

T.C.

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ

AVRUPA ARAŞTIRMALARI ENSTİTÜSÜ

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**AN INSTRUMENT FOR EUROPEANISATION:
FINANCIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE
EUROPEAN UNION**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Ayşe Deniz ARICAN

İstanbul-2019

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TEZ ONAY SAYFASI

Marmara Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne

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ABSTRACT

AN INSTRUMENT FOR EUROPEANISATION: FINANCIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Turkey's European Union (EU) accession negotiations are conducted on three pillars. The first one is about the fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria with no exceptions and assimilating and speeding up the political reforms, the second one is the adoption and implementation of the EU Acquis Communautaire and the third is about strengthening dialogue with civil society and implementation of a communication strategy towards the societies of EU and Turkey. In line with the accession framework, Turkey benefits from the EU funds provided to the candidate and potential candidate countries. The EU has effect on Turkey through social, economic and political reforms. In this study, financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU, Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) and specifically civil society sector designed under IPA are analysed. This study deals with the financial cooperation, giving a clear framework on IPA civil society sector and explains the associated Europeanisation process from a sociological institutionalism perspective. From this standpoint, the thesis argues that works conducted under IPA civil society sector have increasing impact on actors and Turkey's Europeanisation process. The thesis says that for Turkey, civil society sector is supported under financial cooperation not for receiving financial benefits, but as a result

of a belief towards these efforts are for development of democracy in Turkey and for the country's own good.

In this study, data has been collected via in-dept interviews. The findings of the study show that IPA civil society sector has created certain changes on norms, institutions and on working processes of actors. Although the EU has a top-down effect for candidate countries and creates coercive-direct influence by putting conditionality for funds, financial cooperation has also stimulated change in Turkey, especially in the civil society sector. Attitudes, preferences and implementations are shaped through financial cooperation mechanism in line with logic of appropriateness, beyond the material incentives, and this accelerates the Europeanisation process of Turkey. The scope of the study will be restricted to the selected sector designed under IPA Decentralised Implementation System.

Ayşe Deniz Arıcan

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye-AB Mali İşbirliği, Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı,
Avrupalılaşıma, Sivil Toplum Sektörü.

ÖZET

BİR AVRUPALILAŞMA ARACI:

TÜRKİYE VE AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ MALİ İŞBİRLİĞİ

Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne (AB) katılım müzakereleri üç temel başlık kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bunlardan birincisi Kopenhag siyasi kriterlerinin istisnasız olarak uygulanması ve siyasi reformların derinleştirilerek içselleştirilmesi, ikincisi AB Müktesebatının kabul edilerek uygulanması, üçüncüsü sivil toplum diyalogunun güçlendirilmesi ve bu kapsamda AB ve Türkiye kamuoylarına yönelik bir iletişim stratejisinin yürütülmesidir. Türkiye AB tarafından aday ve potansiyel aday ülkelere sağlanmakta olan fonlardan yararlanmaktadır. AB, sosyal, ekonomik, politik reformlar aracılığıyla Türkiye'yi etkilemektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında Türkiye'ye AB arasındaki mali işbirliği, Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı ve özellikle bu araç altında oluşturulan sivil toplum sektörü incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma özellikle Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı altında tasarlanan sivil toplum sektörü hakkında net bir çerçeve çizerek ve Avrupalılaşımayı sosyal kurumsalcılık yaklaşımı ile ele alarak mali işbirliğini incelemektedir. Bu açıdan tez, Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı sivil toplum sektörü kapsamında yürütülen çalışmaların ilgili aktörlere ve Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşıma sürecine artan bir etkisi olduğunu belirtmektedir. Çalışma, mali işbirliği kapsamında Türkiye'nin sivil toplum sektörünü desteklemesinin maddi beklentinin ötesinde, bu alandaki çalışmaların ülkenin demokrasi anlayışının gelişmesine ve ülkenin faydasına olacağına yönelik inancın bir sonucu olarak gerçekleştirildiğini söylemektedir.

Çalışma kapsamında bilgi, derinlemesine mülakatlar yoluyla toplanmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı sivil toplum sektörünün kurallar, kurumlar ve aktörlerin çalışma süreçleri üzerinde belirli değişikliklere yol açtığını göstermektedir. AB'nin aday ülkeler üzerinde, fonların kullanılmasına yönelik şartlar koşulması yoluyla yukarıdan aşağıya doğru ve doğrudan zorlayıcı bir etkisi olmasına rağmen, mali işbirliği Türkiye'de özellikle sivil toplum sektöründe değişimi hızlandırmaktadır. Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşması sürecinde, mali işbirliği mekanizması yoluyla sağlanan finansal teşviklerin ötesinde, tutumlar, tercihler ve uygulamalar temel olarak uygunluk mantığı ile uyumlu bir şekilde şekillenmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamındaki araştırma, Merkezi Olmayan Yapılanma çerçevesinde yürütülen Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı altından seçilen bir sektörle sınırlandırılmıştır.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Annual Action Programme
AD	Action Document
APD	Accession Partnership Document
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stability in the Balkans
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
CFCU	Central Finance and Contracts Unit
CSD	Civil Society Dialogue
CSDC	Association of Civil Society Development Centre (STGM-Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi Derneği)
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DEUA	Directorate for EU Affairs
DIS	Decentralised Implementation System
EC	European Commission
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIDHR	The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EUD	Delegation of the European Union to Turkey
EU	European Union
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession
ISP	Indicative Strategy Paper

ISPA	Instrument for Structural Policy for Pre-Accession
LI	Lead Institution
MEDA	Mediterranean Economic Development Area
MIPD	Multi-Annual Indicative Planning Document
NAO	National Authorising Officer
NIPAC	National IPA Coordinator
NP	National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis
PHARE	Poland Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy
PRAG	Practical Guide for External Actions
TOBB	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
SAPARD	Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development

INTRODUCTION

Turkey's European Union (EU) accession negotiations are conducted on three pillars. The first one is about the fulfilling of the Copenhagen political criteria with no exceptions and speeding up the political reforms; the second pillar pertains to the adoption and implementation of the EU Acquis Communautaire and the third is about strengthening dialogue with civil society and implementation of a communication strategy towards the societies of EU and Turkey. In line with the accession framework, Turkey benefits from the EU funds provided to the candidate and potential candidate countries. It could be argued that the EU has effect on Turkey by pushing for social, economic and political reforms and change. In this study, the financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU, the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) and specifically civil society sector designed under IPA are analysed.

The main goal of this study is to examine whether the pre-accession financial assistance provided to Turkey by the EU can be defined as a Europeanisation instrument which yields structural, institutional, procedural and administrative change consistent with EU and national priorities. From a sociological institutionalist perspective, this thesis states that works implemented under IPA civil society sector are effective on actors of the sector and Turkey's accession process to the EU and financial cooperation process stimulates change in Turkey, especially in the civil society sector. Financial assistance structure and practices can result in a top-down pressure of the EU, and within the theoretical approach of rational choice institutionalism, it can be said that the EU facilitates domestic change in Turkey via pre-assistance funds. After making cost-benefit calculations, financial assistance tool enables Turkey to implement projects and create domestic effect in the accession period. Nevertheless, describing Turkey-EU financial cooperation solely under rational choice institutionalist perspective provides a limited understanding of relations and this approach underestimates Turkey's own efforts on the way of accession. Rational choice institutionalism generally claims that institutions/structures are difficult to transform. However, in terms of the development of civil society, the reason behind the motivation cannot just be explained depending on rational choice institutionalism. For Turkey, the importance of strengthening civil

society sector transcends the material or cost-benefit calculations of funds. Sociological institutionalism perceives Europeanisation as consequence of socialisation, and it argues that internalisation of European norms and values creates new identities by way of collective learning. According to the logic of appropriateness, actors are expected to internalise changes and norms because they are appropriate for them. Through Europeanisation, European norms, politics, methods and preferences shape identities, and in this process, interests are re-defined. Change agents in a political culture are the main factors of Europeanisation process. The structures of civil society organisations, interaction between the actors of civil society sector and social learning perspectives of the projects create change in Turkey, and this process can be described as Europeanisation. This subject was chosen, because in the literature, studies mainly focus on Europeanisation of Turkish legal system, foreign policy, political discourse and replies to changing political, social and economic atmosphere in Turkey and the EU. In this study, it is preferred to use a more technical perspective and give a detailed framework, which will pave the way for more comprehensive studies for researchers.

This thesis states that Europeanization can easily be observed on civil society sector and financial assistance plays an important role for creating changes on the structures of institutions and ways of doing things. The study draws a framework of Decentralised Implementation System (DIS) of IPA, specifically for the civil society sector and argues that this area is one of the most important cooperation platforms of the Turkey-EU relations. This thesis aims to help prospective complementary studies on the Europeanisation of Turkey and EU's impact on further Turkish-EU financial cooperation areas. The IPA civil society sector is important because Turkey is the only country among other candidate countries that has a separate priority area/sub sector for supporting civil society within IPA. This sector is designed taking into consideration Turkey's own needs and funds are allocated specifically for supporting civil society sector.

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: i) Does the financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU influence Turkey's civil society sector; ii) Are there any changes on actors and on institutional structures and procedural practices of

the institutions which are dealing with civil society; iii) Does financial cooperation stimulate change in Turkey in the field of civil society?

In line with these research questions, the argument is that the financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU as a part of the accession process has contributed to the development of Turkey's civil society sector and the Europeanization process of Turkey. Civil society activities, mainly right-based movements, have intensified with the end of 1980's in Turkey, but the announcement of Turkey's candidacy status for the EU has paved the way for civil society sector development. Funds provided for development of civil society and civil society-public cooperation have contributed the efforts of Turkey towards EU accession period. The programmes and projects carried out and programming and implementation practices resorted to within the framework of EU financial assistance have contributed to the ties between Turkey and the EU and have increased the technical and institutional capacities of civil society organisations (CSOs). Moreover, the financial cooperation system has stimulated change on the organisations; implementation practices have contributed to the knowledge and perceptions of public sector and civil society about each other. It is evaluated that financial cooperation contributes to the adoption and embracement of the arrangements required for the EU accession process of Turkey.

Information sources used for this study are financial assistance cooperation agreements, Country Indicative Strategy Paper (ISP), Action Documents (ADs), grant scheme guidelines, contract notices, local announcements of grant schemes, project's technical reports, planning and programming documents, official EU papers and websites, websites of institutions responsible within IPA process, project summary books, project newsletters and national official documents. Additionally, interviews with the representatives of public institutions, Association of Civil Society Development Centre and Sivil Düşün Programme (an EU funded Programme which is coordinated by the Delegation of the EU to Turkey) were carried out. These interviews were carried out with five officials from the DEUA (Bülent Özcan, Acting Director General of Financial Cooperation and Project Implementation, on 02.04.2019; A. Hakan Atik, Head of Project Implementation Department, on 08.04.2019; Murat Özçelebi,

Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department, on 10.04.2019; Duygu Yardımcı, Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department, on 11.04.2019; Yıldırım Gündüç, Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department on 25.04.2019). Another interviews were carried out with one expert from the Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society, Ministry of Interior, on 03.05.2019; with Cengiz Çiftçi, Civil Society Expert, Team Leader of the EU funded Civil Society Support Programme Called “Sivil Düşün” on 25.10.2019; and with Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay, General Coordinator of the Association of Civil Society Development Centre on 01.11.2019.

It is preferred to receive the comments and perceptions of both public officials and representatives from civil society. Different approaches, given by representatives who are actively working within civil society sector helps us understand the whole system systematically and this gives more detailed information regarding the ongoing practices and change.

The thesis perceives financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU as an instrument for Europeanization and focuses on the civil society sector within IPA. There are studies focusing on Europeanisation of Turkish civil society, but they are mainly analysing reform packages and changes on legal environment. This study deals with the financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU, gives a clear framework on IPA civil society sector, gives examples from Europeanisation process and describes this process from a sociological institutionalist perspective.

The EU’s financial opportunities, which can be used by Turkish actors (CSOs, public institutions, etc.) are diverse; and there is a complicated and multi-actored structure. For this reason, the scope of the study is restricted to the practices of civil society sector designed under IPA.

The thesis starts with an elaboration on the conceptual and theoretical framework. In this chapter, the literature on Europeanisation will be reviewed and approaches towards sociological institutionalism will be stated. The Europeanisation presents a conceptional framework for analysing change rooted from the effect of the

EU. In this regard, new institutionalism is mainly used as conceptual baseline for the Europeanisation studies. In the sociological institutionalist classification of new institutionalism in Europeanisation studies, actors act in line with logic of appropriateness. Through socialisation and learning, Europe affects ideas and norms and make them to be internalised in domestic politics. Theoretical baseline gives opportunity to analyse the change more systematically.

In the second chapter, information on Turkey-EU financial cooperation, including a brief history will be provided. This part is important for understanding the financial co-operation system and the overarching objectives of the mechanism. The financial cooperation instruments especially designed after the announcement of Turkey's candidacy status focused on activities facilitating the accession process of Turkey. Mobilisation of civil society has started at the end of 1980's but announcement of Turkey's candidacy status to the EU has intensified activities of civil society organisations in Turkey. Especially starting with the 2000's, the allocated funds have facilitated developments on civil society sector. The experiences of 2002-2013 period contribute to the change of perceptions towards civil society sector. In the IPA II period covering 2014-2020, civil society is defined as a separate sub sector under EU's pre-accession assistance to Turkey. Mentioned chapter provides a systematic approach for understanding the developments.

In the third chapter, the civil society sector within IPA will be scrutinized. The historical and legal cornerstones for civil society development in financial cooperation system will be given. Detailed information compiled from different databases will be shared in a systematic way for understanding the reasons that led to the creation of a separate sector within framework.

In the fourth chapter, the experiences in the IPA civil society sector that could be an evidence for Europeanisation will be discussed. This part is mainly based on project analysis and findings of interviews. Interviews were carried out. Five people from Directorate for EU Affairs (one Acting Director General of Financial Cooperation and Project Implementation, one Head of Project Implementation Department, three EU Affairs Experts), one expert from the Directorate General of Relations with Civil

Society, one person from a civil society organisation (General Coordinator of Civil Society Support Centre) and one civil society expert and a team leader of an EU funded support programme which is directly working with Turkish civil society, Sivil Düşün. Findings will be presented under the headings of “changes on civil society actors” and “institutional and procedural changes” within this chapter.



1. EUROPEANISATION AND SOCIOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONALISM AS THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Europeanisation presents a conceptual framework for analysing change rooted from the effect of the EU. Presenting a theoretical baseline helps to understand the concept of Europeanisation and helps to understand approaches which will be used within this study.

1.1. Europeanisation

Europeanization is one of the most popular subjects for the EU literature. It mainly deals with the domestic reflections of European integration. These reflections can be on member countries or candidate countries. The term can also be described as the interactions between the EU institutions, EU member states or third countries other than members. Europeanisation literature has been developed during 1990s after the Maastricht Treaty and integration of Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) intensified the Europeanisation studies. There are several approaches to the concept.

According to Ladrech (1994, p.69) the Europeanization can be described as “an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making”. Olsen uses five approaches for explaining Europeanization (Olsen, 2003, p. 334). The first one refers to “the changes in external boundaries involving the expansion of the European system of governance”; the second use refers to the “development of institutions in European level”; the third refers to the “central penetration of national systems of governance (meaning adapting national and sub-national systems of governance to a European political centre and European-wide norms)”, the fourth approach is using the concept for exporting of certain forms of political organisations and governance and the first use of the concept is referring the concept as a political unification project (Olsen, 2003, p. 334). There are many approaches describing the Europeanization as “bottom-up” or “top-down”. “The

bottom-up” perspective analyses how member states shape the EU level policies, politics and the polity. As summarised by Özer (2012, pp. 46-47) Europeanisation is the “evolution of European institutions as a set of new forms, rules and practices”, which formulise and regularise interactions among the actors. From top to down approach reflects Europeanisation as a process of domestic change that is ensured by the European integration. This approach reorients the shape of politics to the extent that EU effect become part of the logic of national choices. The domain of change is not only seen in politics, policies and polity, but also in informal rules, norms, in styles or ways of doing.

The ‘top-down’ perspective analyses how the EU impacts on domestic institutions, policies or political processes. According to Radaelli, new institutionalism theories and methodologies have influenced the Europeanisation literature. In this view Radaelli interprets Europeanization as

“processes of construction, diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures, and public policies” (Radaelli, 2004, p.3).

Beyond top-down and bottom-up, the third perspective is a merger of these two approaches that depicts “Europeanisation as an ongoing, interactive and mutually constitutive process of change linking national and European levels, and this approach sees Europeanisation as a cycle of interactions” (Özer, 2012, p.47).

Although the concept of Europeanisation is generally used for identifying relations of the EU and member countries, the term can be applied to the candidate countries. Börzel T. A. and Panke D. (2015, p.111) says that

“Europeanisation captures the interactions between the European Union and member states or third countries (including candidate countries and neighbourhood countries). One strand of Europeanisation research analysis

how member states shape EU policies, politics, and polity, while the other focuses on how the EU triggers change in member state policies, politics and polity.”

The impact of Europeanization for the EU member countries has been mainly analysed in the literature. But the term also applies for the cases of candidate countries. The focus point of the studies is generally the impact of the EU candidacy on candidates' domestic policies. Europeanisation is mainly taken on policy areas and it has a top-down nature because of the EU's use of conditionality in the accession process. Transferring the policies and institutions are the main points of Europeanisation of candidate countries. Candidate countries are also facing adaptational pressures stemming from relations with the EU, but they have an asymmetrical relationship with the EU. For influencing domestic change, the EU uses more coercive tools. Moreover, in this Europeanization process candidate countries cannot upload their preferences on the EU level policy-making processes.

While analysing the Europeanization Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier identify two main dimensions: EU-driven or domestically driven Europeanization. According to them,

“The external incentives model captures the dynamics underpinning EU conditionality. It follows logic of consequences and is driven by the external rewards and sanctions that the EU adds to cost-benefit calculations of the rule adopting state. [...] The social learning model follows a logic of appropriateness. In contrast to the external incentive model, it emphasizes identification of the CEECs with the EU and persuasion of the CEECs by the EU of the legitimacy of its rules as key conditions for rule adoption rather than the provision of material incentives by the EU. [...] The lesson -drawing model differs from the two other models through its focus on the adoption of EU rules as induced by the CEECs themselves, rather than through any activities of the EU” (Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier, 2005, pp. 9-10)

External incentive model says that if the benefits exceed the internal adaptation cost, candidate countries comply with the norms. Within external incentives model, it is important to indicate the conditionality mechanism of the Europeanization. Conditionality is the key instrument that the EU sets conditions for candidate countries and for being a member of the Union countries make efforts to fulfil the EU membership criterion. In this respect, a candidate country benefits some profits such as financial aid, visa exemption, market access by accepting demands of the EU. External incentive model focuses on the effects of conditionality and discusses whether rule adoption has links with the rewards. Similarly, the social learning model says that the EU represents European international community which is bound together with collective identity, values and norms. Whether to adopt EU rules or not depends on perceiving them to be appropriate to collective identity, values and norms. The “social learning model assumes a logic of appropriateness”, in this model actors act depending on identities, values and norms, a candidate country adopts a rule if it is convinced of the appropriateness of EU rules. (Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier, 2005, pp. 9-10).

According to Börzel, studies on the Europeanization of current “candidate states and neighbourhood countries have identified furtherscope conditions for the EU-induced domestic institutional change focusing on power (a)symmetries, regime type (democracy vs. autocracy); domestic incentives for change; and degrees of statehood (consolidated vs. limited)” (Börzel, 2012, p.14)

Börzel and Risse (2003, pp.3-5), describe the effect of the EU on national countries within three concepts: Policy (eg. agriculture, environment, economy, transportation, foreign policy areas which have supranational and intergovernmental perspective), politics (eg. effects on interest groups in the EU level, political parties, parliaments, local institutions and civil society institutions) and polity (institutional structure, national bureaucracies, national administrators). Institutional structures, national bureaucracies, national administrators are the main areas where EU’s effect can be seen. Depending on the intensified relations with the EU, new/revised units are established within the administrative systems of EU member or candidate countries. As Terzi summarises (2006, p.3) they “analyse how the process of Europeanisation

functions” and indicates “two conditions for expecting domestic changes in countries”. First one is that “Europeanisation should be inconvenient for national policy, thus there should be a misfit or incompatibility between European level and national level processes/policies/institutions”. If Europeanisation fits perfectly, there is no need for change. The degree of misfit causes pressures on need of change. The second approach of Börzel and Risse (2003, pp.60-61) to Europeanisation process is about the responses of actors to the adaptational pressure. When policy misfits, there will be adaptational costs for the member states and they strive to upload their policies on the EU level for reducing compliance problems and addressing problems more effectively.

At the literature another important issue is qualifying and measuring the outcome of Europeanisation. Europeanisation effect polity, policy, politics but also actors and political systems. For qualifying the degree of change and the reaction of actors 5 different outcomes are listed: inertia, retrenchment, absorption, accommodation, transformation. As Sittermann cited from Börzel inertia is the absence of change. Retrenchment states that the resistance to change can create an “increasing rather than a decreasing misfit situation”, absorption points out “a situation where countries integrate European requirements into the national political system though without considerable change of established structures”. According to him “accommodation occurs if domestic policies are adapted to fit EU requirements without changing their central and fundamental features and the highest degree of change” is transformation (Sittermann, 2006, pp.18-19). This classification helps to understand the degree of change as in member countries.

The Europeanisation presents a conceptional framework for analysing change rooted from the effect of the EU. In this regard, new institutionalism is mainly used as the conceptional baseline for Europeanisation studies. According to new-institutionalism, institutions create effect. In this perspective, institutions consist of norms and constraints that shape human behaviours.

Besides new functionalist and state-centric approaches to European integration, during 1980s and 1990s new institutionalist theoretical perspective was introduced. New institutionalists focus on the institutions and according to them institutions matter

in integration process. This approach arguing that institutions create effects provides a suitable methodology for Europeanisation studies (Yazgan, 2012, pp.123-140).

There are three approaches in the new institutionalist perspective. These three forms are historical institutionalism, rationalist (or rational choice) institutionalism; sociological institutionalism. In this study, for understanding the Europeanisation effect on “candidate countries” rationalist and sociological approaches of new institutionalism will be examined. Since historical institutionalism focuses on how institutionalist choices have long-term effects, follows the logic of path dependency which focuses on historical path of institutional development rather than focusing on present conditions of the institutions (Rosamond, 2015, p.85) it is hard to understand Europeanisation process of a candidate country via using this approach. Rationalist and sociological arguments and methods are mainly used in terms of Europeanisation concept (Yazgan, 2012, p.133). For these reasons historical institutionalism is not addressed within this thesis.

1.1.1. Sociological Institutionalism

For explaining the mechanisms of Europeanisation sociological institutionalism argues that it leads to domestic change by the way of collective learning process. In this process norms are internalized, and the new identities are developed. EU member states change and adopt their policies or procedures, processes to new norms and processes stemming from the European system. (Yazgan, 2012, p.133). Sociological institutionalism indicates the importance of logic of appropriateness and focuses on “which actors are guided by a collective understanding of what constitutes proper, socially accepted behaviour in given structure” (Rosamond, 2015, p.86)

In this understanding, the world is a social and cultural entity rather than a purely material structure. The sociological approach takes the individual agent as a role player who is driven by a non-consequential logic of appropriateness. In the sociological institutionalist classification of new institutionalism in Europeanisation studies, actors act with a logic of appropriateness. (Yazgan, 2012, p.133). Through socialisation and learning, Europe affects ideas and norms and make them to be

internalised in domestic politics. Sociological institutionalism argues that institutions effect the preferences and identities of actors. Actors are expected to obey rules because rules are natural, true and legitimate. Actors act depending on the adopted norms and rules. In the process of Europeanisation, change comes after convincing related country about European norms and values. Sociological institutionalists explain Europeanisation as new identities created via internalizing European values and norms, socialisation and interactions. (Risse, 2000, p. 4; Eilstrup-Sangiovanni 2006, p. 396)

For Börzel and Risse (2003, p.68) “sociological logic of domestic change emphasizes arguing, learning, and socialization as the mechanisms by which new norms and identities emanating from Europeanization processes are internalized by domestic actors and lead to new definitions of interests and of collective identities”.

The sociological institutionalist sees institutions as tools which influence interests of actors . Thus, “the EU from a sociological institutionalist perspective presents new ‘institutions’, i.e. new ideas, meanings, rules, and norms the member states have to absorb”, the best domestic change can be seen when it is not so different from the EU requirements (Börzel, 2003, p.16).

1.1.2. Rationalist Institutionalism

For explaining the mechanisms of Europeanisation, the rational institutionalist perspective sees actors as rational and goal oriented. According to Börzel and Risse rationalist perspective follows ‘logic of consequentialism’. For them, the “misfit between European and domestic processes, policies, and institutions provides societal and/or political actors with new opportunities and constraints to pursue their interests” (Börzel and Risse, 2003 p.58). According to them, the rational choice institutionalism says that by “the differential empowerment of actors resulting from a redistribution of resources” creates domestic change (Börzel and Risse, 2003 p.58). However sociological perspective argues a ‘logic of appropriateness’ and persuasion processes. The main difference of ‘logic of appropriateness’ and ‘logic of consequentialism’ is their focus on interest or ideas and sociological focus on the culture’s role on institutions (Yazgan, 2012, p.133). While explaining the sociological institutionalism,

Sedelmeier underlines the importance of “processes of socialisation and persuasion as a mechanism for the EU’s domestic impact” (2006, p.13). For him, via these kind of processes, candidate countries understands that the EU’s rules have an intrinsic value, regardless of the material incentives for adopting them. The EU’s effect is connected to cultural match or resonance between the EU demands and domestic rules and political discourses.

In a candidate country’s case rationalist institutionalist approach sees EU’s conditionality as the main factor. In rationalist institutionalism, decision making is done via calculating the cost-effectiveness. According to Schimmelfenning’s external incentive model (2005, p.9) the EU uses the conditionality strategy for effecting countries and this makes a significant contribution to the change internal balances of countries. According to external incentive model, if the size of the award exceeds the cost of internal compliance, countries adapts to the EU norms.

In the rationalist institutionalism Sedelmeier classifies terms of conditional incentives (EU strategy level) as differential empowerment and costs (in domestic politics) (2006, p.11-12). Clarity of demands and credibility of EU conditionality are two key factors of EU within conditional incentives approach. According to him, clarity provides candidates to understand “”what they need to do if they decide to comply with the EU’s conditions”. Credibility is about receiving rewards after meeting the EU’s demands and it relates to reply of conditionality by the EU. In terms of domestic politics Sedelmeier says that a low actor density in a policy area or “a low number of veto players” is a key facilitating actor for the influence of the EU on candidate countries (2006, p.11-12).

Europeanisation of a candidate country is different than processes faced by member states. Europeanisation of Turkey cannot just be explained by law adaptation processes. Financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU and funding programmes pave the way for actors, mainly in the civil society sector to change themselves. As noted by Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber (2005, p.3)

“... EU membership candidacy has altered the characteristics of civil society in Turkey, that is, those societal actors that are not political parties or state representatives, but engaged in the shaping and organization of Turkish society, and how it has transformed the spaces available for civil society actors to become actively involved in the organization of Turkish society and politics.”

For analysing the changes resulting from the pre-accession financial assistance provided to Turkey by the EU, specifically on the civil society sector, it will be useful to understand the historical background of the Turkey-EU financial cooperation which will be detailed in the second chapter.

2. TURKEY-EU FINANCIAL COOPERATION

The EU provides financial assistance for both reducing the differences within the Union member countries in terms of social and economic development and for supporting the European integration processes and administrative structures of the candidate countries. In this context, financial assistance can be in the form of grant from the EU budget or as a loan from the European Investment Bank (EIB).

Since the beginning of the relationships, the EU's financial assistance to Turkey has been provided under different mechanisms and within different priorities. Financial assistance to Turkey began with Ankara Association Agreement which was signed on 12 September 1963 and took effect on 1 December 1964. After Turkey's candidacy status was announced in December 1999 at the Helsinki Summit, the amount and purpose of this financial support has changed (Interview with Bülent Özcan, DEUA's Acting General Director of the Financial Cooperation and Project Implementation, on 02.04.2019) In order to understand these changes, it is useful to draw the main framework of the financial assistance system. The EU's financial assistance to Turkey can be categorised under two main stages: pre-candidacy and candidacy periods. Categorising the periods of financial cooperation processes would be beneficial for understanding the levels of cooperation and analysing the change.

2.1. EU's Financial Assistance to Turkey: Pre-Candidacy Period (1964-1999)

The EU's (at that time European Economic Community) financial assistance to Turkey goes back to 1963, with the start of association relations. In this period the main purpose of the assistance was supporting the Turkish economy. In this context, four financial protocols were prepared between Turkey and the EU; three of them came into force, but last one was vetoed in 1980 for political reasons and could not be implemented. In addition, a Supplementary Protocol was prepared in addition to the Second Financial Protocol in this period. Supports under the financial protocols consist of low interest-EU loans and EIB loans. Beside financial protocols, support was provided via Special Cooperation Fund in this period (Karluk, 2007, pp 513-517).

2.1.1. Financial Protocols Period

The association relations between Turkey and the EU started with the Ankara Association Agreement signed in 1963. According to the Agreement, it was stated that Turkey would receive financial support for accelerating its economy in line with the Agreement's and Additional Protocol's provisions. This assistance was important for Turkey for fulfilling the obligations of customs union transition period and last period. Between 1964 and 1996, financial assistance was provided through financial protocols. "To ensure the rapid development of Turkey's economy and to raise the level of employment and living conditions" approximately 1 billion ECU was provided to Turkey within the scope of three financial protocols (DPT, 2003, p.48; Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı, 1995, p.53). The assistance consisted of loans and grants and were used for financing of industrial and infrastructure projects of public and private sectors. In this period 33% of this amount was spent on industry and agriculture, 52% on energy and 14% on infrastructure and transportation sectors (Karluk, 2007, p.439).

For the period of 1964-1969 (first financial protocol signed on 1963, annexed to the Ankara Agreement) 175 million ECU loan was provided by the European Commission (EC) Loan and General Budget Guarantee (Gençkol, 2003, p.155) These financial supports were used for Kovada Project, Gökçekaya Project, Gökçekaya Seyitömer Power Transmission Line Project and Keban Dam and Power Transmission Line Project, Bosphorus Bridge, Gediz Basin Irrigation Project, TCDD Dieselization, SEKA-Dalaman and SEKA-Çaycuma paper projects (Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı and TOBB, 2002, p.446). For the period of 1971-1977 (second financial protocol signed in 1970, annexed to the Additional Protocol signed on 23 November 1970) 220 million ECU loan was provided (195 million ECU from EC Loan and General Budget Guarantee and 25 million ECU from the EIB). Turkey received an additional 47 million ECU loan from EC Loan and General Budget Guarantee after the EU's 1973 enlargement (Bilici, 2012, p. 164). For the years of 1979-1981 (third financial protocol signed on 1977) 310 million ECU (Avrupa Komisyonu Temsilciliği, 1994, p.5) was provided (220 million ECU from the EC Loan and General Budget Guarantee and 90 million Euro from the EIB). Depending on the decision number 2/80 of Association

Council (dated 30 June 1980) a Special Cooperation Fund was established for strengthening Turkish economy and technical cooperation efforts. Within this mechanism, 75 million ECU grant was allocated for Turkey, 46 million ECU was transferred in 1981 but this allocation could not be used until 1987 (Avrupa Komisyonu Temsilciliği, 1994, p.5). After the military coup in Turkey in 1980, the EU decided to freeze relations with Turkey. The fourth financial protocol was designed for the period of 1982-1986 (drafted on June 1981 and re-drafted on January 1989) but could not put into practice. After 1987 this fund was used in projects related to energy, health, education and environment (Bilici, 2012, p. 165). On 14 April 1987, Turkey applied for full membership to the EU. The EC submitted a cooperation package concerning precautions including initiation and acceleration of cooperation with Turkey on 6 June 1990 (the Matutes Package). The package included intensification of financial cooperation (and fourth financial protocol) but it was not approved by the Council (1998 Turkey Progress Report, p.5; Karluk, 2007, pp.513-516).

2.1.2. Financial Assistance for Supporting Customs Union

Turkey-EU financial cooperation has entered a new era with the 6 March 1995 Meeting of the Association Council. With the Decision No 1/95 of the Association Council, it was decided to move to the final stage of the customs union and to resume the financial cooperation. Turkey entered the Final Period on 31 December 1995 by completing transition period and by 1 January 1996 completed the process of Customs Union Period provided in industrial products and manufactured agricultural products. A Community Declaration, annexed to the Association Council's Decision of 6 March 1995, drew the framework of the financial assistance and cooperation which would be needed in the new period. For the years of June 1996-December 2000, within Special Action Programme, 375 million ECU grant from general budget and 755,3 million ECU loan from EIB were provided to Turkey. Additionally, for this period amount of 3 million ECU as 'Administrative Cooperation Programme' allocation was provided by the EU (Karluk, 2007, p.518)

2.1.3. Other EU Financial Assistances

In the pre-candidacy period, the EU provided financial assistance to Turkey via different mechanisms apart from the financial protocols. Between the years of 1992-1996 Renewed Mediterranean Program provided 400 million ECU. Institutions from Turkey participated projects namely MED-CAMPUS, MED-URBS, MED-MEDIA, AVICENNE conducted under Renewed Mediterranean Programme (Avrupa Komisyonu Temsilciliği, 1994, p.13)

For eliminating the negative effects of Customs Union, the EU decided to provide support through its budget resources and Mediterranean Economic Development Area (MEDA). On 15 July 1996, the General Affairs Council adopted the MEDA Program Regulation for 12 Mediterranean countries, including Turkey. Within MEDA I, the EU provided 35 million ECU for the years of 1996-1999. Furthermore, the EU provided 14 million ECU for 1996-1999 period to some projects on environment, civil society actions and combating with drugs and AIDS. After İzmit Earthquake on 17 August 1999, 4 million ECU from the budget (1999 Turkey Progress Report); 30 million Euros for the temporary shelter needs and 1 million ECU as emergency aid by European Community Humanitarian Aid Office were provided (Karluk, 2007, p.519).

2.2. EU's Financial Assistance to Turkey: Candidacy Period (1999-2020)

The financial assistance in the candidacy period was mainly allocated to be used in activities designed to facilitate the accession process of Turkey. The main priorities are framed in the Accession Partnership Documents (APD) and National Programs (NP) for the Adoption of the Acquis. Turkey-EU Financial Cooperation period can be classified under three headings:

- a) 2000-2006 Period: Pre-Accession Financial Assistance for Turkey
- b) 2007-2013 Period: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance I (IPA I)
- c) 2014-2020 Period: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance II (IPA II)

2.2.1. 2000-2006 Period: Pre-Accession Financial Assistance to Turkey

EU pre-accession financial assistance is the financial instrument to be used for preparing candidate countries for membership. The EU pre-accession financial assistance provides the basis for candidate countries for adapting the EU Acquis, policies, financing structural development-oriented expenditures and Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds (allocated for member countries) (Karataş, 2010, p.47). The candidacy status was recognized for Turkey in European Council Summit Meeting in Helsinki held on 11-12 December 1999. The EU has established financial assistance programs under many different names to support and prepare candidate countries for full membership. During the period of 2000-2006 Turkey did not benefit from mechanisms created for supporting candidate countries such as PHARE (Poland Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy), ISPA (Instrument for Structural Policy for Pre-Accession) and SAPARD (Special Accession Program for Agriculture and Rural Development), CARDS (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stability in the Balkans). The EU budget is designed for seven-yearly periods and the pre accession amounts are allocated in the EU budget. Due to fact that budget allocations were reserved and confirmed before the announcement of Turkey's candidacy status, Turkey was not included in these programs. It was expressed by the Commission that in addition to the MEDA, new resources would be created for Turkey (Gençkol, 2003, p. 172). After the recognition of candidacy status Turkey was included in the system designed under "Pre-Accession Strategy" framework. Instead of PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD and CARDS, additional resources were created in accordance with this strategy. After the Helsinki Summit, Turkey was included in the MEDA II Programme for the years of 2000-2006. The grants under the MEDA II Programme are provided under the budget by the EC. Allocations for Turkey were increased to 890 million Euros after 1999. Thus, 15% of MEDA II funds were allocated for Turkey (Arakon, 2002, p.34). For the year of 2000, 176 million Euros; for 2001, 167 million Euros and for 2002, 126 million Euros commitments were provided for Turkey within MEDA II Programme. For the period of 2000-2002, 60% were allocated for infrastructure investments and sectoral policies;

35% for the accession process and 5% for the projects of civil society (Arakon, 2002, 35).

The Pre-Accession Strategy, which was outlined at the Essen Summit in 1994, aims to assist candidate countries for alignment of Acquis Communautaire. This strategy is a framework for the candidate countries and includes priorities, technical and financial supports and preparations for negotiation process. At the Luxembourg Summit in 1997, the Accession Partnership system was replaced by the EC for each candidate country, which sets priorities for each candidate country and frames the structure of financial assistance (Kurşunlu, 2004, p.45)

Following the Helsinki Summit in 1999, the EC-Turkey Association Council meeting was held on 11 April 2000 and based upon the Decision No. 3/2000 eight subcommittees were established under the Association Committee in accordance with the EU acquis. According to the decision, following subcommittees were established (Kurşunlu, 2004, p.48);

1. “Agriculture and Fisheries Subcommittee
2. Internal Market and Competition Subcommittee
3. Trade, Industry and European Coal and Steel Community Products Subcommittee
4. Economic and Monetary Issues, Capital Movements and Statistics Subcommittee
5. Innovation, Education, Training Courses and Youth and Turkish Participation in Community Programmes Subcommittee
6. Transportation, Environment, Energy (including Trans-European Networks) Subcommittee
7. Regional Development, Employment and Social Policy Subcommittee
8. Customs, Taxation, Drug Trafficking and Money Laundering Subcommittee”

In the period of June 2000 and July 2001, these technical committees mainly worked on harmonizing the legislation, monitoring progress and developing strategies to solve the problems. The administrative capacity which was needed for the candidacy period, started to be initiated as a result of these subcommittee works (Kurşunlu, 2004, p.48).

Due to the lack of the structures of Decentralized Implementation System (which means EU pre-accession funds to be managed by national authorities of candidate country), in 2000 and 2001 programming activities were carried out within the framework of MEDA. A total amount of 423 million Euros was provided for the projects of Turkey in this period (Arakon, 2002, p.40).

A single framework to coordinate all EU pre-accession assistance to Turkey was adopted by the EC in July 2000 and sent to the Council and the European Parliament. This regulation constitutes the legal basis of the Accession Partnership for Turkey (2000 Regular Report for Turkey). A Regulation No. 390/2001 was issued on 26 February 2001 establishing an Accession Partnership. This Regulation outlines the pre-accession financial assistance and the Accession Partnership. Turkey has been receiving pre-accession assistance from the EU since 2001, based on the Accession Partnership for Turkey adopted by the Council on 8 March 2001.

Council Decision of 8 March 2001 on the principles, priorities, intermediate objectives and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the Republic of Turkey numbered 2001/235/EC was published in the EU Official Journal on 24 March 2001. The purpose of the Accession Partnership is to present a single framework on the priority areas for further work in line with Copenhagen criteria and EU Acquis alignment. Also it provides the basis for a policy instruments, which will be used to support Turkey for membership preparations.

In the pre-accession process Council Regulation (EC) No 2500/2001 of 17 December 2001 concerning pre accession financial assistance for Turkey and amending Regulations (EEC) No 3906/89, (EC) No 1267/1999, (EC) No 1268/1999 and (EC) No 555/2000 was published in the EU Official Journal on 7 December 2001. This

document determines the framework for financial assistance to Turkey. It is the legal basis for pre-accession financial assistance to support the priority areas of Accession Partnership. For the period 2002-2006 the EU's assistance was provided within the specific pre-accession framework in accordance with Council Regulation 2500/2001. This regulation is called 'framework regulation'. The document indicates that the assistance will be applied via institution-building and investments in line with the EU Acquis. Additionally, regulation includes indications regarding promotion of the development of civil society in Turkey. Regulation entered into force on 1 January 2002. Turkey started to establish a new pre-accession financial management system with the Decree of the Prime Ministry dated 18 July 2001 numbered 2001/41. On 14 February 2002 'Memorandum of Understanding's of establishing the Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU) and National Fund were accepted. In addition to these new regulations in the Turkish administrative system, the Delegation of the EU to Turkey (EUD) has begun to delegate its authority for the administration of financial assistance. Although the main responsible is the EU, the responsibility for management and implementation of this system is Turkey. In this system, the ex-ante approval of the EC is mandatory for transferring, tendering and contracting processes. The EC uses these powers through EUD. 2001 has been a transition year to align the assistance with the APD and NP priorities.

In pre-accession period, the EU also demanded the establishment of a Decentralised Implementation System. In the DIS administrative responsibility of the financial assistance is transferred from EU institutions to candidate countries' agencies. Project preparation, monitoring, evaluation and project implementation functions are carried out by the candidate countries. DIS management of funds is established in order to enhance ownership of the management of assistance. DIS has been used since 2002. The EU monitors candidate countries within this framework through monitoring, meetings and reports.

In Turkey DIS agencies are National Fund, the National Aid Coordinator and its Secretariat and CFCU, National Authorising Officer (NAO), Senior Programme Officers and the Financial Cooperation Committee.

The DIS was formally accredited in October 2003 by an EU decision. During this period, the MEDA projects were managed by the EUD. Since June 2004, the DIS has been fully operational for all pre-accession programmes. Regarding the project fiches designed by national authorities 2002-2004 financial assistance were mainly allocated for Turkey's acquis harmonization process, investment priorities and in line with participation to community programs and agencies, for the fulfilment of the Copenhagen political criteria, the fulfilment of economic criteria, justice and home affairs, economic and social cohesion, regional development, strengthening the administration. By the year 2004, it was understood that the number of projects aimed at enhancing the civil society and civil society dialogue increased gradually. For the 2002-2006 period, 126 million Euro was allocated for financing of 18 projects in 2002; 144 million Euro for 28 projects in 2003; 235,6 million Euro for 38 projects in 2004; 276.7 million Euro for 35 projects in 2005 and 450 million Euro for 45 projects in 2006.

2.2.2. 2007-2013 Period: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance I

As of 2006, the EU changed the financial assistance framework for candidate countries and a single structure was created. Programmes like Pre-accession Financial Assistance to Turkey, PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS were consolidated into a single instrument called Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). The main aim was increasing the coherence between different funding mechanisms. With this new financial assistance system, the establishment of funding is standardised for all candidate countries.

In July 2006 IPA was established under the 2007-2013 financial framework. Council Regulation 1085/2006 which was outlining IPA, was submitted by the EU Commission to the European Parliament and the Council and the Regulation was adopted by the Council on 17 July 2006. This Council Regulation is the legal basis for IPA.

The more detailed implementing rules were laid down in Commission Regulation 718/2007 dated 12 June 2007. Some amendments were introduced with Commission Regulation 80/2010 dated 28 January 2010. This Commission Regulation

is called Implementing Regulation. Priorities regarding implementations were identified in this document.

IPA system became applicable for potential candidate countries, as well. The countries that receive support under IPA are called IPA beneficiary countries. During IPA I financing period comprising the period from 2007 to 2013, approximately 4,8 billion Euros were allocated for Turkey, as an IPA beneficiary country.

The most important change of the IPA is that the financial assistance will be made available to the priority and activity areas determined within the programme frameworks to be prepared by the beneficiary countries. IPA aims to prepare candidate countries for programming, management and implementation of structural funds and obtaining consistency and coordination of the EU funds.

In the IPA system there are official documents which shape the framework of the system. The Multi-Annual Indicative Financial Framework (MIFF) and the Multi-Annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD) are the documents prepared by the EU for determining the allocation of financial assistance. MIFF shows the distribution of allocations for beneficiary countries for a tri-annual period. MIFF can be described as an overarching strategic planning document. It sets priorities and objectives for a period of seven-years. In IPA II period (covering years 2014-2020), strategy papers replaced the MIPDs. MIPD is designed with EC and the beneficiary country and depending on the pre-accession priorities, this document identifies the sub-components of IPA allocations.

One of the most important components of this process is Financing Agreements. Financing Agreement is signed between the National IPA Coordinator (on behalf of the Republic of Turkey) and the EC. Through this agreement transfer of allocations is approved. The agreement has legally binding financial obligations and gives a project list to be funded within that agreement perspective. Projects are identified in a process called “programming”. In the programming period, beneficiary countries and the EU work together. Programmes and projects to be funded are identified depending on the priority areas.

While the EU retains overall responsibility for the management of the pre-accession assistance, the EU's Pre-Accession Financial Assistance for Turkey and the IPA are managed by the Turkish authorities. As in the previous financial assistance period, during the IPA system, the EU approves the annual National Programme (including selected projects prepared mainly by the Turkish authorities), and the EUD gives prior approval during implementation for the tendering and contracting processes.

In Turkey, a Prime Ministry Circular No. 2011/15 was issued in order to regulate the decentralized implementation system in accordance with IPA regulations. The beneficiary country is obliged to ensure separation of duties between the assigned administrative units and authorities. Administrative units have been identified as the actors who will carry out the assistance system in Turkey.

According to the IPA management system, actors are described as follows: Competent Accrediting Officer; National IPA Coordinator (NIPAC); Financial Co-operation Committee; National Fund; National Authorising Officer; CFCU; Programme Authorising Officer; Senior Programme Officers; Transition Assistance and Institution Building Committee. Based on the mandates of the Circular, Minister responsible for Undersecretariat of Treasury is Competent Accrediting Officer. The Undersecretary of the Ministry for EU Affairs (in the ongoing system, the head of DEUA) is the National IPA Coordinator in charge of the general coordination. Also it is responsible for managing and coordination of programming and monitoring of First Component (Transition Assistance and Institution Building) signing agreements and submitting them to the Commission. The Undersecretary of the Treasury acts as NAO. The National Fund under NAO is responsible for the IPA's financial management. In Turkey-EU financial cooperation system, CFCU has responsibilities during tendering, payments contracting, reporting of the projects under the scope of pre-accession financial cooperation.

For each IPA component or program, Implementation Units were established and assigned for the management and implementation of the assistance, including preparing project fiches, implementation documents, annual and sectoral reports. Within this system, coordination boards and committees as well as monitoring committees were

set up for the effective implementation of the system. The period of IPA I for Turkey (including years 2007-2014) consists of five pillars (components) (summarised from web sites of the DEUA- Section Financial Cooperation- and the European Commission - Section: European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations-) :

I. Transition Assistance and Institution Building

II. Cross-border Co-operation

III. Regional Development (transportation, environment, regional and economic development)

IV. Human Resources Development

V. Rural Development Programme

Assistance was provided within the framework of operations or projects created under these components. While the EU candidate countries could receive support under all the components of IPA, potential candidate countries could benefit from the first and second components of IPA only. Many projects were supported on an annual basis through grants provided by the public sector and through various operations in the IPA system. IPA funds to be provided for Turkey under these five components were used in line with the objectives of full membership to the EU and within the framework of the priorities stipulated in the APD, NP, strategies and priorities of each area for the period of 2007-2013.

Under the Component of Transition Assistance and Institution Building the main goal was supporting alignment with the acquis, reforms to strengthen democratic structures, fundamental rights and freedoms, public administration reform to strengthen institutional capacities. The focus of the component was alignment with the acquis and its implementation. Projects aiming at civil society development and civil society dialogue were managed under this component, too. Within the Cross-Border Component it is aimed at supporting international and inter-regional cooperation projects which serve to develop good neighbourhood relations. Turkey-Bulgaria Cross-Border Cooperation Programme and the European Neighbourhood and Partnership

Instrument Black Sea Basin Cross-Border Cooperation Program were implemented. Planning, programming monitoring and evaluation of Component I and Component II were carried out by DEUA. Civil society organisations mainly benefited and received funds from programmes designed under Component I. There are also grant programmes designed under Component II which civil society can apply but the main focus of this component was to enhance cross border cooperation.

Numerous projects were implemented under environment, transport and regional competitiveness operational programmes. Projects focusing on wastewater, water supply, integrated solid waste, railway infrastructure and projects targeting small and medium sized enterprises (research and development, innovation, information society) were implemented within the Regional Development component. Projects were designed as operational programmes and they were implemented under the responsibilities of Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (Environment Operational Programme); Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure (Transport Operational Programme); Ministry of Industry and Technology (Regional Competitiveness Operational Programme).

Within Human Resources Development component projects were designed to support increasing employment opportunities, education, life-long learning and social inclusion. This component was under the responsibility of Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (Human Resources Development Operation). In line with the priority axes of this component, civil society organisation can apply for the funds. But the main focus of support programmes was not enhancing the civil society sector, rather enhancing social life, as well as forming economic benefits.

Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution (IPARD Agency, under Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry) coordinated the Rural Development component of IPA I period. Funds were allocated for projects of enterprises, individual producers, cooperatives, producer's unions in the fields of agriculture, food and fisheries.

2.2.3. 2014-2020 Period: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance II

IPA II sets a new framework for 2014-2020 period for beneficiary countries in order to provide pre-accession assistance. The most important change regarding IPA II is its strategic focus (Interview with Murat Özçelebi, Expert for EU Affairs from DEUA's Project Implementation Department, who is in charge coordinating civil society sector at Lead Institution, on 10.04.2019).

The IPA II Regulation No 231/2014 of 11 March 2014 came into force on 16 March 2014. IPA II Regulation lists objectives and main principles for assistance. IPA II Regulation states that the new pre-accession assistance system supports Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iceland, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey and the Republic of North Macedonia (formerly "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia") (as used on website of the Council of the EU) in adopting and implementing the political, institutional, legal, administrative, social and economic reforms with a view to Union membership. Assistance under IPA II focus on areas for helping countries for strengthening their democratic institutions, the rule of law, fundamental rights and aims at enhancing economic and social development.

According to IPA II Regulation No 231/2014 the assistance will be implemented through annual or multiannual, country specific or multi-country programmes. These programmes will be organised with Indicative Strategy Papers.

Commission Implementing Regulation No 447/2014 of 2 May 2014 lays down the specific rules for implementing IPA II Regulation No 231/2014. The methods of implementation and other processes for financial management (monitoring, evaluation, reporting, visibility) are detailed within this document.

Financial assistance under IPA II pursues the following four specific objectives: supporting political reforms; supporting economic, and social development; strengthening beneficiary countries to fulfil their obligations; and strengthening cooperation and regional integration. (IPA II Regulation No 231/2014).

In the IPA II Regulation five policy areas are indicated. These areas are (1) reforms in preparation for the EU membership, (2) socio-economic and regional development, (3) development of human resources, social policies, employment, education and gender equality promotion, (4) rural development, (5) regional cooperation. IPA II is designed to be more strategic. Being result-oriented is another aspect of the new financial cooperation system. It is aimed at ensuring sustainable results in supporting countries for membership. Within IPA II pre-defined sectors are listed in the framework. These sectors are in line with the areas of the enlargement strategy. Importance of the sector approach is indicated on the Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey for the periods of 2014-2020 (2018, p.3-4). Sector approach promotes structural reforms that will help transform a given sector and correspond EU standards. This approach is designed for a more targeted assistance. A more systematic use of sector oriented budget support is designed for this new IPA system.

In the IPA I period individual/thematic projects were funded but the distribution of financial assistance according to national sectoral strategies instead of individual projects is one of the most important changes in IPA II period. IPA II attaches more importance to the role of civil society including its role in the projects to be carried out by the public sector (Interviews with DEUA Experts Murat Özçelebi on 10.04.2019 and with Duygu Yardımcı on 11.04.2019). For programming of IPA II, the main elements of IPA I, namely project fiches, are merged into one single Sector Planning Document. Sector Approach is aimed at promoting or reinforcing sector policy dialogue and structural reforms; allowing to move towards more structured and focused objectives; helping to build the capacities at national level. Strategy Papers are the specific strategic planning documents tailored for each beneficiary country for the seven-year financial envelope.

Within the framework of Turkey's targets of capacity development and of economic and social cohesion, IPA II process has started. In line with the sectoral approach of IPA II, priority areas/sectors are identified (instead of components of the previous term) and responsible institutions are assigned.

For Turkey the main document of IPA II period is Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey (2014-2020) (ISP) by Commission Implementing Decision C (2014) 5998. The ISP was adopted on 26 August 2014. ISP for Turkey (2014-2020) has been revised and updated on 10 August 2018 by Commissions Implementing Decision (C (2018) 5067). Revised ISP for Turkey amends C (2014) 5998. ISP sets out the priorities of Turkey for IPA II period. Following the introduction part, the second part of the Revised ISP for Turkey (2014-2020) portrays a clear analysis of needs and capacities; addresses EU Enlargement Strategy; indicates relevant national/regional strategies and conditions for managing pre-accession assistance; provides information regarding donor coordination and complementary methods with other EU assistance. In the third part of the Document, the overall design of pre-accession assistance is divided into two broad categories: (1) Democracy and Rule of Law and (2) Competitiveness and Growth. Within these two pillars, the conditionality of EU funds is mentioned.

In the fourth part of the Strategy Paper of Turkey for period 2014-2020, the priority areas of IPA II are listed. Under each IPA II priority area, needs and capacities, objectives, results, actions, indicators, types of financing and risks of that sector are described. In the Revised ISP for Turkey sectors and responsible institutions (lead institutions) are listed below:

1. Democracy and Governance (DEUA)
 - a. Sub-sector: Civil Society
2. Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights (Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior and DEUA)
 - a. Sub-sector: Judiciary and Fundamental Rights
 - b. Sub-sector: Home Affairs
3. Environment, Climate Action and Energy (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources)
4. Transport (Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure)

5. Competitiveness and Innovation, Agriculture and Rural Development, (Ministry of Industry and Technology, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry)
6. Education, Employment and Social Policies (Ministry of Family and Social Policies)
7. Territorial and Regional Cooperation (DEUA)

In Turkey the Prime Ministry Circular No 2015/15 on Management of Pre-Accession Funds to be Provided by the EU entered into force on 8 December 2015. This Circular regulates the distribution of roles and responsibilities of the relevant institutions in Turkey. Additionally, with framework agreements and Sectoral Agreement, IPA implementation principles are transferred into national legislation.

Sector Planning Documents are key documents for implementing process within IPA II, in line with sector support actions (projects). Documents has two parts. The first part provides a sector analysis. In this part information is given about the sector's maturity and country's compliance to this vision. Second part provides a framework covering projections and targets. Sector Planning Document is prepared by beneficiary country with the collaboration of the Commission. It is a living document and is updated over the years.

Annual Action Programmes (AAP) are designed by the beneficiary countries and the Commission. Through these annual documents the EU accepts the transfer of allocations for each beneficiary country. After a Commission Implementing Decision, beneficiary countries transfer AAPs into their internal legal systems depending on their national procedures.

In Turkey, Financing Agreements are ratified for internalizing the listed AAPs. Financing Agreements are signed by National IPA Coordinators and by the EC. In the name of Republic of Turkey, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents a Note Verbale to the EUD annexing the signed Financing Agreement. After receiving the agreement, through a Note Verbale the EUD indicates the Commission's confirmation that the

approval process for the Financing Agreement has been completed. After this process financing agreement is put into practice in line with the national legal procedures.

The experiences of 2002-2013 period contributes to the change of perceptions on civil society sector. With the new IPA II period covering 2014-2020, civil society is defined as a separate sub sector under EU's pre-accession assistance to Turkey, likewise energy, rural development or transportation. In the third chapter practices held under civil society sector will be detailed.



3. INSTRUMENT FOR PRE-ACCESSION ASSISTANCE II CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

Turkey's EU accession negotiations are conducted on three pillars: "fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria with no exceptions and assimilating and speeding up the political reforms; the adoption and implementation of the EU Acquis Communautaire; strengthening dialogue with civil society and implementation of a communication strategy towards the societies of EU and Turkey" (Negotiation Framework Document, 2005). A functioning civil society is one of the vital elements of modern democracies. Strengthening civil society-public cooperation and civil society's democratic participation level are main indications of EU membership criteria. With the end of 1980's Turkish civil society started to be re-activated and mobilised. After the announcement of Turkey's candidacy to the EU, legal developments strengthened civil society in Turkey and EU funds accelerated civil society activities and effects. Civil society was defined as a separate area under IPA system. As indicated in Radaelli's definition (2004, p.3) Europeanisation is

"processes of construction, diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures, and public policies."

Within this scope, defining civil society as a sub-area under IPA system, can be given as example for Europeanisation in Turkey. In this section evolution of civil society sector under IPA system will be reviewed and program examples will be presented.

3.1. Developments on Civil Society Sector after 1999

Civil society is one of the most important elements of democracies and plays a key role during participation of citizens in decision-making process. Civil society can be described as part of society outside the state. According to Aytekin (2003, p.321) the

concept of civil society is a voluntary and self-organized social life space which exists autonomously from the state. In Europe roots of civil society is based on idea of joint struggle and solidarity against aristocracy. Starting from the 1200, the idea of civil society is shaped with aim of changing environment and has developed since 1980's rapidly with the effect of globalization (Keyman, 2004, p.2).

In the integration process with the EU, the involvement of civil society to the accession process is important. The importance of civil society has been always emphasized in Turkey-EU relations. For accession to the EU, candidate countries should fulfil the accession criteria. As known as Copenhagen criteria these are the essential conditions all candidate countries must satisfy to become a member state and the first indication is "stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities" (European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency, 1993). In 1997 Turkey was declared as eligible to join the EU and announced as a candidate country to the EU in 1999. Accession negotiations has started on 2005. In line with the accession priorities, Turkey has started to benefit from the EU financial assistance.

The main priorities of EU accession process are the enhancement of democracy and human rights, institutionalization of free market economy and supporting modern living standards. A well-developed and functioning civil society is a vital element of modern democracies. Europeanisation process of Turkey is connected to political, economic and social reforms implemented in line with the EU Acquis. Many elements of the Acquis Communautaire are based on the functioning civil society. In this regard reforms were supported through EU's financial assistance. Projects designed under the EU pre-accession assistance have enhanced institutional capacity of Turkish institutions, supported Acquis Communautaire alignment and connected societies between Turkey and the EU.

According to interview with Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay (General Coordinator of the Association of Civil Society Development Centre-CSDP on 01.11.2019) after the announcement of Turkey's candidacy status in 1999, Turkey and the European Commission has launched a new programme for supporting Turkey's preparation

efforts on the civil society sector. The programme had components as “(1) Improving cooperation between the NGOs and the public sector and Strengthening the NGO’s democratic participation level and (2) Improving freedom of association for further development of civil society. The programme was funded under MEDA 2001 Programming. The programme was designed as a technical assistance programme. According to report of this programme (unpublished Monitoring Report of TR0301.03, M/TR/PAD/05/008/1, December 2004) development of civil society was one of the priorities pointed out within the political criteria section of the Accession Partnership Documents (APD 2001 and 2003). Encouraging the development of civil society was the focus point. In line with the APDs civil society development was included in National Programmes for Adoption of the Acquis. According to monitoring report, the “Improving Cooperation Between the NGOs and the Public Sector and Strengthening the NGO’s Democratic Participation Level” project was approved by the European Commission on 1 March 2004 under the Financing Memorandum for 2003 Pre-accession financial assistance programme for Turkey. During the interview Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay indicated the importance of the mentioned project and gave a brief information on legislative changes on civil society before accession negotiations. He mentioned about the importance of adoption of constitutional reform in October 2001 and adoption of Civil Code in November 2001. Also, he mentioned about the reform packages were adopted in 2002 and 2003. He noted the importance of new Associations, establishment of Department of Associations and importance of amendments made within harmonisation packages on civil society area.

During the interview Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay indicated that civil society movements or developments did not start with Turkey’s accession process. With the end of 1980’s mainly right-based civil society have started their activities.

“Civil society grew after the 1980 military coup d’etati by specialising on issue-based activities as the only possible way to express discontent about social conditions and government policies although successive governments have not considered civil society actors as important stakeholders in Turkey’s social and political transformation...Until 1990’s civil society in Turkey

satisfied basic social needs, and was mostly based on voluntarism, with weak organisational structures and small membership.” (Öner, 2012, p. 101)

Depending on the provided informative graphic during interview with Abay, the number of associations in Turkey was 18.000 in the year of 1981, this number went up to 61.000 associations in 1994. Comparing between other years, this period can be described as the most vibrant period for newly-founded associations. This trend is similar for foundations, too.

“There were very active civil society organisations in Turkey during 1990’s. Especially after United Nations’s 1992 Earth Summit (Rio Declaration-The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) in which themes such as sustainable development strategies, Agenda 21, public-private participation have become a part of agendas of international community. Also, UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) which was held in İstanbul in 1996. The concept called “governance” and these developments have affected agendas of Turkish civil society and has contributed the activation of civil platforms...To sum up, civil society was not a brand-new concept which was brought with the EU accession process.”

As noted during interview, especially civil society working on human rights, women rights, environmental rights and youth movement were effective during 1990s. Besides, Turkey has deep civil society roots, mainly foundations were consulted at local level decision making processes.

“Turkish civil society has already a presence before 1999...Intellectual background remained after Habitat II, has contributed mainly to the İstanbul and Ankara-settled civil society organisations... Marmara Earthquake has also showed Turkey the importance of civil society and legitimized the concept on the eyes of society. It can be said that Turkish-EU financial cooperation did not create but has institutionalised Turkish civil society.”

It can be said that a systematic civil society “civil society development approach” was designed in parallel with Turkey’s EU accession process. This approach

was designed between 2002-2005 period for the first time in Turkey. Turkey-EU financial cooperation has contributed developments on the sector.

Under MEDA 2001 Programming, Turkey and the European Commission has launched a programme for supporting Turkey's preparation efforts on the civil society sector. According to the Civil Society Development Centre Strategy Paper (unpublished report dated 24.11.2005 retrieved during the interview with CSDC Representative) a service tender was launched and an NGO Support Team was established in 2002. This team conducted trainings, seminars, provided one-by-one assistance in networking, fundraising, project development and awareness-raising to grassroots NGOs to contribute to civil society development.

As an output of the sustainability of this first EU funded technical assistance project for development of civil society in Turkey, Civil Society Development Centre was founded in 2004 by a group of civil activists who are working to strengthen civil society and participatory democracy in Turkey. The support team established under an EU funded project has transferred its know-how to new founded association. CSDC continued its activities in the civil society development area and took place in coordination of many grant programmes.

The financial assistance period of 2002-2006 is important because membership negotiations have initiated within this term. On 16 December 2004, it was agreed on opening accession negotiations with Turkey as of 3 October 2005. The EU pre-accession assistance was aimed at supporting the harmonization process. According to CFCU database, the number of contracts signed (grant, service, works, supply) and amounts paid (including EU contribution and national contribution) are listed on the Table 1 as follows:

Table 1: Number of Contracts Signed and Amounts Paid under Pre-IPA Programmes

Programme Year/Package	Amount Paid (million Euros)*	Number of Contracts Signed
Eastern Anatolia Development Programme (EADP)	42,43	312
Administrative Cooperation Programme (ACP)	2,22	55
Euro-Mediterranean Youth Programme (EMYP)	0,25	20
2002 National Programme	99,88	351
2003 National Programme	103,56	501
2004 National Programme	176,08	741
2005 National Programme	220,84	604
2006 National Programme	372,03	654
Total	1.017,29	3238

Source: CFCU Financial Data, Budget Allocations-Financial Figures of Pre-IPA Programmes (31.07.2019).

*Including the EU and National Contributions

According to CFCU database, the number of contracts signed for the 2007-2013 financial period (grant, service, works, supply) and amounts paid under IPA Component I: Transition Assistance and Institution Building are listed on the Table 2 as follows:

Table 2: Number of Contracts Signed and Amounts Paid under IPA Component I: Transition Assistance and Institution Building

Programme Year	Amount Paid (million Euros)*	Number of Contracts Signed
2007	184,13	461
2008	165,27	335
2009	107,32	416
2010	129,87	180
2011 (Including Part I and Part II)	142,02	602
2012	121,76	288
2013	69,18	105
Total	919,55	2.387

Source: CFCU Financial Data, Budget Allocations-Financial Figures of IPA I Period-Component I Programmes (31.07.2019)

*Including the EU and National Contributions

The EU accession process is one of the main dynamics of reforms in Turkey. In this process political reforms, EU harmonisation packages and *acquis* alignment works strengthened the democracy and accelerated the accession process in Turkey. As can be seen from the numbers of Table 1 and Table 2, a total number of 3238 project contracts were signed during Pre-IPA period and during Pre-IPA period 2387 project contracts were signed with Central Contracts and Finance Unit (CFCU). It should be noted that these are the numbers of which the CFCU is the contracting authority. There are also other contracting authorities for projects subjected to numerous priority areas in pre-accession process (contracting authorities such as Ministry of Environment and Urbanization for Environment Operational Programme; Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure for Transport Operational Programme; Ministry of Industry and Technology for Regional Competitiveness Operational Programme; Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services for Human Resources Development Operation; Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution under Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry for Rural Development component of IPA).

Civil society has become one of the target groups and change actors of the accession process. During the 2002-2006 and 2007-2013 EU financial assistance periods, many programmes and projects were conducted by various institutions in Turkey. Numbers listed under Table 1 and Table 2 include civil society focused project contracts. There are also many other civil society focused projects, but Table 1 and Table 2 include projects in which the contracting authority is the Central Finance and Contracting Unit. In these contracts the fund is allocated for activities directly related to pre-accession efforts of Turkey. These tables do not include contract numbers directly signed with the European Commission or the Delegation of the EU to Turkey in terms of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights Programme (EIDHR), Sivil Düşün Programme or other programmes.

Since the beginning, the EU financial assistance has stimulated the Europeanization process in Turkey in different areas. Within this context programmes and projects focusing civil society capacity building and civil society dialogue have been conducted. In pre-accession period supporting civil society-public relations, civil

society development and civil society dialogue areas constituted the main areas of projects. Until 2014-2020 IPA II period, civil society has not been assessed as a separate sector. Projects were designed without a specific framework, coherence between programmes and the future programming was relatively limited. As noted by the DEUA representatives, depending on the needs and EU's new IPA priorities sectoral approach was accepted and civil society was accepted as a separate sector within IPA II period in line with the EU's and Turkey's national priorities.

3.2. Civil Society Oriented Projects in the Period of 2002-2013

The EU gives great importance to CSOs as the actors of democratic process. They have also a critical role in Turkey's EU accession process. The EU indicated a strong emphasis on civil society dialogue in the 2005 Negotiation Framework and civil society dialogue was put under the third pillar of the accession process. The main goals are to bring the peoples of Europe and Turkey together, support mutual understanding, and establish the basis of close cooperation.

CSOs in Turkey have benefited from the EU accession process both in terms of political reforms, which amended Law of Associations in 2004 and 2008 and thereby enlarged the scope of freedoms and right of association and in terms of financial assistance under civil society dialogue and capacity building programs. In this period CSO capacity building, enabling environment and civil society dialogue-oriented grant scheme programmes were carried out by different institutions and projects of CSOs were financed.

The European Commission's Communication on Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries (29.06.2005 COM(2005) 290) was drafted after the Commission's recommendation on Turkey's progress towards accession. For reducing the challenges of future enlargement, Communication on CSD between the EU and Candidate Countries underlined the importance of supporting strong, deep and sustainable dialogue between societies of the EU and candidate countries. Specifically, Turkey and Croatia's future membership perspectives were the foci. According to this Communication, civil society dialogue to be developed between candidate countries and

the EU aims to “strengthen communication and exchange of experience between all sectors of civil society; to ensure knowledge and understanding of the EU within the candidate countries, and vice versa” (COM(2005) 290). In the Communication, the concept of civil society was defined in the broadest sense, including “the labour-market actors, i.e. trade unions and employer federations; organisations representing social and economic players at large; non-governmental organisations and organisations at grassroots level; religious communities and media. Additionally, all society structures outside of government and public administration, local communities and municipalities are encouraged to participate in the dialogue”.

After the European Council meeting in December 2004, accession negotiations were launched on 3 October 2005 with the adoption of the Negotiation Framework. Turkey’s Negotiation Framework Document includes the principles of conducting negotiations, procedures and list of negotiation chapter headings. The document has three bases on which the negotiations will be carried out. First one is fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria and speeding up the political reforms, second is undertaking and applying the EU acquis and the last one is establishing and strengthening the dialogue with civil society and in this regard undertaking a communication strategy targeting both the European and the Turkish public.

Until 2005, civil society was supported within MEDA supports, exchange programmes and within grant schemes focusing on capacity development. The European Commission’s Communication on Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries (29.06.2005 COM(2005) 290) was an important document which helps to direct the civil society sector and leads to a sustainable support programme putting dialogue concept at the centre of project designs. After the publication of European Commission’s Communication on Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries and accepting Negotiation Framework Document, the civil society support was mainly structured on basis of civil society dialogue priorities. Within EU’s financial assistance to Turkey, dialogue perspective was mainly put at the centre of grant schemes and support programmes towards CSOs.

Communication COM(2005) 290 supported the developments of civil society sector more systematically becomes one of the main reference points of support programmes.

Table 3 and Table 4 list programmes which were implemented between the years 2002-2013. In these programmes the main themes are enhancing Turkish civil society and supporting civil society dialogue between counterparts in Turkey and in the EU member countries. In listed programmes, contracting authority was the Central Finance and Contracting Unit. It is not possible to set a precise separation between implemented programmes between 2002-2013, also there is not a concrete indication on the official documents, but for understanding the differences and for making an analyse programmes are classified depending on their focus points.

Table 3: Projects in the Period of 2002-2013 (Enhancing Civil Society Actors)

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
TR0301.03	<p>Improving Cooperation Between NGOs and Public Sector and Strengthening the NGOs' Democratic Participation Level (SKIP/STK-2013)</p> <p>(by DEUA)</p>	<p>Strengthening of partnership and collaboration between non-governmental organisations and public sector in Turkey in the areas of protection of environment and nature preservation, social inclusion and women, people with disabilities, children and other vulnerable groups; democracy and human rights; good governance and consumer protection.</p> <p>11 grant projects were funded.</p>
TR0401.03	<p>Technical Assistance for Improvement of Public Service and Quality Standards Towards Civil Society Organisations</p> <p>(by Department of Associations)</p>	<p>Strengthening capacity building of the Department of Associations and supporting organisational structure and human resources policy of the institution, raising communication strategy and dissemination of information.</p>
TR0401.04	<p>Strengthening Freedom of Association for Further Development of Civil Society</p> <p>(by Association of Civil Society Development Centre-STGM)</p>	<p>Enhancing CSOs for their networkings, voluntary works, national and international dialogues.</p>
TR0401.04-02 TR0401.04-03	<p>Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey: Supporting Networks, Capacity Building and Participatory Local Projects-Small Scale Projects</p> <p>(by Association of Civil Society Development Centre-STGM)</p>	<p>Providing small-scale financial support for civil society in their grass-roots level works and enhancing networking, project development, lobbying, campaign organising, communication and public relations activities.</p> <p>34 grant projects were funded.</p>

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
TR0401.06.01/B SGS TR0401.06.02/C ISGS	Promotion of Cultural Rights in Turkey (by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism)	Broadcasting Support: Supporting Turkey in implementing legislative reforms in the field of broadcasting. Cultural Initiatives Support: Supporting fostering mutual understanding, knowledge and wider appreciation of the various cultures. 25 grant projects were funded.
TR0501.02/A1, A2, A3, A4.	Strengthening Civil Society in the Pre-Accession Process: NGO Facility (STK-2005) (by DEUA)	Supporting political and EU alignment efforts in Turkey in the pre-accession process. 40 grant projects were funded.
TR0604.05-02	Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey: Integrated Approach to the Civil Society and the Participatory Local Projects (Small Scale Projects) (by Association of Civil Society Development Centre- STGM)	This grant scheme is a component of the larger project for Supporting Civil Society Development and Dialogue in Turkey designed for providing capacity building services for local CSOs. 21 grant projects were funded.
TR0604.05/03	Supporting Civil Society in Turkey: Local Mobilization for Participatory Democracy (by Association of Civil Society Development Centre- STGM)	Enhancing democracy via strengthening civil society in their activities linked to awareness rising, promotion/public relations and networking, constituency works. 46 grant projects were funded.
TR0801.08-03	Empowering Civil Participation at Local Level (by Association of Civil Society Development Centre- STGM)	Strengthening capacities of local CSOs in their activities linked to decision making process, awareness rising, civil dialogue. 23 grant projects were funded.

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
TR080108-02	Developing Civil Dialogue Among NGOs (by Association of Civil Society Development Centre-STGM)	Strengthening civil participation in areas of rights of children, gender equality, women's rights, rights of people with disabilities. 23 grant projects were funded.
TR2011/0135.07	Strengthening Civil Society Development and Civil Society-Public Sector Cooperation in Turkey	Improving environment for civil society and strengthening organised active citizens for more effective civic participations. Four direct contracts were signed with CSOs.
TR2011/0135.16	Dialogue Between Trade Union Organisations in Turkey and the European Union with a Focus on Young Workers (by European Trade Union Confederation, DİSK, HAK-İŞ, KESK)	Direct grant was provided with the aim of establishing and supporting of youth structures in trade unions and confederations, also increasing awareness, dialogue, communication, cooperation and interest of young workers.
TR2011/013507-011	Developing Civil Dialogue among CSOs-II (DCD-II) (by Association of Civil Society Development Centre-STGM)	Contributing to the establishment of cooperative and collective actions among CSOs (partnerships, networks, platforms, etc.) in order to strengthen their roles as effective claimants of democratic rights and freedoms and bolster their organizational and operational capacities in their main thematic areas of action. 29 grant projects were funded.

Table 4: Projects in the Period of 2002-2013 (Supporting Civil Society Dialogue)

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
DGELA RG/MED TQ/12-02	Civil Society Dialogue: Europa-Bridges of Knowledge Programme (by DEUA)	Contributing to the implementation of the NP by supporting activities of universities, professional associations, think-tanks and other civil society groups. 28 grant projects were funded.
TR0604. 01	Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between EU and Turkey (CSD I) (by DEUA)	Strengthening the contacts and exchange of experience between civil society in Turkey and the EU Member States, ensuring better knowledge and understanding of Turkey and the EU. Grant were conducted under 4 components: Towns and Municipalities, Professional Organisations, Universities, Youth Initiatives. 119 grant projects were funded.
TR0604. 03	Civil Society Dialogue - EU- Turkish Chambers Forum- EU-Turkey Chambers Partnership Grant Scheme Programme (by TOBB)	Strengthening the dialogue between the chambers in Turkey and in the EU/candidate countries and supporting integration of EU and Turkish business communities. 22 grant projects were funded.
TR0604. 04.ETUC /02	Civil Society Dialogue: Bringing Together Workers from Turkey and the European Union Through a Shared Culture of Work (by European Trade Union Confederation)	Strengthening mutual exchange of experience between the trade unions of Turkey and the EU. A direct grant contract was signed with ETUC.
TR0703. 01	Civil Society Dialogue-II Promotion of Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey II (CSD-II) (by DEUA)	Supporting cooperation, establishment of partnerships and promoting dialogue between civil societies of Turkish and the EU. Grant were conducted under 3 components: Agriculture and Fisheries, Culture and Art, Micro Grant for Civil Society. 97 grant projects were funded.

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
TR0703.02	Civil Society Dialogue: Cultural Bridges Programme (by Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	Integrating the cultural offices/institutes (of the EU member states') in Turkey to civil society dialogue. Direct grant contracts with Goethe Institute, the British Council, the Italian Institute of Culture and the French Institute of Culture were signed.
TR0803.01	Parliamentary Exchange and Dialogue (by Grand National Assembly of Turkey)	Strengthening the capacity of the GNAT, generating better understanding Turkey and the EU.
TR0803.02-02 TR0803.02-03	Civil Society Facility: EU-Turkey Intercultural Dialogue (by Ministry of Culture and Tourism)	Fostering mutual understanding between EU and Turkey by increasing intercultural dialogue, establishing a framework for cooperation between cultural partners and supporting intercultural dialogue. 38 grant projects were funded.
TR0803.03	Civil Society Dialogue: Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture (by Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency)	Enhancing İstanbul's role, strengthening links and fostering sustainable collaboration amongst artistic and cultural actors between the EU and Turkey. 11 grant projects were funded.
TR2009/0135.03	Civil Society Dialogue - EU-Turkish Chambers Forum-II (by TOBB)	Enhancing mutual knowledge and dialogue between the chambers in Turkey and in the EU, promoting the integration of EU and Turkish business communities. 21 grant projects were funded.
TR2010/0135.01	Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey III (CSD-III) (by DEUA)	Establishing strong bonds and cooperation between civil society in Turkey and the EU through dialogue. Grants were conducted under 2 components: Political Criteria and Media. 55 grant projects were funded.

Ref. No	Project Name	Content
TR2011/ 0135.15	Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey IV (CSD-IV) (by DEUA)	Establishing links and cooperation between civil society in Turkey and the EU through civil society dialogue. Grants were conducted under 9 components: Environment, Energy, Protection of Health and Consumer, Justice Freedom and Security, Right to Establishment and Freedom of Provide Services, Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments, Enterprises and Industrial Policy, Agriculture and Fishery, Education. 80 grant projects were funded.
TR2013/ 023-651	Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Public Sector for Cooperation with CSOs (by Ministry of Interior)	Strengthening capacity of public institutions for communicating and collaborating with civil society, increasing the level of awareness of the senior officials of local administrations and CSO representatives about the importance of the civil society participation to the decision-making mechanisms, understanding of concept and role of civil society amongst senior public officials; and number of joint projects implemented between CSOs and public institutions.

Source: Table 3 and Table 4 are designed within this study, using the sources of CFCU website (Local Announcements of Grant Scheme Programmes, Contract Notices, Award Lists, Grant Database, Tender Searching Tool, Financing Agreements) (2003-2014), website of the DEUA (2004-2014), website of the EC on European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (2003-2014), Technical Assistance for Identifying Further EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Priorities Consultation Report (2013).

As can be seen from the listed details on Table 3 and Table 4, various programmes were conducted by different institutions. Under grant programmes, numerous grant projects were implemented by civil society actors (associations, foundations, etc). In comparison, the number of “civil society dialogue” oriented programmes are higher than the “capacity building” oriented programmes. Moreover, the number of grant projects supported under civil society dialogue programmes are higher. Table 3 and Table 4 show that the civil society focused programmes are mainly conducted by institutions such as DEUA (formerly the EUSG) TOBB and STGM. In these tables, programmes conducted by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or the Department of Associations seems relatively low. Mainly DEUA started to work with every segment of civil society actor from very start of these programmes. The first programme in this sector “Civil Society Dialogue: Europa-Bridges of Knowledge Programme” and “Improving Cooperation Between NGOs and Public Sector and Strengthening the NGOs’ Democratic Participation Level” are the first programmes which are designed and implemented by the DEUA.

As listed on the Table 3 and Table 4, various programmes and projects were conducted by different institutions, as well as different civil society actors. These projects are mainly focusing on the development of civil society in Turkey and strengthening of the civil society dialogue between Turkey and the EU. Additionally it can be seen from the tables, there are programmes which take place in the same programming packages (also same implementation periods) with same purposes and sometimes targeting same groups (such as culture-oriented civil society organisations or right-based civil society actors). These programming packages were designed jointly by relevant institutions (main beneficiary public institutions, the EUD and the CFCU) approximately before 2 or 3 years of the programmes’ official commencement dates. As understood from the interviews long, technical and bureaucratic system sometimes created overlaps between programmes in terms of implementation periods, target groups or main project purposes. There was not a specific institution which coordinates or monitors general thematic priorities in the sector.

In the Europeanisation perspective financial assistance plays an important role for engaging CSOs to accession and democratization process of Turkey. With the provided opportunities, both public institutions and CSOs gained project implementation experiences. Funds created areas for all actors to come and work together. The EU financial assistance helps to create platforms for CSOs to enhance their capacity, to strengthen their dialogue with public authorities and to create dialogue and cooperation channels with their counterparts in the EU member states. Financial assistance can be described as an anchor in this process. The experiences of 2002-2013 project implementation periods constituted the roots of IPA II. A more systematic and sectoral approach was accepted with the new financing period.

3.3. IPA II Civil Society Sector

According to IPA II Regulation No 231/2014 the financial assistance will be implemented through annual or multiannual, country specific or multi-country programmes and these programmes will be organised with Indicative Strategy Papers (ISP).

In the Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey (2014-2020) civil society was identified as a specific priority area, under the overarching sector entitled Governance and Democracy. Within IPA II framework, civil society is accepted as a separate sector as energy, environment, transportation or agriculture priority areas. The sector has a strategy, priorities and a separate budget allocation. It is decided that 190 million Euros out of the total allocations for Turkey within IPA II period is utilized through the projects and programmes to be implemented under this sector. Furthermore, in this period the DEUA is identified as the LI of the sector. DEUA has civil society-oriented perspective developed over the last 15 years and this institution has a significant experience from the projects of the previous financial assistance periods. Therefore, DEUA has been entrusted for coordinating, programming and implementing the budget allocated for the IPA civil society sector.

In other candidate countries where IPA is implemented, civil society is a horizontal issue and is not described as a separate sub-sector. Only in Turkey, this sector is defined as a priority area upon Turkey's proposal.

In the Revised ISP for Turkey (2014-2020) civil society is placed under the sector Democracy and Rule of Law. An empowered, pluralistic, critical and active civil society is described as a crucial component of democratic systems and for inclusive and sustainable policy making.

According to the Revised ISP for Turkey (2014-2020), the civil society's role and capacity in stimulating dialogue across all sectors and furthering pluralist agenda is mentioned as important. Turkey's participation in the Union programmes is described as an important complementary measure in this area. It is noted that the Commission will continue and strengthen its support to the development of civil society. Apart from IPA system, the Civil Society Facility is presented as a complementary tool to widen and diversify support to civil society.

Under the 'Democracy and Governance Sector, 1.A-Sub Sector: Civil Society', it is indicated that at all levels (local, regional and/or national) CSOs need to be involved in policy development processes and cooperation between public and civil society need to be improved, especially in the areas of fundamental rights and freedom of expression and media, but also in other sectors such as environment and climate action where needs exist. Objectives are promoting respect culture for fundamental rights, including gender equality, freedom of expression and media, peaceful assembly and association; supporting the development of enabling environment allowing more active participation; strengthening civil society dialogue and exchanges between civil societies. Within the document, the main targets are enhancing skills related to civil monitoring, awareness-raising of citizens; improving enabling environment, creating regular civil society consultation and active participation; increasing capacity, representativeness and networking capacities of civil society; supporting further development of people-to-people changes between Europe and Turkey. According to the ISP, Actions will be conducted for reaching goals. For that reason, actions (projects) will focus on improving the legislative environment and also funding mechanisms.

Strengthening CSOs' cooperation with public sector and in between themselves and connecting people are other important items of the document. Strengthening long-term partnerships and cooperation between the EU and Turkish CSOs, exchanging experiences in contributing to social activities are important, as well. The Document also emphasizes that civil society support will be strengthened for other sectors due to its cross-cutting nature. The Civil Society Facility which is directly coordinated by the EUD, will also be mobilised as a complementary tool to widen and diversify support to civil society.

Civil Society Sector Planning Document covers the objectives of ISP. Priority areas are listed within four priority areas: (1) Improving legal environment for active citizenship, (2) Strengthening public sector-CSO cooperation, (3) Strengthening the capacities of CSOs and networking between CSOs, (4) Connecting people with Civil Society Dialogue. There are annual programming cycles in terms of civil society sector. After ratification of yearly financing agreements, tendering and contracting processes of actions under that programming year are conducted by the coordination of lead institution, DEUA. Depending on ISP total 190 million Euros were allocated for the years between 2014-2020 for civil society sub sector actions.

According to the Commission's Implementing Decision of 17 December 2014 entitled Adopting a Country Action Programme for Turkey for the Year 2014, Democracy and Governance sector includes a specific action on civil society focusing on crucial aspects such as civil society development, increased cooperation between civil society and public institutions and civil society dialogue between Turkey and the EU. In this Document, Civil Society Action (Action 4) is named as a sub-sector. The main goals of this action are "improving the legislative environment for active citizenship, strengthening cooperation between public sector and CSOs, enhancing civil society dialogue and intercultural exchange between civil societies in Turkey and Europe". Introducing CSOs in administrative practices as partners for transparent and participatory policy making; strengthening advocacy skills of CSOs, improving capacities of public institutions for CSO participation, promoting cultural heritage and supporting joint cultural actions are listed as expected results of foreseen projects.

In IPA II mechanism, Actions are designed by national institutions respecting to the sectoral approach. Within civil society sector, under the coordination of lead institution of the sector, regular or ad hoc meetings are held for maturing project/action proposal. ADs are designed in line with the priorities of ISP and Sector Planning Document. After comments, negotiations and correspondence between the related stakeholders, well-matured and completed ADs are decided to be funded (annual ADs and programming in civil society sector). Accordingly, tendering process (depending on the structure of the AD this can be grant, service, supply or work tenders) is conducted by the CFCU and beneficiary institutions. The preparations, tendering and financing mechanisms for multiannual programmes (multiannual ADs) are different than the processes of annual ADs.

To sum up, it can be said that pre-accession financial system creates platforms for interactions. Pre-accession financial assistance to Turkey is an ongoing system which urges all actors (such as public institutions, the CFCU, the EUD, civil society organisations) to work together, to learn from each other and create a process of change. In this regard, the Europeanisation examples from the pre-accession financial assistance system will be discussed on the following section.

4. THE EUROPEANISATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

In order to understand the Europeanisation resulting from the financial cooperation system between Turkey and the EU, specifically within IPA civil society sector, in-depth interviews were made. These interviews were carried out with five officials from the DEUA (Bülent Özcan, Acting Director General of Financial Cooperation and Project Implementation, on 02.04.2019; A. Hakan Atik, Head of Project Implementation Department, on 08.04.2019; Murat Özçelebi, Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department, on 10.04.2019; Duygu Yardımcı, Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department, on 11.04.2019; Yıldırım Gündüç, Expert for EU Affairs, Project Implementation Department on 25.04.2019). Another interviews were carried out with one expert from the Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society, Ministry of Interior, on 03.05.2019; with Cengiz Çiftçi, Civil Society Expert, Team Leader of the EU funded Civil Society Support Programme Called “Sivil Düşün” on 25.10.2019; and with Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay, General Coordinator of the Association of Civil Society Development Centre (STGM-Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi Derneği) on 01.11.2019.

The results of interviews show that the idea of supporting civil society or the importance of civil society are not brand-new concepts which start with the EU accession process. The importance of civil society was not used first with the EU accession process, but it can be said that there is an investment for civil society development starting from 2000s parallel with Turkey’s EU accession period. In this process many efforts were made to strengthen civil society. New institutions and units were established in Turkey, new procedures for pre-accession system were accepted and integrated to the domestic legal system. Procedures and working styles with civil society are Europeanised. Besides, institutions create new mechanisms to work together by themselves. Socialisation have affected attitudes and preferences of actors in this process. Findings are reviewed under the following two headings.

4.1. Changes on Civil Society Actors

Interviews carried out with the public officials have showed that Europeanisation process has effect on civil society actors. Not only civil society organisations, but public institutions and other related actors affect each other as a result of the Turkey-EU financial cooperation system. During interview with Bülent Özcan, DEUA's Acting General Director of the Financial Cooperation and Project Implementation dated 02.04.2019, he gave a clear framework regarding the whole Turkey-EU financial cooperation system since the beginning of accession process. He noted that:

“nowadays financial cooperation is the most dynamic element of the Turkey-EU relations. CSOs constitute a very important part of Turkey-EU relations and they increased their effectiveness year by year. For civil society development, the EU accession process has been the catalyser. Civil society in Turkey consists of mainly associations and foundations. But depending on EU's perspective, the civil society concept can be extended to trade unions, professional/vocational organisations, cooperatives, platforms or initiatives in Turkey working on different areas. They fulfil different functions in Turkey's accession process. They internalize and disseminate European norms and values through their activities. Using EU's financial assistance, they help to establish bridges with their counterparts in the EU member countries. Through lobbying activities conducted on both domestic and international platforms, they express their views and become part of the decision-making processes.”

According to Mr. Özcan, CSOs are important facilitators of the EU accession process. He stated that the financial assistance has presented many opportunities for CSOs for their improvement and activities. Since the beginning of the 2000s, a large investment has been made and significant efforts have been paid by national and European authorities for enhancing the capacity of CSOs and fostering a civil society dialogue. One of the most important developments in IPA 2014-2020 period is the definition of civil society as a priority area.

“Individual grant scheme programmes were conducted during pre-IPA and IPA I periods for supporting civil society sector. Thus, civil society is accepted as a separate sector just as energy, environment and transportation under IPA II system. It now has a framework, sub-priorities and a budget allocation for IPA II period between the years of 2014-2020. Grant schemes and technical assistance programmes implemented by national institutions are designed within this framework and in line with sector priorities.”

According to sociological institutionalism, institutions effect actions and via interaction actors affect each other. In this approach, institutions affect the identities, perceptions, capacities and routines of the actors. As an example of this situation, financial cooperation system between Turkey and the EU effects the working mechanisms of CSOs. According to Mr. Özcan:

“During the initial phases of pre-accession assistance, CSOs used to act individually and their interest to funds were relatively low. Throughout the years, CSOs have learned how to apply for funds and create networks and started to express their demands to the public institutions. CSD Programme is a good example portraying the platforms created in between civil society actors.”

Mr. Özcan gave examples from Civil Society Dialogue and Civil Society Support Grant Scheme Programmes:

“Within these projects, many CSOs seized the opportunity to create and implement projects and in line with EU rules. Their cooperation and project implementation experiences supported their activities, advocacy and communication skills, as well as administrative structures. CSD Programmes, established under IPA funds, is a sustainable, almost regular and, well-known support mechanism for CSOs. For civil society development, however, there has been no systematic support so far. Thus, Civil Society Support Programmes were designed within the sector focusing on different target groups with different mechanisms. Civil Society Dialogue Programmes (CSD I, II, III, IV, V) and Civil Society Support Programmes (CSSP I and II)

enhance sustainability of cooperation established between CSOs of Turkey and of the EU member countries.”

According to Mr. Özcan, networks and cooperation already established between CSOs can be seen on the awardee lists of EU funded support programmes:

“The number of participants in information days held during the application periods of grant schemes and numbers of applications to grant schemes have risen significantly within the past decade. CSOs started to act more strategically, search for different financial resources; establish local, national and international cooperation; and enhance their cooperation with public and private sector. Their perceptions have changed as a result of these platforms and opportunities facilitated by funds. Funding programmes have accelerated the developments in this sector.”

As stated in the programme information booklets, Civil Society Dialogue Grant Schemes provided more than 50 million Euros for approximately 400 projects and thanks to these projects hundreds of joint activities in Turkey and EU member countries were realized. Not only CSOs but also public institutions seize the opportunity to work with civil society and make them a part of Turkey’s accession process. Mr. Özcan gave an example and noted that:

“within an ongoing project funded under Civil Society Support Programme I, a CSO Consortium aims to strengthen the advocacy and institutional capacity of their policy platform/assembly which focuses on a health issue. They are endeavouring to establish a concrete dialogue with public authorities in Turkey regarding the framework of national level policy document. Consortium members come together and carry out lobbying activities towards national and EU level actors. The EU fund paves the way for a platform for carrying out such activities. Further to this, implementing a project under EU-Turkey financial cooperation umbrella reinforces the prestige of the CSOs.”

Apart from grant schemes, financial support mechanisms or other capacity building opportunities, CSOs can contribute to and shape priorities of the public policies

through the activities implemented under this sector. On the interview with Murat Özçelebi, Expert for EU Affairs in charge of coordinating IPA II civil society sector at DEUA's Project Implementation Department, dated 10.04.2019, mentioned about a project called "Technical Assistance for Identifying Further EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Priorities" that was launched and implemented in 2013. The main goal of this EU funded project was assessing the impact of the civil society dialogue between the EU and Turkey. The project also provided recommendations for the design of future CSD interventions. Through this project, CSOs prior needs regarding the programme were identified. Consultation with CSOs enabled the DEUA to figure out ways to improve the implementation of future interventions and to strengthen the effectiveness and complementarity of these interventions. Online surveys, in-depth interviews, round table discussions in Adana, İstanbul, İzmir and Van were held with the participation of representatives of CSOs. 250 people actively contributed to this study. As a result of these efforts, an impact report as well as a consultation report were drafted. This work helped DEUA to better understand the needs of the target groups. Findings and suggestions helped DEUA analyse the ongoing works and make more comprehensive plans. Especially from a bottom up perspective, CSOs found the opportunity to express their needs and the prospective programmes' priorities were shaped depending on the project findings. As Mr. Özçelebi noted, projects enable a suitable platform for public institutions and CSOs to come and work together. The process allows both sides to understand each other's needs and expectations. Further to this, communication and learning the needs of the target groups make the system more participatory and democratic. This project and DEUA's national meetings with CSOs (conducted in 2016-2017) helped the institution understand the expectations of CSOs at the very onset and based on their feedback. The prominent problems/needs pronounced in these consultation meetings were the following: Information, skills and knowledge concerning operational and strategic issues; organisational capacities, internal governance, knowledge management, human resources management, financial resources management; the relationships among actors and the institutional environment. Solutions regarding these highlighted points than were used as baselines of upcoming grant scheme programmes. According to Mr. Özcan, financial assistance has paved the way for the Europeanization of Turkey.

“The change, however, cannot be explained solely a result of a top-down European effect. It should be noted that Turkish authorities themselves made great efforts in line with the accession priorities. As complementary efforts, DEUA made additional contributions for making CSO activities more visible and making CSOs more active. Thanks to these projects, European norms, policies, methods and preferences shape actors of the system.”

In this respect, CSOs can be described as change agents which are affecting political culture. DEUA itself can be evaluated as a change agent or norm entrepreneur which directs and enhances civil society sector. As also noted by Selcen Öner (2012, p.109), the state regards supporting the development of civil society as a necessity for consolidation of democracy in Turkey, rather than homework of Turkey in order to fulfil Copenhagen criteria. In order to support CSOs, other national authorities are informed regarding projects; numerous national and international visibility and awareness raising events are held (such as organising exhibitions in different cities, broadcasting special TV programmes for CSOs and documentary films in national channels, publishing newsletters, developing social media campaigns in different languages) by the DEUA. These efforts contribute to fostering the civil society culture in Turkey as well as supporting the Europeanisation process in the meantime.

Mr. Özcan noted that during the preparation meetings of Turkey’s 11th Development Plan, a specialisation sub-commission called Specialisation Commission on Civil Society Organisations in Development Process was established for the first time as a separate structure which brought together stakeholders from both public institutions and CSOs.

“As its experience and long-lasting involvement with civil society, , DEUA attended the committee meetings and made contributions to the sub-committee report. After the first round, sub-committee attendees from CSOs came together in İstanbul in January 2018 for consulting the ideas of other CSOs. Attendees of the sub-committee meetings shared their experiences regarding the preparation phase of the 11th Development Plan.”

Another example given by Mr. Özcan is the Civil Society Dialogue Programme. 80 dialogue projects were implemented during the Civil Society Dialogue IV Grant Scheme. These projects brought together communities of different cultural backgrounds. Within the implementation period of these dialogue projects, 314 training sessions and workshops were organized and more than 56.500 people were reached; 46 national and international conferences were organised; 80 different project documents (e.g. Reports, manuals, guidelines, etc) were produced; 73 videos, 28 radio programmes and 2 documentary films were broadcasted. Exploiting the outreach of social media and official web site of the Programme, over 5 million people were reached during the whole programme. According to Mr. Özcan:

“...the impact of the programme goes beyond the listed figures. Framework of EU financial assistance has contributed to establishing and strengthening of communication channels between Turkey and the EU; increased the project implementation capacity of CSOs and created changes on the knowledge and perceptions of communities about each other. Capacities of CSOs are supported with funds and projects, so CSOs find opportunities to realize their activities in domestic and international area more actively and intensively.”

Additionally, enhanced network of CSOs' helps their lobbying activities and increases their presence in the international platforms. For that reason, CSOs' and their counterparts' mutual-learning process and networks have a prominent effect on re-defining needs and shaping politics. This process also supports the Europeanization of Turkey. One of the CSOs which received grants under programmes during pre-IPA and IPA periods, seized the opportunity to extend its advocacy domain and widen its international network. Being entitled for an EU grant and implementing EU funded projects encouraged them to apply and receive grants from other donor institutions.

“From cultural heritage to agriculture, health to education, environment to CSO-public dialogue, there are hundreds of projects which were granted under the EU programmes. Their value and impact to Turkey-EU relations and contribution to Europeanisation process of Turkey transcends the used financial resources.”

Similarly, the EU's financial support mechanisms, demands of CSOs and CSOs' perception towards public sector also changed. The needs of CSOs were reconstructed in the accession period. Depending on the changing needs of CSOs, public institutions themselves make complementary efforts for supporting civil society. There are many references to this issue in national level strategy documents, such as 2019 Turkish Presidency Annual Program and Development Programmes. Also public institutions such as Ministry of Interior, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Presidency of Turkey Directorate of Strategy and Budget (formerly Ministry of Development) have established new mechanisms for supporting civil society like PRODES (Project Support System), SODES (Social Support Programme) and EDES (Disabled People Support Programme). In terms of the Europeanisation process, the CSOs were able to harmonise their needs with European norms and through expressing their expectations and lobbying activities structural changes were realised. Civil Society Dialogue projects serve as platforms for social learning, both for CSOs and public institutions. The technical assistance or grant scheme programmes and projects financed within the context of EU financial assistance pave the way for dissemination and promotion of EU policies, practices, models, and mechanisms hence contribute to the Europeanization process.

4.2. Institutional and Procedural Changes

Interviews have showed that Turkey-EU financial cooperation system has effects on institutional and procedural structures of civil society actors. Depending on the interview with Murat Özçelebi, it can be argued that Institutions re-create their roles in this system. With the Prime Ministry Circular, No 2015/15 on Management of Pre-Accession Funds to be Provided by the EU, DEUA is assigned as the lead institution for the civil society sector and given a significant role in planning, coordinating, programming and monitoring funds and implementing the projects for this sector. The civil society sector's being defined as a priority area under IPA II is specific to Turkey. This approach, which was adopted upon Turkey's proposal during meetings on IPA II, is a clear indication of the fact that civil society is considered one of the most significant actors in Turkey's EU accession process.

In this system, DEUA has been identified as the lead institution of the sector due to its experience and long-lasting involvement with civil society. As described in the Europeanisation literature, DEUA can be evaluated as a change agent. Under civil society sector in the domestic context, DEUA mobilizes and persuades other civil society actors to redefine their interests. As a lead institution, DEUA identifies agenda of the sector and shapes (via interaction, socialisation) the preferences of the actors. In this regard, Europeanisation phenomenon can be observed in other IPA sectors. Turkish public institutions draft their sector planning documents in line with national and EU-level priorities, closely working under coordination of lead institutions.

According to Mr. Özcan, the organizational structure of DEUA has also been affected from this Europeanisation process. Based on the increasing needs, organizational structure and functions of departments of DEUA have changed. One of the most striking examples is the establishment of the Project Implementation Department in 2010. In line with the recent developments,

“the responsibilities of Project Implementation Directorate were redesigned and as the lead institution of IPA civil society sector this Department coordinates relations with EUD, public institutions and CSOs. Accreditation, programming, monitoring, consultation, and implementation processes within this sector are performed by the Directorate; Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme, Civil Society Dialogue Programme, Civil Society Support Programme, Turkey-EU Town Twinning Programme and Technical Assistance Project for Supporting Public Institutions for Tendering Preparations (STEP) are implemented by this unit.”

According to Mr. Özçelebi, Turkey showed a great effort for collecting ideas of CSOs in the new financial period and for preparing sector implementation documents. He stated that,

“DEUA worked closely with public institutions, CSOs, universities, development agencies and other donor institutions during the preparations for IPA II process. 3 national and 4 local workshops were organised for collecting ideas and understanding the needs of CSOs, for future planning of the civil

society sector. During these workshops, programming under civil society sector and priorities were explained to the CSOs while in the meantime enabling the CSOs to make their own contributions to the process. CSOs' contributions to Sector Planning Document were noted and taken into consideration. Comments of CSOs and findings of these workshops shaped the content of grant schemes and actions of the IPA II period.”

According Mr Özçelebi, many recommendations, new project ideas and potential cooperation areas were expressed by the attendees. This presents a good example of social learning where the methodology of collaboration in between public institutions and CSOs was changed. Collecting ideas and recommendations from CSOs about future planning of EU funds contributed positively to the programming preparations of the LI of civil society sector. ADs and AAPs for the years 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2018 have been prepared in close cooperation with sectoral actors. Civil society sector actions programmed for the period of 2014-2018 are listed on the Table 5. The structure of the grant scheme programmes, activities and mainly priority areas of Civil Society Support Programmes were designed upon the demands and recommendations of civil society organisations and attendees of consultation processes. Civil Society Support Programmes are designed as an ongoing programme which civil society organisations can apply and receive funds for strengthening their institutional capacity.

Table 5: IPA DIS-Civil Society Sector, Actions in the Period of 2014-2018

Annual Action Programme	Action Name	Content
2014	Town Twinning Between Turkey and the EU (It is a standalone action, a separate action document was designed for the programme, but the structure is relevant with civil society sector priorities.) (by DEUA)	Creating sustainable structures for exchange between local administrations in Turkey and EU member countries in areas relevant for EU accession. 23 grant projects were funded.
2014	Civil Society Support Programme I- CSO Partnerships and Networks on Strengthening Cooperation Between Public Sector and CSOs Grant Scheme (by DEUA)	Strengthening the cooperation between civil society and public sector (CSOs particularly organised in partnerships and networks). 10 grant projects were funded.
2014	Civil Society Support Programme I- Grant Scheme for Grassroots CSOs (by DEUA)	Strengthening and improving advocacy, institutional and communication skills of CSOs for their participation more effectively in policy dialogue. 38 grant projects were funded.
2014	Strengthening Civil Society Development and Civil Society Public Sector Cooperation in Turkey (Phase II)	Improving environment and organisational capacity for civil society, promoting an effective civic participation, also strengthening a better legal framework for CSOs. 4 direct grant contracts were signed.
2014	Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Capacity of Ministry of Family and Social Policies for Public CSO Cooperation (by Ministry of Family and Social Policies)	Increasing the capacity of the beneficiary institution and CSOs for mutual policy-making, implementation, monitoring, evaluation; implementation of code of conduct strengthening cooperation among actors of social policy.

Annual Action Programme	Action Name	Content
2014	EU-Turkey Intercultural Dialogue Grant Scheme (by Yunus Emre Institute)	Forming network among cultural institutes of EU and Turkey, supporting cultural exchange. 4 grant projects were funded.
2014	EU-Turkey Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Institute (by Ministry of Culture)	Developing intercultural dialogue between the EU and Turkey by means of protection and promotion of common cultural heritage via civil society dialogue. Technical assistance, works and supply components were funded.
2015	Strategic Capacity Building for Local/Grassroots	Creating adhoc support mechanism, including direct supports and supporting capacity building activities such as trainings, coaching, matchmaking and partnerships supports.
2015	Civil Society Dialogue V (CSD V) (by DEUA)	Supporting bilateral exchanges and cooperation between CSOs in Turkey and the EU at local, regional and national levels, promoting awareness raising initiatives on importance and benefits of Turkey's membership to the EU within Turkey and EU. 40 grant projects were funded.
2015	Turkey-EU Business Dialogue (by TOBB)	Strengthening mutual knowledge and understanding between Turkish Chambers. 19 grant projects were funded.
2016	Civil Society Support Programme III (by DEUA)	Call for Proposal was announced on 10 July 2019. After the fulfilment of evaluation process awardees will be announced.

Annual Action Programme	Action Name	Content
2016	Civil Society Dialogue VI (CSD VI) (by DEUA)	Call for Proposal was announced on 19 September 2019. After the fulfilment of evaluation process awardees will be announced.
2016	Common Cultural Heritage Preservation and Dialogue Between Turkey and the EU (Phase II) (by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture)	Tender preparations are ongoing.

Source: Table 5 is designed within this study, using the sources of CFCU website (Local Announcements of Grant Scheme Programmes, Contract Notices, Award Lists, Grant Database, Tender Searching Tool, Action Documents) (2013- 2019), website of the Civil Society Dialogue Programme (2014-2019), web site of the Civil Society Sector Programme (2014-2019), website of the of the EC on European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (2014-2019).

An interview was held with Duygu Yardımcı on 11.04.2019, who is an Expert for EU Affairs, in charge of coordinating IPA II civil society sector at DEUA’s Project Implementation Department. She gave Sectoral Monitoring Committee as a Europeanization example under sociological institutionalist perspective.

“...This committee was designed for reviewing effectiveness, efficiency, coherence, coordination and implementation of the actions conducted within civil society sector under IPA II. Committee members monitor objectives and achievements of the sector, assess and review on-going actions and make proposals for impact and sustainability of them. The committee is a collective body composed of representatives of National IPA Coordinator DEUA, CFCU, EUD, civil society and university representatives, beneficiary institutions and other relevant actors of the sector (i.e. Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society, international organizations).”

By way of sociological institutionalist perspective, these meetings effect actions and facilitate the interaction of members. The perceptions of the actors are shaped and constructed via these meetings and interactions. Especially cross-cutting issues and priorities are discussed among committee actors which effect future planning of national level actors. There are also management and steering committees designed specific to each activity under annual programming. Through socialisation and learning, European mechanisms affect ideas and norms and help them to be internalised in domestic politics. In this system the focus of logic is on the ideas which are found appropriate by domestic actors. The sector strategies are designed by national authorities and the logic of the change is beyond the cost-benefit calculations. According to Ms. Yardımcı:

“...the first steering committee of an Action called ‘Civil Society Support Programme I-CSO Partnerships and Networks on Strengthening Cooperation Between Public Sector and CSOs Grant Scheme’ (under 2014 programming) included representative from 10 CSOs and public institutions. CSOs presented their demands to public institutions (including Presidency, general directorates of various ministries) and CSOs introduced their project priorities and activities during this steering committee meeting. Similarly, relevant public institutions shared their nation-wide efforts with CSO representatives. Cooperation platforms and communication channels were enhanced during and after this meeting.”

Through socialisation and communication, actors recreate their roles and preferences depending on their needs. According to Ms. Yardımcı another example can be seen in the Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Capacity of Ministry of Family and Social Policies for Public CSO Cooperation projects financed under 2014 programming. The main purpose of the project is strengthening the cooperation between the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services and CSOs involved in social policy information meetings and trainings on Code of Conduct and creating a guideline. Trainings are planned to be conducted in October-December 2019 and will include modules on legal framework of public-CSO cooperation, the concept of good

governance and examples of decision-making participation process. As Ms. Yardımcı noted:

“...Code of Conduct component of this project was inspired by another project of the previous period, which was implemented under Strengthening Civil Society Development and Civil Society-Public Sector Cooperation in Turkey Consortium. Interaction and social learning between CSOs and public institutions are evidence of Europeanisation process from a sociological institutionalist perspective.”

Through the EU financial assistance system, DEUA implemented various projects with its own resources for supporting local activities and actors. Based on Turkey’s New EU Strategy, the EU Communication Strategy has been implemented and it promotes the awareness on EU issues at the provincial level. In line with the priorities stated in these documents, DEUA started a cooperation with governorates in 2010. Based on this cooperation, the Circular of Ministry of Interior No. 2010/6 was published on 26 January 2010 to set up the general framework of the provincial communication strategy. The project ‘Improving the Effectiveness of Governorates in the EU Accession Process’ was launched with this Circular. According to A. Hakan Atik, Head of Project Implementation Directorate, DEUA, (interview dated 08.04.2019) with the project entitled Improving the Effectiveness of Governorates in the EU Accession Process project, deputy governors in 81 provinces were assigned as Provincial EU Permanent Contact Point and a considerable progress has been achieved so far. The Provincial EU Permanent Contact Points are now functioning as effective actors that disseminate EU related information throughout the provinces. Another development brought along with this project was the establishment of Provincial EU Advisory and Steering Committees in all provinces. Deputy governors appointed as Provincial EU Permanent Contact Points have been chairing these committee meetings. The third element of this structure are EU Offices established in each 81 provinces. According to Mr. Atik:

“These local structures contribute to adhere to the responsibilities brought by the EU accession process and support reaching goals listed on the EU communication strategy. This structure is useful for preventing misperceptions,

prejudices and groundless fears in the public regarding the EU membership process at the local level. After this project, EU awareness has been raised at local level and CSOs are supported directly through this structure...”

Mr. Atik also noted that EU Offices established within governorates supported CSOs, universities, municipalities, unions, chambers, research centres, development agencies and other public institutions via different mechanisms.

“...These structures supported DEUA’s efforts in the accession process through informing individuals and giving guidance regarding local demands on EU related issues.”

The DEUA and local structures established within governorates carry out capacity building activities (such as project drafting and implementation workshops in line with the EU methodology, information meetings on national and international funding opportunities, grant scheme information days for local level actors). These listed institutional and procedural changes can be presented as a result.

“Additionally, it would not be wrong to say that since 2010, CSOs are working more closely with local public institutions and they become a part of Turkey’s EU accession process.”

The web page called yereldeab.org.tr which is coordinated by DEUA, is used actively by local actors, too. Through this web page and its social media accounts, the DEUA conducts intensive communication activities for local actors. According to Mr. Atik:

“As a part of civil the society dialogue, Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme which is also implemented by the DEUA, offers the opportunity for students, academia, university staff, private, public and civil society sector employees of Turkey to pursue graduate study in EU-member countries. All these efforts have contributed to the enhancement of the civil society. DEUA’s efforts in line with the Communication Strategy, constitute good examples of Europeanization.”

DEUA has programmed a project called Town Twinning Grant Scheme for local administrations under 2014 annual programming of IPA II. Mr. Yıldırım Gündüç, Expert for EU Affairs, in charge of coordinating Town Twinning Project at DEUA's Project Implementation Department, perceives the structure of the grant scheme as a Europeanization example (interview dated 25.04.2019). He underlined that Town Twinning Between Turkey and the EU Grant Scheme Programme aims at strengthening sustainable structures between local authorities in Turkey and EU Member States. Mr. Gündüç noted that,

“Although CSOs are not the main target group of this grant scheme, the announcement indicated the importance of cooperation with local CSOs. 21 out of 23 awarded projects includes co-applicants from civil society sector (i.e. associations, foundations, chambers) and universities. Encouragements for CSOs' participation to local administrations' projects enhance capacity building and support the civil society sector.”

He indicated that the national financial instruments/support programmes/mechanisms conducted by Turkish institution were also affected by the Europeanisation process. Similarities can be seen between national support mechanisms and the EU funded programmes.

“The structure of call for proposals, application documents and project cycle approach resorted to in national funding mechanisms towards CSOs can be given as examples of the Europeanisation process. Social learning in between institutions and experiences of public sector during pre-accession process have changed the perception regarding 'support' and have made the process more Europeanise. Support mechanisms of Provinces Preparing for the EU Support Programme conducted by DEUA, PRODES call for proposals of Ministry of Interior, call for proposals of Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities and call for proposals announced by development agencies in Turkey are given as Europeanisation examples on rules, procedures, structures and operations.”

The EU funded project called Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Public Sector for Cooperation with CSOs was designed and implemented by the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society (formerly Department of Associations). Depending on interview conducted on 03.05.2019 with an Expert from this institution, the project started in July 2017 and the duration is 24 months. The overall objective of the project is strengthening the democratic and policy-making processes of public institutions in line with EU values and pluralism. More specifically, the project aims to strengthen the capacity of public institutions for communicating and collaborating with civil society at both central and local level. In this respect activities were conducted for increasing the awareness of junior and senior officials of local administrations and CSO representatives about the importance of the civil society participation to the decision-making mechanisms. Also, trainings, workshops, seminars on the concept and role of civil society were held amongst senior public officials. A training needs assessment was conducted among public officials and the framework of the project was shaped in line with the results of this study. Public officials attended training of trainer modules for supporting CSOs at their locals. A pool of mentors was created for strengthening the sector. He noted that,

“This project is important because communication and interactions between public officials and CSOs improved during the project. Numerous workshops and trainings in 20 different cities created a communication platform for representatives of CSOs and public officials. Study visits helped senior public officials to compare legal systems and different institutional structures of the EU countries with those of Turkey.

According to an interview shared in a website (www.sivilsayfalar.org, 3 May 2019), public officials and representatives of CSOs came together in an activity designed under the Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Public Sector for Cooperation with CSOs Project. In this website, interviews state that these activities have created platforms for civil society and public sector to come and talk together. Public-CSO dialogue pave the way for future projections within the sector. Also, as they noted, prejudices of representatives towards each other have decreased and through

interactions people have shared their experiences, knowledge and ideas. These platforms shape the preferences and attitudes of the attendees. As a result, and part of Europeanisation, representatives from CSOs and public institutions who are working at the same thematic area, decided to work together and enhance their collaboration.

As noted in the interview conducted with an Expert from this institution, the Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society (formerly Department of Associations) is established on 13 September 2018 with a Presidential Decree No:17. With this Decree, Department of Associations is closed, and the Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society is established.

“The structure and responsibilities of the Directorate General is regulated with the ‘Regulation on the Organization and Responsibilities of Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society’ dated October 2018. With this Regulation, 8 Departments and 25 working groups are established. Additionally, a Civil Society Advisory Council is formed. Preparations for the new institutional structure of the Directorate General has started before the project Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Public Sector for Cooperation with CSOs.”

According to the interview, the new institutional structure is inspired by the needs of CSOs in recent years and structure is designed in line with the national priorities. As he noted:

“It can be said, however, that this EU funded project implemented by the Directorate General have positive contributions to the new structure. For example, Civil Society Advisory Council, mentioned on the ‘Regulation on the Organization and Responsibilities of Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society’ is designed as a consultation mechanism for determining and developing policies and activities on civil society, for providing and strengthening the cooperation and coordination between public sector and civil society and for increasing the effectiveness and quality of

services of CSOs. The mentioned EU funded project has positive contributions to the design and roles of this Council”.

New structure of the Directorate General contains new departments and working groups, such as Department of Legislation, Department of Incentives, Department of Foreign Relations, Department of Project Supports, Department of Civil Society Strategies and Training. There are newly established working groups on EU/international funded projects, public-CSO cooperation and coordination among public institutions. The mentioned EU funded project conducted by the Directorate General has an impact on ongoing practices. Within the project a mentor pool created after training of trainers, for example, will support trainings at local level; or findings of study visits and networks created at local, national and international level will shape the future planning of the institution consistent with national preferences. Depending on the mentioned examples, Europeanization process can be seen on all these practices. Change can be explained by a perspective of sociological institutionalism, because preferences are shaped via logic of appropriateness. The national level benefit and preferences are in line with the ongoing effect of the EU. The practices of EU funded project are appropriate for national level actors; consequently, the methods, workings styles, legal documents and preferences are shaped, and change occurred.

Depending on interviews conducted within this study, civil society sector projects refers to EC’s Enlargement Strategy, Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey, EC’s Regular Reports for Turkey, EC Enlargement Directorate General’s Guidelines for CSOs and National Development Plans of Turkey. The 10th National Development Plan of Turkey covering 2014-2018 points out to the increased role of civil society in solving social problems and supporting development efforts. Priorities of this national document are taken as benchmarks for designing actions or projects. During desk based studies and interviews it was noted that the concept of ‘civil society’ was taken as one of the separate areas within 43 special expertise commissions in the preparation phase of the 11th Development Plan of Turkey. In the ‘Specialisation Commission on Civil Society Organisations in Development Process’ which was established on preparation phase of the 11th Development Plan, it was aimed to discuss the role of CSOs on policy

making and service capacities of CSOs for supporting national development. Along with this aim, discussions held in this Commission include: civil society in the world and in Turkey; 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and roles of CSOs; the need of legal and tax-related issues/enabling environment for CSOs; public-CSO cooperation; impact of CSOs for development; organisational structures of CSOs; CSOs in digital age. Section 2.5.1.3 of the 11th Development Plan is devoted to civil society, which is publicised on the website of Presidency of Turkey Presidency of Strategy and Budget. It is too ambitious to argue that mentioned Specialisation Commission was created as a result of the Europeanisation process but the importance of civil society in legal documents and new structures have been constructed on the outcomes achieved since 1999. It can be claimed that DEUA, one of the members of the Specialisation Commission acts as a norm entrepreneur and in the domestic context mobilizes and persuades actors for advocating their interests and priorities in this sector. The change is appropriate for political culture and priorities thus the national development plan was drafted in a consensus-building structure.

According to interview with Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay (General Coordinator of the Association of Civil Society Development Centre-CSDP on 01.11.2019) funding mechanisms of public institutions were affected in financial cooperation process and systems were Europeanised. Funding systems of development agencies and PRODES (Association Supporting system of Ministry of Interior) can be given as examples. But when it comes to the effect of IPA to public institutions, he stated that

“Within financial cooperation, the impact of the EU on public institutions seems partial and cannot be described as holistic. In terms of impact, there are up-and-down periods parallel the Turkey-EU relations... In this regard IPA mainly effected the departments of public institutions that are dealing with EU and External Relations... Financial cooperation cannot reach all departments of public institutions, impact can be seen on limited departments and on limited number of people.”

Abay gave an example on a consultation mechanism conducted during 2012-2013 period. According to him, there was a functioning consultation mechanism which

was conducted between public and civil platforms on a draft law which would affect civil society sector directly. But after 15 July 2016 coup attempt all efforts were limited. According to him, state of emergency measurements had negative impact on civil society consultations.

According to Dr. Tezcan Eralp Abay, Turkey-EU financial cooperation has positive effects on cooperation between institutions, especially exchange between civil society institutions or people in Turkey and in the EU member states. More important than funds, political cooperation between institutions have strengthened Turkish civil society. As he noted, for civil society the motivation behind relations with the EU is democratisation. Civil society instrumentalised the EU, and indicated that

“For Turkish civil society, the EU has always become a ground or a tool for democratization. This is the main motivation behind all efforts.”

According to Cengiz Çiftçi (Civil Society Expert, Team Leader of the EU funded Civil Society Support Programme Called “Sivil Düşün”, on 25.10.2019) Turkey has the crowded civil society within all European countries. He indicated the importance of separating the terms Europeanisation and European norms and underlined the latest changes (rising right-wing, radicalisation) in Europe and changing perception on European norms within EU member countries itself. During interview he gave an example of project-based thinking of actors. As a result of Europeanisation process financial assistance mechanism has effect on actors’ way of doing things. According to him, Europeanisation can be seen on the result-oriented thinking of civil society organisations (rooting from European project cycle management approach). It can be said that civil society organisations have changed their working culture into a project-logic way. For him the EU have brought “standardization” for civil society related operations in all levels.

According to Çiftçi, with reform packages realized at the beginning of 2000s Turkey has achieved important developments on civil society sector comparing with EU member states. “Today public institutions have still hesitations for opening all areas to civil society organisations... In terms of change on public institutions and working

culture with CSOs, it depends on the preference of public institution.” For him “EU reform process has contributed the developments on sector but there are still many areas (such as enabling financial and legal environment of CSOs) needs to be developed.” In terms of created financial benefit, the provided EU funds cannot be evaluated as huge supports. Comparing the gross domestic product per capita in Turkey, EU funds constitutes only 1% of GDP.

Another Europeanisation example can be given from the professional area. Turkey-EU financial assistance created a profession called “civil society experts”. Especially working under service contracts or grant contracts, this new profession can be given as a result of this process. According to Çiftçi, Erasmus+ Programme (previously lifelong learning and youth programmes) and EU funds provided for university level exchanges had a great effect on actor attitudes. Civil society master programmes established under state or foundation universities can be given as other examples of interactions and can be evaluated within Europeanisation.

In terms of change on civil society Çiftçi stated that the EU has great effect on infrastructure to civil society. He stated that funds created platforms for actors to meet and interact to each other. Within Sivil Düşün Programme application numbers show that there is a great interest to this EU funded programmes. The programme has been conducted for many years and received applications from all over Turkey.

CONCLUSION

Europeanisation is a diffusion and learning process for candidate countries through which they re-orient their politics. Further to this, Europeanisation facilitates an engagement with Europe and supports integration efforts. The EU's financial assistance mechanism can be defined as Europeanization instrument for candidate countries. A close look at the programmes and projects funded by pre-accession financial assistance in Turkey shows that financial assistance results in structural, institutional, procedural and administrative change and brings along a transformation consistent with EU and national priorities.

On the one hand, programmes funded under financial assistance system support efforts on *acquis* alignment, harmonisation with EU policies and priorities, while on the other hand provided funds and coordination mechanisms enable suitable communication platforms for actors; stimulate changes on procedures, methodologies, perceptions, priorities and they are Europeanised via interactions. The EU financial assistance affects Turkey's Europeanisation process in different areas. It has an increasing multiplier effect on works of national institutions. The assistance has provided valuable support to Turkey addressing issues related to the EU *Acquis* as well as reform and alignment processes.

In this thesis, pre-accession assistance towards Turkey, specifically IPA civil society sector was analysed. In-depth interviews were conducted, results of studies were examined, and data was collected. As a reflection of social institutionalist perspective of Europeanisation, results of the interviews and findings show that new institutions and units were established in Turkey, new procedures for pre-accession system were accepted and integrated to the domestic legal system. Procedures and working styles are Europeanised.

It can be argued that the impact of EU's financial assistance to Turkey transcends financial benefits and results of projects contribute to the accession process more than initially targeted. Financial assistance provided under IPA civil society sector creates a new area for development of civil society in Turkey. It presents opportunities for public institutions and CSOs to come and work together. Priorities of civil society sector shape the future planning of actors. IPA civil society sector contributes to

democratic participation of CSOs to planning process through its consultation mechanism. Projects and actions conducted under this sector has enabled the CSOs to be more active in their priority areas both at the local and national level.

Findings show that, throughout the historical evolution of the EU financial assistance (specifically civil society-oriented efforts within financial assistance), the degree of Europeanisation is high and has an increasing trend. In IPA civil society sector, Turkey's efforts can be explained in line with the logic of appropriateness. Regardless of material incentives, actors work for the development of the sector, development of civil society dialogue and consequently contribute to the sustainability of the sector. Apart from the provided funds, actors create new mechanisms to work together. Financial assistance is an anchor and tool which creates the necessary platforms to work together, and which is accepted appropriate for both civil society and public institutions in Turkey. Through socialisation, attitudes and preferences of actors have changed. Turkey's EU accession process is carried out at national level within the framework of the activities of harmonization with the EU acquis and legal reforms. Cooperation and dialogue between the citizens of Turkey and the EU is an important complementary dimension of the negotiations. Support to be provided through CSD is not only regarded as a contribution to strengthening of civil society but it is also an effective tool to counteract the negative perceptions of Turkey's EU accession both in Turkey and the EU as noted from the interviews. Actors have socialized, they have adopted new norms and rules of appropriateness through social learning and they have redefined their interests and preferences in Europeanisation process. In this respect, Europeanisation can be observed on the detailed examples mentioned in third and fourth chapter of this thesis. The structure of the institutions, which are assigned a specific responsibility in the financial assistance mechanism, has changed. Since 1999, in line with the full membership priority of Turkey, the amount of allocated financial assistance has increased. Civil society development and civil society dialogue gained importance between 2002-2013. With new IPA II period covering 2014-2020, civil society is defined as a separate sub sector under EU's pre-accession assistance to Turkey, likewise energy, rural development or transportation. The experiences of 2002-2013 period contribute to the change of perceptions on civil society sector. Through social learning both CSOs and public institutions have changed their working styles and

perceptions about the role of civil society in Turkey. The identity of and expectations from civil society sector have changed. New interests and preferences emerged as a result of various interactions. Thanks to the financial assistance, CSOs and public institutions created platforms to meet each other and to share their ideas for supporting civil society sector.

According to sector approach of IPA II period, Civil Society Sector Planning Document is drafted and this document points out four priority areas: (1) Improving legal environment for active citizenship, (2) Strengthening public sector-CSO cooperation, (3) Strengthening the capacities of CSOs and networking between CSOs, (4) Connecting people with Civil Society Dialogue. Programmes and projects on the civil society sector focuses on these priorities. The sector is coordinated by the DEUA. Social learning examples can be observed at sector coordination level (monitoring meetings, steering meetings, action document preparation meetings between institutions) or at action level (designed trainings/seminars/communication platforms/documents). Attitudes, preferences and implementations are shaped in line with logic of appropriateness.

In line with sociological institutionalist perspective, Europeanisation through socialisation change perceptions and behaviours of civil society actors (including public institutions working directly with CSOs). Financial assistance provides funding for development and harmonisation efforts of Turkey, so this can be considered as an incentive to a candidate country. In terms of the development of the civil society, the end results surpass the material value of money. DEUA can be evaluated as a change agent in this system. The basic reason behind this argument is that DEUA mobilizes and persuades other civil society actors to re-define their interests and roles through the financial cooperation mechanism. Based on its role as lead institution for IPA civil society sector, DEUA shapes the preferences and roles of other actors through socialisation and interactions.

Beyond material benefits, social learning facilitates Europeanisation. In civil society sector social learning alters the attitudes and preferences of actors. Through argumentation, deliberation and persuasion actors of civil society sector reshape their interests, preferences and beliefs. As noted in the fourth chapter, working culture and

even organisational structures changed, new legal documents were created, new institutions were established. Rapid consultation and monitoring mechanisms provide platforms for communication and interaction.

Financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU supported and accelerated Turkey's accession process. All these mechanisms have contributed to Turkey's Europeanisation process. This process cannot be taken as a one-sided and top-down progress (which is shaped by the EU). In line with European rooted demands, Turkey's own efforts supported the process. The discussions herein showed that financial cooperation created a huge opportunity for capacity development of CSOs, enhancement of public-civil society dialogue, and fostering civil society dialogues in between Turkish actors and their European counterparts. As a result of programming process, public institutions come together for creating new actions, interactions and inspirations. Monitoring mechanism helps the institutions reshape their priorities. Systematic and sector-oriented cooperation enhances the impact the efforts. Consultation mechanism helped the CSOs share their ideas and expectations which then fed the future planning phase. CSOs seized the opportunity to realise their advocacy actions and create networks for an active democracy. Through capacity development and dialogue-oriented programmes, CSOs have become a part of the national and international networks and started to seek grants from different donor institutions, for implementing projects with different actors, enhancing their lobbying activities and contributing to the civil society sector in Turkey.

The fact that the funding mechanisms and procedural structures of the EU financial assistance (project cycle management approach, call for proposals and application procedures) inspired national funding systems is also an evidence of the Europeanisation process in the civil society sector. In line with the changing needs of the CSOs, Directorate General of Relations with Civil Society has changed its institutional and legal structure. Again, an EU funded project implemented by this institution partially contributed to the establishment of the new structure. Mentioned project has helped the future planning and newly designed Civil Society Advisory Council. For making local actors a part of the EU accession process, DEUA started a Improving the Effectiveness of Governorates in the EU Accession Process Project in

2010. As a part and result of Turkey's Europeanisation process, certain changes are observed on structures (norms, institutions, shared cultural understandings) and on working styles of actors.

Financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU, as a part of the accession process has a prominent impact on the development of Turkish civil society, related public institutions and Turkey's Europeanization process. Although the EU is not the sole reason behind the developments in civil society sector in Turkey, it still plays a substantial role in stimulating internal change. Financial cooperation process creates changes in civil society sector. The change cannot be presented as transformation, but changes on procedures, approaches and practices can be explained with adoption form of Europeanisation. In many examples domestic actors adopt their internal functioning to the requirements of civil society development.

Constituting the most dynamic part of the relations with the EU, financial cooperation has always been an anchor of political developments in Turkey. It is expected that in the future the financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU on civil society sector will be more intense and this will in return enhance Turkey's efforts in the EU accession process. Findings of interviews and research on this sector show that last few years a progress towards civil society development have relatively slowed down. National security concerns have changed after 15 July 2016 coup attempt which targeted Turkish democracy. Emergency measures taken after coup attempt and Syrian conflict have affected Turkey's nation level priorities and practices. In these hard times as a nation state Turkey has taken necessary measures to overcome all challenges.

It can be concluded that the EU membership perspective has always been a significant motivation behind reforms and political change in Turkey. As a Europeanisation tool, financial assistance helps to fulfil fundamental elements of accession negotiations, enhance interactions, connect societies and supports Turkey to be closer to the EU. Turkey pursue its strategic goal of full membership to the EU. An article from Euronews ("AB'den Türkiye'ye iki yılda 1.2 milyar euro fon kesintisi" dated 04.11.2019) says that "the EU has cut 1.2 billion Euros since 2017 from allocations for Turkey, the reason is lack of progress on fundamental rights and

freedoms and lack of projects on enhancing democratic values.” The findings of the thesis show that the membership efforts of a candidate country need to be supported and maintenance of financial assistance from the EU is important for sustaining relations. It is obvious that the acceleration of Turkey’s accession process and Europeanisation process are linked to each other. In conclusion, for Turkey, civil society sector has a special place and is supported within financial assistance system not for receiving financial benefits, but as a result of a belief towards these efforts are for the development of democracy in Turkey and for the country’s own good.



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APPENDICES

Questions for Interviews

- What is the historical background of funds provided to civil society organisations within Turkey-EU financial cooperation?
- What are the main projects and practices conducted within civil society sector?
- How did IPA effect civil society organisations in Turkey in terms of practices/projects mainly focusing the civil society sector? How would you describe developments in this sector?
- How did IPA effect public institutions in Turkey in terms of practices/projects mainly focusing the civil society sector?
- What do you think about whether financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU is described as a tool for Europeanisation? Are there any changes on actors of the sector and in terms of institutions and procedures? Do you think that IPA contributed to civil society development?