory, since institutionalization and bureaucratization are inevitable for SMOs. However, recent studies demonstrate that SMOs are not supposed to be as such (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000). There are radical SMOs which still include the movement features. Therefore, in order to make a distinction between moderate and radical SMOs, the organizational dimension should be investigated since this is the ground on which social movement organizations (SMOs) become different. For such an investigation organizational study is the primary source. Although there is a general tendency to explain organizations with institutionalized, bureaucratic, and hierarchic structures, recent organizational studies demonstrate that organizations are not as such by default (den Hond, de Bakker, & Smith, 2014; Graeber, 2004; Chris Grey & Garsten, 2001;

Hensby, Sibthorpe, & Driver, 2012). In lights of these studies, it could be argued that when a movement transforms into a social movement organization (SMO), it may not lose movement characteristic by default. It is possible to protect movement features by adopting non-traditional and non-conventional modes of actions, non-hierarchic structures, and by protecting direct participation and decentralization. This study demonstrates that in the case of Greenpeace, however, the process did not work as such.

The purpose of this thesis is to describe and explore the evolution of the Greenpeace International from an organizational point of view. As such the thesis engages in “basic research” (Blaikie, 2009, p. 69). In terms of data collection methods, I employ content analysis (Blaikie, 2009, p. 206) of secondary (Greenpeace documents) and tertiary materials (scholarly works on Greenpeace). I then engage in an interpretation of the data with the concepts derived from the relevant literatures.

While investigating these literatures, I tried to reach core articles and books by applying to the online access of the library and the eBooks collection. As a case study, in order to reach Greenpeace historical story both books and articles which analyze the history of Greenpeace and Greenpeace’s own and the latest papers such as Annual Report of 2017 and Rules and Procedures which was accepted in 2016 are used. Web sites are also used in this study as well.

The structure of this thesis is as following: Chapter 2 has two primary aims. The first one is to find out under what circumstances new social movements have emerged, and the second one is to demonstrate how changes within the economic, political, and social dimensions of what have affected these movements. Therefore, at first, economic, political, and social changes that led to the emergence of the new social movements will be discussed. Afterward, how these changes have affected social movements in terms of actors, issues, values, and modes of action will be demonstrated. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter, major theories which evaluate new social movements will be reviewed, and in order to pursue the transformation of a movement towards an

organization, a comprehensive new social movement definition will be obtained from different definitions of social movements. In the same chapter, the social movement organizations (SMOs) will be analyzed as well. In order to explain the differentiation of moderate and radical social movement organizations (SMOs), the organizational dimension of social movement organizations will be investigated and it will be demonstrated that the process of transformation from movement to organization does not always and by default conclude with losing movement characteristics. In the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter, as the case study of this thesis, Greenpeace will be scrutinized in order to find out how its transformation occurred. In the light of Greenpeace's historical evolution, the study will conclude that Greenpeace has transformed from a new social movement to a moderate social movement organization (SMO) and since it has become a moderate SMO it has lost its movement characteristics as well.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding, I should make some points clear: Since the word Greenpeace is used to describe both the entity and the vessels which were used in different campaigns, the word is written in *italic* form when it refers to the ships. Also, I prepare a table to follow the ships more easily (see Table 5: Ships in the protests, p. 74). Besides, in order to define founders of Don't Make a Wave Committee and the sides in the 1978 debt crises, sometimes I use the term 'Vancouver group'. Vancouver group refers mostly to the Stowes, the Bohlens, the Metcalfes as couples, and Patrick Moore, and Robert (Bob) Hunter.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **TO BE NEW OR NOT TO BE NEW, THAT IS THE QUESTION**

The emergence process of Don't Make a Wave Committee/Greenpeace represents a valuable case for the new social movements. In order to claim as such, it is essential to understand how new social movements have emerged. In this chapter, my main objective is to investigate the rising ecological concerns about the planet, the rise of environment as a political problem in which new social movements emerged in order to demonstrate how the emergence of Don't Make a Wave Committee/Greenpeace fits the process of formalization of new social movements.

In the post-war era, mainly since the 1960s, massive transformations have been observed in the sense of social movements due to changes that occurred within the economic, political, and social dimensions. These shifts have influenced both social movements itself and the way of thinking them. The title of this chapter refers to Hamlet since one of the very first debates in the studies of social movements concerns whether are they new or not. Although some claim that contemporary movements are successors of previous movements, the inability of the existing theories to elucidate contemporary movements demonstrates that contemporary social movements are 'new.' Questions such as the circumstances under which new social movements emerge and the kinds of changes that affected the actors, issues, values, and modes of actions of new social movements are critical. In this chapter, firstly, I will demonstrate economic, political, and social changes which prepare the ground for the emergence of the new social movements. Below, influences of these changes on different components of the new social movements, actors, issues, values, and modes of action will be scrutinized.

## **2. 1. What Has Changed?**

It is essential to scrutinize what has changed in economic, political, and social lives of Western capitalist societies and how these changes have affected the social movements in order to understand how new social movements have emerged. Changes in these three areas have affected the actors, values, issues, and modes of action in social movements. Before exploring how actors, issues, values, and modes of action of new social movements have changed, it is essential to find out what and how has changed in economics, politics, and social dimensions. However, it is crucial to keep that in mind; it is also hard to make a clear distinction between these changes in different areas, economic, political, and social dimensions. Moreover, mostly, they might be observed at the same time. The decline of class centrality, for example, is an economic change, however, it is also a politic and social change as well. The increased role of the state in the market, especially in the post-war era, at the national level might be considered as a political change, yet, since it has led to the blurring of public-private spheres, and it might be evaluated as social change. At the international level, the increasing dependency of the states and emergence of the supranational institutions as significant political changes have led to transnationalization of the issues and movements by different channels. The media and technological developments are also essential socially since they have created new solidarities. Finally, the mistrust in the existing political structures is the other social change which has brought differential features to new social movements. In this chapter, these changes will be analyzed in detail before examining their effects on actors, issues, values, and modes of action.

The decline of the working class has undermined the centrality of the class in the new movements. Although there are some recent attempts to take the class back into the study of social movements (see one of these attempts: Saraçoğlu, 2017; Barker, 2013a; Barker, 2013b), due to the factors occurred in all three, economic, political, and social dimensions, the primary place of the working class and the class in the studies of social movement have been weakened. Since the actors do not identify themselves with the economic concepts and the values and issues moved towards to post-materialist areas,

such as culture, the class has lost its elucidator power in the new social movements. In the sense of declining of the working class, economic, political, and social changes are interweaved. The first change in economic life is the shift of importance between sectors. The significance of industrial production has left its primary place to the administrative and service occupations. Besides, new sectors, such as marketing and advertising, have occurred, and these new sectors have led to the creation of the 'new middle class' which is the main actor of new social movements. Secondly, just as the transformation of workplaces gave rise to the class consciousness and the class struggle since factories created solidarity among the working class; the transformation of working places from factories to smaller places has weakened the solidarity of the working class. While new areas for the new types of solidarity emerge, old class-based solidarity types have been undermined. Thus, politically, the source of solidarity and motivation behind collective action has moved from an economic basis to the cultural dimension. Thirdly, the social structure of the market has changed. While the number of groups takes part in the market has increased, such as women have started to participate, the numbers of unemployment, low paid and marginals have increased, and all these new components have become a part of the new middle class (Della Porta & Diani, 2003; Offe, 1985).

The transformation of the state in political life has given rise to social changes, such as blurring of the public-private. In the post-war area, with the emergence of welfare states, the role of the state has raised within the market. Its role in distributions of resources has increased as well. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani explain it as the state has transformed “from being a guarantor of the market to the manager” through nationalizations, for instance. Increased power and interventions of the state transformed the conflicts by moving from the control of the resources to acquire survival mechanisms, namely basic needs such as housing or transport. On the one hand, state’s role has been expanded in the market, on the other hand, it has intervened in areas relating to private life by proving social services and welfare agencies (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 35). Therefore, particularly in the 1970s, a fusion was observed between political and non-political spheres of social life (Offe, 1985, p. 817). The areas

that previously had been under control of autonomous regulation of social actors have been exposed to state control through the extension of health services, for example. Standardization of therapeutic methods, for instance, has led to bureaucratization and rationalization of private issues like maternity (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). In other words, political changes have caused social changes. As the role of the state increased, the border between public and private spheres blurred. It influenced the collective action and social movements by creating new conflict arenas. Furthermore, this fusion has led to the transformation of conflicts. Conflicts have moved from the economic realm toward the cultural realm, which involved social interactions, individual identities, and so on (Melucci, 1984, p. 826).

There are some political changes at the international level as well. The ‘locus of power’ has changed, particularly during the 1990s. With globalization, interdependence among states has grown, and supranational organizations have occurred. New concepts such as ‘multilevel governance,’ ‘global civil society,’ and ‘the world polity’ have emerged. Although it does not mean states are not relevant anymore, collective actions transnationalized. Della Porta and Tarrow identify three critical processes of transnationalization: diffusion, domestication, and externalization. Diffusion is spreading “of movement ideas, practices, and frames from one country to another,” domestication means “playing out on domestic territory of conflicts that have their origin externally,” and finally they define externalization as challenging the “supranational institutions to intervene in domestic problems or conflicts.” (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005, p. 12)

In the social dimension, addition to the blurring of the borders between public-private spheres, developments in the communication technologies are the other significant changes. The communication developments have created computer-mediated communication (CMC). CMC has affected a wide range of components of the new social movements including “the behaviour of specific movement actors, individuals or organizations; the relations linking individual activists and organizations to each other; the feelings of mutual identification and solidarity which bond movement actors



together and secure the persistence of movements even when specific campaigns are not taking place". Developments in communication technologies have facilitated communication between participations (Diani, 2000, p. 387). Besides, the world wide web has made easier the communication between movements. In his broad study, Manuel Castells demonstrates the power of the internet and networks by investigating movements from different countries, Tunisia, Iceland, Egypt, Spain, the USA and Turkey (Castells, 2012). Media, as well, has affected the new social movements socially. Media has emerged as a new source of interpretation and provides new sources for new solidarities (Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

Another important factor within the emergence of the new social movements has both political and social life is the increasing mistrust in the existing political structures. In his study, Russell Dalton explores the shifting the relations of the citizens and state by explaining the reasons of the mistrust of the citizens in the US government. Although his focus is the US, he empathizes the tendency of the citizens' mistrust in states in advanced industrial democracies. While some authors elucidate the decreasing political support with the participation of peripheries into economic life since they cause political dissatisfaction, others explain it with "the rising affluence, expanding education, and improving social opportunities" which help them to criticize political elites and political structures (Dalton, 2004, p. 139, Dalton, 2005). There two important indicators in the issue of mistrust. On the one hand, although authors demonstrate a different group of people as the source of the mistrust in existing political structures, they, indeed, identify different components of the new middle class. The 'decommodified' groups outside the labor market and people with educated and integrated with the system are considered as the main actors of the new middle class (Buechler, 1995; Offe, 1985). On the other hand, the mistrust in the existing political structure is one of the main sources of the new social movements and due to this mistrust new social movements have adopted non-conventional and non-traditional organizing structures, as well as radical modes of actions.

These are the main changes that occurred in the economic, political, and social dimensions, which triggered the emergence of the new social movements. It might not be possible to separate these changes from each other since they are mostly interweaved. While these changes give vital features to the new movements, their effects on the components of new social movements are also essential issues. Therefore, in the next part, the components of new social movements, actors, issues, values, and modes of action, will be analyzed with detailed.

## **2. 2. ‘New’ Actors, Issues, Values, Modes of Action: How They Changed**

Although some authors reject the claim of “newness” in the social movements (Y. D. Çetinkaya, 2015), there are undeniable shifts because of the changes that have been mentioned above. Thus, due to economic, political, and social changes, social movements have gained new forms. In order to understand what has changed in the social movements, and how they change, the components of the new social movements have to be investigated. These components are actors, issues, values, and modes of action. Actors of movements are the agents, issues are conflicts of movements, values give the main theme for the conflictual issues, and modes of action mean how a movement mobilize the actors and how issues are problematized (Offe, 1985).

When we have a deep look at to the social movements, we can observe that the actors of movements have changed. Instead of a Marxian understanding of class differentiation and a working class, understanding the new social movements necessitates a new conception of political subject since actors of new social movements cannot be solely identified with specific political or economic terms. On the other hand, values and issues have also transformed, due to the blurring of public and private spheres, as a result, conflicts have moved from materialist to post/non-materialist realm (Buechler, 1995; Cohen, 1985; Melucci, 1980, 1984). Furthermore, the purpose of the movements has differentiated. New movements aim to control non-material resources such as “reappropriation of time, space, relations of daily existence” rather than material resources (Melucci, 1980, p. 219). Moreover, the modes of action

have changed, since new social movements have left the old types of organization and mobilization, for instance, unions and political parties, and they created their ways (Cohen, 1983; Offe, 1985).

In the following parts, such differences in social movements which make them ‘new’ will be analyzed in detail. In his work, Claus Offe evaluates new social movements “in terms of its social base, its issues, concerns, and its values and its modes of action” in order to locate new social movements in a new “political paradigm”. Thus, he demonstrates all aspects of social movements. By political paradigm, he seeks to answers to these related questions: “(1) What are the principal values and issues of collective action? (2) Who are the actors, and what is their mode of becoming collective actors? (3) What are the appropriate procedures, tactics, and institutional forms through which the conflict is to be carried out?” (Offe, 1985, p. 820). These questions are so comprehensive that they explain all the components of the social movements. Therefore, in this part, I will use Claus Offe’s framework to understand new social movements in all dimensions.

### **2. 2. 1. New Middle Class: Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed**

In one of the episodes of Doctor Who, a classic in the science fiction series, Amy remembers and calls the Doctor from the other universe. She refers to TARDIS with these remarkable phrases “something old, something new, something borrowed.” These are the exact words chosen by the Doctor to define TARDIS: It is old since the Doctor travels with it for a long time, it is new because every time the Doctor regenerates TARDIS restructures itself, and it is borrowed since the Doctor claims he had borrowed it to take a quick trip which, indeed, takes for hundreds of years (Season 5/ Episode 13). The reason to call this part with this geeky style is that the new middle class is, just like the TARDIS, both old and new at the same time. While there are old elements from old movements, it also has brand-new parts due to the changes within

the 1960s and 1970s. The last part of the title is ‘borrowed’ which refers to residuals of the old middle class.

Before the 1970s, the traditional way of thinking social movements was Marxism, which evaluates social movements based on class struggle. As a matter of course, the working class was the main actor in social actions. However, the vital economic, politic, and social transformations during the 1960s and 1970s have undermined the primary role of the working class in social movements. Large-scale technological systems, such as “industrialized agriculture, atomic energy, urban transportation, military defense, etc.” or “large-scale economic and administrative organizations (world markets, national social security systems, etc.)” have “spillover effects [that] lead to a ‘classlessness’ (Offe, 1985, p. 846). The decline of the importance of industrial production; increasing proportion of administrative and service sector jobs, the shift of workplaces and its effects on old types of solidarity links, the increasing involvement of the new groups in the labor market such as women, and finally rising of the number of low paid jobs as well as the unemployed diminished the Marxist sense of class (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). However, a new group of actors emerged from these conditions, which is called as the new middle class.

The most critical characteristic of the new middle class is that people who participate to the new middle class identify themselves neither on the basis of socio-economic codes, such as, working class/ middle class, poor/wealthy, rural/urban population, etc. nor political codes, for instance, left/right, liberal/conservative, etc. Instead, they use the categories taken from their issues such as gender in the women movements, the locality in the urban movements, or the human race as a whole in the case of environmental and pacifist movements in order to identify themselves (J. L. Cohen, 1985; Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1994; Offe, 1985). Although the new middle class has participants from old classes, these class backgrounds do not “determine the collective identities of the actors or the stakes of their action.” (J. L. Cohen, 1985, p. 667). Environmentalism, for example, formulates itself based on public good and concerns environmental problems globally, hence, there is no way to connect

environmental movements neither with the specific socio-economic class nor territorial borders (Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

Since the new middle class cannot be defined as a pure category, Offe suggests a combination to clarify the new middle class. According to his view, the new middle class consists of “decommodified segment of population” who transformed from workers to clients due to the economic crisis. Secondly, peripheral groups who “can afford to spend considerable amounts of time on political activities, something that they share with the often flexible time schedules of middle class professional” such as students, middle-class housewives, the unemployed and retired people. The third component of the new middle class, according to Offe, is the residuals of old middle class, in his words, “independent and self-employed middle class such as farmers, shop owners and artisan-producers, whose immediate economic interests often coincide with or least diverge from the concerns voiced by the protest politics of new social movement” (Offe, 1985, p. 834). Besides, there are also new members of the new middle class who are highly educated employees of the new sector's advertising and marketing.

Although some approaches have explained collective action as an expression of discontent which is a result of economic crisis or of social disintegration, particularly among rootless people i.e. collective behavior theory (see chapter 3) (Melucci, 1984), others suggest that people from the new middle class are not rootless at all, rather, they are highly educated people with the core occupations in the market by which they become highly connected with the system. “The new middle class constituting the most important part of these movements can hardly be said to be ‘uprooted’ but is connected rather closely with, and experienced in the use of, established political and economic institution”. Furthermore, these members of the new middle class who have high education and integrated occupations with the economic and political system can face the irrationalities of the system (Offe, 1985, p. 840). The result of this connection is that they have lost their belief and trust in traditional politics (Russell J. Dalton, 2005; Johnston et al., 1994).

Since the new middle class does not consist of a pure category, the phrase ‘something old, something new and something borrowed’ explains its complicated structure. There are old elements from the old movement actors such as the students, middle-class housewives, the unemployed and retired people and the people who influenced the negative sides of economics. The new members are the people with new occupations which are resulted from the emergence of the new sectors, such as advertising and marketing. The borrowed part of the new actors is the residuals of the old movements.

The new middle class is the new actor in the new social movements, but what about their issues? Are the issues of these new actors also new, or not? If they are new, how? In the following part, the newness of social movements will be investigated in the sense of issues.

### **2. 2. 2. Issues**

The circumstances that led to the emergence of the new middle class in movements have also influenced the issues of movements. Issues mean problems which are taken as the conflictual topics by movements. There are two kinds of shifts that have occurred in the sense of issues. On the one hand, the brand-new issues have emerged with post-materialist concerns; on the other hand, the existent issues have gained new and mostly radical dimensions.

Similar to the new middle class, we can observe that issues in the new era of social movements are not purely economically-based because of the decline of the working class. In just the same way as members of the new middle class do not identify themselves in economic terms, issues of new social movements are not composed of only economic concerns. Instead, due to the blurring of the public and private sector by the increased intervention of the state, issues have become concerned with cultural or ethnic identity, or national and linguistic heritage, the survival of the world, or just a physical territory, space of action (Offe, 1985). Although this does not mean that economic concerns are excluded from new issues, post-material issues, such as the

centrality of body, have become one of the most common elements in the new social movements, as seen in the lesbian-gay and women movements (Melucci, 1980). Offe evaluates new social movements as a third category between public and private spheres; therefore, issues of new social movements are neither private (“no legitimate concern to others”), nor public (“recognized as the legitimate object of official political institutions and actors”) (Offe, 1985, p. 826). While the new social movements have gained new issues, the existing issues have gained new dimensions as well.

Environmental concerns, for instance, can be observed throughout history, particularly in modern times. With the development of industrial production, the environment has become one of the most critical issues due to pollution and endangered species. However, the old type of environmentalism can be defined as conservationism, which seeks to protect the wildlife only. Environmentalism in new social movements, on the other hand, has challenged the status quo and aims to demonstrate the link between pollution and capitalism. The main emphasis in the new environmentalism is the survival of the society since society reached the limits of growth and consumption of the resources reached dangerous limits. Therefore, they call people to take actions, change their behaviors in order to survive, and press to polluters no matter how big they are. In the Greenpeace case, for example, Greenpeace has the claim of revealing the link between global consumerism and pollution (Eyerman & Jamison, 1989; Mertig & Dunlap, 2001; Susanto, 2007).

Consequently, although it is possible to observe that there is a continuity in the sense of the issues, this continuity cannot go beyond the surface. Names of the issues remained the same; however, the content and reading of them have changed, such as environmental issues. In addition to the gaining new dimensions, movements have also acquired new issues. As a result of the blurring of the lines between public-private, post-materialistic issues, which is not based on economic concerns, have come to the agenda.

Actors and their issues are new in the new social movements. It is also essential to look at the values whether if they are new or not since the values give themes to issues.

### **2. 2. 3. Values**

Along with the new actors and new issues, values of new movements also have been exposed to massive changes. The conditions have transformed actors, and issues influenced the values in different senses.

Values are motivational factors which trigger people to take part in or support social movements. With such a definition, one can confuse values with ideology. As Ronald Inglehart (1990) explains, the border between value system and ideology cannot be divided sharply since “both are belief systems that may lead to coherent orientation toward a whole range of specific issues.” However, the ideology mostly refers to the action plan, which is prepared by a political party or movement. Values system, contrarily, is ‘absorbed’ by socialization, especially in the early years of life. Ideology, according to him, can be rejected by “rational persuasion,” yet, value system, he claims, is “less cognitive, more effective, and tend to be relatively enduring” (p. 43).

Similar to issues, the underlining values of new social movements are post-materialist. Post-materialist values have less emphasis on economic growth and more emphasis on non-economic quality of life and self-expression, such as autonomy and identity (Inglehart, 1990; Offe, 1985). Post-materialist values have less emphasis on economic growth and more emphasis on non-economic quality of life and self-expression. Environmentalism, in this sense, is a great example since it concerns about the quality of the environment. Inglehart explains this shift from materialist to post-materialist values with the “unprecedented prosperity and the absence of war in Western countries that have prevailed since 1945, the post-war generation in these countries would place less emphasis on economic and physical security than older groups who had experienced the hunger and devastation of World War II, the Great Depression and perhaps even World War I.” Inglehart demonstrates this shift by deploying a survey which was carried in six West European countries -Britain, France, West Germany,



Italy, Belgium, and Dutch- by the European Community in 1970. People from different ages were asked to choose among alternative goals. The options included alternatives that included economic and physical security and those that emphasized non-materialistic quality of life. According to this survey, “[a]mong those aged 65 or older, materialists were fully 12 times as numerous as post-materialists; among those born after World War II (who were under 25 in 1970), post- materialists were slightly more numerous than materialists” (Inglehart, 1990, p. 48-49, 2008, p. 130).

VALUE TYPE BY AGE GROUP AMONG THE PUBLICS OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS IN 1970

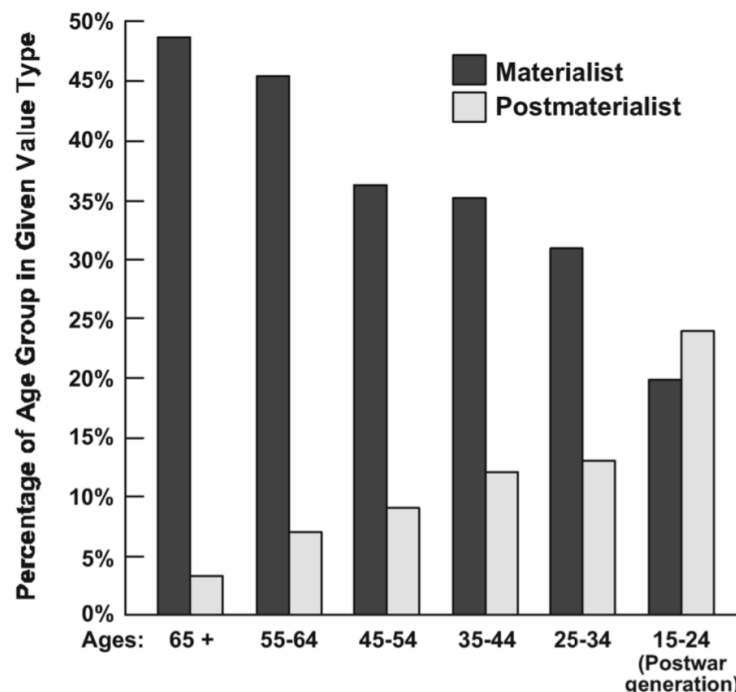


Figure 1 Shifts in the Values (Inglehart, 2008, p. 134)

Additionally, since the main actor of old movements was the working class, in Marxist sense partisanship and commitment were the values of actors in the old movements. Therefore, class origins and interest were the main sources of values of actors within the movements (Johnston et al., 1994). However, since there is no such a domain class in new social movements, and there are new issues derived from cultural areas due the

blurring of public-private these have lost their primary role, and identity and autonomy became the main sources of values (Offe, 1985).

The most vital shift in the sense of values is the transformation from materialist values to post-materialist values. Inglehart explains this shift by evaluating generations who were born before 1945, and the post-WW2 generation. According to him, since the main concerns are not economic growth and security anymore, the young generation who is highly educated and did not witness poverty of war times expanded values to post-materialist areas such as self-expression, and non-economic values.

Environmentalism might be one of the most valuable examples of the new values of new social movements. The environmental concerns, indeed, are not new, just as Offe claims; however, environmentalism gained new dimensions; therefore, it might be called a new value. Conservationism can be traced back a century or more ago, and concern with the preservation of wildlife and aesthetic environments. Although its challenge to the status quo is seen as very limited, environmentalism, the broader goal of environmental protection and entailing a more exacting critique of the status quo (R.J. Dalton, Kuechler, & Bürklin, 1990; Dunlap & Mertig, 1994; Mertig & Dunlap, 2001).

Offe claims issues and values are not new, but the implementation of these is new (Offe, 1985). However, as I discussed above, there are tremendous changes in the sense of values and issues. In the next part, the implementation of these, modes of action will be analyzed.

#### **2. 2. 4. Modes of Action**

New social movements have new actors, issues, and values as analyzed above. Modes of action are the last and maybe the most vital dimension of the new social movements. Modes of action have two-sided meaning. The first one is about how movements convince people to take part. The second one is about how new actors of new movements deploy the new issues and values of the new social movements. The first

one is about the internal evolution process of the movements. The second one refers to an external dimension.

According to Offe, internal modes of action refers to the process of building a sense of collectivity among different individuals within a social movement. Offe argues that, although there are multitudes of individuals, such as participants, campaigns, spokespeople, networks, voluntary helpers, and donations, they become collective actors and act collectively through highly informal, ad hoc, discontinuous, context-sensitive, and egalitarian relations. Therefore, contrary to the traditional forms of old movements which adopted horizontal principle of differentiation (insider vs. outsider) or the vertical dimension (leaders vs. rank and file members), new social movements rely on “de-differentiation” (Offe, 1985, p. 829). Cohen also deploys the terms of ‘differentiation of the models of organizing’. According to Cohen, movements have left the traditional models of the organization, which were the unions and/or socialist, social democratic, or communist political parties in the old movements. However, the new social movements chose to be loose federations at the national levels and created horizontal, directly democratic associations which mostly focus on grass-roots politics (Cohen, 1985). Although they use different identifications, both Offe and Cohen emphasize the non-hierarchical and egalitarian organization of the new social movements. The reason for this kind of differentiation might be the loss of trust or mistrust to current political systems and their mechanisms of political representation. As mentioned in the first part, new social movements have emerged from the distrust to traditional ways of politics.

In Offe’s argumentation, the second aspect of the modes of action is external. By the term ‘external’ modes of action, Offe implies the demonstration of tactics or other forms of action, such as protests which require the physical presence of large numbers of people. These tactics aim to mobilize people by mostly legal, yet, unconventional means. Offe argues that new modes of action, in the sense of external in his conceptualization, use catchphrases which are positive appearance, but negative logical and grammatical form such as ‘never,’ ‘nowhere,’ ‘end,’ ‘stop,’ ‘freeze,’ ‘ban,’

etc. (Offe, 1985, p. 830). By using remarkable phrases, new movements try to convince people to take part.

Civil disobedience actions are also essential in the sense of external modes of action. In the case of Greenpeace, for example, its external modes of action based on civil disobedience, which is, indeed, one of the most important reasons for its success. Greenpeace, until 1972 'Don't Make a Wave Committee', has adopted the witness-bearing strategy, which was so non-conventional that it was described as radical. According to this strategy, Greenpeace has used non-violent direct action. Witness-bearing is to be in the area of what is protesting and show its detrimental effects on the people by making them 'witness' (Susanto, 2007, p. 8). With the same strategy, Don't Make a Wave Committee members headed to the Pacific Ocean (Greenpeace International, n.d.).

There are primarily two dominant views on the deploying repertoire of action. According to these, the repertoire of action is determined by either structural and sociopolitical conditions or shared values, beliefs, understandings of organizational actors i.e., perceptions of individuals. Although structural factors were the same for the other environmental movements during the late 1960s, Greenpeace preferred a different way. Therefore, what made Greenpeace's witness-bearing different and radical becomes the question. While Friends of Earth, for example, deployed an instrumental way by lobbying the US, why did Don't Make a Wave Committee apply witness bearing? In order to explain repertoire of action choices of environmental movement organization, a framework consisting of four components might be helpful to synthesize both structural factors and individual factors. These are experience, core values and beliefs, environmental philosophy, and political ideology. Although these two -Greenpeace and Friends of Earth- had the same environmental philosophy, which was to protect the environment, Greenpeace chose a different way of protesting. One of the main reasons for that was the core values and beliefs of the founders of Don't Make a Wave Committee since they affected Quaker non-violent activism. In the sense of experience as well their founders both had been in Sierra Club; however, while Friends of Earth followed more legal processes, Greenpeace adopted direct actions.

Finally, “[a]lthough members of Greenpeace do not refer to themselves as neo-Marxists, their ideas appear to parallel this political ideology. In particular, they viewed democratic governments as exclusive and primarily receptive to the interests of powerful corporate and economic actor.” Therefore, they believed instrumental ways were ineffective (Carmin & Balser, 2002, p. 382).

Charles Tilly is one of the most critical scholars in the sense of demonstrating the shifts in the modes of action. He develops the political process model, and claims every political system contains a “specific environment of political opportunities and threats to which makers of claims necessarily respond.” According to him, “[r]epertoires vary from place to place, time to time, and pair to pair.” (Tilly, 2006, p. 35). As repertoire of contention change, the modes of action that are deployed by actors in the contention change as well. In order to explain the changes in the repertoire of contention and modes of action in specific contentions, he analyzes the history of the context in which contention occurs, and seeks to prove that the changes within the political structure, such as industrialization or the formation of the nation states, overlaps with the changes in the repertoire of contention. He describes the protests in France and observes that there is a transformation from 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He explains the repertoire of contention from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was parochial in scope, since protests targeted local actors or the local representatives of national actors. The struggle was over the resources that occurred on the local level between the communal groups against unwelcome representatives of royal power. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new repertoire of the protests started to develop, which is on the national level, contrary to the previous one. “Rather than organizing episodically at the local level, as members of preconstituted communities, in modern politics they build permanent, national associations in charge of representing their particular interests.” (Della Porta, 2013, p. 2). The new repertoire consisted of strikes, electoral rallies, public meetings, petitions, marches, insurrection, and the invasion of legislative bodies. People left the old routines that were sanctioned by old power-holders, and started to adopt new means with more free forms. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Tilly argues that “the main forms of action which emerged with the French Revolution boycotts, barricades, petitions, and demonstrations- are all still present (and even dominant) in the panorama of

contemporary protest”. However, Della Porta argues that new elements can also be identified since the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Della Porta, 2013, p. 2–3). Firstly, mobilizations have more transnational nature. Due to the international governmental organizations and world social forums, collective actions moved beyond the national borders. Secondly, computer-mediated communication has transformed social movements in the sense of their ambitions and capacity for intervention. Thirdly, 20<sup>th</sup> century of repertoires did not leave the political logic which aims to affect decision-making process by mass demonstrations, petitions, etc., however, they have also adopted more symbolic logic, witness-bearing for example, which aims to convince rather than to win. Finally, the reflection of the performances has changed. Due to the emphasis on the autonomy, the rituals of marches, for example, “have changed from those oriented to show unity and organization to more theatrical ones, giving space to a colorful expression of diversity and subjectivity that reflect cultural changes.” (Della Porta, 2013; Tilly, 2006, p. 35).

Tilly’s investigation of repertoire of contention is essential since it gives a path to pursue how modes of action have changed. The modes of action are one of the most important components which have made new social movements new. Therefore, Tilly’s studies of repertoire of contention are valuable to demonstrate how new movements have differentiated from previous movements.

In a nutshell, it can be argued that just like actors, issues, and values, the modes of action have also changed in the new social movements. The ways of actors to demonstrate their demands, means of protests, the implementation of these issues and values, and in Tilly’s conceptualization, the repertoire of contention have transformed into new forms. On the one hand, the old models of organizing have been abandoned. While the old organization models were unions and political parties, the new actors prefer to use loose federations which focus on grass-roots politics and have horizontal organizing direct democracy principals. On the other hand, the messages to the outside of movements have become more remarkable with different phrases that aim to draw people’s attention. However, Tilly’s contributions deserve significant interest. Tilly uses his political process model in order to explain shifts in the repertoire of contention. He claims that the way of demonstrating desires has changed parallel to

the changes of the political system. In order to explain this, he compares 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoires, and demonstrates the primary shifts.

### **2. 3. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I tried to clarify why new social movements have the adjective “new,” and explore in what sense they are new. In order to accomplish this task, in the first part, I summarized the multi-dimensional and intertwined transformations that took place in Western liberal democratic societies particularly after World War II. Concerning the subject of this thesis, the most remarkable change seems as the declining importance of the working class as the main actor of the social movements and the parallel waning of the category of class in the academic studies on social movements. Secondly, the increased role of the state in the post-war era by the emergence of welfare state which led to a fusion between public-private spheres seems important. The blurring of the line between these realms gave way to the emergence of new conflict issues that empathize the autonomy of individuals with their different identities. On the other hand, during the 1990s globalization have led to transnationalization of the movements. Thirdly, at the social level, in addition to the blurring of the public-private spheres, the developments in technology and computer-mediated communication facilitated the mobilization of social movements. Furthermore, the emerging new media has created new solidarities and sources of interpretations. Finally, new social movements have emerged from the distrust to the existing political structures and their solution mechanisms.

In the second part, how social movements are new is analyzed by deploying Offe’s framework. He analyzes new social movements based on its actors, issues, values, and modes of action, since these aspects are comprehensive enough to understand new social movement in a new political paradigm. The new actors in the new movements are called as ‘new middle-class’ which cannot be defined as a purely economic or political category. Therefore, Offe offers a combination which consists of new participants, old actors from the old movements, and the borrowed part is the residuals of the old movements. In the sense of issues, there are new issues which occur from

the changes during the 1960s, such as blurring of public-private have led to cultural issues, besides, old issues have gained a radical dimension, such as environmentalism started to point out the relation between capitalism and pollution, rather than seeking traditionally conserve nature. The values also changed, since they gradually and increasingly gained post-materialist themes. In the sense of modes of action, new movements have left the old types of internal modes of action and new movements adopted more egalitarian, horizontal, loose federations and they encouraged differences within the movements. Charles Tilly contributes much to the studies of modes of action by evaluating the transformation of ‘the repertoire of contention’ from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, in her study, Della Porta demonstrates changes in the sense of modes of action since the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well.

Offe summarizes newness of actors, issues, values, and modes of action in a table as such:

Table 1. Newness of New Social Movements (Offe, 1985, p. 832)

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



Therefore, as the above analysis have made clear, due to these wide-scale economic, political, and social transformations and their effects on actors, issues, values, and modes of action, the old theories of social movements remained inadequate to understand the power and the characteristics of new social movements. As a response to this inadequacy, some new perspectives in sociology and political science have emerged especially after the 80's. They are 'collective behavior theory', 'resource mobilization theory', and 'new social movement theories'. The next chapter, will focus on these new approaches and perspectives.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION, ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

The main objective of this study is to analyze the transformation process of the Greenpeace from a new social movement to a moderate social movement organization (SMO) after which it cannot be defined as a new social movement anymore. To explain this change, the literature of the new social movements is the primary reference point. In order to understand the transformation of Greenpeace from a new social movement to a moderate social movement organization (SMO) which caused losing of its movement features, firstly, it is essential to investigate the new theories of new social movements with the question in mind that do they have any plausible explanations about the transformation of social movements. Secondly, in order to be able to say that Greenpeace was a new social movement at the beginning of its history and it has lost its new social movement features later, it is vital to identify what is a new social movement and what are the differentiating features of new social movements. New social movements have gained differential features due to the significant changes during the 1960s, which are summarized in the first chapter. Besides, in the definition of social movements the common points of the new theories are significant as well. Finally, in order to argue that Greenpeace is a moderate social movement organization (SMO), but not a new social movement anymore, the reasons why moderate social movement organizations (SMOs) cannot be defined as movements have to be demonstrated.

In this chapter, in the first part, three domain perspectives, collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory, and new social movement theories will be investigated. Since the political process model is considered as an approach of resource mobilization theory, I will not mention about it in a separate title. In the second part, I will attempt

to make a comprehensive definition of new social movements. In the following part, why moderate SMOs cannot be considered as new social movements will be discussed.

### **3. 1. New Theories of New Movements**

The previous chapter focused elaborating the circumstances under which the new social movements have emerged and the differences of new social movements which make them 'new'. And the need for new theories to understand and evaluate the new social movements was underlined. These new theories are mainly collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory, and new social movement theories. There are notable differences between these perspectives.

While collective behavior theory analyzes new social movements as irrational actions of irrational actors, resource mobilization theory has denied the idea of irrationality and has brought a new understanding of the social movement studies. A different approach called the political process model is derived from the resource mobilization theory and links the movements with the enormous structural shifts. With European and more identity-based new social movement theories, new social movements have gained different dimensions. The primary aim of this chapter is to find out how these new theories explain the transformation of movements towards the organization if they do and to define new social movements and identify features of new social movements. However, the main argument of collective behavior theory, the relation between crises/breakdowns and movements, is not seem to be valid in the contemporary movements which have occurred during the 1960s. Therefore, although collective behavior theory is also summarized, the main sources of the transformation investigation and this definition attempt will be resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories.

#### **3. 1. 1. Collective Behavior Theory: Social Movement as a Club of Losers**

According to Melucci, there has been a dilemma about the emergence of collective action. Collective action is considered either as an effect of crises or as an expression

of shared beliefs and orientations. The first view evaluates collective action as a result of social fragmentation or economic crises, especially among rootless people. The latter approach, however, sees social movements as expressions of shared beliefs in a shared structural position (Melucci, 1984). Collective behavior theory might be located on the first perspective since it considers social movements as irrational reactions of rootless people to adverse developments. Since they react to external forces, according to the collective behavior theory, “[h]uman agency operated indirectly” (Morris, 2003, p. 153; Smelser, 1962; Turner & Killian, 1957).

Mainly, there are two approaches in collective behavior theory. The first one is the structural functionalist school, which traces back to the 1960s. The core of the functionalist school of collective behavior theory is the work of Neil Smelser (1962) in which social movements are defined as “side-effects of over rapid social transformations.” This argument has two meanings; there is an inadequacy of mechanisms which provide social cohesion, or collective action is a reaction of society to the crises on shared beliefs which construct community. The functionalist approach of collective behavior theory considers social movements “products of malfunctions of the social system”. Interactionist collective behavior theory is the second approach of the collective behavior theory which evaluates social movements as key to changes, such as for new solidarities and new norms. Blumer (1995), for example, defines collective behavior as a behavior, which concerns with change. According to this view, when existing meaning systems become insufficient basis for explanation of actions, “social movements are accompanied by the emergence of new rules and norms, and represent attempts to transform existing norms (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 4–7).

Although there are different interpretations of social movements in collective theory, they have common points as well. Firstly, collective behavior theories focus on grievances and assess social movements as responses to rapid social changes or as a result of strains which undermine the equilibrium of the social system. In all versions, grievances occur before the movements. Social movements are considered as a demonstration of feelings of deprivation and aggression (Cohen, 1985; Della Porta &

Diani, 2003; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Melucci, 1980). Since the main focuses are grievances and aggression, collective behavior theory defines social movements “as a peculiar kind of collective behaviour, which is contrasted to ‘organizational’ and ‘institutional’ behaviour” (Diani, 1992, p. 4). Secondly, since collective behavior theory focuses on grievances and deprivation, it argues that social movements emerge when significant social and cultural breakdowns occur. Therefore, in collective behavior theory, social movements are spontaneous, unorganized, and unstructured (Morris, 2003, p. 153). Thirdly, since the feelings of strain, discontent, frustration, and aggression are considered as the primary motivations for the mobilization, the social movement definition of collective behavior theory is based on crises, responses to rapid changes, feelings of aggression, and rejoinders to the institutional behaviors showing that social movements are taken as an irrational/non-rational way of action. However, it has been demonstrated that the movements during and after the 1960s, and the 1970s were not responses to the economic crises or social breakdowns, instead, they have been concerned about post-materialist values and issue of identity (Cohen, 1985; Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

Collective behavior theory is not relevant to the examination of Greenpeace since its core claims do not seem to be valid in the Greenpeace case. Firstly, the founders of Don’t Make a Wave Committee were not a group of ‘losers.’ Although some affected politically negative by the policies of the US and World War II, their primary motivation was environmental concerns, which provided strong environmentalist identities to them. Secondly, the protests of Don’t Make a Wave Committee against the US nuclear testing were not spontaneous, unorganized, and unstructured. Instead, their debates about the way of protests with Sierra Club and negotiations among themselves and decided to head to test area demonstrated the opposite.

Since the collective behavior theory considers social movements as consequences of the frustration and deprivations that resulted from the negative effects of the economy, it can be argued that collective behavior theory evaluates movements as a ‘club of losers,’ and this is the reason to call this part as in the title. The most vital assumptions

of collective behavior theory are seeing the participants of the movements as rootless who are affected negatively by the economy, and evaluating the movements as spontaneous gatherings of these people due to the aggression, deprivation, and/or crises occurred in social equilibrium. However, it was demonstrated that there was no connection between such crises and movements after the 1960s (Snyder & Tilly, 1972). Thus, there was increasing tension between the collective theory and contemporary movements. Resource mobilization theory has emerged from this tension (Buechler, 1993; Cohen, 1985).

### **3. 1. 2. Resource Mobilization Theory: An American Dream**

Resource mobilization theory is considered as an American approach in the social movement studies because the scholars who study it are mostly from the US. ‘The Logic of Collective Action,’ the study of Mancur Olson (1971), can be regarded as the origin of resource mobilization theory. In his work, Olson applies the classical understanding of liberal economics to the study of social movements. According to his view, individuals participate in a social movement if they believe it is beneficial for them. Resource mobilization theory differentiates itself from the previous collective behavior theory in the sense of recruitment, motivation, and participation (Buechler, 1993, p. 218; Bulut, 2014).

The most vital contribution of resource mobilization theory to the studies of social movements is its claim that actors of social movements are not just angry, disappointed groups of people, but rational people who engage in cost and benefit calculation. Thereby, it can be argued that with the resource mobilization theory, the purposeless group of crowd transforms to the purposeful, formal organizing people. Resource mobilization theory rejects collective behavior theory’s emphasis on grievances and feelings, using psychological categories, and its focus on the breakdown. Instead, contrary to the collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory emphasizes rationality. Hence, resource mobilization theorists prefer to use the word ‘action’ instead of ‘behavior’ in order to highlight consciousness, preference, and rationality.

Contrary to the collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory evaluates movements as structured and patterned, thus, movements are “normal, rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups” (Buechler, 1993, p. 218; Bulut, 2014; Y. D. Çetinkaya, 2015; J. L. Cohen, 1985; Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

The definition of rationalism in the resource mobilization theory is, indeed, originated from the liberal economic literature (Bulut, 2014). Similar to the conceptualization of the liberal economy, in the resource mobilization approach as well, rational actors pursue to maximize their interests. In this regard, as Olson (1971) argues, actors, calculate the cost and benefit of taking part in the social movements. Therefore, resource mobilization theory claims that the motivation of individuals for collective action and protest is derived from the cost and benefit analysis. Although there are different versions of resource mobilization theory, the cost-benefit calculation and “logic of strategic interaction” are the common points of them all (Cohen, 1985, p. 675; Della Porta & Diani, 2003). According to Cohen, the other common points of the different versions of the resource mobilization theory are these:

(1) Social movements must be understood in terms of a conflict model of collective action. (2) There is no fundamental difference between institutional and non-institutional collective action. (3) Both entail conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations. (4) Collective action involves the rational pursuit of interests by groups. (5) Goals and grievances are permanent products of power relations and cannot account for the formation of movements. (6) This depends instead on changes in resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action. (7) Success is evidenced by the recognition of the group as a political actor or by increased material benefits. (8) Mobilization involves large-scale, special-purpose, bureaucratic, formal organization (Cohen, 1985, p. 675).

Resource mobilization theory focuses on objective factors such as the organization, interests, resources, opportunities, and strategies. Hence, the concepts of the organization and rationality are the most significant terms of resource mobilization theory. Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the organization in two ways. Firstly, the theory considers the pre-existing organizational forms as facilitator factors. The second aspect of this emphasis is the concept of social movement organizations

(SMOs). John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, as two well-known scholars of resource mobilization theory, focus on the *social movement organizations* (SMOs). In their perspective, the organization is at the center of social movement since it is essential to mobilize resources, such as money and labor in the process of emergence of social movements, and the aggregation of these resources requires minimal form of organization. Although they accept that it is not easy to make a distinction between a social movement and a social movement organization (SMO), they define social movement organizations as: “a complex or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals”. Social movement organization (SMO) is defined as a ‘formal’ organization by McCarthy and Zald. Formal organization is described as an organization which includes all organizational elements, membership, hierarchy, rules and monitoring, and sanctions in organizational studies (see Chapter 3. 2. 2 Organization Within A Movement). Therefore, it can be argued that since resource mobilization theory defines social movement organizations (SMOs) as formal organizations, SMOs have membership process and hierarchic structures. Furthermore, resource mobilization theory assumes that bureaucratization and institutionalization is necessary and inevitable for social movement organizations (SMOs) (Buechler, 1993; Bulut, 2014; den Hond et al., 2014; Y. D. Çetinkaya, 2015; Fitzgerald and Rodgers, 2000; McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218).

However, the rationality and organization emphasis of resource mobilization theory has been criticized by different perspectives. According to Melucci, resource mobilization theory explains “how but not why”. He claims that resource mobilization theory cannot explain the meaning of contemporary movements, since it focuses on “how different elements converge in activating specific collective actions, but cannot explain why action arises and where it is going” (Melucci, 1984, p. 828). Besides, the motivation to participate in social movements has been elucidated with cost and benefit calculation; therefore, resource mobilization theory has been criticized due its omission of the crucial issues such as identity, autonomy or recognition in contemporary movements. Resource mobilization theory has been also charged with



overdosing the rationality and neglecting the role of emotions in social movements (Cohen, 1985; Della Porta & Diani, 2003). In Klandermans' words "[r]esource mobilization theory went too far in nearly abandoning the social-psychological analyses of social movements" (Klandermans, 1984, p. 584). Additionally, resource mobilization theory has been accused of marginalizing ideology. However, grievances can be politicized by ideology, and movements can create its collective identity. In the end, participants can re-interpret their social environment to find out possible resources for the movement, such in the women's movement in the 1960s (Buechler, 1993). Furthermore, it is also unclear why according to resource mobilization theory individuals who seek their own interests become a group and create solidarity since there might be sharp "differences in perceived costs and benefits between individuals, across regions, and during the life cycle of the movement." (Klandermans, 1984, p. 584). In other words, the reasons for building organizations are not explained. Resource mobilization theory is also charged with focusing meso-level of organizational analysis and ignoring the social structure and historical change. At this point, Tilly contributes to the resource mobilization theory and improves it in order to respond to these criticisms (Buechler, 1993; Bulut, 2014).

Charles Tilly (Tilly, 1977, 2003, 2006; Tilly, McAdam, & Tarrow, 2001; Tilly et al., 1975) has developed an approach called 'political process model' or 'political opportunities' as the most general and sophisticated example of resource mobilization. According to Tilly, capitalism, the formalization of the nation-state, urbanization, the emergence of mass media and new forms of organization and mobilization have created a new logic of collective action in which actors seek to maximize their interests and struggle in order to control state and market economy. Hence, he defines social movements as struggles among dominant groups and others who demand change in the controlling of resources (Bulut, 2014; Cohen, 1985). Therefore, the focus of his approach is on the relationship between institutional political actors and protestors, and he basically evaluates the political and institutional atmosphere in which social movements emerge. Although the term 'political opportunities' is used in different meanings, it the political directs the attention to the interaction between the new and

conventional actors and the interaction between institutional actions and the less conventional actions (Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

Tilly's political process model has also been criticized. On the one hand, Cohen claims that Tilly focuses on only strategic considerations, but he does not pay attention to the emergence of new public spaces and new collective identities (Cohen, 1985, p. 682-683). On the other hand, Melucci criticizes Tilly with political reductionism. According to Melucci, although Tilly identifies movements with political understanding, social movements have emerged not only in the political sphere but also in the cultural arenas (Della Porta & Diani, 2003).

Resource mobilization theory is also charged with ignoring individual motivation to take part in social movements. According to resource mobilization, the main motivation of rational individuals is the rewards of taking part in movements. Besides, resource mobilization theory is criticized since it focuses only on the technical dimensions within a movement. Therefore, as Buechler emphasizes, there is no place for neither identity and nor cultural issues. However, these are the most vital aspects of contemporary movements after the 1960s. These blank areas are evaluated in more identity-based European theories.

### **3. 1. 3. New Social Movement Theories**

Identity-based theories, in other words, new social movement theories, have occurred in continental Europe during the 1960s. Because of the same reason of calling resource mobilization theory an 'American' approach, the identity-based approach is also known as the 'European' approach. Due to the variety of approaches, it is not a new social movement 'theory' but theories (Buechler, 1995; Johnston et al., 1994). Contrary to resource mobilization theory, new social movement theories try to comprehend why social movements emerge, rather than how (Diani, 1992). New social movement theories emphasize both macro-historical and micro-historical elements. Macro-historical elements are the "larger economic structure and the role of culture in social movements," and micro-historical elements mean "issues of identity

and personal behavior.” (Pichardo, 1997, p. 411). New social movements theories emerged from the criticisms of Marxism since after World War II, the labor-capital relation was questioned and non-economic issues, such as gender came into agenda with the multiplicity of concerns and actors (Cohen, 1985; Melucci, 1980; Touraine, 1977, 1981).

According to new social movement theories, classical Marxism has two kinds of reductionism which prevent itself to cover contemporary movements. The first one is economic reductionism, which evaluates the economic logic of production in the first place in the process of emergence of social action while other types of social logics are secondary. The second reductionism is the class reductionism which locates all other social identities in the second place and defines the social actors according to their class relationships rooted in the process of production (Buechler, 1995). Although new social movement theories have emerged from the criticisms of Marxism, there is no one theory; rather, there are different approaches each emphasizing different aspects.

Alain Touraine (1977, 1981), identifies social movements with the dominant conflict in a given society. He identifies four types of society -agrarian, mercantile, industrial, and programmed i.e. post-industrial societies- and according to him, these four types of societies have their kinds of antagonistic conflict within. While in industrial society the central conflict centered on material production, it has changed in post-industrial society to the production of symbolic goods, such as research and development, the elaboration of information, biomedical, science and mass media (Buechler, 1995; Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Touraine uses the term ‘historicity’ which is “defined by the interweaving of a system of knowledge, a type of accumulation and a cultural model” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 46). The main aim of the movements, he claims, is to control historicity (Finger, 1994). In this struggle, the main actors have been changed to the “the groups with opposing visions concerning the use and destination of cognitive and symbolic resources” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 46), namely technocrats and their adversaries (Diani, 1992).

Alberto Melucci (1980) describes two levels of collective action. The first one is the existence of a struggle, and the second one is the transgression of the given norms. According to him, an action on the first level is not a social movement by itself. It is just conflict-based action. However, with the second condition, if the action goes beyond given the limits of the political and organizational system, can be called as a social movement (Melucci, 1980, p. 202). Diani adds an intermediate dimension to Melucci's two levels and explains it as "a form of collective action which involves solidarity...[it] is engaged in conflict, and thus in opposition to an adversary who lays claims on the same goods or values..." (Diani, 1992, p. 6). According to Melucci, new social movements are responses to the new forms of social control, conformity pressures, and information processing (Buechler, 1995). Melucci also describes a differentiated modern society by using Jürgen Habermas' concept of 'colonization of lifeworlds.' Social movements, in his view, deal with the intrusion of the state and the market into social life by defending individual identity, right to determine his/her own life (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Hence, it can be said that Melucci also helps to define some significant dimensions of social movement theory, such as the role of identity. In modern society, "the pace of change, the plurality of memberships, and the abundance of messages" have undermined the traditional sources and references of identity and created "homelessness of personal identity." Therefore, according to Melucci, the tendency of individuals to become a part of collective action depended on their capacity to build identity (Buechler, 1995, p. 446).

Manuel Castells (1977, 1978, 1983) is regarded as a new social movement theorist due to his emphasis of cultural identity, recognition of non-class based groups, his attention on autonomous self-management, and the image of resistance to a systemic logic of commodification and bureaucratization. He focuses on the effects of capitalist dynamics on the transformation of urban space and the role of urban social movements in this process. According to him, urban issues are central "because of the growing importance of collective consumption and the necessity of the state to intervene to promote the production of non-profitable, but vitally needed public goods" (Buechler, 1995, p. 443). Therefore, he evaluates the rise of urban social movements in a

dialectical contest in which state and other political forces aim to reorganize urban social life. While state seeks to define urban space with the goals of capitalist commodification and bureaucratic domination, people who want to defend popular interests establish political autonomy and maintain their cultural identity with mobilization from grassroots (Buechler, 1995).

Jürgen Habermas emphasizes that the problem in the new social movements is to defend and/or to put into practice lifestyles. Therefore, he claims that new conflicts do not concern with the distribution problems or the labor-capital struggles, but their concern is the “grammar of forms of life” (Habermas, 1981, p. 33). Thus, according to Habermas, the newness of the new social movements is the “conflict around which they organize” (Edwards, 2004, p. 113). According to Habermas, new social movements defend the lifeworld against colonizing intrusion of the state and market (Buechler, 1995). The means of colonization are the state bureaucracy, legal regulation, political socialization, and economic privatization. Through these, institutions of states and economy affect not only the public but also the private dimensions of everyday life, such as family, leisure, and education (Edwards, 2004). That is why the conflicts are centered not on material reproduction but on cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization (Buechler, 1995).

Although there are different versions in new social movement theories, it is still possible to find some common points. Firstly, due to the blurring of public-private spheres bodies, interpersonal relations, biological identities, and sexual relations, which were used to be private, have become a subject to political interventions. Therefore, individuals mobilize in order to defend their autonomies and identities. Consequently, one of the most significant characteristics of new social movement theories is the critical roles of identity and autonomy (Melucci, 1980). Secondly, all new social movement theories focus and emphasize the cultural sphere or civil society as a significant arena for collective action. It does not mean that they abandon the necessary actions in the states or political actions. However, the aim of contemporary movements is not to control political power or state apparatus but to control the

autonomy, to gain independence and self-determination. As a result, the central issue of new social movement theories has become values such as autonomy, self-determination, and identity (Buechler, 1995; Melucci, 1984). Consequently, new social movement theories mostly emphasize the post-materialist values for collective action rather than materialist values (Buechler, 1995, p. 442). Thirdly, since problems and actors are not class-based, and due to the emphasis of non-material values, the motivation of individuals are not derived from cost-benefit calculation or purely ideology. While new social movement theories claim ideology is constructed, they all argue there is a shared belief and solidarity among participants in “the process of symbolic redefinition what is real and what is possible” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 14).

Although there is extensive literature on the new social movements, there is no comprehensive model for the evolution of the movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). The most conventional and classical explanation of such a transformation is the Weberian approach and Michel’s iron law of oligarchy. Zald and Ash (1966) demonstrate the inadequacy of “institutionalization and goal displacement model,” which aims to explain the organizational transformation. This model synthesizes Weber and Michels’ approaches, and claims that as the social movement organization gains economic and social base in the society “the original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure emerges, and a general accommodation to the society occurs.” This process has three phases: Goal transformation, a shift to organizational maintenance, and oligarchization. On the one hand, the movement organization adopts a more modest goal. Organizational maintenance, on the other hand, is a special form of goal transformation that emphasizes maintenance of membership, funds, and other requirements of organizational existence. The oligarchization is used to define the concentration of the power within a small group in the Weberian sense. However, Zald and Ash claim, “[t]here are a variety of other transformation processes” (p. 327-328). While resource mobilization theory considers the management of resources requires a minimum level of organization (Bulut, 2014), in their study, Zald and Ash, demonstrate the internal and external factors that affect the *transformation of*

*movement organizations*. The external factor, according to them, is the environment which consists of three interrelated aspects. These are ebb and flow of sentiments, competition with other movement organizations, and failure or success in achieving goals. The ebb and flow of sentiments affect both the growth and change of the movement organization since one of the main aims of the movement organization is to mobilize the possible supporters. The competition among movement organizations also has an influence since in order to gain support movement organizations become more sensitive to differences and shifts in the milieu of the movement organizations. Finally, the failure or success in achieving goals have effects on the transformation of the movement organization since if a movement organization success its goals, it might be complete its lifetime or it might find new goals. If there is neither success nor failure, movement organization becalms. This is the most likely result of the Weber-Michel's model as well. The organization has a niche, but its growth slows down or ceases. Failure occurs when supporters of the movement organization do not believe in the organization to achieve their goals. Zald and Ash also identify the internal factors. The first internal factor is the replacement of the charisma. If charismatic leader dies, and more bureaucratic leader comes into power some changes occurs, such as the number of members is likely to decline since they are committed to the charismatic leader, organization might become more professional, or the organization factionalized since sub-groups might find the possibility to be part of power struggle while the charismatic leader used to prevent them. The other internal factor that affects the organization is the commitment of the leaders to goals. If leader, Zald and Ash claim, is committed to radical goals, the organization become radical, contrary to the Weber-Michel's model (Zald & Ash, 1966). However, their framework explains the *transformation of a SMO, not the transformation of a movement towards an organization*. Della Porta and Diani study student movements in Germany and Italy, and argue that while some movements become institutionalized and transform themselves into a political party or interest groups, others, however, become more radical (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Greenpeace, as an environmentalist movement during the 1960s, has become a moderate SMO by losing its movement characteristic.

Thus, it is also possible to protect the movement characteristic and transform into a SMO. So, where is the line?

The line can be found in both new social movement and SMO concepts itself. Firstly, SMO is not a pure category in which all types have the same features (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000; Zald & Ash, 1966). While there are moderate SMOs that lost its movement characteristic, there are also radical SMOs which can be still considered as a movement. Greenpeace has become a moderate SMO, and although it was a new social movement at the beginning, it has lost its movement features. Since there is no comprehensive explanation for the transformation of movements, in order to demonstrate Greenpeace's transformation, I will investigate the concepts of new social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs) in order to demonstrate the way of Greenpeace from new social movement to social movement organization (SMO).

### **3. 2. Movements and Social Movement Organizations**

The main claim of this study is that Greenpeace was a new social movement at the beginning of its history, yet, since it is a moderate SMO now, it cannot be evaluated as such anymore. In order to be able to demonstrate when it was a movement and why it is not now, there has to be a comprehensive new social movement definition. In this part, firstly I will try to answer what is new social movement. Following, I will investigate social movement organizations (SMOs).

#### **3. 2. 1. What Is Social Movement?**

Although there are so many attempts to define social movements, there is no agreed definition. Furthermore, scholars from the same approaches have different focuses and definitions as well. While Zald and Mayer give importance to social movement organizations (SMOs), Tilly focuses on the political environment in which movements occur. In the perspective of new social movement theories, although Touraine emphasizes dominant conflicts with the term historicity, Castells focuses the



transformation of urban life, and Melucci emphasizes the new sources of identities with the Habermas's term of 'colonization of lifeworld'. However, Diani demonstrates that there are four common points in the definition attempts of both resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories, and he builds a new social movement definition based on these four commonalities (Diani, 1992, p. 13).

The first common point is the informal networks of interaction. Despite their different focuses, these theories are all aware that there is a plurality of actors in new social movements. As a result, there must be interactions among these different groups, and in order to maintain these interactions, there must be informal links between them as well. These interactions and links constitute the informal networks. These informal networks "promote the circulation of essential resources for action (information, expertise, material resources) as well as of broader systems of meaning. Thus, networks contribute both to creating the preconditions for mobilisation (which is what RMT has mostly emphasized) and to providing the proper setting for the elaboration of specific world-views and life-styles (as described by Melucci)" (Della Porta & Diani, 2003; Diani, 1992, pp. 7–8). Secondly, it can be argued that Zald and Mayer's term 'set of opinions and beliefs,' Touraine's term 'identity' and Melucci's terms 'solidarity' demonstrate that there is an understanding of 'shared beliefs and solidarity' in new social movements both in resource mobilization theory and identity-based approaches. Although Zald and Mayer's set of opinions and beliefs do not include belonging and there is no homogeneity in collective identity, it is vital to draw external borders of movement and for actors to feel a part of a movement. Thirdly, collective action builds itself on the conflictual issues in both resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories. Resource mobilization approaches, particularly Tilly, emphasize that movements define themselves with reference to social changes. In identity-based theories, although there are different approaches, all recognize that movements derive from the conflictual issues. While Touraine explains it with historicity and the struggles to control it, Melucci defines conflicts as the first dimension of movements. Habermas, on the one hand, argues the conflicts occur in order to defend life-worlds. Castells empathizes conflictual issues in urban movements as well. Finally, they all assume that these conflicts are derived from cultural areas. It

is evident in new social movement theories, yet the resource mobilization theory approach has also accepted that. “Indeed, the existence of cultural movements has never been denied either by Resource Mobilization theorists (Zald and Ash, 1966 speak of movements of ‘personal change’) nor by proponents of the ‘political process’ perspective (Tilly, 1984 mentions ‘religious movements’)” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003; Diani, 1992, pp. 9–10) Diani brings together these common points and defines social movement as “a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity’.” (Diani, 1992, p. 13). However, Della Porta and Diani demonstrate that sociology of social movements emphasizes other features of social movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2003); therefore, these features, as well, supposed to be in the definition of new social movement.

Firstly, a new social movement is “loosely structured,” since “[n]o single group tends to (or should) be recognized as representing the movement’s wider interest.” Therefore, social movements are supposed to be *decentralized* (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, pp. 140–141).

Secondly, direct participation is crucial for social movements. Since new social movements are affected by New Leftist ideology and movement, *direct participation*, anti-bureaucratic politics, and community are essential concepts for a new social movement. Besides, due to the similarity of new social movements and New Left, grassroots participation, and direct personal involvement also have great influences on new social movements (Cohen, 1985; Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Another reason for the emphasis of direct participation and direct democracy may be the mistrust in the existing political ways as well (see chapter 1).

Thirdly, the type of internal solidarity within the movements is another differential feature of new social movements. Since new social movements’ main aim is not the redistribution of the materialist resources, and they have limited access to material resources, contrary to political parties, new social movements substitute these with symbolic resources. Therefore, in order to create solidarity among participants, social

movement gives importance to internal solidarity. This internal solidarity is built by direct, face-to-face interaction and egalitarian relation (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). This kind of internal relation rises the *non-hierarchic* and *egalitarian structure*.

Since the internal solidarity is as such, the *leadership* becomes another differentiated element of new social movements. The leadership in the new social movements is neither traditional nor rational-legal in the Weberian sense. It is charismatic, since “it is dependent on possession of constantly changing resources, leadership in social movement is *ad hoc*, short lived, relates to specific objectives and is concentrated in limited area of movements themselves.” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 142 emphasized originally).

Movement, indeed, is fluid phenomena. Due to the egalitarian internal solidarity, there are no certain borders of movements. This means there is no need for the legal process to participate in movements. People who believe in the same goals can be a part of it. As a result, Della Porta and Diani argue that “*social movements do not have members, but participants*” (Della Porta & Diani, 2003, p. 17).

With this framework of new social movement as *decentralized, egalitarian and non-hierarchic structure which have participants instead of members with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership*, moderate SMOs cannot be defined as a new social movement, unlike radical SMOs. In the next part, the difference between these two and why moderate SMOs are not new social movements will be answered. Therefore, I will apply organizational studies in order to understand organization dimension of social movement organizations (SMOs).

### **3. 2. 2. Organization Within a Movement**

In the previous part, I defined new social movements as decentralized, egalitarian, and non-hierarchic structures. According to my definition, movements have participants instead of members with direct participation and they also have ad hoc, issue-based leadership. In this part, the question is: Why moderate SMOs are not new social movements?

Firstly, it is essential to emphasize that social movement organizations (SMOs) is not a pure category. There are radical SMOs, as well as moderate ones. Greenpeace has lost movement features as a moderate SMO; however, radical SMOs may protect their movement characteristics. In this part, firstly, I will investigate how moderate and radical social movement organizations (SMOs) differentiate. Aftermath, in order to understand how and why radical SMOs protect their movement features I will investigate the organizational dimension of social movement organizations (SMOs).

Scholars in resource mobilization theory emphasize SMOs, since they argue that it is inevitable to move from the movement towards social movement organizations (SMOs). The reason for this transformation is that management of the resources and the growing of movement require more organized structures (Bulut, 2014). Hence, institutionalization and bureaucratization are inescapable as well (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000), and paid staff, office space, communication technologies are vital for the survival of the organization (Hensby et al., 2012). Therefore, social movement organization (SMO) conceptualization is quite vital for resource mobilization theory.

SMO is defined as “a complex, or formal organization which identifies its preferences with a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals.” by McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1218). Zald and Ash were the first ones who systematically deployed the concept with their study (McCarthy, 2013). Although SMOs are mostly defined with hierarchic, institutionalized and bureaucratic structures, Fitzgerald and Rodgers (2000) argue that SMOs are not inherently institutionalized and bureaucratic. They differentiate radical SMOs and moderate SMOs and claim existing theoretical model, resource mobilization theory, considers SMOs with hierarchical leadership and formal bureaucratic structure. According to resource mobilization theory, SMOs develop a broad membership base for resource generation. Ideologically, SMOs are moderate which aim reforms in the current economic and political systems, rather than aiming revolutionary changes. Also, SMOs use mainstream and traditional forms of communication since they deploy non-violent legal actions and reform-based agenda, mainstream communication channels do not exclude SMOs. Finally, the success of SMOs depends on realizing their reform goals,

obtaining resources and new members and the longevity of the SMO. Fitzgerald and Rodgers claim that although resource mobilization theory, can explain moderate SMOs, it is inadequate to analyze radical SMOs which are opposite of moderate SMOs. The table taken from Fitzgerald and Rodgers' study summarizes their arguments about SMOs.

Table 2 Moderate and Radical SMOs (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000, p. 578)

	<b>Moderate SMOs</b>	<b>Radical SMOs</b>
<b>Internal Structure</b>	Hierarchical leadership; formal bureaucratic organization; development of large membership base for resource generation	Nonhierarchical leadership; participatory democratic organization; egalitarian; "membership" based upon involvement; support indigenous leadership
<b>Ideology</b>	Reform agenda, emphasis on being a contender in the existing political system; national focus; support government military involvement	Radical agenda; emphasis on structural change; flexible ideology; radical networks; global consciousness and connections; antimilitaristic stance
<b>Tactics</b>	Nonviolent legal action	Nonviolent direct action; mass actions; innovative tactics
<b>Communication</b>	Able to rely on mainstream forms of communication	Ignored/misrepresented by media; reliance on alternative forms of communication (music, street theater, pamphlets, newsletters)
<b>Assessment of Success</b>	Potential for plentiful resources; manipulate resources for the self-interest of the organizations' longevity; formal rationality; success measured in terms of reform of existing political/economic system	Limited resources; may be purposefully short-lived; substantive rationality; contribute to larger agenda; subject to intense opposition and government surveillance

Fitzgerald and Rodgers demonstrate the differences of radical SMOs by investigating the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee<sup>1</sup> between 1960-1964, Industrial

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<sup>1</sup> Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), also called Student National Coordinating Committee after 1969, was an American political organization that played a central role in the civil rights movement in the 1960s. It began as an interracial group

Workers of the World<sup>2</sup>, and many other feminist organizations. In light of their model, it can be said that SMOs are not hierarchic and institutionalized by default. According to Fitzgerald and Rodgers, SMOs might have non-hierarchical structure, and ad hoc, issue-based leadership that encourages all participants for leadership and makes all participants part of decision making. By these, radical SMOs prevent themselves from being an empty bureaucratic institution. Besides, due to the non-hierarchical leadership, radical SMOs have egalitarian internal relations. Also, radical SMOs rely on mass and grassroots actions. Politically, since participants of radical SMOs are aware of that they cannot change anything with revolutionary aims, radical SMOs have more radical aims. Furthermore, although radical SMOs have some similar tactics with moderate SMOs, radical SMOs tend to be more inventive in the sense of tactics. While both moderate and radical SMOs have non-violent actions, radical SMOs also deploy confrontation tactics through direct actions. Since mainstream media exclude radical SMOs due to their radicalism, they created alternative communication ways. The radical SMOs conceptualization of Fitzgerald and Rodgers, indeed, fits the new social movement definition. However, moderate SMOs are not proper to be defined as a new social movement. Thus, in the case of Greenpeace, it might be argued that Greenpeace become a moderate SMO and it has lost new social movement features since it has lost decentralized, egalitarian and non-hierarchic structure with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership form and it has members now instead of participants.

It has been demonstrated that radical SMOs do not contradict the new social movement definition. However, how such differentiation could occur between moderate and

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advocating non-violence, it adopted greater militancy late in the decade, reflecting nationwide trends in black activism. <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/sncc>, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Student-Nonviolent-Coordinating-Committee>

<sup>2</sup> Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), byname Wobblies, labour organization founded in Chicago in 1905 by representatives of 43 groups. The IWW opposed the American Federation of Labor's acceptance of capitalism and its refusal to include unskilled workers in craft unions. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Chicago>

radical social movement organizations (SMOs)? In order to find out an answer for this question I will look at the organizational dimension of social movement organizations (SMOs). In order to reach a better understanding of the organizational dimension in SMOs, the organizational analysis should be the source. Although social movement studies and organizational studies have been considered as two separate interest areas, these two have intimate relations, and they have learned so much from each other. Indeed, there is a tendency in social movement theories which ignores organizational studies; however, there are also recent attempts which aim to bring organizational analysis into social movement studies and argue that organizational analysis might be useful for expanded scrutiny (Soule, 2013). According to one of these attempts, although movements are not organizations, collective action in social movements needs organization; however, it does not need to be necessarily in the form of a formal organization (den Hond et al., 2014). The formal organization is the organization which has all organizational elements. These organizational elements within a movement are membership, hierarchy, rules and monitoring, and sanctions.

In the sense of membership, it can be said that den Hond et al. follow Diani's path: social movements have participants rather than members. However; SMOs have members which mean there is a formalized relationship "such as paying a membership fee, that distinguishes them from participants, supporters, followers, bystanders, or sympathizers" (den Hond et al., 2014, p. 5). The second organizational element is the hierarchy. Although some movements and even organizations remain non-hierarchic, such as egalitarian radical SMOs as Fitzgerald and Rodgers demonstrate above Hond et al. claim that the stratification of power is likely. This may occur in three ways:

1) the fact that "more outspoken members can take over and eclipse others" threatens the desire for participatory equality, 2) informality of inter-personal relationships could lead to cliques being formed where some "people had greater decision-making weight and gradually came to assume more permanent leadership positions," and 3) a gender inequality in which "the activist groups we studied unreflexively reproduced gender norms that permeated wider society" (den Hond et al., 2014, p. 7-8).

Hierarchy invokes another organizational element, rules, which confirms the hierarchy. Rules "are explicit, pronounced expectations about actions and

classifications to follow.” Rules resulted from the coordination requirement of collective action. Once rules are set up, the other organizational element comes to the scene. While monitoring means compliance with the rules, sanction means positive or negative incentives, i.e., rewards, and punishments, which are used at the end of monitoring, if there is compliance with or violation of the rules. Hence, on the one hand, rules set up the certain borders of the organization; on the other hand, monitoring and sanctions control these borders. According to writers, the organization is a matter of variation among these elements. They claim that these four might resort in different levels which define the organization as formal or partial. While they define the formal organization as an organization in which all these four elements can be observed, the partial organization is the one in which only some of these four are valid (den Hond et al., 2014). As a result, it can be said that organizations do not necessarily have hierarchic, institutionalized, and bureaucratic structures.

There are also some recent studies which demonstrate that hierarchic, institutionalized, bureaucratic and professionalized structures are not the only types of organizations (Graeber, 2004; Christopher Grey & Garsten, 2001; Hensby et al., 2012). In their board study, Hensby and his colleagues challenge institutionalized, professional, bureaucratic organizations, identify DIY -Do It Yourself- movements, and they note negative aspects of these. As the organization expands, firstly, the proportion of the budget increases, which is used to maintain high membership figures rather than carry actions; however, conflictual issues are the core of new social movements. With professionalization, individual participation in protests has become surrogate (Hensby et al., 2012); however, direct participation is vital for new social movements. While Rawcliffe (1998) argues that the bureaucratization of social movement leads to ‘goals transformation’ which make the organization more conservative, Jordan and Maloney (1997) observes that shift of priorities towards business interests has also affected relationship between SMOs with similar purposes: They have started to consider each other rivals, rather than seeing ‘fellow activists’. Additionally, Jordan and Maloney (1997) claims professionalization and bureaucratization limit active participation. Since organizations are too concerned with the maintenance of their members and



reputation, they neglect to create sufficient opportunities for active participation for members. Finally, institutionalized bureaucratic organizations are not open to new and creative actions (Hensby et al., 2012).

### **3. 3. Conclusion**

In the first part of this chapter, I investigate the collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory, and new social movement theories in order to find out if they have explanations about transformation of movements to social movement organizations (SMOs). Although there is a huge literature on new social movements, there is no extensive clarification about such a transformation.

In the second part, in order to demonstrate this transformation, I tried to reach a comprehensive definition of new social movements through commonalities of both resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories. Since the core claims of collective behavior theory do not seem to be valid after the 1960s, it is not used in this work. Diani demonstrates the common point of resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories and defines new social movements as “a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity’.” The sociology of social movements contributed this definition by clarifying core features of new social movements. Within this framework, new social movements are described with *decentralized, egalitarian and non-hierarchic structure which have participants instead of members with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership*.

In the last part of this chapter, firstly SMOs and later organizations are analyzed. Instead of general perception, it has been demonstrated that not all SMOs and organizations are hierarchic and institutionalized. While moderate SMOs do not fit the new social movement definition, radical SMOs do not contradict with this definition. Similarly, recent organizational studies make a distinction between formal and partial organizations. Formal organizations have all organizational elements membership,

hierarchy, rules and monitoring, and sanctions, partial organizations do not have all these elements. While formal organizations have members -not participants-, hierarchic structures, rules which define the limits of the organization and monitoring and sanctioning which controls these limits, contrarily, partial organizations do not have all these elements. Therefore, similar to SMOs, while formal organizations contradict the new social movements as a decentralized, egalitarian, and non-hierarchic structure which have participants instead of members with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership. However, recent studies have also demonstrated negative aspects of the institutionalized and bureaucratic organizations. Institutionalization and bureaucratization lead to professionalization, which brings division of labor and undermines the direct participation. As a conclusion of these two-dimensional investigations, SMOs, and organizations, it has been demonstrated that a movement may transform toward a social movement organization and protect its movement features at the same time. However, it did not work in such a way in the Greenpeace case. Greenpeace became a moderate SMO since the organizational aspect of movement organization is formal in the sense of organizational studies explain. Therefore, in the next chapter, firstly I will demonstrate why Greenpeace is considered as a moderate SMO. Aftermath, I will find out when and how Greenpeace has become a moderate SMO and when and how it has lost its movement characteristic. To answer to these questions, the historical process of Greenpeace will be investigated.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **GREENPEACE: FROM A GROUP OF HIPPIES TO WORLD WIDE ORGANIZATION**

According to Eyerman and Jamison, the expansive organizations in the 1980s were not the same organizations of 1970s, which achieved new social movement status. Although these new movements were New-Left influenced anti-nuclear alliances and/or action groups which brought environmental concerns into political discourse, they shifted to professionally orientated multinational environmentalist cooperation which concerned with the “revitalization of the older, more traditional conservation societies.” Greenpeace is an example of these organizations (Eyerman & Jamison, 1989, p. 99).

As one of the most well-known and significant environmental organization, Greenpeace has a tremendous influence on the environmental movements since its foundation. Greenpeace has made environmentalism ‘look cool’ with its young and charismatic profile, besides it bolsters and reshapes environmentalist groups (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 4). In addition to its protests that are based on civil disobedience, non-violent actions have helped Greenpeace public image. On the one hand, Greenpeace activists endanger their own lives for nature by employing confrontation based ‘witness-bearing’; on the other hand, they convince people to take responsibility for the environment (Susanto, 2007). Consequently, while it was defined as a loose confederation of tribes each had their own internal culture and their own view about the future of organization (F. S. Zelko, 2017), today it is a worldwide organization which has a wide agenda from opposing the use of palm oil to saving oceans, with annual budget of over 80,000,000 Euros, with three ships (Rainbow Warrior and Arctic Sunrise) (Greenpeace International, 2016) huge media visibility, and a powerful public image. Although it has been criticized for being “corporate,” Greenpeace is one of the

most known environmental groups, for example, its logo is famous as much as McDonald's or Coca Cola (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 5).

Greenpeace's history can be analyzed at two levels. The first level represents the important historical points, such as the creation of the Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) in 1969, the establishing of the Greenpeace Foundation in 1972, the anti-whaling and anti-sealing campaigns between 1974-1976, and the debt crisis in 1978. There is also the second level, which represents the vital facts that have significant roles in the transformation of Greenpeace. These are *divisions* within the Don't Make a Wave Committee and Greenpeace, increasing the *popularity* of the Committee (DMWC), and Greenpeace, and *organizational steps* that were taken in multiple times in different forms. All these factors have affected Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) and Greenpeace in different manners and all have led to the transformation of Greenpeace into a moderate SMO and lose its movement features. Divisions mean different attitudes about the campaigns and the different views about the future form of the organization. As I will demonstrate, the divisions about the future of Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) and Greenpeace has always been there. However, divisions within the group have brought fragmentation, which excludes radical views from the Committee/Greenpeace. This exclusion has affected internal solidarity which was based on egalitarian relations since as the divisions became apparent and one side became superior, the non-hierarchic structure of the Committee was undermined. The word popularity is used to describe the spreading of Greenpeace supporters. While it had positive effects on Don't Make a Wave Committee/Greenpeace at the beginning, with the anti-sealing campaign, the concern of protecting supporters prevailed over the environmental concerns. It undermined the movement character of Greenpeace since, although new values of new movements have radical dimensions, due to the concern of protecting supporters, Greenpeace adopted more conservative environmentalism. On the other hand, popularity brought new Greenpeace branches in different parts of the world, such as New Zealand. As the branches of Greenpeace increased, the different centers occurred, such as San Francisco and these centers became effective on financial issues and policies. Since they gained such power, these new centers

became a part of the power struggle which ended with one of them, San Francisco's, 'victory' and Greenpeace International was built in 1978. Organizational steps are the developments within Greenpeace, which pushed this transformation towards a moderate SMO. These are the developments such as having a permanent office and paid staff, building of the board and establishing the permanent leadership instead of ad hoc issue-based leadership. Besides, due to these organizational steps, Greenpeace adopted a legal membership process, which makes a distinction between member and supporter. Thus, Greenpeace contradicted with the definition of movement which emphasizes that movements have participants, not members. Although it is theoretically possible to protect movement characteristics during the process of becoming social movement organization (radical) as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, Greenpeace has lost its movement features. Therefore, these steps are vital to trace the way which ended with a moderate SMO.

The development of Greenpeace was not unique and was similar to other groups that fall under the rubric of new social movements. Similar to other new social movements, such as gay liberation movement, peace movement or women's movement, Greenpeace, as well, is a product of break-up of New Left and follows single issue (Harter, 2004). The origins of Greenpeace can be traced back to 1969 since as the predecessor organization of Greenpeace Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) was established in 1969 in Vancouver, Canada to protest the US nuclear tests on Amchitka Island (Timmer, 2007). Since Irving Stowe, Jim Bohlen and others were concerned the test would cause a wave which could trigger a tsunami, and organizations they were already members refused to protests they established Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC). Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) brought a new dimension to protests with non-violent direct actions by sailing into the US test area, which was called witness-bearing. While witness-bearing is still deployed by Greenpeace, during the 1980s, Greenpeace also adopted "climbing chimney" as a new form of protests. These both are based on civil disobedience and witness-bearing of Greenpeace represents a great example of new modes of action of new movements (see chapter 1). Although the first journey was not able to achieve its goals due to

several reasons, the US halted the test in Amchitka and Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) considered it a success of their protests. At the end of the Amchitka protest Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) gained popularity in Canada. From the very beginning, divisions about the future form of the organization can be observed within the movement. In 1972, DMWC officially took the name Greenpeace Foundation, and in the same year, Stowe and Bohlen selected the CBC journalist Ben Metcalfe as the new leader of Greenpeace. Besides, his desires to regulate Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) into a more organized structure, his attention to French nuclear testing in South Pacific brought popularity to Greenpeace beyond Canada; therefore, people in Europe used 'Greenpeace' name and protested the French nuclear tests. Additionally, McTaggart, who was the captain of *Greenpeace III* during the protests became one of the prominent figures in the history of Greenpeace. His role in the power crises between Vancouver and San Francisco branch sealed the destiny of the organization. Greenpeace International was founded in 1978 with its full of the professional and organized structure at the end of that dispute. The anti-whaling campaign in 1974 also had great importance in organization story. The increased popularity of Greenpeace brought questions about the future of the organization; as a result, contending views which could be traced back at the beginning of the first journey became more visible. Besides, with the leadership of Bob Hunter, steps for a more organized Greenpeace were taken. These steps; however, undermined the egalitarian and non-hierarchic character and created a moderate SMO with hierarchic structure. In 1976 and 1977 Greenpeace carried the anti-sealing campaign in order to save seal harps. During anti-sealing protests due to Hunter's pragmatic strategies, Greenpeace became more moderate and radicals purged. In 1978, Greenpeace faced tremendous financial problems along with the authorization problems. Hunter's efforts to centralize the organization in Vancouver ended with the uprising of the San Francisco branch. McTaggart solved the problem in his way; however, the organization occurred, in the end, was not the same when a group of people endangered their lives in Amchitka.

In this chapter, in the first part, I will summarize recent form of Greenpeace in order to demonstrate it is a moderate social movement organization (SMO). In the following parts, the history of Greenpeace will be investigated in order to find out the vital turning points in the process of transformation from a new social movement to a moderate SMO. At the beginning of its history, Don't Make a Wave Committee/Greenpeace was a new social movement. However, it has become a moderate SMO and it has lost its movement features. Although Don't Make a Wave Committee/Greenpeace might be described as a decentralized, egalitarian, and non-hierarchical structure which have participant instead of members with direct participation and ad hoc, issue-based leadership, today it cannot be defined as a new social movement. Therefore, the main aim is to demonstrate why Greenpeace is considered as a moderate SMO, and when and how it has lost these features.

#### **4. 1. Greenpeace International**

Greenpeace International (GPI) identifies itself as a “global campaigning network of independent organizations” which aim “to change attitudes and behavior, to protect and to conserve the environment and to promote peace”. The entity is formally registered as Stichting Greenpeace Council (SGC) which is a Dutch Stichting<sup>3</sup> based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Greenpeace International and Stichting Greenpeace Council can be interchangeably used (Greenpeace International, n.d.-a, 2016, 2017).

Greenpeace International has 26 National/Regional Organizations (NROs) in over 55 countries across the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Pacific. These are the ‘voting organizations’ which have right to vote in the Council. Greenpeace International does not adopt or incorporate existing organizations into its structure. New NROs are established on the basis of a Board and Council decision. In the process of creating a new NRO, the office and Greenpeace Council have to follow a number of agreements which bring responsibilities and rights for both sides. One of the most important

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<sup>3</sup> “Foundation” is a close, but not exact, translation. Annual Report of Greenpeace, 2017.

responsibilities of NROs is to contribute Greenpeace income with a percentage which is determined on the basis of NROs net incomes. Greenpeace claims that the organization do not accept any financial support from governments, corporations and political parties in order to protect its independency. Therefore, contributions of NROs are vital for the financial table (Greenpeace International, 2016, 2017).

The legal status of NROs are determined by the legal framework of the country in which NROs organize. Each NRO has a Board of Directors and an Executive Director. These boards are usually elected by voting members (Greenpeace International, n.d., 2016, 2017; Timmer, 2007).

Table 3 Income and Expenditure of Greenpeace in 2017 (Annual Report, 2017)

<b>Consolidated Statement of Income and Expenditure 2017</b>				
		<b>2017</b>	<b>2016</b>	
(all amounts in EUR 000s)	Note			
<b>Income</b>				
Contribution from Greenpeace Organisations	15	81.258	77.469	
Other income	16	<u>1.302</u>	<u>1.939</u>	
<b>Total income</b>		<b>82.560</b>	<b>79.407</b>	
<b>Expenditure</b>				
Grants to Greenpeace Organisations	17	33.184	34.742	
<i>Campaigns:</i>				
Oceans		1.347	1.158	
Forests		2.149	2.503	
Food for Life		1.493	1.446	
Detox		1.245	969	
Climate and Energy		2.732	2.382	
Save the Arctic		<u>2.318</u>	<u>1.593</u>	
		<b>11.284</b>	<b>10.050</b>	
<i>Campaign Support:</i>	18			
Media and Communications		2.504	2.321	
Marine Operations and Action Support		12.374	10.853	
Other		<u>-</u>	<u>370</u>	
		<b>14.878</b>	<b>13.544</b>	
Global Engagement and Fundraising		7.025	4.877	
Organisational Support	19	14.421	15.933	
<b>Total expenditure</b>		<b><u>80.792</u></b>	<b><u>79.145</u></b>	

Stichting Greenpeace Council (SGC) is governed by a Board of Directors (Board) which is elected by Council. The Board of Directors of Greenpeace consisted of seven members. These members are elected for a three-year period by Council. The Council



consists of NROs representatives which called Trustees. The Board appoints the International Executive Directors (IED). International Executive Director (IED) is accountable to the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors of Greenpeace approve Greenpeace International's budget and audited accounts, and to appoint and supervise IED. The Greenpeace International Executive Director (IED) role is currently shared between two persons. They are responsible for the management of Greenpeace International (GPI) and manage the GPI Strategy and Management Team (SMT). The Strategy and Management Team (SMT) reports to the International Executive Director (IED). This team consists of these members: The Greenpeace International Development Director (IDD), The Greenpeace International Finance Director, The Greenpeace International People and Culture Director, The Greenpeace International Operations Director, The Greenpeace International Programme Director (IPD), The Greenpeace International Global Engagement Director. The International Executive Directors (IED), and a Strategy and Management Team (SMT) are paid a salary (Greenpeace International, n.d.-a, 2016, 2017).

The Board and Council are jointly responsible for some decisions, and each has exclusive authority in some areas. Some of the rights and responsibilities of the Council are these:

- To establish and uphold the core principles of the global organization.
- To elect or remove the International Board.
- To approve the Board report to Council.
- To conduct an independent financial and/or management audit of Stichting Greenpeace Council
- To approve changes to the Articles of Association, Rules of Procedure, National/Regional Organisation Guidelines, and model license agreements.
- To approve the opening of new National and/or Regional Organisations.
- To approve the annual GPI expenditure budget ceiling.
- To review the performance of the International Board.
- To ensure voting memberships or other mechanisms for Board accountability are in place for all National and/or Regional Organisations, and that those mechanisms are sufficient to ensure proper oversight of national and/or regional Boards.
- To identify issues of strategic significance for the global organisation, and ensure they are addressed.
- To protect and, if possible, enhance the valuable name and trademark 'Greenpeace' (Greenpeace International, n.d.-a, 2016, pp. 7–8, 2017).

With such a structure, Greenpeace has been criticized for being undemocratic in the process of decision-making and financial control. In the sense of decision-making since the vast majority of members have no way to influence decisions and policies due to the membership fees, Greenpeace is considered as undemocratic.

[...] Greenpeace decision-making at the international level is not governed by a meeting wherein all members have an equal say. Instead, there is a system of established decision-making bodies at the international level that determine a relatively more centralized and formal set of policies and strategies to which national offices must adhere (Timmer, 2007, p. 111).

Harter describes the undemocratic structure of Greenpeace by deploying the term 'professional managerial class'. The term in his argumentation describes the class position of Greenpeace officials. While "[t]here were no structural mechanisms for decision making" (p. 86) at the beginning, now Greenpeace has structure "in which decisions were made by a small group of people, predominantly men from the professional managerial class" (Harter, 2004, p. 90). Besides, "[t]his lack of internal democracy extends to the finances of Greenpeace. The budget and allocation of financial resources are decided by the Board of Directors of Greenpeace Canada. Members, or more accurately, subscribers, have no input on the allocation of financial resources within Greenpeace." (Harter, 2004, p. 91). As a conclusion, it can be argued that Greenpeace has lost its decentralized and egalitarian structure. It has lost its decentralized structure since Greenpeace Council represents wider interest of the organization. On the one hand, members do not participate in the decision-making process; on the other hand, bureaucratic class within the organization undermined the egalitarian form. Furthermore, direct participation has been undermined since Greenpeace defines members as the people who contribute financially. Additionally, Greenpeace has lost its non-hierarchic structures due to the bureaucratic organs. Besides, since the International Executive Director (IED) is appointed by the Board, issue-based leadership abandoned. Moreover, Eyerman and Jamison argue that Greenpeace acts like a "business organization" since the organization structure of Greenpeace is designed to be effective. Therefore, instead of raising the awareness, Greenpeace management acts with 'get the job done' approach; therefore, instead of

mobilization, they focus on lobbying (Eyerman & Jamison, 1989), like moderate SMOs do.

Due to the recent form of Greenpeace, I argue it is a moderate SMO today, and it has lost its movement features. In order to understand its transformation towards moderate SMO, it is also essential to investigate its early forms. Therefore, in the next parts I will demonstrate historical story of Greenpeace and how it has lost its movement features.

#### **4. 2. Amchitka: The Place Where It All Began**

Vancouver, a city in the British Columbia province of Canada, had a significant role in the establishing of Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC). One of the most significant reasons of this fact was the countercultural ambit within the city. Vancouver had a countercultural/multicultural environment since after the Second World War people from different backgrounds gathered in Vancouver, particularly from the US. By 1960s younger generation joined this older WWII generation. The newcomers were mainly people who opposed the US policies during the Cold War, such as Hippies. Zelko describes three primary groups of people in Vancouver, "anti-war activists, environmentalists, and the politically disaffected members of the counterculture" (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 320). According to Robert (Bob) Hunter, Vancouver was the only place where Greenpeace could have occurred. He describes the combination in Vancouver:

[B]iggest concentration of tree-huggers, radicalized students, garbage-dump stoppers, shit-disturbing unionists, freeway fighters, pot smokers and growers, aging Trotskyites, condo killers, farmland savers, fish preservationists, animal rights activists, back-to-the-landers, vegetarians, nudists, Buddhists, and anti-spraying, anti-pollution marchers and picketers in the country, per capita, in the world (Hunter, 2004, p. 16).

In such a rich environment, two older American activists Irving Stowe and Jim Bohlen found the possibilities to meet with younger protest groups. They were members of different environmental anti-nuclear groups, and Irving Stowe was one of the heads of Sierra Club. They tried to mobilize Sierra Club to protest against American nuclear

testing; however, the head of the office in San Francisco said no (Hunter, 2004). Indeed, there was a coalition of anti-nuclear environmentalist groups which consisted of Friends of Earth<sup>4</sup>, and Sierra Club<sup>5</sup>; however, they were in favor of legal protests against the US by legal procedures. Irving Stowe, Jim Bohlen others rejected to carry such traditional protest ways and sought new actions. The reason for this requirement has two sides. Firstly, the traditional and conventional modes of action, they believed, were not adequate. Secondly, conservationism, as an old type of environmental concerns, was not enough to make changes. This dilemma, indeed, represents an excellent example of the transformation within modes of action and values by new social movements. While conservationism has more moderate perspective, new environmentalism may be located in a more radical place which links the social problems with environmental problems (Kinney, 2012). Therefore, Irving Stowe, Marie and Jim Bohlen, Ben and Dorothy Metcalfe, and Robert (Bob) Hunter (Greenpeace International, n.d.-b) established “Don’t a Wave Committee” and dedicated themselves to stop the US nuclear testing in Amchitka (Kinney, 2012). These shifts both in values and modes of action, prove that Don’t a Make Wave Committee was a new social movement. Besides, their rejection of the coalition’s way of struggling with the US indicates that they had mistrust in the existing ways. They

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<sup>4</sup> Friends of Earth International (FoEI) was founded in 1969 by David Brower. Brower, indeed, was the Executive Director of the Sierra Club of the United States. However, due to the disagreements between Brower and the Board of the Sierra Club he found the Friends of Earth with an international and decentralized structure and anti-nuclear concerns. “FoEI member groups describe themselves as a worldwide grassroots environmental network campaigning for an ecologically sustainable, just and peaceful world. [...] FoEI member groups have agreed on an international agenda and collaborate on international campaigns, while embracing their internal cultural and political diversity.” Today, FoEI consist of federation of 75 groups. <https://www.foei.org/about-foei/history>, Timmer 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Sierra Club is founded in 1892 in San Francisco, in early days of the forestry movement. John Muir was elected as the first President. The main aim of the Club was described as “explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth”. Today, the Sierra Club still works to promote conservation of wildlife and wilderness. Addition to energy, climate, wildlife and lands, Sierra Club is also concern with the global justice by claiming everyone has right to reach clean water, and gender equality as well. [www.sierraclub.org](http://www.sierraclub.org), [www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/may28/sierra-club-founded/](http://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/may28/sierra-club-founded/), Parsons 191

did not believe that they could reach their aims with these traditional ways. Hence, they refused these and created new, radical, and non-conventional strategies. Furthermore, the founders and participants of Don't a Wave Committee complied with the combination of new actors in new social movements since they could not be defined with either economic not classic political terms, such as working class or Leftist/Rightist. The wide range of actors took part in Don't a Wave Committee was another reason why DMWC is called as a new social movement.

In order to achieve their goals, contrary to other environmental groups of the anti-nuclear coalition, they chose different and radical ways, although there were many attempts to obstruct them by the Canadian government. Marry Bohlen, wife of Jim Bohlen, suggested to sail into test area just like Quaker activists did in the 1950s, yet failed since they were arrested. Although it was quite tough both politically and logistically, they negotiated with several layers of authority and tried to play one off against the other. Though the Canadian government tried to prevent this journey several times. Firstly, the application for charity status was not welcomed well. Then, their insurance application was rejected by the fisheries ministry. Also, they were hindered just days before their sailing by federal customs officials since they were not registered as a passenger ship. Still, all the obstacles did not work due to the public support which was strengthened with media pressure and electoral concerns of policymakers (F. S. Zelko, 2017).

Despite all these obstacles, on September 15, 1971, they changed *Phyllis Cormac* name as *Greenpeace* and started the first journey from Vancouver knowing that they could afford this journey only for six weeks and that there was little media interest (F. Zelko, 2013). In the boat, there were twelve people, including Captain John Cormack, the boat's owner. Others were; Jim Bohlen, Bill Darnell, Patrick Moore, Dr. Lyle Thurston, Dave Birmingham, Terry Simmons, Richard Fineberg, Robert (Bob) Hunter, Ben Metcalfe, Bob Cummings, and Bob Keziere (Greenpeace International, n.d.-b).

In addition to challenges of the Canadian government before departure, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC)<sup>6</sup> used every opportunity to undermine Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) journey by delaying the tests multiple times. Due to the danger of winter and lack of food, the crew started to discuss ending the journey. Although Bohlen and Metcalfe were in favor of ending the journey, Hunter, Simmons, and Fineberg considered it as a failure and waste of all efforts. Voting was held in the end, and the decision to end the journey was made by a votes of 4 against 6 in October 1971 (F. Zelko, 2013).

On the way heading home, *Greenpeace* stopped several cities to tell their stories; meanwhile, Irving Stowe and other DMWC members back on shore strived to keep the campaign alive. Therefore, they decided to sail another ship for Amchitka. Since the name *Greenpeace* was getting popular, they easily found one and called it *Greenpeace Too*. It left the Vancouver port on October 27. On the November 4, when *Greenpeace Too* was 70 miles away from the test area, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) carried the test. Although it was 240 times stronger blast in Hiroshima, the crew felt nothing (F. Zelko, 2013).

Even though DMWC could not achieve their aims in their Amchitka journey, it has still crucial meanings for its history. Amchitka protests had a significant influence on both DMWC and later, *Greenpeace* policies. On the one hand, they employed rhetoric which linked security and peace with environmental issues and consumption, therefore expanded the environmental concerns to broad social issues (Kinney, 2012; F. S. Zelko, 2017). One of the very first meetings of DMWC, Bill Darnell voiced that "Make it a green peace!", and, they embraced two significant issues of their times, the survival

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<sup>6</sup>Atomic Energy Commission, (AEC), U.S. federal civilian agency established by the Atomic Energy Act, which was signed into law by President Harry S. Truman on Aug. 1, 1946, to control the development and production of nuclear weapons and to direct the research and development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. On Dec. 31, 1946, the AEC succeeded the Manhattan Engineer District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (which had developed the atomic bomb during World War II) and thus officially took control of the nation's nuclear program. [www.britannica.com/topic/Atomic-Energy-Commission-United-States-organization](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Atomic-Energy-Commission-United-States-organization)

of the environment and peace of the world (Greenpeace East Asia, n.d.). Their aim to 'making it a green peace' represents an excellent example how new social movements make a connection between values and broader issues and how values gained a completely different dimension from the old ones. Environmentalism gained a new dimension since their aim was not just to protect the nature but also to show how politics and capitalism destroy the nature. On the other hand, they expressed their desires with remarkable slogans and pithy catchphrases that could gain media attention. They called AEC as 'ecological vandals' for instance. (F. Zelko, 2013; F. S. Zelko, 2017).

Amchitka protests' primary importance comes from three great facts. The first one is the way of establishing the Committee. Irving Stowe, Marie and Jim Bohlen, Ben and Dorothy Metcalfe, and Robert (Bob) Hunter refused to use traditional ways, unlike the anti-nuclear coalition that consisted of a variety of environmental groups. While this coalition chose the legal ways that mean they were in favor of staying within the systemic limits, DMWC members moved beyond those and tried to achieve their goals by their physical presence. Their pursuit for new, radical, non-conventional, and non-traditional ways was, indeed, the main reason emergence of new social movements since it can be argued that DMWC could be considered as a new social movement during the Amchitka protests.

The second reason for the importance of this period is popularity that resulted from the Amchitka. The media coverage has been a source of popularity since the Amchitka event. *Greenpeace's* early departure from Vancouver in order to give cute pictures for the media is one of the main indicators of their search for popularity. During the voyage, as well, they managed to benefit from media since on the one hand, Metcalfe had broadcasts from the *Greenpeace* boat, on the other hand, journalist Hunter kept writing on newspaper, *Vancouver Sun*, about their journey. Due to their efforts, DMWC gained media visibility and local support. In this sense, anti-violent disobedience actions helped DMWC reputation as well. Hence, when the boat docked at Kodiak, people welcomed them with great enthusiasm. Besides, Canadian media's

general discourse about Amchitka was shaped by DMWC protests (F. Zelko, 2013). Although media coverage and popularity caused by it were useful at the beginning, they will undermine the movement spirit of Greenpeace. However, Amchitka is essential since it was the beginning.

Thirdly, Amchitka is vital because with the establishing of the Committee and carrying their first protest; the different approaches started to occur. Indeed, different views about the Committee's actions became an issue in all matters. While there was a division between Americans and Canadians, there was also a political split within the group which was reflected with the relation of Stowe and Simmons. While Stowe was a Maoist with a robust anti-American opinion, Simmons emphasized their problem was neither the US nor the US-Canada relations, the only problem was nuclear testing, and Stowe's ideas did not reflect DMWC's political position. However, the most important one is the division about the future of the Committee. Bohlen and Hunter had different opinions about the future of Committee. Although Bohlen addressed that Committee would complete its lifetime when nuclear tests finished, Hunter suggested transforming it into "all-purpose ecological strike force" (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 102). Although Bohlen considered the Committee as an ad-hoc single-issue movement, Hunter had desires to transform it into an organization. The division was reflected by Bohlen vs. Hunter in the Amchitka case, and the actors who represent the divided ideas will change case by case; however, the main tension about the future of the Committee and Greenpeace will be there in every protest. The evolution of movements is considerable debate in social movement studies, as demonstrated in chapter 3. In Amchitka case, while Bohlen empathized the issue-based feature of movements by arguing the diffusion of the Committee, Hunter maintained the goal transformation and make the Committee an umbrella organization.

Although there was not a strong opposition against the US testing from the Canadian government, the US halted using Amchitka for nuclear tests, and interestingly Greenpeace still considers it as a success of the DMWC ("Greenpeace-History & Successes," n.d.). The anti-nuclear coalition of Amchitka brought previously disparate



groups into a coherent body of protest including “traditional conservation groups, the anti-nuclear movement, the anti-war protest and a host of other local, national and international groups such as trade unions, religious organizations and national governments”. Amchitka protests started a new age in environmental movements, which would be a blueprint for all kinds of environmental movements throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Kinney, 2012, p. 293). It is also crucial for Greenpeace’s history, as well. Firstly, the emergence of the Committee exactly fits into the model of the emergence of a new social movement. They build the Committee since the other environmental groups were in favor of conventional ways of preventing the tests, such as by legal sanctions; however, they sought new, non-conventional, and non-traditional ways. Hence, in this period, DMWC can be considered as a new social movement. Secondly, it was the very first step of DMWC; they had the chance to introduce themselves to Canada by using media effectively. Despite all the problems, they found local visibility and support. This popularity has positive effects since it provided support and recognition for the Committee and their aims. Thirdly, Amchitka represents a vital point in the Greenpeace history since with their first protests, the divisions within the group became visible. Within these divisions, the most significant one is the debates about the future of the Committee.

After Amchitka, Committee maintained its anti-nuclear characteristic, yet they managed to expand their protest areas to South Pacific with a new name.

#### **4. 3. Greenpeace Foundation and Mururoa Protests**

After the Amchitka protest, the first action was held by Metcalfe in January 1971. Metcalfe and his wife Dorothy, along with the Stowes, the Bohlens, Hunter, Moore, Doc Thurston, and several others disrupted a Liberal Party function held in West Vancouver by heckling the speaker since they accused the Canadian government being passive about nuclear weapons. Then, they went to Metcalfe’s house and argued about the future of the Committee. At that meeting, the group decided to dissolve Don’t Make a Wave Committee, and establish Greenpeace Foundation with the chairmanship

of Ben Metcalfe. They planned the Greenpeace Foundation as an umbrella organization coordinating the activities of various protest groups in international scope. It can be argued that this desire, indeed, reflected the decentralized feature of movements, since there was no a central group or organ which represents wider interest of the organization. Besides, they planned to publish a magazine covering environmental and anti-nuclear issues (F. Zelko, 2013). The essential protest of this term was another anti-nuclear campaign against France in the Pacific.

Between 1966 and 1972, France tested twenty-nine nuclear devices on Mururoa which was Moruroa, but the French misspelled it as 'Mururoa' and this form remained. In the winter of 1972, *Vega*, namely *Greenpeace III*, started its journey. David McTaggart, a former businessman from Vancouver, led the ship. *Greenpeace III* entered the test zone on June 1 and played cat and mouse game for one month. While they went to the test area close enough to cause danger, they also kept the distance from the zone where the French navy could arrest them. The minesweeper *La Paimolaïsse*, which was assigned to exclude *Greenpeace III* from the test area, crashed *Greenpeace III* during dangerous maneuvers. Due to the accident, *Greenpeace III* had to end its journey, and McTaggart went back to his hometown, Vancouver; there were not any interests to Greenpeace protests. However, it was not the only disappointment he experienced. McTaggart wanted to sue French navy due to their intention in the accident, yet the founding cadre in Vancouver believed that Greenpeace was an activist organization; therefore, it was not likely to support McTaggart in his legal strife against the French government. Besides, when Metcalfe asked him to sign away his rights to the *Greenpeace III* story for \$3,000 so that Metcalfe could write a book about the voyage, his disenchantment was compounded. Although he attended some TV shows and met with some journalists, he could not find any support from neither the Canadian government nor Greenpeace. Then he decided to write his own book to organize his arguments about the journey. However, he could not resist the increasing popularity of Greenpeace, and he decided to take another journey. In late July 1973, although his boat had no links with Vancouver, he called his ship as *Greenpeace IV* and started a new journey with a new crew. In August 1973, a minesweeper approached to his ship,

and a few soldiers jumped into it and attacked McTaggart. While McTaggart had severe injuries, the crew recorded all the beating and they managed to save the records. Since he had striking images which excited the media, contrary to the first one, he was welcomed like a hero in Vancouver. The French government had claimed that, since their atmospheric tests were harmless, there was no need to move them underground until 1973; however, in 1974 they suddenly reversed their position and announced that in 1974, they would begin testing beneath the earth's surface. Although Greenpeace considered it as a great victory and celebrated it, they did not support McTaggart's case against the French navy. In May 1974, he took all the photos and videos, went to France, and followed his legal fight until 1977 (F. Zelko, 2013).

Mururoa campaign has been an essential historical point in Greenpeace history. Firstly, Metcalfe expanded the mobilization area beyond Canada in the sense of both geography and level. Meanwhile, *Greenpeace III* was on the sea; he met with the Pope in the Vatican. Pope blessed the Greenpeace flag and said he supported their efforts. Besides, he sent Greenpeace activists to Paris and New York in order to mobilize people. Jim Bohlen and Patrick Moore carried on campaigns in New York to increase UN headquarters' awareness on Mururoa. In Paris, Rod Marining tried to gather all environmentalist groups together in order to take media attention (F. Zelko, 2013). These efforts contributed to the recognition of Greenpeace in Europe and Australia.

Another valuable meaning of the Mururoa is the differentiation of Greenpeace from the first phase in the sense of decision-making. The people in the Don't Make a Wave Committee had diverse ideas about what environmentalism is or how the future of the organization should be; however, there was still a consensus-based decision making. With the leadership of Metcalfe, this egalitarian structure was undermined due to the unilateral actions of Metcalfe. Zelko describes it as:

Unlike the more open, consensus-oriented approach that had characterized the DMWC, this Greenpeace campaign was planned and run as a virtual one-man show. Metcalfe would sit up late at night in his upstairs home office, which he self-mockingly referred to as the Ego's Nest, developing ideas and strategies. To maintain an element of secrecy, he never informed anyone of more than part of his overall plan

so that only he was aware of the big picture. When he needed something ratified by other members of the group he would “call meetings backwards”: that is, he would reach a decision unilaterally and then run the meeting in such a way that the majority would agree with him (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 116).

Metcalfé’s authoritative leadership was one of the most critical features of Mururoa term since it represents a step back from social movement characteristic since direct participation of the other actors in the decision-making process was undermined. Metcalfé made every decision by himself, for instance, people in *Greenpeace III* did not know that they were a decoy which was set up to distract the French navy’s attention (F. Zelko, 2013). Besides, although movements are defined with non-hierarchic structures and issue-based ad hoc leadership, within the Metcalfé term, these decreased as well due to his intense leadership desires.

Besides, Mururoa campaign was a turning point for Greenpeace, since it gained immense media visibility and popularity. With Mururoa campaign, Greenpeace gained great recognition both at the national and international level. During the Amchitka protest only Canadian people and some Americans heard about the Committee, yet with the Mururoa protests, Greenpeace became popular in North America, Europe, and Australia, and people demonstrated their anger against France under the flags of Greenpeace. In Paris, for example, about 200 people marched to Elysee Palace. In Bonn, West German peace activists and environmentalists gathered under a Greenpeace banner and marched to the French Embassy. The reason for such huge popularity was the media. Although media coverage of their journey on Amchitka was limited with the Canadian media, Metcalfé believed that coverage in the US media was essential. Therefore, as a CBC journalist, he used his links in the media, and protests were broadcasted big media institutions, such as Reuters (F. Zelko, 2013; F. S. Zelko, 2017). Media coverage had positive contributions during the Mururoa campaigns since it facilitated increasing of popularity. With this enormous popularity, Greenpeace became a meeting point for so many different environmentalist groups. Peace Media, for instance, considered itself as a part of Greenpeace and its leader, Moodie, wore Greenpeace t-shirts. The foundation of New Zealand Greenpeace was one of the most

important outcomes of the Mururoa campaign and it was achieved by Peace Media. Besides, Greenpeace name was used by so many people in Paris, London, and Australia (F. Zelko, 2013). These facts also fit the new social movement definition. Since there is no legal process in order to be a member, anyone who fell same concerns might be a part of it. However, as the movement transformed into a moderate SMO, this flexibility disappeared.

As a conclusion, it can be argued that although in Amchitka protests Don't Make a Wave Committee was purely a new social movement, within the Mururoa campaign it could be located somewhere between movement and organization. Although the Stowes, the Bohlens, Hunter, Moore, Doc Thurston, and several others desired to design Greenpeace Foundation as an umbrella organization which includes decentralized structure of movements, egalitarian structure of Greenpeace were undermined due to Metcalfe's one-sided actions in the decision-making processes. Another importance of his term was the successful use of the media, which have brought massive popularity for Greenpeace. Similar to Amchitka protests, popularity can be considered as positive in this term since it contributed to the flexibility of movement. People from different countries and even from different organizations considered themselves as a part of Greenpeace. This flexibility demonstrated that Greenpeace had still movement features.

During the Mururoa campaigns, Greenpeace foundation might still be considered as a new social movement; however, as demonstrated above a decline in these aspects had started. The Mururoa campaign was more successful than Amchitka protest. "Despite the confusion and lack of planning, or perhaps because of it," the Mururoa campaign gave rise to a new stage in the history of Greenpeace (F. Zelko, 2013, p. 147). When Metcalfe disappeared, and the domination of Vancouver was over in Greenpeace, Hunter became the leader, firstly de facto, later officially.

#### 4. 4. 1974-1977 Anti-Whaling Protests

In the 1970s, Greenpeace Foundation faced serious problems. Firstly, it was registered as a non-profit organization in British Colombia, but it was not clear that it would be successful in inspections. Secondly, Metcalfe left Greenpeace leaderless and most importantly, Greenpeace had serious financial problems. Anti-whaling campaigns were carried under these circumstances. Anti-whaling came into Greenpeace agenda due to the efforts of Paul Spong. He was a physiological psychologist worked with whales for years. After his experiments with whales, he believed that whales were more complicated, and they were just like humans and perhaps even more intelligent. Since the 1970s, he started to work in *Project Jonah* which was a San Francisco-based anti-whaling organization and derived from Friends of Earth and Sierra Club. Spong headed the Canadian chapter and representative of British Columbia. His first duty was to press the Canadian government to prevent whaling states, such as the Soviet Union and Japan (F. Zelko, 2013).

In June 1973, Spong went to London to lobby in the International Whaling Commission (IWC)<sup>7</sup>. The anti-whaling activists, and Spong aimed to lobby IWC in order to implement the resolution which was adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in the previous year, and which recommended a ten-year moratorium on commercial whaling. Spong and his wife Linda organized a ‘Whale Celebration Program’ in London; however, despite the vast media coverage, the moratorium failed in the voting (F. Zelko, 2013).

Meanwhile, Spong connected with Hunter via the local newspaper *Vancouver Sun*. Spong wanted to learn how to gain media attendance and public interest from Hunter.

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<sup>7</sup> International Whaling Commission was founded based on ‘The International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW)’ which was adopted in 1946. Indeed, the IWC was established two years later, and the first meeting was held in 1949. It had 15 members, and most of them had some connection to whaling. The Convention explains that the purpose of the IWC is “to conserve the whales in order to secure the orderly development of the whaling industry” (Andresen & Skodvi, 2008).

Spong suggested that they could protect whales with their bodies by sealing between whales and whaling ships. Even though Hunter thought it was a good idea, logistics was a severe problem. Still, they decided to submit the idea into the Greenpeace meeting, and Hunter invited Spong one of the meetings. The hesitation of Hunter originated from the fact that the founding cadre of Greenpeace considered Greenpeace as an anti-nuclear organization. Besides, in 1973, Greenpeace had critical financial problems, and another voyage to Mururoa was planned. When Spong suggested the anti-whaling campaign, Stowe refused to change the target from nuclear to whaling, and Bohlen claimed nuclear was more devastating; however, whaling was a soft topic. By the time, Metcalfe was disappeared, and there was a lack of an official leader in Greenpeace. Neither Stowe nor Bohlen wanted to be the leader. Although the best candidate was Hunter, they did not want him either. Hamish Bruce became the new leader, and he tried to balance the anti-nuclear and anti-whaling sides. Hunter and Spong established Stop Ahab Committee with the moral support of Bruce (F. Zelko, 2013).

The plan of Stop Ahab Committee was ready at the end of 1974. They planned to sail Pacific, following Soviet or Japan whaling ships and placing themselves between the harpoons and the whales. According to the plan, since the harpooner would not dare to fire in order to avoid to murder them, they would save whales. They arranged two ships and called them as *Greenpeace V* and *Greenpeace VI* (see Table 5: Ships in the protests). Although Spong considered June was the best time for the whaling season, Hunter decided voyage time as April 21 to obtain public and media attention. Meanwhile two boats were on the sea, Spong was in London in order to lobby in IWC. On June 1975, they finally encountered with a Soviet whaling ship *Vlastny*, and immediately started the core of the plan. They set three Zodiacs. On the first one there were Korotva and Meyler to take photos, on the second one had Moore and Fred Easter for the videos, and on the last one, there were Hunter and Watson. The last one was the kamikaze which went between the harpoons and the whales. Hunter believed that Soviet soldiers would not take the political risk of killing two people on international waters. However, Soviet soldiers fired, and the harpoon exploded just over the heads

of Hunter and Korotva. Although Soviet *Vlastny* murdered two sperm whales, Greenpeace saved eight of them. Meanwhile, in London, the story gained huge attention, and all images provided credibility to Spong. In IWC, Soviet Union and Japan called Greenpeace as pirates. *Greenpeace V* pulled into San Francisco in where Hunter spoke almost every TV channel and exaggerated the story (F. Zelko, 2013). This media attention contributed to the popularity of Greenpeace.

Table 4. Ships in the Protests

Amchitka	Greenpeace Greenpeace Too
Mururoa	Greenpeace III Greenpeace IV
Anti-whaling	Greenpeace V (1975) Greenpeace VI (1975) James Bay (1977) Ohana Kai (1977)

The anti-whaling campaign continued in 1977. The 1977 campaign was different from its 1975 counterpart. While the 1975 campaign was low-tech, the 1977 campaign was bigger and more complicated. In 1977 two ships started their journey in order to prevent hunt. The 1977 campaign, as well, was quite successful in media coverage and popularity (F. Zelko, 2013).

The anti-whaling campaign has critical significance in Greenpeace history since there were crucial organizational steps which undermined the movement character of Greenpeace and eased its transformation into a moderate SMO. In 1974, a board for the management of Greenpeace was established and Hunter became president. While Moore and Korotva became the vice presidents, the board consisted of Cormack, Hunter's girlfriend Bobbi MacDonald, Moore's partner Eileen Chivers, Michael Chechik, Paul Spong, Paul Watson, and Gary Gallon. Therefore, on the one hand, Greenpeace lost its ad hoc and issue-based leadership; on the other hand, establishing of the board undermined the non-hierarchic and egalitarian structure. Additionally,



Hunter set up a small Greenpeace office in Fourth Avenue, Kitsilano. Greenpeace finally had a permanent address and people could contact with the organization, rather than trying to reach to leaders personally. Having an office gave rise to other kinds of works such as bookkeeping procedures, mailing lists, and letterhead stationery. Furthermore, Greenpeace started to publish a magazine, called *Greenpeace Chronicles*. Through this magazine, a distinction between members and supporters emerged. According to this, members were the people who supported the organization financially (F. Zelko, 2013). However, as stressed before movements do not have members.

Anti-whaling campaign had a great influence on Greenpeace since it provided massive recognition to the organization. In each city where they organized whale show, they left a small group of people of whale lovers who established Greenpeace branches (F. Zelko, 2013). Hence, popularity was still on a positive side for Greenpeace during the anti-whaling campaign.

Anti-whaling campaign is also important since divisions within Greenpeace became more visible. In this case; however, the division was about the topic of interests rather than the future. From the beginning of the campaign, the old anti-nuclear part of the organization was negative about changing the issue from nuclear to whaling; however, the new generation was looking for a more extensive issue. While the first group represented by Stowe and Bohlen, Hunter was the most remarkable member of the second group whose desire was to make Greenpeace an ecological strike force (F. Zelko, 2013). Although Hunter challenged the old and powerful images of Greenpeace, as he consolidated his power within the group, he became one of them. While he was the 'radical' one in the anti-whaling campaign since he tried to change the topic of Greenpeace from anti-nuclear to whaling, he became more moderate in the anti-sealing campaign since he left the radical dimension of environmentalism and adopted more a conservative perspective.

Greenpeace achieved to change the understanding, which considers whales as natural resources. Besides, they also managed to change the brutal Moby Dick image of whales. Most importantly, Greenpeace kept the whaling issue alive. It is challenging to mention success in the sense of anti-whaling. Although IWC adopted a moratorium on commercial whaling in 1982, and the moratorium halted the commercial whaling, besides, it included a ‘comprehensive review’ of all whale stocks after 1990 (Andresen & Skodvi, 2008), it is still controversial and fraught with dispute, so, the campaigns have continued to today (Eden, 2004).

#### **4. 5. 1976-1978: Anti-Sealing Protests**

In 1976, Greenpeace had a new issue which was a long-standing tradition, particularly in Newfoundland. The Canadian government tried to prove that harp seals were not endangered and the hunting methods of swilers<sup>8</sup> were not inhuman since the hunting was economically important for the region, especially baby harps hunting due to their commercially valuable fur. Soon after Greenpeace team arrived at Newfoundland, they learned that the Canadian government passed an order-in-council<sup>9</sup>. According to this, everyone was banned from approaching seals to prevent people from disturbing seals in their breeding and nursing phase unless hunters. This included banning everyone, apart from those associated with the seal hunt, from flying less than 2,000 feet over a seal herd or landing a helicopter within half a mile of a seal. Hunter summarized that order-in-council with an ironic phrase: “You may not disturb a seal unless you are definitely going to kill it.” Therefore, Hunter realized they had to change their strategy. He aimed to decrease Greenpeace opposition of small swilers who did not work for big companies and cooperate with these small swilers. With the support of local landmen, he believed, it would be easier to reach the hunting area. Hence, he built an

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<sup>8</sup> Traditional seal hunters in Newfoundland.

<sup>9</sup> Order-in-council was the law or the statute which only required to be passed by federal cabinet and not needed to be approved by the Canadian Parliament (Zelko, 2013).

agreement with the local swilers. According to this agreement, swilers would not interfere with Greenpeace, and Greenpeace would target only big Norwegian hunting ships, not local swilers. This agreement; however, was criticized by both local people and Greenpeace supporters. Some Greenpeace supporters wanted their money back, besides, Greenpeace offices were unhappy with the agreement either. Watson and his fellows were not happy with that deal, yet Moore, similar to Hunter, argued that this was the only way to achieve. Watson, contrary to Hunter and Moore, believed that Greenpeace should have adopted more animal rights-based agenda and aim to stop hunting entirely. However, Hunter was aware that this kind of policy might danger all efforts, and he had a more pragmatist strategy. Therefore, both animal rights approach and deep ecology<sup>10</sup> perspective were ignored and conservation of nature in a more traditionalist way was adopted (F. Zelko, 2013). Although environmentalism is not a new value, it has gained a new and radical dimension with the new social movements. New values of the new social movement, as mentioned in the first chapter, do not only aim to protect nature but also, they link environmental problems with broader problems. However, with Hunter's attitude, Greenpeace lost this 'new' dimension in the sense of values. Besides, it is an ironic fact that Hunter was the radical one in the previous case; however, in this case, he became the representative of the moderate side. Addition to losing non-hierarchic, egalitarian structure and issue-based ad hoc leadership during the anti-whaling campaigns, Greenpeace lost new dimension in the sense of values.

On March 1976, the Greenpeace deployed the first non-violent direct action for the harp seals by preventing Norwegian hunters with their body. Images of their non-violent actions, particularly Watson's photograph of carrying a baby seal<sup>11</sup> gained huge

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<sup>10</sup> Deep ecology implies a fundamental questioning of humanity's relationship with the environment and the nature of modern industrial societies. The shallow ecology, contrary, is concerned simply with particular issues and immediately available solutions (Pilbeam 2003).

<sup>11</sup> You can reach the image by: [www.pamelaandersonfoundation.org/news/2016/1/27/i-do-not-apologize-for-opposing-the-slaughter-of-seals-by-captain-paul-watson](http://www.pamelaandersonfoundation.org/news/2016/1/27/i-do-not-apologize-for-opposing-the-slaughter-of-seals-by-captain-paul-watson)

media attention. On the next day, Hunter attended the protests on the ice, and during the protests, Hunter and Watson employed Greenpeace kind of non-violent direct action. They turned their back to a hunting ship and let the ship coming towards them. The images of the second day found significant interests as well (F. Zelko, 2013).

By the middle of 1976, the disagreements between Watson and Hunter became a power struggle. In 1977, Watson benefited from Hunter's absence and started to plan the 1977 anti-sealing campaign. Since Watson evaluated the deal with the swilers was "morally repugnant and tactically naïve", it was obvious his campaign would be more radical and uncompromising. Watson was aware of that in order to carry out such a campaign, he had to undermine Hunter's authority within the organization. Therefore, he visited Greenpeace offices in Canada and the US and escalated the tension between Vancouver and offices by claiming that Vancouver had imperial plans which included vanishing autonomy of local groups to build a centralized international organization. The frustrated reactions of the branches, indeed, were indicators of that the positive contributions of popularity were about to reverse. In the 1977 campaign, Watson, as well, employed non-violent direct action, yet, his radical direct action targeted not only big companies but also local hunters. He was against that kind of assent and maintained that sealing was inhumane no matter who did it big companies or local fisheries. Thereby, when he found possibilities during lack of Hunter, he adopted a new discourse. Harter claims the quotes from Watson demonstrate that Greenpeace broke the agreement with landmen (Harter, 2004); however, these were Watson's ideas, and within the 1970s Watson started to break from the organization. The 1977 campaign expedited the separation of Watson from the organization. Although the 1977 campaign gained huge attention, Hunter and others including, Moore, were not happy with Watson's uncompromising and radical attitudes. Therefore, they decided to ask Watson to leave the organization on June 7, 1977, the Board of Directors (F. Zelko, 2013).

In 1978, third phase of the anti-sealing campaign was led by Moore in the absence of Watson. The 1978 campaigns supported by a wide range of politicians and celebrities,

for instance, two congressmen and a Hollywood actress visited St. Anthony. On March 1978, Moore and the Greenpeace team were on the ice in order to take direct action. Moore changed Watson's tactic and instead of trying to protect as much as possible seals, he employed a more basic strategy. He hugged a whitecoat and begged to hunter not to murder that one. Although he was forced to move and the hunters murdered the whitecoat, his photographs of his passive action gained huge media coverage (F. Zelko, 2013).

Due to Greenpeace's successful protests, awareness of people increased. In 1977 the Canadian government increased the harp seal quota from 127,000 to 170,000. It drew huge reaction from all world. The Canadian Embassy received 53,000 letters from Americans who were critical to the hunt in 1977. During the 1978 protests, politicians and celebrities supported Greenpeace. In 1983 the European Commission prohibited the import of certain seal pup products into the EU (F. Zelko, 2013).

Anti-sealing campaigns are essential for Greenpeace history. Firstly, debates during the anti-sealing campaign caused significant changes within Greenpeace. The primary division in these protests was about the strategies of Greenpeace. Disagreements between Hunter and Watson transformed into a power struggle. While Watson had more radical views, Hunter believed they had to be more moderate and compromising in order to achieve their goals. Addition to Watson, Patric Moore was negative about Hunter either, and he ran against Hunter during the board meeting on January 1977 and Watson supported Moore. However, Hunter was elected as the president and his influence on the organization peaked. On April 1977, Watson was asked to leave Greenpeace; hence, radical sides within Greenpeace were eliminated. While environmentalism lost its new values which it had gained with the new social movements with Hunter's presidency, it became more or less evident that the path of Greenpeace would be moderate.

Secondly, the media attention to the protests brought massive popularity to Greenpeace. However, contrary to the previous cases, popularity did not have positive

meanings in anti-sealing campaigns for Greenpeace. As popularity increased, Greenpeace had more branches in and beyond Europe. However, branches started to become actors in the power struggle. Besides, their positions became important for the structure and future of Greenpeace. Watson, for example, sought to use branches sensitiveness about centralization in order to achieve his desires. The main influence of the branches on the future of Greenpeace and negative popularity could be observed in 1978 debt crises.

#### **4. 6. 1978 Crisis: Greenpeace International**

In the first part of the 1970s, the Vancouver group was in favor of having new Greenpeace branches. This was the main outcome of the popularity that Greenpeace gained since the Amchitka campaigns. New branches established in the name of Greenpeace in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand can be described as loose structures which were affiliated with Vancouver since they had their own internal cultures and organization schemas. These branches were not in favor of centralization and hierarchy. They were not supporters of the Vancouver branch either. This fact, indeed, can be observed in the reactions of branches when Watson claimed Vancouver desired to make Greenpeace more centralized. In 1976, Greenpeace branches were “tribes” as Hunter called them. Until 1976, Hunter was pleased with these new Greenpeace branches. He believed the name Greenpeace encouraged the people to take actions about the environment; therefore, he believed to the motto of ‘let them do it’. He thought people should have been free to establish new groups under the name of Greenpeace, and every “tribe” could create their own culture, and raise their funds. However, by late 1976, the Vancouver group, realized that the laissez-faire approach caused damages since this dispersed structure led to non-standard and chaotic actions. To deal with these problems, they amended the Foundation’s bylaws to gain more power and authority on branches. Although branches had rights, these did not exceed Vancouver’s rights. Any political statements, for example, should be approved by the Vancouver board of directors (F. Zelko, 2013). However, one of the branches was not likely to give up its autonomy: San Francisco.

San Francisco concentrated on fundraising, anti-whaling and anti-sealing campaigns, and they managed it better than any other Greenpeace group in North America. They built a nationwide mail program and their mailing list was considerably expanded and well targeted. It was inevitable that San Francisco would reconsider its role in decision making and would challenge Vancouver. The distinctive structure of the San Francisco branch came from its establishing at the beginning. During the establishment, in order to gain tax-exempt status, Greenpeace San Francisco, which was also known as Greenpeace Foundation of America, was set up as separate, and not under the direct control of Vancouver. In the end, they gained tax-exempt status, but San Francisco was not under the control of Vancouver. As the representative of all Greenpeace groups in the US, San Francisco became one of the biggest and complicated branches. It consisted of three levels. The first one was the executives in which strategies and fundraising campaigns were decided. While other tribes lived a Hippie lifestyle by sharing big houses, foods, drugs and even beds, executives in San Francisco considered themselves as highly qualified environmental professionals; therefore, they were paid a salary. The second level was the administrative staff and volunteers in an office on Second Street. They were organizing local fundraising events. The last level consisted of a group of Hippies, street people, and radicals who organized public speeches, communal meals, raffles and walkathons which reflected the true spirit of Greenpeace (F. Zelko, 2013).

In 1977, due to the wide range of protests, Greenpeace had a critical financial crisis. The total revenue of the organization was \$ 373,000, while the total expenses were \$483,000. Besides, with the \$75,000 bank loan, the total debt became \$ 174,000. Also, funds decreased because of the negative impacts of agreement with swilers during the anti-sealing campaigns. Since the anti-sealing and anti-whaling campaigns were carried out by San Francisco, it was just a matter of time them to demand rights in decision-making. Hunter, who was in favor of establishing new branches with their own culture and fundraising, realized that once they gave the power, it would be hard to take it back (F. Zelko, 2013).

In order to discuss the future and structure of the organization, Hunter organized a meeting in January 1978 in British Columbia. McTaggart was the representative of Greenpeace Europe. During the meeting, San Francisco objected to Vancouver's every attempt to centralize the organization. The San Francisco delegates and their supporters from several branches argued centralization would be inappropriate for Greenpeace since it was a grassroots organization. However, the main conflict occurred within the Vancouver group itself: On the one side, Hunter, Moore, Marining, and Spong, and the other side was John Frizell as the representative of grassroots faction. All through the meeting, Frizell claimed that Vancouver desired to exclude grassroots members from the decision-making process. After the days of conversation, they decided to build an international board, which consisted of seven members. In the international board, every office would have maximum two representatives. Besides, these international board members would not be allowed to be in other Greenpeace boards. Though, the next problem became the election of these members. Six of the board were chosen: Moore and Frizell from Vancouver, Taunt and Tussman from San Francisco, and one delegate each from the Victoria and Hawaii offices. Hunter offered to withdraw from the Vancouver board and be in the international board as the last member. New members of Greenpeace claimed Vancouver would have three positions in international board with Hunter. Then, the Vancouver group voted in order to remove John Frizell from their delegation; however, the Portland delegation offered her place to Frizell. However, as a punishment, Frizell was removed from the Vancouver board. Yet, he showed up in San Francisco in where grassroots faction considered him as a hero since he challenged the tyrants of Greenpeace i.e., Moore and Hunter. He was elected as a board member of San Francisco. It was just the beginning of the collapsing relations between Vancouver and San Francisco. While the Vancouver group considered itself the only center of decision-making, they were dependent on San Francisco's economic power. When Patrick Moore was arrested in 1978 during the anti-sealing campaign, for example, San Francisco refused to pay his legal expenses. Therefore, Vancouver drafted a document called "Declaration and Charter" by which they aimed to control every Greenpeace branches. The document covered the responsibilities of branches to Vancouver for using Greenpeace trademark.



According to Vancouver, all branches had to sign this draft from mid-1978 onward. They forced all North American groups to sign it, however, they were aware of that as long as San Francisco refused their control would remain limited. In 1979, the Vancouver group filed a trademark infringement suit in the U.S. Federal Court. However, San Francisco branch had no intention to step back. Both sides started to prepare for a long, expensive, and destructive court battle. As soon as McTaggart heard the word lawsuit, he headed to San Francisco. He offered a settlement: “[i]n exchange for San Francisco paying off Vancouver’s considerable debts, Vancouver would relinquish the rights to the name “Greenpeace” outside Canada.” He managed to convince all board members to reconsider their decisions to fight against Vancouver. Then, he flew to Vancouver and met with the Vancouver board. Somehow, he achieved to convince them too. McTaggart was welcomed in San Francisco as a hero. After a few months, a meeting was organized in Amsterdam. In that meeting, Greenpeace Europe changed its name to “Greenpeace Council” and invited others to join the new organization. Greenpeace USA and Greenpeace Canada were immediately accepted as members. All the groups signed the Greenpeace Council accord and renounced their rights to the name “Greenpeace” in return voting membership on the Council. The various Greenpeace tribes were merged to create a European-dominated international organization with a bureaucratic, hierarchic, centralized structure which has a headquarter based in Amsterdam. McTaggart was chosen as the first chairman of the new international Greenpeace organization (F. Zelko, 2013).

Throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s Greenpeace International has been interested in a wide range of issues from Oceans, forests to energy and climate change (“Greenpeace-History & Successes,” n.d.). In the first half of the 1980s, Greenpeace carried anti-nuclear, anti-whaling, and anti-sealing campaigns. In 1982, the activists climbed factory and power plant chimneys in order to pay attention to acid rains, besides, another activist group protested Soviet Unions’ nuclear tests. In 1983, another anti-nuclear protest took place in nuclear weapons testing range in Nevada (“The Greenpeace Chronicles,” n.d.). In 1985, the *Rainbow Warrior* had arrived in Auckland harbor, New Zealand, with the aim of sailing to Mururoa again. However, two limpet mines were planted on it and exploded on 10 July. While the ship sank, and the

photographer Fernando Pereira lost his life. Later, two operators in the French navy were convicted in France from willful damage. In 1987 an international court directed the French government to pay Greenpeace \$ 8,16 million in damages and costs. It was the beginning of the clash between the French and New Zealand governments, besides, Greenpeace support from public peaked. The number of Greenpeace members increased by 1.2 million (Eden, 2004; Timmer, 2007). In 1986, Greenpeace started its campaign against pollution of rivers and lakes by the paper and pulp industry, while the anti-whaling campaign was carried on. The anti-nuclear and anti-pollution campaigns continued at the second half of the 1980s. In 1995, Greenpeace activists occupied Shell oil storage. While their issues expanded, such as in 1996 genetically-modified-food, in 1997 toxics, they also continued to interest in old issues such as anti-whaling and forestry in the 2000s. Within the 2000s, they targeted famous companies due to their unfriendly attitudes about the environment, such as Apple. However, there are some studies claim that since the 1990s, instead of civil disobedience actions, Greenpeace has adopted more moderate methods such as fundraising, lobbying, efforts which aim to affect the decision-making process in national and international levels (Schultz & Helleloid, 2010; Susanto, 2007; “The Greenpeace Chronicles,” n.d.)

Don't Make a Wave Committee was a new social movement in the sense of its actors, values and modes of actions. Moreover, the form of Don't Make a Wave Committee fits the definition of new social movements as decentralized, egalitarian and non-hierarchic structure which have participants, instead of members and which have direct participation and had hoc issue-based leadership. However, at the end of the 1970s, Greenpeace already lost most of its movement features. While it was a new social movement during the Amchitka protests, it gradually came closer to moderate SMO side. With the leadership of Metcalfe during the Mururoa protests, the movement side of Greenpeace decreased. Due the one-sided decisions and intense leadership desires of Metcalfe egalitarian and non-hierarchic structure of Greenpeace undermined. Besides, its had hoc, issue based leadership decreased. However, Greenpeace was still more movement, but less moderate SMO. During the anti-whaling campaign, the ‘official’ presidency of Hunter and establishment of board damaged the non-hierarchical, egalitarian structure and ad hoc, issue-based leadership. Therefore,

Greenpeace became more moderate SMO, but less movement. With the anti-sealing campaign, Greenpeace lost its movement characters, since Greenpeace adopted membership a legal process. Besides, with Hunter's moderate strategies, Greenpeace became more moderate. The final step in the way from movement to a moderate SMO took place in 1978 debt crises, since the structure of Greenpeace mostly built in 1978.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

The main claim of this study is that although Don't Make A Wave Committee/Greenpeace was a new social movement at the beginning of its history, it has lost its new social movement features and transformed into a moderate social movement organization (SMO).

Don't Make a Wave Committee (DMWC) was established by a group of people who fit the combination of new middle class. They deployed new modes of action to protest the US nuclear test, since they had new types of environmental values. In the first half of the 1970s, during the Mururoa campaign, Greenpeace was still a new social movement; however, due to the actions of Metcalfe, egalitarian, non-hierarchic and decentralized features of movement were undermined. During the anti-whaling campaigns, non-hierarchic structure and issue-based ad hoc leadership disappeared due to the organizational step of Hunter's term, such as establishment of the board and distinction between members and supporters. Besides, Hunter left the new dimension of environmental values to be able to achieve his desires. In the anti-sealing campaigns, Greenpeace's transformation to a moderate SMO was completed since new values disappeared as well.

Greenpeace is called as moderate social movement organization (SMO) since it lost its decentralized structure, since Greenpeace Council has the right of establishing and upholding main principles of the organization, and all other branches have to follow these principles. Secondly, Greenpeace is undemocratic which undermines the direct participation and egalitarian structure since members of Greenpeace do not have any influences of the decision-making process. Greenpeace has also hierarchic structure and members, not participants. Finally, since International Executive Director (IED)

is the official and full-time leader of Greenpeace, it has lost its ad hoc, issue-based leadership as well.

Social movement studies have a long history and it seems it will be never old fashioned as long as people have something to say by gathering in a square or posting online. As the actors, issues, values, and modes of action change, the studies of social movement will change and will adapt itself to new features, just like in the 1960s. The literature of social movements experienced a great paradigm change with the emergence of 'new' social movements. However, there are still some issues to handle.

For future studies it would be a nice starting point to answer the question of transformation: Do all movements have to transform into a different form? Secondly, what kind of models we can use to explain transformation of movements is also a remarkable question. Thirdly, in addition to new social movement and organizational studies, what else can be used to understand transformation of movements would another question to consider. Finally, although it is theoretically demonstrated that radical social movement organizations have new social movement features, there is no comprehensive study about radical social movement organizations (SMOs). It may be an important topic as well.

As I demonstrated by this thesis, although there are some studies analyzing the transformation of social movement organization, there is no such a comprehensive theoretical work on how movements transform towards a social movement organization. However, it is not because anybody studied social movements could not think about it. The reason is that it is not possible to build such a model since every case need special treatment. Here, I tried to give a path to researchers who will try to investigate any other movements.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Yeni toplumsal hareketler, 1960 ve 1970’lerde ortaya ıkan pek ok farklı ve oğunlukla i ie gemiř ekonomik, politik ve sosyal deėiřliklerin etkisiyle toplumsal hareketler literatrne giren bir kavramdır. Ancak, 2000 yıllarda tm dnyada grlen yeni nesil toplumsal hareketlenmeler kavrama dair ilgiyi yeniden canlandırmıřtır. 1999’da Seattle’da Dnya Ticaret rgt protestoları ile bařlayan dalga, 2000’li yıllar boyunca pek ok farklı coėrafyada devam etmiřtir. 2010’lu yıllarda pek ok Orta Doėu lkesinde bařlayan halk hareketleri farklı adlarla anılmıřtır. 2013 yılında Trkiye Gezi Parkı eylemleriyle 2000’li yıllardaki yeni nesil hareketlerin bir parası olmuřtur. Bu hareketler farklı coėrafyalar, farklı toplumsal yapılar ve farklı kltrel iliřkiler aėında ortaya ıkmıř olmasına raėmen birtakım ortak zellikler de tařımaktadır. Aktrler, sorunlar, deėerler ve hareket araları tm bu farklı hareketler iinde ortaklıklar barındırmaktadır.

evreci hareketler yeni toplumsal hareketlerin en iyi rneklerinden biri olarak deėerlendirilmektedir. evreciye dair kaygılar yeni bir mesele olmamakla birlikte, 1960’lı yıllarla birlikte radikal bir boyut kazanmıřtır. Greenpeace de diėer evreci hareketlerle benzer kořullar altında ve benzer kaygılarla ortaya ıkmıř, fakat zaman iinde birtakım deėiřiklikler yařamıřtır. 1969 yılında bir grup evreci aktivistin ABD’nin Kanada’nın British Columbia blgesinde Amchitka Adası’ndaki nkleer testlerini protesto etmek iin Okyanusa aılmasıyla kurulan Greenpeace, ilk adıyla Don’t Make A Wave Committee, bugn dnya apında faaliyet gsteren, olduka yksek bteli bir organizasyona dnřmřtir. Bu tezin temel argmanı Greenpeace’in ilk dnemlerde bir yeni toplumsal hareket olduėu ancak zaman iinde

ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütüne dönüştüğü ve bu süreçte yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini yitirdiğidir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı bu dönüşümü incelemektir.

Ancak bu incelemeden önce yeni toplumsal hareketlerin ne olduğu, hangi koşullarda ortaya çıktığı ve önceki hareketlerden nasıl farklılaştığına bakılmıştır. Bu amaçla 2. Bölümün ilk kısmında yeni toplumsal hareketlerin ortaya çıkmasında etkili olan ekonomik, politik ve sosyal değişimlerden bahsedilmiştir. İşçi sınıfının öncelikli yerini kaybetmesi bu değişikliklerin ilkidir. Özellikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra devletin siyasal hayatta ve pazarda artan rolü özel ve kamusal alan ayrımını ortadan kaldırmıştır. Eskiden özel alana dahil olan konular devletlerin tasarrufları altına girdikçe insanlar bu alanlardaki özerkliklerini korumak adına mobilize olmuşlardır. 1990'lardaki küreselleşme akımları ile supranasyonal platformlar ve küresel sivil toplum kavramı ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlar ise hareketlerin uluslararasılaşmasına neden olmuştur. Sosyal hayatta iletişim teknolojilerindeki ve medyadaki yenilikler ise hem aktörler arasındaki diyalogu artırmış hem de yeni yorumlama kaynakları ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Aynı bölümün ikinci kısmında ise tüm bu değişikliklerin yeni toplumsal hareketlerin aktörleri, sorunları, değerleri ve eylem biçimleri üzerindeki etkileri anlatılmıştır. Aktörler kendilerini klasik anlamda ekonomik ya da siyasi kavramlarla açıklamamakta, yüksek eğitilmiş ve sisteme entegre, dolayısıyla sistemin sorunlarıyla daha da iç içe olan bu karmaşık sınıfı tanımlamak için 'yeni orta sınıf' kavramı kullanılmıştır. Sorunlar ve değerlerde bazı devamlılıklar olmakla birlikte yeni toplumsal hareketlerde ikisi de radikal boyutlar ve post-materyalist temalar kazanmıştır. Mobilizasyon araçları olarak ise oldukça radikal ve geleneksel olmayan yollar tercih edilmiştir, eski tür örgütlenmeler hem içsel yapılarda hem de eylemsel olarak terk edilmiştir.

İkinci bölümde Greenpeace'in değişimini açıklayabilmek için yeni toplumsal hareketler literatürü incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda üç başlıca yaklaşım, kolektif davranış teorisi, kaynak mobilizasyonu teorisi ve yeni toplumsal hareketler teorileri

incelenmiştir. Kolektif davranış teorisi toplumsal hareketleri toplumsal dengeyi bozan krizlerden olumsuz etkilenen kişilerin tesadüfi bir şekilde bir araya gelmesi olarak yorumlar. Buna göre bu kişiler rasyonel olmayan kişilerdir. Bu tür kriz ve hareket nedenselliğinin 1960'lı yıllardan sonraki hareketler bakımından geçerli olmadığı gösterildiği için bu teoriden bahsedilmiş ancak bu teori bir kaynak olarak kullanılmamıştır. Kaynak mobilizasyonu teorisi ise hareketlere kişilerin rasyonel olduğunu, fayda-maliyet analizi sonucunda çıkarlarını maksimize etmek için bu tür hareketlere katıldıklarını iddia etmiştir. Ayrıca kaynak mobilizasyonu teorisi sosyal hareket örgütleri kavramı ile hareketlerin büyüdükçe ve gelirleri artıkça örgütlenmeye ihtiyaç duyacaklarını savunmuştur. Ancak kaynak mobilizasyonu teorisi yeni toplumsal hareketlerde oldukça önemli bir yeri olan kimlik meselesini göz etmekte eleştirilmiştir. Yeni toplumsal hareketler teorileri ise kimlik meselesine yaptıkları vurgu ile ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu başlık altında pek çok farklı yaklaşım olduğundan tek bir teoriden ziyade bir teoriler çerçevesidir. Burada Alain Touraine, Alberto Melucci, Manuel Castells ve Jürgen Habermas farklı noktalara vurgu yapmakla birlikte bireysel özerklik, kimlik gibi konular ortak noktalardır.

Yeni toplumsal hareketler üzerine çok geniş bir literatür olmasına karşın, bu literatürde hareketlerin dönüşümünü açıklayan herhangi bir model yoktur. Bu nedenle, Greenpeace'in yeni toplumsal hareketten yeni toplumsal hareket örgütüne dönüşümünü incelemek için bu iki kavramı ayrı ayrı incelenmiştir. Öncelikle bir yeni toplumsal hareket tanıtımı yapılmıştır. Bu tanıma göre yeni toplumsal hareketler merkezsiz, eşitlikçi ve hiyerarşik olmayan yapılara, doğrudan katılımı üyeler yerine katılımcılara ve geçici konu bazlı liderliğe sahip yapılardır. Toplumsal hareket örgütleri kavramı incelediğinde ise bu kavramın homojen bir kategori olmadığı görülmüştür. Radikal ve ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütleri olarak iki toplumsal hareket örgütünden bahsedilmiş, radikal toplumsal hareket örgütü yeni toplumsal hareketler tanımıyla uyumluluk gösterirken ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütü bu tanımla uyumamaktadır. Bu iki toplumsal hareket örgütü kavramı arasındaki farkları daha net gösterebilmek adına örgüt kısmına odaklanılmış ve örgüt çalışmaları incelenmiştir. Son dönemdeki örgüt çalışmaları kısmi ve formel örgütler kavramlarını



vurgulamaktadır. Buna göre üyelik, hiyerarşi, kurallar ve gözlem ve yaptırımların hepsinin gözlemlendiği örgütler formel örgütler, bunlardan sadece birkaçının ya da hiçbirinin gözlemlenmediği örgütler ise kısmi örgütler olarak tanımlanmıştır. Yine örgüt çalışmaları içinde son çalışmalar genel anlayışın aksine örgütlerin hiyerarşik, kurumsal, bürokratik ve profesyonelleşmiş olmayabileceğini göstermiştir. Sonuç olarak toplumsal hareketlerin toplumsal hareket örgütlerine dönüşmeleri sırasında yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini, merkezsiz, eşitlikçi ve hiyerarşik olmayan, doğrudan katılımı üyeler yerine katılımcılara ve geçici konu bazlı liderliğe sahiplik, koruyabilecekleri teorik olarak kanıtlanmıştır.

Dördüncü bölümde Greenpeace'in ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütü olduğunu göstermek için öncelikle mevcut yapısı incelenmiştir. Merkezi, resmi liderliği, üyelik sistemi, eşitlikçi olmayan yapısı ile Greenpeace ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütü kavramına uymaktadır. Daha sonra ise, Greenpeace'in ilk başlarda yeni toplumsal hareket olduğunu göstermek ve zaman içinde dönüşümünü izlemek için tarihsel arka planı incelenmiştir. Greenpeace tarihi iki farklı zeminde incelenebilir. Greenpeace tarihisi ilk olarak önemli tarihsel noktalar üzerinden, ikinci olarak ise kendini tekrarlayan olgular üzerinden incelenebilir. Bu olgular ise bölünmeler, popülerlik ve örgütsel adımlardır. Bu çalışmada bu iki zemin iç içe incelenmiştir.

Amchitka Protestoları sırasında Greenpeace, ya da o zamanki adıyla Don't Make a Wave Committee, yeni toplumsal hareket olarak tanımlanabilir. Gerek savunduğu çevreci değerlerin basit anlamda doğayı korumaktan öteye geçmesi ve sistemsiz eleştirilerde bulunması gerek de aktörlerin yeni orta sınıf kavramına uygunluğu bu iddiayı doğrulamaktadır. Ancak Mururoa Protestoları sırasında Greenpeace yeni toplumsal hareket kavramından uzaklaşmaya başlamıştır. Bunun en önemli nedeni Metcalfe'nin tek taraflı kararlarının eşitlikçi yapıya zarar vermesidir. Ayrıca bu dönemde medyanın başarılı kullanımı Greenpeace'e bir tanınırlık sağlamıştır. 1974-1977 balina avı karşıtı protestolarda ise Greenpeace'in hareket ve örgüt arasındaki skalada örgüte daha da yaklaşmıştır. Öncelikle Greenpeace'in geleceği hakkındaki bölünmeler daha da belirgin olmuştur. Burada ilginç olan Hunter'in bu dönemde

radikal kanadı temsil ederken zamanla kendisinin de ılımlı kanada geçmiş olmasıdır. Bu dönemde ayrıca önemli örgütsel adımlar da atılmıştır. Öncelikle bir yönetim kurulu oluşturulmuş ve Hunter resmi başkan olmuştur. Bu hem eşitlikçi yapıya zarar vermiş hem de geçici ve konu bazlı liderliği ortadan kaldırmıştır. Ayrıca Greenpeace bir ofise kavuşmuş ve evrak işleri yürütmeye başlamıştır. Son olarak bu dönemde çıkmaya başlayan Greenpeace dergisi ilk kez üye ve destekleyici arasında ayırım yapmıştır. 1976-1978 protestolarında yeni toplumsal hareketten ılımlı toplumsal hareket örgütüne geçiş devam etmiştir. Bunun en önemli göstergesi ise Hunter'ın resmi başkan olmasıyla ılımlı politikalar geçmesi ve yeni toplumsal hareketlerle radikal bit boyut kazanarak sistemsal eleştiriler yapan çevreciliğin eski haline yani basitçe doğayı koruma amacıyla hareket eden korumacılığa dönüşmesidir. Ayrıca bu dönemde pek çok farklı yerde Greenpeace ofisleri kurulmuştur. Bu ofislerden finansal olarak en güçlüsü San Francisco ile Vancouver arasında yükselen gerilim 1978 yılında bir krizle sonuçlanmıştır. Birbirine karşı bir dava sürecine hazırlanan iki tarafın arasında uzlaşmayı McTaggart sağlamış, Vancouver'ın Greenpeace isim hakkından vazgeçmesi karşılığında San Francisco borçları ödemeyi kabul etmiştir. Yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda kurulan Greenpeace ılımlı bir toplumsal hareket örgütü olmuş ve yeni toplumsal hareket özelliklerini kaybetmiştir.

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