# Can Climate Change Adaptation Practices Be Read As Everyday Resistance?: The Acts of the Civil Initiatives in Türkiye[**]

## *İklim Değişikliği Uyum Pratikleri Gündelik Direniş Olarak Okunabilir mi?: Türkiye'deki Sivil Girişimlerin Eylemlilikleri*

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**Highlights:**

- This study integrates climate change adaptation practices into the conceptual framework of everyday resistance.
- The article sheds light on the understanding of the environmental initiatives concerning climate change.
- It can guide policy-making processes to mitigate the climate change crisis.

**Abstract:** The aim of the article is to discuss the practices of civil environmental initiatives in Türkiye from the conceptual framework of everyday resistance. By doing this, the article draws on a framework used for a systemic analysis of everyday resistance in resistance studies, which consists of (1) repertoires of everyday resistance in relation to a particular configuration of power; (2) relations of actors, (3) the temporalization of everyday resistance; and (4) the spatialization of everyday resistance. The data for this research was obtained from 16 pro-environmental civil initiatives through in-depth interviews and analyzed using qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. The results of the study reveal that the everyday practices of the participants in the study to mitigate climate change can be considered as everyday resistance, since at all levels of the quadruple framework used in the analysis process, the common fact is that they seek to suggest and construct an alternative social reality that contrasts with and resists the existing socio-economic codes. It can also be suggested, based on these findings, that these everyday practices of the resistance actors to mitigate climate change should be understood not only as a form of resistance, but also as contributions to the political process concerning the climate change crisis.

**Keywords:** Climate change, adaptation, everyday resistance, environment.

**Öne Çıkanlar:**

- Bu çalışma, iklim değişikliği uyum pratiklerini, gündelik direnişin kavramsal çerçevesiyle birleştirmektedir.
- Makale, iklim değişikliğine ilişkin olarak çevreci girişimlerin anlayışlarına ışık tutmaktadır.
- Makale, böylece, iklim değişikliği krizinin etkilerini azaltmak için politika üretim süreçlerine rehberlik edebilir.

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**Öz:** Bu makalenin birincil amacı, Türkiye'deki sivil çevreci girişimlerin pratiklerini gündelik direnişin kavramsal çerçevesinden hareketle değerlendirmektir. Bunu yaparken bu makale, direniş çalışmalarında sistematik bir gündelik direniş analizi için kullanılan; (1) belirli bir iktidar yapılanmasıyla ilişkili gündelik direnişin repertuarları, (2) aktörlerin ilişkileri, (3) gündelik direnişin zamansallığı ve (4) gündelik direnişin uzamsallığı düzeylerinden oluşan bir çerçeveden yararlanmaktadır. Çalışmanın verileri, 16 çevreci sivil girişimden, derinlemesine görüşmeler yoluyla elde edilmiş olup nitel veri analiz yazılımı olan ATLAS.ti kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları, çalışmaya katılan bireylerin, iklim değişikliğini azaltmaya yönelik gündelik eylemlerinin, gündelik direniş olarak düşünülebileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Zira, analiz sürecinde kullanılan dörtlü çerçevenin tüm düzeylerinde ortak olan gerçek; bireylerin, var olan sosyo-ekonomik kodlarla ters düşen ve onlara direnen alternatif bir toplumsal gerçeklik önermeyi ve inşa etmeyi amaç edindikleridir. Bulgulardan hareketle, aktörlerin, iklim değişikliğini azaltmaya yönelik söz konusu gündelik direniş pratiklerinin, salt bir direniş biçimi olarak görülmemesi; ayrıca iklim değişikliği kriziyle ilintili politik sürece katkı olarak değerlendirilmesi gerektiği de ileri sürülebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İklim değişikliği, uyum, gündelik direniş, çevre.

**Genişletilmiş Özet:** Bu makale, Türkiye'deki sivil çevreci girişimlerin iklim değişikliğine uyum sağlama pratiklerini gündelik direniş kavramı çerçevesinde ele almaktadır. Söz konusu çalışma, bireylerin ve grupların günlük yaşamlarında iklim değişikliğiyle mücadele etmek için geliştirdiği eylemleri, mevcut sosyo-ekonomik düzenle çelişen ve ona direnen alternatif bir toplumsal gerçeklik oluşturma çabası olarak değerlendirmektedir. Bu düzlemde, makale, çevreci girişimlerin iklim değişikliğini hangi değişkenlere bağlı olarak değerlendiklerini ve bu değerlendirmeler doğrultusunda, bu konudaki eylemliliklerini, gündelik direnişin kavramsal çerçevesi aracılığıyla anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu bağlamda makale, gündelik direniş kavramsal çerçevesini kullanmakta ve saha verilerini bu çerçeveden hareketle analiz etmektedir. Çalışma, gündelik direnişi analiz etmek için dört boyuttan oluşan sistematik bir çerçeve kullanmaktadır. Bu dört boyutlu çerçeve sırasıyla, direniş repertuarını, aktörler arası ilişkileri, direnişin zamansallığını ve direnişin mekansallığını içermektedir. Makale içinde detaylandırılarak örneklendirilen ve analizlere rehberlik eden bu kavrsamsal çerçeve üzerinde yükselen bu araştırma yöntemsel olarak nitel deseni benimsemektedir. Bu düzlemde, söz konusu araştırmanın verileri, 16 sivil çevreci girişimle yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlara dayanmaktadır. Söz konusu görüşmeler, transkript edilmelerinin ardından, nitel veri analiz yazılımı ATLAS.ti ile analiz edilmiştir. Araştırmanın metodolojik sınırlılıklarının başında, araştırmaya katılımcı olmaya rıza gösteren oluşumlara ulaşmadaki zorluk gelmektedir. Potansiyel katılımcılar, ya katılımcı olmaya yönelik davete hiç yanıt vermemişler ya da gündemlerinin yoğunluğu, zaman sınırlılığı gibi nedenlerle, bu daveti geri çevirmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla bu durum, katılımcı çemberinin daralmasına neden olmuştur. Bununla ilişkili, diğer bir sınırlılığı da araştırma bulgularının tüm çevreci girişimlere genellenemeyecek oluşu oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca, ulaşılan çevreci sivil girişimlerin kent merkezli olmasının, merkez olmayan yerlerde bulunan oluşumları dışarıda bırakma sınırlılığını ortaya çıkardığı da belirtilmelidir.

Makalenin bulguları, sözü edilen analitik çerçe rehberliğinde özetlendiğinde; katılımcıların, gündelik direnişin sergilenmesi ve bunun kolektif bir güce dönüşmesinde, diğer çevreci aktörler arasındaki toplumsal ilişkilerin yoğunluğunun önemine işaret ettikleri görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, aktörler arasındaki ilişkinin bir diğer yönünü, iktidar odaklarıyla olan iletişim ve etkileşim oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda sivil girişimler, genellikle karar alma mekanizmalarından dışlandıklarını ve resmi otoriteler tarafından yeterince ciddiye alınmadıklarının altını çizmektedirler. İkinci ön plana çıkan sonuç, zamanın kullanılmasından ziyade; bir direniş aracı olarak mekanın kullanımına yapılan vurgudur. Bu bağlamda, şehirlerde balkon bahçeciliği, çatı tarımı, okul bahçeleri ve boş arazilerin değerlendirilmesi gibi mekânsal dönüşümlere vurguda bulunulmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, sanal mekansallıklar olarak Instagram ve X gibi sosyal medya platformlarının, çevreci bireylerin bir araya gelmesine olanak sağladığı, çevreci farkındalığın yayılmasına yardımcı olduğu ve toplumsal bir dönüşümün ve gündelik direnişin araçları olarak önemli görüldüğü ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışmaya dahil olan sivil girişimlerin gündelik direnişlerinin bir başka yönünü, tüketim alışkanlıklarının değiştirilmesinin hedeflenmesi, kompost yapma, vegan beslenme, plastik kullanımının azaltılması**,** kentsel tarım ve eğitim çalışmaları gibi pratiklerle, çevreye duyarlı alternatif bir

yaşam tarzının inşa edilmesi oluşturmaktadır. Bu eylemler, ilk bakışta bireysel gibi görünse de mevcut sistemin dayattığı tüketim alışkanlıklarına meydan okuması sebebiyle gündelik direniş niteliği taşımaktadırlar. Çalışmanın katılımcıları, gündelik yaşam içindeki pratiklerin ve küçük ölçekli eylemliliklerin bile, tam da gündelik olma karakteri dolayısıyl, uzun vadede, iklim, çevre ve doğa odaklı toplumsal değişimi tetikleyebileceğine inanmaktadırlar.

Sonuç olarak makale, sivil girişimlerin gündelik çevreci eylemlerini bir direniş olarak değerlendirerek, bu eylemlerin sadece bireysel bir çaba olmadığını, aynı zamanda toplumsal ve politik bir dönüşümün parçası olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. İklim ve genel olarak çevre krizine karşı geliştirilen bu küçük ölçekli gündelik pratiklerin, toplumsal bilinç oluşturma ve sistemik değişime katkı sağlama potansiyeline sahip oldukları, öne çıkan önemli sonuçlardan birini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma, ayrıca, politika yapıcılar için iklim değişikliğiyle mücadelede bireysel ve topluluk temelli yaklaşımların önemini ortaya koyarak, sürdürülebilir ve kapsayıcı çözümler geliştirilmesine katkı sunmaktadır.

**Introduction**

The main theme of the 10th National Sociological Conference, which was held in Türkiye in 2023, was "Social Conditions of The Age of Crises" and Spurk (2023), in his opening speech, suggested that we are experiencing a never-ending crisis in our everyday life in terms of finance, family, mind structure etc. He also highlighted that the crises that are faced by societies includes a fear: fear of the present and the future and also pointed out that the role of sociology is to explain how we arrived at this situation, in other words, what social dynamics have led societies to these various crises, uncertainties and fears. Not only how we arrived at this point but how individuals experience, understand, frame, and/or interpret these crises and what they do as agents within/against this condition should be added to the role of sociology.

Among many others, one of the prominent crisis societies expose on a global scale is climate change that threatens today and the future, including global warming, deforestation, forest fires, drought, increasing natural disasters. Climate change is defined by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (n.d.) as the change in climate due to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and natural climate variability. Among the human activities that are responsible for climate change are the use of coal, petrol, fossil fuels and natural gas for energy production, ever-increasing industrialization, and excessive consumption patterns driven by capitalist economic organization, which produce the greenhouse effect, disrupt the balance of the gas structure of the atmosphere and producing climate change (IPCC, 2014b, 2022b). As one of the IPCC reports (2023, 5 – 6) suggested human-caused climate change has brought about profound impacts, losses (in species, terrestrial, freshwater i.e.), and damages to nature and people, as well such as extreme heatwaves, extreme precipitation, storms, food insecurity, and, negative effects on human health. According to the IPCC Synthesis Report (2023, 4), the observed global warming and climate change is indisputably due to human activities of production, consumption, lifestyles, and land use that contribute to the increase in greenhouse gases (GHG). The report predicts that, in the future, people will experience severe temperature conditions that will induce more damage to water, food, biodiversity, ecosystem, soil moisture, and human health and well-being unless we make many changes in the organization of societies, economies, and individual lifestyles (IPCC, 2023, 7). However, according to IPCC (2023, 12), this scenario is not irreversible if rapid, sustained and effective action is taken to reduce GHG emissions. As we can see, climate change is indisputably a crisis with its negative impacts upon humans and non-humans since it has been harmful in terms of consequences and is threatening for the future of societies (Walby 2022).

In response to the climate crisis, adaptation and mitigation policies are being implemented at

both the macro level (i.e. international agreements, government regulations) and the micro level (i.e. changes in individual behaviors, daily habits and practices) to moderate the effects of climate change. Mitigation basically refers to reducing GHG emissions into the atmosphere by switching from fossil fuels to clean energy, stopping deforestation and allowing nature to restore itself (European Environment Agency, 2024), while adaptation means making adjustments ecologically, socially and economically to moderate the current and future impacts of climate change (IPCC, 2001, 879). Thus, although there is an obscurity in terms of the two concepts since they are used interchangeably, it can be stated that mitigation requires fundamental economic transformation, adaptation rather refers to adaption to changing conditions on a more daily basis in order to avoid the effects of climate change (Pelling *et al*. 2015, 125). The Climate Promise of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2024) defines mitigation as "any action taken by governments, businesses or people to reduce or prevent greenhouse gases…" and in this definition, the reference to actions taken by people implies that the everyday practices of individuals against the impacts of the climate change can be understood as mitigation as long as they serve to decrease GHG emissions. Attempts by governments to either mitigate or adapt seem to remain insufficient, and according to the COP 26 reports, despite some progress, countries are off-track on keeping global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius (United Nations Climate Change, 2022). Furthermore, it seems that the interests of industrial capitalism as a hegemonic power and of governments do not comprise with the policies to mitigate climate change or that the policies pursued by power groups are made by taking primarily economic interests into consideration rather than the climate. It has been reported that greenhouse gas emissions increased by 24% between 1990 and 2004, and it has also been estimated that this ratio will increase by between 25% and 90% (IPCC, 2007). Therefore, according to Bernes (2007, 8) and Pamukçu (2007, 25), UN Emission Trading Program has, contrary to its objective, become a means of making profits by selling carbon credits to industries rather than motivating the polluting industries to reduce their GHG emissions. Recently, the European Commission declared that it has postponed the law that prevents deforestation for 12 months (Yeşil Gazete 2024). According to climate activists, organizations and NGOs in Türkiye, the proposed legislation, called "Türkiye's first climate law", is an adjustment that destroys the climate, excludes civil society, is capital-centred and in fact regulates the Emission Trading System in Türkiye only for the benefit of industry (Bahçetepe 2025). In addition, as Anderson (2023) reported, there is a tendency among nations and their citizens to halt and/or slow down the implementation of environmental policies, and the belief that climate change is not about human action is becoming more prevalent with the consequences of populist political discourse. All these show that climate change has either political, economic and/or social aspects and is an issue in which power relations operate. This contested area contains different actors who may resist differently depending on their own social positions and interests; thus, business owners can be distinguished from agrarian actors in their reasons for resistance (Mills-Novoa & Mikulewicz 2024). In these conflicting power relations, one party comprises states, industrial relations, capitalist economic organization that shape the social and political agenda, and the other is made up of those who resist the social formation determined substantially by the logic of industrial capitalism, which is primarily responsible for climate change with its rationale that commodifies the environment as a source for its ever-expanding purpose (Hickel 2020).

If we tend to consider the climate together with the concept of crisis today, two important questions arise: (1) how do people interpret climate change?; and (2) what do they do to overcome it? These two questions are significant for each other reciprocally, since what people do depends upon how they define it. In this article, I will present the analysis of the qualitative data obtained

through in-depth interviews with 16 actors representing social initiatives that seek, in different ways, to prevent and to mitigate climate change. The results presented below demonstrate that the pro-environmental actions taken by the initiatives in the study to mitigate climate change can be understood as everyday resistance. Thus, I will focus on and try to understand the activities of the actors of these social initiatives through the conceptual framework of everyday resistance. Therefore, in what follows, I will first outline a conceptual framework as to everyday resistance that will guide the analysis of the qualitative data; then I will provide methodological information on this study before embarking on analyzing the qualitative data based on the conceptual framework concerning everyday resistance; and finally, I will end the article with a conclusion and final remarks.

## Conceptual Framework: Understanding Everyday Resistance

Everyday resistance is a concept that, by its very nature, refers to the practices that take place in the flow of people's everyday lives, which are usually overlooked because of their micro, dispersed, so-called trivial character, but which are related to power relations and have the potential to undermine them.

It is not necessary for resistance to be an overt collective action. An act of resistance can be individual, unplanned, unorganized symbolic and covert, and what is important is whether it serves the subordinate to mitigate the oppression by superordinate and for the interests of the subordinate (Scott 2013, 69). The acts of everyday resistance may be unorganized and dispersed but they still have the potential to undermine the existing power relations to which they are oriented, and they articulate their claims for their own interests and for a different future. Everyday acts of resistance, contrary to the arguments criticizing them for not being political enough because they occur on an individual level, have a political character since everyday life is political in itself with the behavior of individuals that are anti-hegemonic which are not revolutionary but progressive (Fiske 2005, 9). Thus, if a structural change in power relations is being anticipated, from the theoretical stance of everyday resistance, it will firstly commence with the individuals' acts that face the power not directly, that may remain tacit but that still play a role in undermining that power in everyday life at the micro level.

In an effort to make an encompassing definition of everyday resistance, Johansson and Vinthagen (2020, 30) suggest that everyday resistance is a form of resistance "that is done routinely (as patterns of acts), but which is not politically articulated in public or formally organized (in that situation)." However, in this definition, it is of note that for an act to be a resistance, it must have a routine and patterned character, which it does not. For example, a small shop lifting act of a student may be an isolated incident but the act still has the potential to undermine the hegemonic economic relations which make the act resistive when it occurs. Whether or not they are patterned acts, the practice of resistance is always related to the power (its target), and it is not necessary for the act of resistance to be intended by its practitioners or recognized by the targets of resistance, but to have an effect coming from the subordinated that undermines/negotiates power (Baaz *et al.* 2016). Then, any act that takes place in everyday life, and the outcomes of which undermine power, can be considered as everyday resistance and the acts that can be considered as everyday resistance can include a wide range of practices such as hairstyles, body modifications (Ertan 2017), styles and clothing (Hebdige 1979), sarcasm and gossip (Scott, 1990), the use of the space by people to serve for their own interests (i.e. shopping malls) (Fiske, 2005) or to produce for their own antihegemonic discourse (i.e. graffiti) (Awad *et al*. 2017).

For analyzing everyday resistance, Johansson and Vinthagen (2014, 2020) and Baaz et al.

(2016) present a systematic conceptual perspective that has four dimensions, each of which refers to and is interrelated with the others. They argued that these dimensions will be present in an everyday resistance but it is not necessary for each dimension to be present with an equal importance in the act of resistance in question. These are, as they called it, (1) repertoires of everyday resistance in relation to particular configuration of power; (2) relations of actors, (3) the temporalization of everyday resistance; and (4) the spatialization of everyday resistance.

By *repertoires* of everyday resistance, they refer to the techniques, ways, methods, and/or forms of the resistance which take shape with regard to a configuration of power. In other words, repertoires of the resistance can take various forms according to the power they resist (Baaz *et al.* 2016). In contrast to, at the same time in relations with, overt, organized, and violent resistance, the repertoires of everyday resistance particularly consist of mainly covert, non-violent, relatively silent, aesthetic, unorganized, and dispersed practices, which are part of the everyday, of agents (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). In this case, producing and suggesting alternative discourses in terms of social reality, identity and values, as well as in the tactics of evading power in a social setting, can be examples of repertoires of everyday resistance which are called upon by agents.

*Relations of actors* deals with the resistance in terms of who the resisters are, how they relate to those in power, and the nature of their relationships with each other. The agents of the resistance are those who actualize resistance practices, and these agents can either be a collective, a group or an individual. The dimension of relations of the actors also signifies both to the kind of relationships of actors such as parent/child, wife/husband, friends, colleagues and to the context and situation of their interaction (Johansson & Vinthagen 2014). The dimension of the agents of a resistance study doesn't include only resisters but also targets and observers (Hollander & Einwohner 2004). It is important to recognize against what or who the resister resists.

*The spatialization* dimension of everyday resistance indicates briefly the space and site where a resistance practice occurs (Johansson & Vinthagen 2014, 2020). Like any act, acts of everyday resistance take place in a given context and space, and through the way that space is used, in relation to the social, which means that this space, like the temporality mentioned below, is socially constructed and therefore has a specific power configuration (De Certeau 1984; Johansson & Vinthagen 2014). These spaces might be plenty such as work places, schools, shopping malls, cyber spaces, streets, and the body itself may be rendered a site for resistance through choice of clothing (Hebdige 1979), tattooing and piercing, body art etc. (Le Breton 2010).

Finally, for an analytical frame, the acts of everyday resistance have a *temporal* dimension which cannot be considered without its relation to spatiality since the use of the temporal is constituted and determined by power relations always with regard to a given space. Temporality of everyday resistance is a central dimension because everyday resistance is organized temporally and practiced in and through time (Johansson & Vinthagen 2014). The example given by De Certeau (1984, 94) of the practice called "the wig" refers to the act of thieving working time by workers who are actually at the workplace but not working, while pretending to be working. Fiske (1989, 55) also has provided us with another example of a housewife buying and reading romance novels; by doing so, the housewife doesn't simple read, she also constructs both time and space for herself of which are supposed to be for the family as described by patriarchal cultural norms.

Drawing on this systemic conceptual framework, I will analyze the acts of the initiatives whose practices are pro-environmental and towards to struggle with climate change after presenting the methodology of the study.

**Methodology**

As this article, as a part of a larger research project, seeks to comprehend how the micro civil initiatives in the study understand the human-environment relationship in general and climate change in particular, the qualitative research pattern was adopted for this purpose because of its convenience for discovering the perspectives of people and groups on a given issue (Cresswell 2016; Merriam 2018; Punch 2016).

In identifying and reaching the participants for the research, snowball sampling was followed and each participant was asked if they could refer us to another civic initiative. For the purposes of the study, we thought that we couldn't reach sufficient civil initiatives, so we obtained a list of both associations and foundations from the website of The Ministry of the Interior by searching for the keywords "environment", "nature", and "climate change" and tried to contact them. However, there were 8 civil initiatives that could contribute to the purpose of the study, based on the list of The Ministry of the Interior; 5 of them didn't respond to our emails, phone calls, and messages, and 3 of them are no longer active. In total, 18 ecological civil initiatives took part in the study and were interviewed in depth in order to sufficiently capture the thoughts and the insights of the participants on climate and environmental issues (DeVault 1996). However, 16 out of 18 interviews were included in the data analyzing process since these two initiatives consisted of one person. Only one participant didn't consent to the recording of the interview. Table I shows the characteristics of the participants in the study.

The study also has a number of methodological limitations that need to be mentioned. The first was the difficulty of reaching the participants who consented to take part in the study. Some potential participants did not respond to the invitation at all or refused due to the time constraints and workload. The second limitation is that the civil environmental initiatives in the study originate from urban centers, as can be seen in Table 1. Therefore, this limitation excludes initiatives from non-urban areas.

The in-depth interviews each lasted about 2 hours and were transcribed after each interview. The transcribed interviews were analyzed thematically using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software. Firstly, the transcriptions were perused in order to code the data and secondly, the main themes were generated based on the codes created. This article is based on these themes created by the narratives of the participants and seeks to explore them through the framework of everyday resistance.

Table 1. Demographic Information of the Participants

| Participant | Gender | Age | Occupation | Educational Background | Location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Female | 42 | Association Employee | MA | İstanbul |
| 2 | Female | 46 | Permaculture Instructor | MA | İstanbul |
| 3 | Female | 32 | Communication Specialist | MA | İstanbul |
| 4 | Female | 45 | Association Employee | Graduate | Mersin |
| 5 | Female | 57 | Chairwoman in a Technological Firm | MA | İstanbul |
| 6 | Female | 18 | Student | High School | İstanbul |
| 7 | Female | 35 | Association Employee | PhD | Ankara |

| 8 | Female | 33 | Association Coordinator | Graduate | İstanbul |
|---|--------|----|------------------------|----------|----------|
| 9 | Female | 34 | Association Employee | Graduate | İstanbul |
| 10 | Female | 18 | Student | High School | İstanbul |
| 11 | Male | 43 | White-Collar Professional | Graduate | İstanbul/ London |
| 12 | Female | 56 | President of Foundation | Graduate | Ankara |
| 13 | Female | 38 | Association Employee | Graduate | İstanbul |
| 14 | Female | 29 | Dietician | MA | Ankara |
| 15 | Female | 62 | Doctor | Graduate | İstanbul |
| 16 | Female | 45 | White-Collar Professional | Graduate | İstanbul |

## Findings

### Interactions and Relationships of the Actors

As mentioned in the conceptual framework, this analytic dimension is related to who the resisters are, the nature of their relationships with the power and with each other. In this context, the resisting agents of this study are the initiatives that offer alternative ways of living and interacting with the environment beyond the codes of the taken-for-granted prevalent social world.

Some of these initiatives don't always involve a group of people, but have been established by one person. What is really important here is the relationship between the initiatives in order to carry out their acts of resistance. In this context, being in an interaction, establishing a network and solidarity, forming a collective based on a common goal are considered by the participants as crucial and effective for their pro-environmental practices to be fulfilled. One of the participants in the study stated that they have become friends with another initiative, which is also another participant in the study, because they "share the same philosophy … in terms of producing in a way that respects nature", enunciating that this association provides them with a basis to reach out to other people through educational programs about "the meaning and application of producing" in urban gardens (Participant 11). Another participant, who also organizes workshops at the location of her initiative, also pointed to the importance of the relationship and network between actors in terms of networking between initiatives disseminating pro-environmentalism: *"I met X who produces micro sprouts while making a project with Y. Then we organized a workshop on micro sprout cultivation and now these people are cultivating micro sprouts in their homes. If not, they supply it from X... So we are bringing the grower and the receiver together."* (Participant 13).

Regarding the relationships between actors, how the initiatives are being seen and considered by the power, both in terms of local and national, is another layer of this dimension. It is important because the way they are identified reveals the power relations between the initiative actors and the state power, and also that how the resistance practices of the actor are seen by the target (i.e. local authority, ministries etc.) (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). One of the participants, who is mainly active in the field of organic farming, stated that *"they have no chance to reach large masses due to the current political climate in Türkiye"* (Participant 4), adding that *"until a few years ago, the official statistics kept by the Turkish Statistical Institute were reachable for us and we could see the rates of pesticide use in Türkiye but now…"*. The same participant highlighted

that they are excluded by the government from participating in the policy making process about environmental problems due to the political character of the issue. While participant 4 expressed that "local authorities don't see us as real stakeholders and consider us as those who always request something from them", another participant, referring to the exclusion from participation in the policy-making process, stated that *"we as NGOs are not invited to anything like commissions and meetings"* (Participant 7).

In addition to the interactions and relationships among the actors of the initiatives in the study, participants also seem to value interactions with other people as much as possible. The success of their acts of resistance hinges on influencing and changing the behaviors of others regarding climate change. For, these interactions and relationships constituted by the participants don't only reveal the nature of their relationships; they are also part of the repertoire of the initiatives that are exerted, as we will see below.

## Spatialization and Temporalization of Pro-Environmentalism

Temporalization of the activities of the initiatives included in the study doesn't seem to be significantly distinctive for analyzing their practices within the conceptual framework of everyday resistance, because they don't pursue an appropriate time to practice, nor do they use time itself as an instrument for their resistance activities that we shall argue in the title of repertoires below**.** However, spatialization does appear as an important dimension that shouldn't be overlooked when analyzing their everyday resistance activities, since both their practices and the information produced by them involve the use of space in a certain way. In other words, they utilize space as an instrument for their pro-environmental practices, which can be considered as everyday resistance because they transform or invite the others to transform the given, constructed space for their own projections and interests that serve environmentalist purposes. As all of the participant pointed out, the creative use especially of urban spaces such as public-school gardens, roofs of the buildings, balconies, and idle areas of cities is especially important for their everyday resistance towards climate crisis. The focus on urban spaces is considered by the participants as crucial, because these are the spaces that are densely populated and where the rationale of capitalism dominates space and urban life. Thus, the deliberate choice of the urban spaces by the participants is significant for their anti-climate crisis practices, as one of the participants suggested:

> "…*we see ourselves as urban-oriented and seek to reach the people in cities because … for example, when you consider İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir in terms of production and consumption, these are giant cities, consuming everything and producing big amount of waste… We thought that it will become a multiplier effect if we affect these people. I am talking for İstanbul; if everyone makes changes as 10%, this amount will be multiplied with 16 million people, that's why we focus on cities… we try to change the perspective of urban people and empower them.*" (Participant 2).

As we can see from the statement of Participant 2, when it comes to everyday resistance practices and their relation to space, urban areas are primary spaces for the participants in this study. They believe that it's crucial to change the people who live in urban areas, as their population is large. Therefore, it's important to initiate change within these spaces.

Regarding the spatial dimension of everyday resistance, as mentioned before, cyberspaces play a crucial role in producing, disseminating, and accessing discourses that counter hegemonic ones. For instance, new social media platforms provide people with a space that can be used for

the ecological struggle in terms of raising and influencing social awareness about environmental issues (Erben 2023; Bergman *et al*. 2022; Takashina *et al*. 2023; Mavrodieva *et al*. 2019). Social media services such as Instagram and X also provide a space for pro-environmentalists to meet each other and build associations and partnerships as mentioned in the section on *Interactions and Relationships of the Actors*. For example, one participant who has begun to produce her own pro-environmental discourses through Instagram stated that:

> *"… I met a lot of good people and made friends from there. Even one of them is my associate now and we established Green Vibes together…"* (Participant 3). In line with Participant 3, another participant said that she especially uses Instagram *"…in order to convince people that they can produce their own clean food even in the middle of the city. Although it is not possible to produce everything, they can start from somewhere and make an impact"* (Participant 11).

All these dimensions that are used to analyze the practices of the pro-environmental initiatives in terms of everyday resistance bring us to the last dimension, which is the repertoires of everyday resistance.

**Repertoires and the Forms of Resistance of the Initiatives**

As mentioned above, the repertoires of resistance mainly indicate how and through what means resistance practices are put into action. Based on the participants' narratives in the study, their pro-environmental actions are not overtly framed by the actors as resistance, with the exception of one participant, Participant 1. However, it doesn't mean that their practices cannot be considered as resistance even if they don't identify their pro-environmental practices as such because what is important for an action to be considered as resistance is whether it has the potential to undermine or negotiate the power (Baaz *et al*. 2016; Johansson & Vinthagen 2020). The undermining and negotiating potential of the everyday practices of the participants derives from the fact that they suggest and represent an alternative social reality, which is in contrast to the society organized by the principles of consumerism that is the cultural expectation of capitalism, by producing discourses, putting these discourses into practice, and also calling on people to change their taken-for-granted everyday practices. Thus, it can be said that the repertoires of the resistance of the participants consist of a combination of methods such as intellectual and practical (Lawrence & Dodds 2018). The underlying reason for the efforts of the initiatives in the study is to bring about social change in favor of the environment and climate by taking micro steps to change daily life and organizing people around a desired future. Participants in the study aim to undermine, negotiate, and change the socio-economic-political status quo, which significantly contributes to both environmental damage and climate change. To achieve this goal, they utilize different forms of activities that occur in everyday life and focus on daily practices. These activities, ranging from composting, reducing consumption or changing consumption patterns, adopting a different diet, to educating and raising awareness to change people's attitudes towards climate and environmental issues, and these can be considered as the repertoires of everyday resistance of the actors, because they actually defy the entrenched social behavior patterns organized around the principle of consumerism, through prioritizing environmental interests and reflect their expectation of social change for a better society, different from the current social organization. For example, one of the participants, who composts and organizes educational programs and workshops on composting, clearly defined her pro-environmental activities as everyday resistance, stating that *"… I present my everyday resistance by throwing my organic waste into the compost bin"* (Participant 1). Another participant, highlighting the relationship between the climate crisis, meat consumption and dietary habits,

stated: *"I've been trying to explain to people that how important veganism is in terms of the climate, how critical the meat production is, and how harmful people's meat consumption is for nature…"* (Participant 10). Another participant (Participant 6) declared that they have stopped using plastic and that they have done so in order to challenge and change the existing hegemonic social organization. All these narratives share a common ground, when we consider them in terms of everyday resistance, in that they essentially challenge and resist the order of production and consumption relations of industrial capitalism which are reproduced through the practices of individuals in their everyday lives.

As mentioned in the spatialization of the everyday resistance of the participants, the interaction with other people through social media is considered as quite important for them, because the use of platforms such as Instagram and X allow the initiatives in the study to convey their messages easily to other people and convince them to claim a social change in favor of the climate and environment. Whether through the use of social media or not, as a repertoire of their everyday resistance, they seek to produce and disseminate discourses through which they call for action to transform everyday behavior from ignoring to considering environmental issues. In line with participant 14, who identified the policy of their initiative as preventing the harmful effects of over-consumption, one of the participants indicated that the micro changes in everyday practices are crucial, not only because they have a mitigating effect on climate change, but also because they pave the way for the social change towards a more ecological organization of society, which means that the more people's awareness increases, the more demand there will be for a social change:

> *"We try to create an awareness that we are part of nature, that we have to live in harmony with it, that we shouldn't exploit it... that we don't really need 15 T-shirts. We can practice less harmful to nature, we can always do better, this is our aim, to make people question... The more this questioning, the more political demands, like the demands of people from the communities, the easier it is for people to act in an organized way, so we try to make people question."*
> (Participant 4)

As Ballard argues (2023, 309), whether and how daily activities of people undermine or constitute a threat to the power regulations is a crucial question to be answered by researchers of everyday resistance. Katz (as cited in Ballard 2023, 310) also indicates that a distinction should be made between the actions that help people to live in challenging conditions and those that really counter the hegemonic social codes. To distinguish between the two in terms of everyday resistance is to ask if a given practice has the potential to undermine the hegemony based around which society is organized. On the one hand, all the participants are aware that a social change is only possible through collective action, but on the other hand, they point to the significance of changes in everyday micro practices in forming a collectivity around climate issues and calling for a social change. For example, Participant 9 indicated that *"The saying 'are you the one who will save the world?' is very important. Yes, we will save the world… We are not alone; you are not alone. Somebody out there will hear your voice eventually. These voices echo and spread. We must always remember that"*. The attempts made by the participants in the study to construct a collective pro-environmentalist collective mainly include educational practices focusing on raising people's awareness of environmental issues. However, these educational practices are not limited to the dissemination of information, but more importantly they seek to provide individuals with an interactional ground through which they can contact and relate to non-human beings and experience an individualistic transformation. The significance of this interaction between people

humans and non-humans is seen as crucial for the construction of a collective pro-environmentalist political claim. Participant 5 stated that:

> "*I want to be an example for everyone. Everyone should know how to grow a vegetable and a fruit. Even in a small pot. Some of our participants in a project grew vegetables on their balcony and they felt very happy. At least, they could see how a tomato or a pepper grows. They ate them by picking them with their hands*."

It is clear that the interaction and witness of individuals to nature and its processes is believed to have a positive impact on environmental awareness. Furthermore, providing a ground for such interactions can be considered a means of everyday resistance, as it has a transformative impact on people's understanding of nature, the environment and climate issues, and these interactions pave the way for social change by producing environmentally conscious individualities who will demand political change in favor of nature and the climate. In this regard, human - nonhuman interactions play a crucial role in increasing environmental knowledge and sensibility, which is not human-centered, instrumental, and, contrary to neoliberal capitalist thinking, by positively influencing the ecological-self construction process (Singh 2013; Banham 2022). Similarly, based on their school garden project, Moore et al. (2015) suggest that all participants in the project, including both students, project assistants and teachers, were positively impacted by applications such as gardening and composting, facilitating the development of a socio-ecological relationship with the environment.

In this regard, if we examine the activities of the civil initiatives in the study, we can observe that they aim to serve as a conduit for a pro-environmental self-transformation by establishing a platform for a direct encounter with nature. To this end, they work and organize educational programs on climate issues in both public and private schools, and applied seminars on urban gardening and composting in university campuses, cities and businesses. In particular, they consider the seminar and applied education organizations to be more crucial because they offer people a way of transferring these direct experiences into their everyday lives more easily than just reading, researching and watching.

**Conclusion**

This article primarily seeks to understand the activities of environmentalist initiatives in Türkiye from the conceptual framework of everyday resistance. In addition to mapping the everyday resistance practices of the actors, such a study is important on two levels. Firstly, it shows how pro-environmental actors frame climate change, and second, it can guide the policy-making process to mitigate the harmful impacts of climate change by uncovering aspects of the social organization that need to be changed and reorganized.

If we consider the integrity picture of the study, it can be suggested that while the actors in the study consider structural fundamental transformation to be important to struggle against climate change, they also find changes in everyday practices to be crucial in terms of mitigating the effects of climate change. These practical changes at the level of everyday life require a transformation of knowledge and a belief in the possibility of a different social organization, which is what the actors from the pro-environmental initiatives in the study are trying to achieve. This endeavor in itself can be considered as everyday resistance. The actors in the study, as we can see, present their everyday resistance both in their daily lives and by calling on others to change their taken-for-granted practices in their everyday lives.

There are two salient points in placing these environmental initiatives as the actors of

everyday resistance in terms of their relationship to power. Firstly, as the study argues, these actors are seen as a burden, demanding and interfering, marginalized and excluded from the policy and decision-making processes by the other, those actors who represent the power. Secondly, the social organization that they pursue and call for is in opposition to the existing social model, which is industrial consumerist capitalism. Therefore, the everyday actions taken by the actors toward this imagined social organization, which are discussed above in the article, can be considered as resistance.

The results of the study indicate that although everyday forms of resistance alone are not sufficient to transform society into a form which is climate sensitive, especially when the actions of those in power are considered as wrong, inadequate or ineffective, these forms of resistance are seen by the actors of the civil initiatives in the study as an effective and powerful way to demand and even trigger a social change. In this context, participants in the study emphasized the need to transform the micro reality of everyday life for a more ecological social change, and highlighted the significance of everyday resistance as a tool to be utilized for this change and as an adaptive practice to climate change.

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