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A.B. SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**THE ROLE OF THE NGOs
IN THE PROCESS OF TURKEY'S ACCESSION TO THE EU
(YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ)**

Defne Kiper KÜLEY

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ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Defne Kiper KÜLEY'in "**THE ROLE OF THE NGOS IN THE PROCESS OF TURKEY'S ACCESSION TO THE EU**" konulu tez çalışması 31 Mart 2010 tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından oybirliği/ oyçokluğu ile başarılı bulunmuştur.

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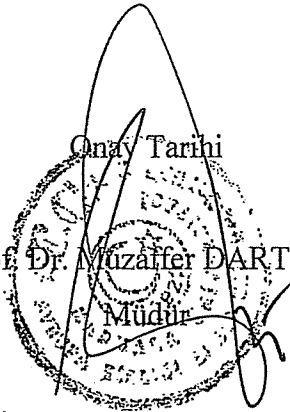
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ABSTRACT

NGOs are essential components of the contemporary civil society. With the effect of globalisation and latest developments in the international scene, NGOs became also important actors in the international relations. Their importance started to be recognised in the international organisations as well.

NGO or civil society tradition is not deep-rooted in Turkey, due to both the administrative heritage of the Ottoman Empire and the attitude of the state and governments towards NGOs. On the other hand EU is giving much importance not only to the NGOs in the EU Member States, but to the ones in the candidate countries as well. However especially after 1980's, a momentum is observed both in the quantity and in the quality or effectiveness in Turkey.

The roles of the NGOs in Turkey – EU relations seem to increase gradually which can be summarised under three main and interrelated headings as, the role of the NGOs in the harmonisation of *acquis communautaire*, the role of the NGOs in the preparation of the EU and its citizens to Turkey's full membership and lastly the preparation of Turkish citizens for the EU membership. Thus this thesis asserts that like every social, political and economic processes, the participation of the people is essential in the process of Turkey's accession to the EU as much as inevitable for long-lasting and a positive result and one of the best ways of this participation can be achieved via NGOs.

ÖZET

STKlar günümüz sivil toplumunun en önemli unsurlarından biridir. Globalizasyonun etkisi ve uluslararası alandaki son gelişmelerle beraber STKlar uluslararası ilişkilerde önemli aktörler haline gelmişlerdir. Önemleri de uluslararası örgütler tarafından da farkedilmeye başlanmıştır.

STK ve sivil toplum geleneği Türkiye'de0, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan devralınan yönetim geleneği ve devlet ve hükümetlerin sivil topluma karşı tutumlarından dolayı çok köklü değildir. Diğer yandan, Avrupa Birliği de, sadece AB deki STKlara değil, aday ülkelerdeki STKlara da büyük önem vermektedir. Fakat özellikle 1980 sonrası dönemde Türk sivil toplum kuruluşlarının hem nitelik hem de nicelik ve etki alanı olarak momentum kazandığı gözlemlenebilir..

STKların Türkiye-AB ilişkilerindeki gittikçe artan rolleri üç ayrı fakat birbiriyle bağlı başlık altında özetlenebilir; STKların AB müktesebatına uyumdaki rolleri, STKların AB ve AB vatandaşlarının Türkiye'nin tam üyeliğine hazırlanmasındaki rolleri ve STKların Türk vatandaşlarının AB üyeliğine hazırlanmasındaki rolleri. Tüm bunlar göze alındığında bu tez tüm sosyal, politik ve ekonomik süreçlerde olduğu gibi, Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne katılımı sürecinde de, kişilerin katılımının, uzun soluklu ve pozitif bir sonuca ulaşılması açısından gerekli olduğu kadar da kaçınılmaz olduğunu ve sürece STKların dahil olmasının bu katılım sağlayana en iyi yollardan biri olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEGEE	: European Students' Forum
BC	: British Council
BDA	: Bund Deutscher Architekten
CBC	: Phare Cross-Border Cooperation
CBIT	: Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey Türkiye İşadamları ve Sanayiciler Konfederasyonu (TUSKON)
CBOs	: Community-based Organizations
CECE	: Committee for the European Construction Equipment Industry
CER	: Center for European Reform
CSD – II	: Civil Society Dialogue between European Union and Turkey-II
CSD	: Civil Society Dialogue
EC	: European Commission
ECOSOC	: Economic and Social Council
EDF	: Economic Development Foundation İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (IKV)
EEB	: European Environmental Bureau
EESC	: European Economic and Social Committee
ENGO	: Environmental non governmental organisations
EP	: European Parliament
EPRFT	: The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı (TEPAV)
EU	: European Union
FEPRPW	: Foundation of Environmental Protection and Revaluation of Packaging Waste Çevre Koruma ve Ambalaj Atıkları Değerlendirme Vakfı (ÇEVKO)
GONGO	: Government-operated non governmental organisations
IFEA	: Institut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes
IFRI	: Institut Français des Relations Internationales
İKSV	: İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts

	İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı
INGO	: International NGO
IPA	: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
ISPA	: Structural Policies for Pre-Accession
ITKIB	: Istanbul Textile and Apparel Exporter Associations
MEDA	: Mediterranean Development Aid
MIO-ECSDE	: Mediterranean Information Office for Environment Culture and Sustainable Development
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organizations
PHARE	: The Programme of Community aid to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe
QUANGO	: Quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations
RINGO	: Religious International non governmental organisations
RPP	: Republican Peoples Party Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)
SAPARD	: Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development
Sc Po	: Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris
SCLA	: Supporting Contemporary Life Association Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (ÇYDD)
TAV	: Turkey Europe Foundation
TCR	: Turkish Cypriot Representation Kıbrıs Türk Temsilciliği (KKT)
TDU	: Turkish Doctors Union Türk Tabipler Birliği (TTB)
TEMA	: Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection and Natural Habitats
TESHF	: Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation Türk Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih Vakfı (TTV)
TESSF	: Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı (TESEV)
TEVF	: Turkey Education Volunteers Foundation Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı (TEGV)
TIBA	: Turkish Industrialists' & Business Association

	Türk Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği (TÜSİAD)
TR	: Turkey
TURKAB	: Turkey – EU Cooperation Association Türkiye AB İşbirliği Derneği
UC CET	: The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (TOBB)
UCTEA	: Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects Türk Mühendisler ve Mimarlar Odası Birliği (TMMOB)
UN	: United Nations
USA	: the United States of America
WEAT	: Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği (KAGIDER)

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, world has faced with a number of unprecedented and rapid political, economic and social challenges and changes. The collapse of communism, rising ethnic rivalries, and economic turmoils marked the emergence of new political structures. Many dictatorships were overthrown and replaced by democratic regimes.

The changes in the political scene made the civil society concept a popular motto once again. Since the civil society has started to be seen as one of the key elements for the political and economic development, a greater interest was directed to it and its particularities. Increasing involvement in economic and social sphere of the state through various platforms revealed this trend. Although the concept of civil society cannot either be explained by or limited to the existence of the nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), and individuals working through NGOs, they undoubtedly try to shape the society in which they exist. Briefly, with the development and increasing influence of the civil society in the economic and political, as well as social spheres, people have started to organize themselves more and more in different organisations and participate in the social activities through these organisations, with the aim of expressing their views and interests. Thus it can be argued that today non-governmental organizations are important actors in local, national and international affairs whose influences are impossible to be ignored.

This trend is also seen in the political discussions in Turkey. For instance, Turkish environmental NGOs have been increasingly taking part in the international environmental relations and policy making processes. One of the well known examples is Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection and Natural Habitats (TEMA) which is active

mainly in combating desertification. The foundation is closely following new developments, practices and activities in the world, with its close links to the international networks, by participating in the international conferences and seminars and it informs Turkish public about these developments. It is a member of many international networks and organisations especially in the area of sustainable development and environmental protection, and works in cooperation with them, such as; United Nations Economic and Social Council, Federation of the environment and development NGOs in the Mediterranean countries MIO-ECSDE (Mediterranean Information Office for Environment Culture and Sustainable Development), federation of 114 Environmental NGO EEB (European Environmental Bureau). Besides its membership in these organisations and institutions, TEMA's sister foundations had been opened in Netherlands and in Germany. Human rights is another area where working of the NGOs are worthy of attention. To illustrate, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey has hosted an international conference; Health Workers' Bridge for the Peace in the Middle East, between 27-30 October 2009, with the partnership of Norway and Turkish Doctors Chamber and International Federation of Health and Human Rights Organizations¹.

It is noteworthy to state that rising importance of the non-state actors' in the international arena and their influence on the political and social affairs can also be observed in the European Union (EU) – Turkey relations as well as in Turkey's relations with other international actors. In the Turkish accession process to the EU, NGOs are also started to be seen as important figures with regard to their functions in the society that can foster the EU-Turkey relations through different channels. Besides, EU's Civil Society Dialogue also supports and strengthens the role of NGOs in EU-Turkey relations. Thus, this study argues that NGO participation in the EU accession process is essential for

¹ Human Rights Foundations of Turkey official webpage < <http://www.tihv.org.tr/index.php?etkinlikler> > (24.12.2009)

reaching the desired ends for Turkey. In line with this argument, this study tries to explore and explain the increasing stakeholder participation with a particular reference to the EU – Turkey relations. Therefore, this thesis underlines the significance of the NGO involvement in the success of the accession process, in three different but interrelated ways. To start with, it has to be stated that the success of the EU accession negotiations is only possible with a sufficient infrastructure and preparation. Nevertheless, this may be achieved not only with the effort of the state institutions, but with the efficient participation and exchange of views of all the stakeholders; universities, research institutions, business organizations, professional organizations and all other social partners specialized in various subjects from gender issues to consumer rights. Only this way the direct participation can be ensured and the necessary social, economic and legal requirements to be met for the accession negotiations.

Secondly, it should be kept in mind that the perception of the citizens of the EU member states' is also an important factor in the acceptance (public) and accession of new members to the EU. It is well known that due to wrong or inadequate information there has been a negative approach in some of the member states towards Turkey as a full member as well as Turkish citizens' free movement. To be able to overcome these prejudices, the active participation of Turkish NGOs in the discussions and the establishment of direct relations with the counterparts in the EU gain more and more importance.

Not only in the EU, but also in Turkey, the citizens shall be prepared for the new developments, and new environment which will be established as a result of accession. The expansion of the EU should be supported with a strong, intensive and continuous social dialogue between the member and candidate states and EU institutions. This dialogue aims to help not only the elimination of the questions and prejudices in member states, but also help in preparing the Turkish citizens for the future opportunities and difficulties of accession, that will be the result of the efforts to close up the different cultural, political and economic experiences and practices.

To understand the NGO existence and its role as in society, this study starts with a brief examination of the concept of civil society. Dealing with this concept requires some basic notions to be explained such as the meaning of the concept and its development throughout the history. Subsequently the second chapter tries to present a brief evaluation of some important writers' studies on the civil society as Tocqueville & Hegel. Lastly, this chapter tries to explore the conceptual history of the civil society in the road to the modern nation.

For this aim, it is necessary to distinguish the pre-modern and modern understanding of the civil society concept, indicating what versions have led today's understanding of the civil society according to the studies of these philosophers. For instance, it can be asserted that in the writings of Hobbes and Rousseau, the concept referred to the organization of the society only, which is an evolution from the state of nature. However in the studies of the later philosophers the concept reached its today's understanding with the development of bourgeois class and development of civil rights.

After the brief examination of the civil society concept, in the third chapter, this study deals with NGOs in detail. First, it tries to analyse the NGO sector and the reasons for their increasing importance all over the world. Then, it tries to explore the place of the NGOs in the EU multilevel governance. A few examples from Member States will also be given to demonstrate the differences between NGO participation at the EU level.

Since the aim of this thesis is to explain the Turkish NGOs' role in the accession of Turkey to the EU, to evaluate today's conditions, it is necessary to look at the development of the civil society in Turkey, together with the situation of the NGO sector. A brief look at the history of civil society and the emergence of NGOs shows that the role of NGOs in EU-Turkey relations are closely related to the westernization attempts. The westernization attempts had started in the Ottoman Empire, in the 18th century. The Administration Reforms in 1839 can be seen as a cornerstone of these attempts. Since then, until the collapse of the

Empire, these efforts had continued. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the new Turkish Republic did not call off these efforts, instead all the new institutions of the Republic had been designed based on the examples of the European counterparts. The determination of the governing group, to create a modern Turkey, reflected itself in the revolutions made in the early years of the Republic. Since the beginning of the Turkish Republic, this route had been slowed down in some periods, however never been stopped or abandoned. The desire of being a member of the European Union can be seen as a result of this determination as well. However one of the reasons of the failure or incompatibility of the earlier attempts' could be regarded as their top down nature; without the active involvement and the full consent of the citizens. As in any project related to the society itself, for a long lasting and generally accepted result this has to be supported by the members. Therefore, last but not least, this study argues that, the active participation of the Turkish citizens is essential for the realization of membership. Nevertheless, this participation can not be achieved and realized by individuals' personal attempts. Therefore NGOs can be regarded as the important actors to facilitate this participation process.

After creating a general framework to evaluate the role of NGOs, this study examines the NGOs as an important actor in the relations between Turkey and the EU. At this point, organization of interests and power under the NGOs gain importance. In Turkey's accession process to the EU, the roles which NGOs assume will be tried to be explained under three main headings. Respectively these are, NGOs' role in the harmonization of the *acquis communautaire*; NGOs' role in the preparation of the EU and its citizens to Turkey's accession, and in the preparation of the Turkish citizens to the EU membership. In the same chapter the Civil Society Dialogue will also be evaluated to analyse the EU's actions. In the fourth chapter, views and activities of three NGOs will be studied as well. Both their aims, activities and the projects which they have undertaken with cooperation with the EU will be explained. The selected NGOs are Economic Development Foundation (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı; İKV; EDF), The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

(Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; TESEV, TESSF) and Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı; TTV; TESHF). These three NGOs are selected for this study due to their specific functions either in fostering EU-Turkey relations or enhancing civil society on areas in which EU-Turkey relations are problematic. Thus, IKV (EDF) has been selected due to its *raison d'être*s concerning EU – Turkey relations, TESEV (TESSF) has been chosen because of high reputation at the international level as a Turkish NGO working largely on good governance, democratization and foreign policy, the first two of which causes heated debates in Turkey – EU relations. TTV (TESHF) is included in this research as it is an active participant of all civil society dialogue events, especially since 1990s and working on the evolution of civil society concept in Turkey as one of their main research areas.

This thesis tries to explain the basic concepts, their development and recent situation both in Turkey and EU through an explanatory approach. This study depends on not only detailed literature review on civil society, and the role of NGOs in the Turkey – EU relations through examining books, reports, periodicals as well as newspapers and internet websites of national and international NGOs but also includes interviews with some NGO representatives.

2. CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The renewed interest in civil society traces its theoretical origins in Tocqueville and is spiritually indebted to Rousseau for its identification of people as

a force for collective good, rising up to assert the democratic will against the narrow and evil autocracy².

To comprehend democratic change around the world, it is necessary to have a brief look at the historical evolution of the civil society. First and foremost It has to be identified more precisely what civil society is and is not. Without understanding the realm of the civil society, where the NGOs found their reasons and possibilities to exist, functions and the importance of the NGOs can not be fully understood. To put it differently, analysing the road to today's contemporary understanding of the civil society, can give us the clues about the development of democracy understanding in the world, which eventually led to the establishment of the NGOs and other civil society organisations, where the citizens found alternative ways to express themselves.

2.1 THE HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is conceived as a realm of organized social life that is voluntary self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules³.

² Diamond L., (1996), "Toward Democratic Consolidation", In: Diamond, L. And Plattner, F. (eds) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy Second Edition*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London; pp. 227

Before examining the modern understanding of civil society the emergence of the concept of civil society, in the literature shall be examined, by looking at the historical development.

The conceptualisation of every concept in social and political sciences did not take place in a short period of time. Instead it is a process, which is based on the extensive studies, experiences, researches, and conflicts in the intellectual world. Even a concept is used by one author in a certain period of time; it can evolve to a different meaning in the course of time, with the effect of all social, political and economic developments.

2.2 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY CONCEPT

The concept of civil society has its roots in the 17th and 18th centuries. An important place in the thought of the Enlightenment was occupied by the conviction that society exists prior to ruling authority and that while ruling authority is founded on a contract, society rests on man's natural freedoms⁴.

The enlightenment conception of a civil society was universal in principle. It did not refer to any specific nation or people, but to human society as a whole. In this early phase, civil society with its association and parties opposed not so much to state but to absolute monarchy.

Civil society in its modern form, entered into social understanding in the late 17th century, with the writings of Locke, Harrington, developed by Rousseau

³ Margaryan M. and Muradyan, A., (2008), *Transactions on Political Science, Civil Society, Peer-Reviewed Proceedings of the 2008 Year-round Faculty Student Multidisciplinary Global Conferences*, On Research, Volume 8 Number 1 , ISBN 0-9703797-3-0, Spring 2008, A Global Professional Academic Organization, Yerevan State University, Yerevan, ARMENIA. Civil Participation Development Centre, Yerevan, ARMENIA

⁴ Diamond L., (1996), "Toward Democratic Consolidation", In: Diamond, L. And Plattner, F. (eds) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy Second Edition*, pp. 236

and Hegel and employed by Tocqueville, as an inclusive, umbrella-like concept referring to a plethora of institutions but beside the state⁵.

Tocqueville called civil society as voluntary religion, private and public associations and organizations, all forms of cooperative relationships that create bonds of trust, public opinion, legal rights and institutions. The exploration of civil society emphasizes the basic experiences of individuals, according to the time period in which they lived in. It is possible to categorize how the civil society is regarded throughout time in three time span.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, civil society denoted an idea, which was intended to explain how society was possible and why individuals lived in societies which in many ways stopped them, doing things that they might have liked to do⁶. In the 19th century, philosophers and sociologist were trying to understand how safe society was when it seemed as if individuals were becoming increasingly disdainful and disrespectful of external authority⁷. The philosophers and the sociologist of the period were trying to offer different ways to avoid the collapse of civilization into chaos and barbarization of the society.

In the late 20th century, the possibility of society was again being popularly seen as a difficult problem. Television and technology are, for instance held to have caused an absolute privatization of pleasure and a terminal decay of societal relationships and peculiarly human activities.

⁵ Diaz, V.P., (1998), "The Public Sphere and a European Civil Society" In: Alexandr, J.C. (ed), *Real Civil Societies, Dilemmas of Institutionalization*, Sage Publications LTD., London, pp.215

⁶ Tester, K., (1992), *Civil Society*, Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc., London, New York, pp. 32

⁷ *ibid*, pp. 7

2.3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The civil society concept was developed mostly in the political philosophy literature. The identification of civil and political society did not immediately occur and create a new form of societal public sphere. Some alternatives were developed in time.

2.3.1 From *Politike Koinonia* to *l'etat civile*

The first version of the concept of civil society can be found in Aristotle's (384 BC – 322 BC) writings under the heading of *politike koinonia*; political society / community. It was defined as “a public ethical-political community of free and equal citizens under a legally defined system of rule”⁸. However his notion of civil society is different than today's contemporary understanding in couple of ways. Firstly, it did not have distinction between state and society. The second absence was indifference between society and community⁹. *Koinonia* in general denoted all forms of associations irrespective of the level of solidarity, intimacy and intensity of interaction.

Aristotle thought that the people could gain a meaning as a citizen only in the frame of a Polis. Therefore it can be said that Aristotle gives much importance and superiority to the state over the people. However it is important that this concept has entered to political philosophy for the first time.

The commonwealth or civil / political society can identify the modern state. This was the option of Hobbes (1588 – 1676), who believed that

⁸ Arato, A. and Cohen, J.L., (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, the MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, pp. 84

⁹ *ibid*, pg 84

sovereign power provides the only social bond of naturally unsocial individuals. In his theory, the social contract creates state, not society. Hobbes argues that in the state of nature, all men should be treated as equal individuals; equal just in terms of what they can do to each other. In his work *Leviathan*, he says that citizens may have a secure life, only with the existence of a strong state authority. He says

The notions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice have there no place. Where there is no common Power, there is no Law: where no law, no justice¹⁰.

The escape from state of nature could be with a covenant or a contract according to him. For him, the continuation and institutionalization of this contract were very important. At this point, he drew the line between societal and natural. Consequently, the contract can be understood as something like the basis of the civil society, because it confirms the association of individuals. The contract was to unite individuals in a societal system.

John Locke (1632 – 1704) put the social contract at the very centre of his imagination of civil society¹¹. He understands the civil society to be the associations of individuals which are beyond the family and based on symmetric reciprocity of the strangers. He also pointed out that individuals enter into civil society with their consent.

Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) distinguished the government (*l'état politique*) and society (*l'état civile*)¹². According to him, political law regulates the relationships of governors and governed, civil law regulates the relations of the members of the society to one another. His anti-absolutist strategy relied on a society constituted by a hierarchic traditional society. He anticipated the differentiation of state and society.

¹⁰ Tester, K. (1992), *Civil Society*, pp. 57

¹¹ *ibid*, pp.53

¹² Arato, A. and Cohen, J.L., (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, pp 88

Another option was developed by Rousseau (1712 – 1778), as retaining the identity of political and civil society but distinguishing both from the state. He sought to differentiate between government and society. He distinguishes the society and the government which society set up over itself. He thought that civil society was necessary for both political and economic freedom. He speaks of one political society in terms of the agreement to incorporate and act as one body. This ability to become and to act as one body is assigned to legislative power of government¹³. For Rousseau, civil society was necessary, not to ensure civil peace, but to transform the individual into an intelligent being and man. What is required according to Rousseau is nothing less than the complete social transformation of the individual, who by himself is a complete and solitary whole, into a part of a greater whole from which he, in a sense, receives his life and his being; of physical and independent existence we have all received from the nature¹⁴.

2.3.2 Hegel

In the late 18th century he developed the first modern theory of civil society. For many authors, he was the most important forerunner of later approaches. He attempted to unite ancient ethos with one of the modern freedom of individual.

- Individual as the bearer of rights and the agent of moral consciousness.
- He generalized the enlightenment distinction between state and civil society. In a manner that also involved their interpretation.

¹³ *ibid*, pp. 89

¹⁴ Tester, K. (1992), *Civil Society*, pp. 65

- He took over the new discipline of political economics. The stress on civil society as the locus and carrier of material civilization¹⁵.

According to Hegel's understanding, civil society is dividing people and separate them into competing firms, religious sects, and institutions, therefore leading to an alienation; on the other hand, civil society is also the arena where the views and interests of the individuals take shape and found expression. To reconcile all these conflicting aspects, legal framework, state action, organizations and state authority, estate assembly and public opinion play their important roles.

Hegel has a theory of stratification according to which the differentiated social strata of civil society that he calls "*stünde (estates)*" integrate individuals as members of one of the particularities of civil society¹⁶. He says that estates are modern and that individuals become part of them freely, through their own choice and achievement rather than obligatory or inheritantly.

In Hegel's conception, the police represent the penetration of the state into civil society. State action through police force, together with economic regulations and public welfare constraints shapes and complements private action¹⁷. The estate assembly on the other hand represents a penetration of the civil society into the state.

The circles of association in civil society are already communities. To picture those communities as once more breaking up into a mere conglomeration of individuals as soon they enter in the field of politics; i.e. the field of highest concrete universality, is eo ipso to hold civil and political life apart from one another and as it were to hang the latter in air, because its basis could then only be abstract individuality of caprice and opinion¹⁸.

He was concerning public opinion. To promote the formation of public opinion, he supports freedom of public communications especially speech and

¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.92

¹⁶ Arato, A. and Cohen, J.L., (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, pp. 98

¹⁷ *ibid* pp. 109

¹⁸ *ibid*, pp. 113

press. However his statist concerns can also be observed in his tendency to control and disempower public opinion to make it compatible with the management of the state¹⁹.

2.3.3 Marx

He has stressed the negative aspects of civil society; its atomic and dehumanizing features. He thought, people in a society characterized primarily of a system of production and consumption, became alienated insofar as they were prohibited from developing their full talents and powers as human beings²⁰.

In the Marx's writings, it can be observed that the reduction of civil society just related to market capitalism. For him, industrial capitalism seemed only consist of markets, the groups formed by markets and states. Society in collective or moral sense was dissolving.

He believed that civil society was a sphere of conflicts between competing private interests.

In his tradition, it is argued that the distinction creates a form of alienation in which society is artificially divided against itself at the expense of its own progress. In particular, the distinction effectively depoliticizes property relations by setting material and conceptual limits in the content of public deliberation²¹.

He opposes the Hegel's view of state as embodiment of universality that overcomes the particularity of civil society. Yet, as long as civil society

¹⁹ ibid, pp. 111

²⁰ O'Brien, R., (1997), *Philosophical History of the Idea of Civil Society*, February 1977
<http://www.web.net/~robrien/papers/civhist.html>

²¹ Martin, J., (2000), "Marxism and Civil Society", *Paper Presented to the PSA Marxism Specialis Group Annual Conference, Nottingham Trent University on 12.09.2000*, Department of Social Policy & Politics, Goldsmiths Coolage, University of London, New Cross, London, pp.1

remains divided, the state will have particularity of private interests that act within it. Marx uses civil society as a description of a divided humanity²².

Marx explains the civil society not as an ascriptive situation given naturally, but as a progressive historical phenomenon. Modern, state-guaranteed civil society neither do fit to the natural law, nor are the production of the natural tendency to society. However his analysis about the existence and development of civil society was one sided. The power relations in civil society unlike Hegel and Tocqueville were explained as depending on the production relations. Civil society was seen as reflection of bourgeois economic structure. He was defining civil society as an effect of capitalist relations of production. The source of oppression was not a class but a system. Marx argues that the natural ties of human unity for the first time dissolved in civil society because of its very nature of bourgeois competition, egoism and selfishness. Those natural ties only in the 18th century, came to fore as an egoistic tool to achieve private interests²³.

Marx refuses Hobbes', Locke's and Hegel's hypothesis of the state as a neutral structure as giving shape to the universal interests and being over of its origin. According to him state is an autocratic institution, reflecting and reinforcing the singular and historically unique interests of the civil society²⁴.

According to Marx bourgeois ideology encompasses the ideas which try to make it invisible the power relations among the civil society and by this way to escape these relations from public questioning and isolating from public and political actions. Although the ideas were claimed to be universalistic, they were representing the ruling class attitudes.

He says that under this universal freedom concept, the reality of the hegemony of private ownership and inhumanity could be observed²⁵.

²² Keane, J., (1994), *Democracy and Civil Society on the Precidements of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy and the Problem of Controlling Social and Political Power*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp.93

²³ Marx K., *Grundrisse: Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*, Nicolas M. (çev), (1973), Harmondsworth, pp.84

²⁴ Keane, J., (1994), *Democracy and Civil Society on the Precidements of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy and the Problem of Controlling Social and Political Power*, pp.94

²⁵ *ibid*, pp.276

When people are truly free, he says, they will see themselves as citizens of the whole political community, not "decomposed" into different, non-universal roles as a trader, a laborer, a Jew, a Protestant. Each person will be a communal being united with all other citizens, and the state will no longer be seen as an instrument to protect rights so that individuals can pursue their selfish ends but as the entity through which everyone would achieve the human essence which is the true collectivity of man²⁶.

To sum up, he believes that the civil society is the result of the capitalist product relations and it is dividing the society unnaturally. In this system he says that people can no longer develop their full talents and powers as human beings²⁷.

2.3.4 Gramsci

Although the classical ideas of civil society were still influential, the concept was refined by later writers which have made it comparatively more consistent to contemporary studies.

Gramsci referred civil society as a set of institutions through which society organized and represented itself, independent from the state. Economic institutions as trade unions, employer's associations, and political and social institutions as churches, parties, professional associations, educational and cultural bodies were also representative institutions of the society according to him²⁸. He recognized the new forms of plurality and association specific to modern civil society in modern churches, unions, cultural institutions, clubs, neighborhood associations and especially political parties²⁹.

²⁶ Boaz, D., (1997) *Libertarianism, A Primer*, "Chapter 7 Civil Society", Free Press, a division of Simon & Schuster, The Cato Institute, New York, pp.127-148 <http://www.libertarianism.org/ex-8.html> (18.11.2009)

²⁷ *ibid*, pp. 127-148

²⁸ Shaw, M., (1999), "Civil Society", In: Kurtz, L. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Academic Press, San Diego, pp.272

²⁹ Arato, A. and Cohen, J.L., (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, pp 143

His hegemonic theory of civil society saw transformation as a cultural, as well as political process and specified important roles for intellectuals. According to Gramsci each class developed its own intellectual groupings. By the development of capitalism, new groups emerged other than of those traditional ones, as managers, social workers. These groups playing central roles in the institutions of civil society, contributed maintaining the existing hegemony³⁰. Gramsci registered 5 phases of the relation between the state and the civil society;

1. Medieval corporatism and dualism
2. The absolutist dualism of state and depoliticized, privileged orders.
3. The early modern dissolution of the older corporate forms that exists only in revolutionary terror.
4. Dualism of the modern state and new forms of associations
5. Totalitarian Gleichschaltung of modern associations and cultural forms³¹.

It can be said that, for him, the civil society is not only composed of economic interests, however instead, it refers to a sphere where law and ethics also takes their parts besides the economic elements.

2.4 DEFINITION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

In the modern notion, civil society label can be put on all the social relationships which involve the voluntary associations, and the participation of individuals, acting in their private capacities. As it can be defined as

³⁰ Shaw, M., (1999), "Civil Society", In: Kurtz, L. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, pp.274

³¹ Arato, A. and Cohen, J.L, (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, pp.147

It is distinct from the state. It involves the relationships beyond the ones purely familial and not of state³².

The concept excludes the profit-making business firms and political efforts to take the control of the state. Although the civil society excludes those relationships with the state, it legitimates the state authority if it is based on the rule of law, because civil society needs the protection of institutionalized legal order to guard its autonomy and freedom of action.

In brief, civil society is a sphere of association in society, distinction to the state, involving a network of associations through which the society and groups within it represent themselves in cultural, ideological and political senses³³.

Civil society is composed of organizations which has a wide spectrum. These include;

- Economic (productive and commercial associations and networks)
- Cultural (religious, ethnic, communal and other institution that defend collective rights, values, beliefs and symbols.)
- Informal and educational (produce and disseminate the public knowledge, ideas, news and information)
- Interest-based (designed to advance or defend the common interests of their members as workers, professionals, retired persons...)
- Developmental (designed to combine the resources to improve infrastructure, institutions and quality of life of the community)
- Issue-oriented (movements for environmental protection, women rights, consumer protection...)

³² Tester, K. (1992), *Civil Society*, pp. 8

³³ Shaw, M., (1999), "Civil Society", In: Kurtz, L. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, pp.269-279

- Civic (designed to improve the political system and make it more democratic through human rights monitoring, voter mobilization, poll-watching, anticorruption efforts....)³⁴.

Voluntary, autonomous characters are all common on above listed organizations and movements. There are some other common characteristics of the civil society organizations which make them different from other social groups.

Firstly; civil society is concerned with public ends. Secondly; civil society is related to the state some how, however it does not seek to gain the power in the state. Thirdly; civil society encompasses pluralism and diversity. Whenever an organization seeks to monopolize a space in society, it contradicts the pluralistic nature of the civil society. Another distinction is that no group in the civil society tries to represent the whole community interest. Contrary, different groups represent different interests³⁵.

With the effect of these characteristics of the civil society, it contributes to democracy. First democratic function of the civil society is that it provides basis for the limitation of state power. It monitors the exercise of power in democratic states and helps to democratize authoritarian states. This function is performed in many democratic transitions of the recent history. The rich associational life supplements the role of political parties in stimulating political participation, increasing the political efficiency and skills of democratic citizens and promoting an appreciation of the obligations as well as the rights of democratic citizens³⁶.

Civil society constitutes an arena for development of other democratic attitudes as tolerance, moderation, compromise and respect for opposing views.

³⁴ Diamond L., (1996), "Toward Democratic Consolidation", In: Diamond, L. And Plattner, F. (eds) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy Second Edition*, pp.229

³⁵ *ibid*, pp.229

³⁶ Geremek, B., (1992), Civil Society Then and Now, *Journal of Democracy* 3, pp. 3-12

It creates channels other than political parties for the representation of interests. This function is important for traditionally oppressed and excluded groups as women and racial or ethnic minorities³⁷.

Different interest groups cut-across each other and create spaces for networks on the other hand, individuals with multiple interest areas paves the road for more tolerant and also more complex outlook. It may be said that civil society plays three broad roles³⁸:

- Socializing function; the associations in the civil society play important role to socialize the individual,
- Representative function; it gives voice to the distinct interests and different points of view,
- Oppositional function; this function becomes active when state purposes seem to threaten the plurality and autonomy of the society³⁹.

2.5 GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Globalization is an important discussion area which is also one of the most criticized aspects of today's world system. Civil society as well has extended its area of interest and action from national level to regional and global level.

³⁷ Diamond L., (1996), "Toward Democratic Consolidation", In: Diamond, L. And Plattner, F. (eds) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy Second Edition*, pp.231

³⁸ Foley, W. and Edwards, B. (1996), *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comperative Perspective*, University Press of New England, Georgetown, Draft Paper, http://abs.sagepub.com/cgi/pdf_extract/42/1/5 (16.11.2009)

³⁹ ibid

Many of the institutions of the civil society like parties, trade unions, schools and media have characteristically been highly national institutions during the 19th and 20th centuries. In the second half of the 20th century, this characteristic nation-state framework of the civil society has been transformed. National forms were maintained, but there has been a significant shift towards the global scale. Western states primarily created massive process of economic and cultural globalization. There was a significant internationalization of Western military, economic, cultural and ideological power⁴⁰.

Civil society is mostly captured by these renewed institutions of less formal and less national character. These new social movements were based not on class but mostly issue interests. Voluntary organizations, especially global development and human rights agencies have their part on the scene dominantly.

There have been many reasons for the growth and gaining significance of the civil society in global scale. Firstly, the developments in the information technology and literacy had awakened people to realize that their conditions may not be immutable, that opportunities may be better elsewhere, and change is possible. This has stimulated the global activism on gender, environmental and ethnic consciousness⁴¹. Secondly, there has been dissatisfaction with the market and the state, as the mechanisms to solve the interrelated social, economic and political issues.

The first half of the twentieth century saw the creation of NGO coalitions to press specific agendas: international women's associations, labor union alliances, coalitions dedicated to disarmament and world peace, and associations aimed at strengthening international organizations⁴².

⁴⁰ Shaw, M., (1999), "Civil Society", In: Kurtz, L. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, pp. 269-279

⁴¹ Salamon L.M., Sokolowski S.W., List R., (2003), *Global Civil Society. An Overview*, The John Hopkins Comperative Non Profit Sector Project, The John Hopkins University, Institute for Policy Studies, Center for Civil Society Studies, Baltimore, pp. 2-3

⁴² Callahan, D., (2001), *What is Global Civil Society?*, <http://www.cheatingculture.com/whatisglobal.htm>

These NGOs are important because although they are based on a certain area, they act and operate across globe and many of them became globalist organizations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace. Their interest areas and membership organizations are scaled globally.

We are faced with a world wide expansion of civil society; in Eastern Europe, Former Soviet Union Republics and Africa, Middle East... which rested on the globalizing forces of education and cultural diffusion⁴³.

With this process the civil society analysis took much more place in international relations. International theorists have moved beyond the Realist and Neo-realist ideas and they have increasingly seen social movements as international actors, because by these movements society is represented in the international areas.

Although the civil society sector has become a major global force, it still faces with important challenges. These challenges involve issues of basic legitimacy, sustainability, effectiveness and forging the workable partnerships with other sectors that real progress on complex social and economic problems increasingly requires⁴⁴.

⁴³ Shaw, M., (1999), "Civil Society", In: Kurtz, L. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, pp 269-279

⁴⁴ Salamon L.M., Sokolowski S.W., List R., (2003), *Global Civil Society. An Overview*, pp. 52

3. ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE NGO SECTOR IN THE EU

NGOs have been accorded an increasingly prominent role both at the national and international levels. Most of the international organizations, the UN, the World Bank have created NGO Liaison Sections since 1970s.

The democratic ideal of the 19th century recognized the rights of the individuals to generate economic wealth and be active politically. Groups of citizens organized themselves as representing various interests. Especially after the Second World War, economic, political, environmental, educational and cultural issues constituted a global context for a number of NGOs activities⁴⁵.

Today, the world's most pressing problems are no longer about national security and that was traditionally the province of the state. Different sorts of problems have also become important as environment, diseases, human rights, and other global issues. States are not powerless or subordinated, however, in these areas the role and the influence of nation-states are changing. Because NGOs can effect international negotiations and advance interests, they have earned increasingly world-wide attention. This chapter tries to explain NGOs, their roles, strengths and weaknesses.

3.1. DEFINITION AND CATEGORISATION OF NGOs

Particularly in the last two decades, the arena of NGO action has expanded rapidly from local and national settings to the international level. They

⁴⁵ OECD, (1990), *Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in OECD Member States*, OECD Development Center, Paris, pp.19

are the late-comers to the evolving system of globalization however they have found and now still are finding innovative ways to influence this process⁴⁶.

In the late 20th century, the world has faced with a significant political economic change, even faster than ever before. There has been a growth in liberal democracies. In this context, there is also a view that globalization has not been advocating democracy; it puts democracy at stake. In this view, the crucial role of the civil society is to advocate democracy, against the rising anti-democratic tendencies of global capital concentration and a new international system with a single aim to free trade.

In the world of globalization, it has become clear that many local problems have global origins and needs solutions that are both local and global. NGOs which are active in these problem areas should have a wider view than trying to find solutions in limited sense. To reach adequate solutions they created networks of relations with their partners; as other NGOs or international organizations.

NGOs are the organizations created by the members of the civil society to reach their private interests or to create solutions to the problems either local or global. They can be called as civil society organizations⁴⁷.

An NGO is a “non-profit” entity, whose members are citizens or associations of citizens of one or more countries and whose activities are determined by the collective will of its members in response to the needs of the members or of one of more communities with which the NGO cooperates⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Krut, R., (1997), *Globalization and Civil Society: NGO Influence in International Decision Making*, Discussion Paper No.83, UNRISD, Geneva, pp.3

⁴⁷ Bernard, A., Helmich, H. and Lehring P.B., (1998), *Civil Society and International Development*, OECD, Paris, pp.83

⁴⁸ UN, ECOSOC, Open-ended Working Group on the Review of Arrangements for Consultations with NGOs; Report of the Secretary-General UN documents. E/AC.70/1994/5, <http://www.un-documents.net/1296.htm>

Various explanations can be made to describe the reasons for the worldwide growth of the NGOs. It is also possible to categorize the reasons behind this growth as such.

- The first reason is mostly associated with the worsening economic, social and political conditions; especially the governments' inability to create viable and stable environments.
- In some countries, a combination of local and international voluntary organizations have become important than the governments in some areas of social policy and in the delivery of certain services.
- In some instances, it has been preferred to channel aid through private voluntary organizations which are considered as more effective use of aid.
- Another reason which is mostly applicable on the Third World countries; usually military governments forced many professionals and academics out of the government and universities. Some found new employment within NGOs sector, which set up NGOs to permit them to continue their works.
- Another reason is the increasing social awareness and consciousness in the society about their capabilities as individuals⁴⁹.

There has been confusion with the term NGO which includes wide range of institutions as research groups, trade unions, sports organizations and charities. International corporations and particular groups of commercial interests also set up NGOs for specific purposes. They are not administered directly by the state. Because of their autonomy from the state some call them as institutions of the third sector; that is neither public nor private⁵⁰.

Although the definitions vary, there are some key characteristics of such organizations: Formal, involved in public interest issues, independent from

⁴⁹ Arrossi, S., Bombarolo, F., Harday, J., Mitlin, D., Coscio, L.P. and Waite, D.S., 1994, *Funding Community Initiatives*, International Institute for Environment and Development, Earthscan Publications, London, pp.37

⁵⁰ Yücekök A.N., Turan İ. and Alkan M.Ö., (1998), *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da STK'lar*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul pp 8

government and state institutions, non-profit making, voluntary and self-governing⁵¹.

NGOs have assets that state lacks. Typically NGOs have a focused interest and purpose, while state must deal with multiple goals and problems. NGOs may simply reflect the views of their members⁵². They have conceptualized problems and solutions, without regard to national boundaries.

NGOs organize ordinary citizens, they inform the world opinion, provide aid across the national boundaries; material or non-material, they exercise political pressure upon states and they create basic form of popular representation⁵³. The importance of NGOs provides people certain attributes that make them better equipped to function as political citizens. Three forms of influence of associational life can be specified.

External effect: Associational linkages can be seen as political resources. The existence of such interaction makes it easier for the people to coordinate their actions and hence to bring pressures to bear on external actors.

Internal Effect: Here it has been referred to process of socialization and skill enhancement which organizational involvement may bring. Such experiences tend to make the people more tolerant and understanding of the norms and beliefs of others. In this way association may serve as a means of integrating individuals involved and developing a sense of identity among them.

Spillover effect: It is assumed that these capabilities can be transformed from one sector of the society to another⁵⁴.

It is obvious that besides the traditional channels of representation and service providing, the NGOs, with their qualities explained above, have gained a role in both national and international arenas, which is not possible to be

⁵¹ *ibid*, pp39

⁵² Clarek, A.M., (1994), "NGOs and Their Influence in International Society", 48 *J. International Affairs* 507, pp. 512

⁵³ Schroder, W., (1998), *Non-Governmental Organizations and Global Activism: Legal and Informal Approaches*, Indiana University School of Law, Bloomington.

⁵⁴ Bernard, A., Helmich, H., and Lehring P.B., 1998, *Civil Society and International Development*, OECD, Paris, pp. 44

underestimated. With the growing tendency of the people towards the active citizenship, the NGOs serve them as a platform to represent themselves in various platforms, related to different, but mostly interrelated issues.

3.2. FUNCTIONS OF THE NGOs

It is possible to summarize the functions of the NGOs into four main categories as such:

- Providing public services and application of the program.
- Being a pressure source on public policies and program changes.
- Working in cooperation with the private and legal institutions to create solutions to the problems.
- Helping and supporting the development of public goods⁵⁵.

These functions can be listed as providing service, being a political actor, cooperation in public policy formation and supporting the development of public goods.

Providing service:

NGOs have function of providing public service on the areas which governments and states unable or ineffective. NGOs' flexibility in attitude can provide a quick response for the newly developed interests and desires when compared to private organizations⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşım*: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, İstanbul, pp. 14

⁵⁶ *ibid*, pp.15

The aim of the development NGOs for example, is to be a direct response to the needs of the underprivileged groups, so as to improve their longterm situation. NGOs have direct and even better access than the governments, to even marginal groups.

SCLA can serve a good example for this function of the NGOs with its project of “Modern Turkey’s Modern Girls”, “Father Send Me to School”. Not only with these two projects named here, with many other projects, which are still going on, SCLA could reach to the poor but successful girls especially in the underdeveloped regions of Turkey, and created them possibilities to have education.

Being a political actor:

NGOs are active pressure origins in development of new public policies and strategies and they are also a pressure for the change of existing ones⁵⁷.

The primary organizations with pressure on governments are active in such areas as the environment. With the emerging and expanding consciousness on the environmental issues, makes those environmental organizations ability to be a pressure group⁵⁸.

NGOs with their qualities, in some cases recorded important achievements in very sensitive issues. The Community of Sant Edigio, for instance, had played an important role in the ending of the civil war in Mozambique, in 1992, which had lasted more than 13 years⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, pp.15

⁵⁸ *ibid*, pp.15

⁵⁹ Bilman, L. (2001), Hükümet Dışı Kuruluşların (NGO) Dünya Ekonomik ve Sosyal Gelişimideki Rollerini, *TC Dışişleri Bakanlığı Uluslararası Ekonomik Sorunlar Dergisi*, Sayı 2, Mayıs 2001, pp.22

Cooperation in public policy formation:

NGOs can work cooperatively with the other organizations and institutions which are private or belong to the state structure⁶⁰.

This partnership is sometimes as being mediation, in economic and public process areas. The most common example of this function is the involvement of NGOs in development programs⁶¹.

The activities of TÜSİAD in economic and social areas can serve a good example for this function of the NGOs. The main areas of activities are sustainable productivity growth, democratic standards and the convergence with the EU. On all these subject areas, TÜSİAD is working closely to several different NGOs as well as the government institutions.

CONCORD⁶² as an example has a strategy to keep a proactive profile in the debates, fostering internal discussions and showing the public opinion and policy makers the specificity and added value of the NGOs.

Supporting the development of public goods:

In the development of public goods, which are known as, cultural activities, creation of protection areas, activities for the decrease of crime level. NGOs have direct participation and support⁶³.

One of the most significant examples of the development of the public goods function can be the activities of several different groups and NGOs, which were able to stop the construction of the third bridge over the Bosphorus. Occupational NGOs, environmental NGOs, city planning NGOs as well as

⁶⁰ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997) *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşım*: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, pp. 15

⁶¹ *ibid*

⁶² CONCORD is the European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development. Its 18 international networks and 24 *national* associations from the European Member States represent more than 1600 European NGOs vis-à-vis the European Institutions. The main objective of the Confederation is to enhance the impact of European development NGOs vis-à-vis the European Institutions by combining expertise and accountability. <http://www.concordeurope.org/Public/Page.php?ID=8>

⁶³ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşım*: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, Genç İşadamları Derneği Yayını, Şubat 1997, İstanbul, pp. 16

neighbourhood groupings had organised several protest activities, collected petitions, and arranged meetings to be able to achieve their goals.

While performing such tasks, NGOs use some of their advantages such as being more flexible and independent. They are on a large extent, independent from the state. Because of their nature, they are faced with less internal bureaucracy and less external limitation, when compared to state institutions. These qualities make them much more open to the developments ⁶⁴

Because of their nature, whatever field they are interested in, as governmental transparency, environmental protection, human rights..., they continuously control government activities.

Besides their role in developing and implementing public policy, NGOs can also create public confidence in the system they live through being a communication bridge between the government and the governed⁶⁵.

As a consequence of its public policy, advocacy and training initiatives, NGOs are viewed as an important vehicle to empower citizens outside of government by giving them a role in policy debates, regardless of the party in the power. They are and will be increasingly important to the reform activities.

3.3. RISING IMPORTANCE OF THE NGOs

Especially after 1980s, NGOs so called Third Sector has achieved important developments both in scale and effect. It became such a sector that

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ Schroder, W., (1998), *Non-Governmental Organizations and Global Activism: Legal and Informal Approaches*, pp.26

effective participation and responsibility became required with respect to the recent developments.

While in the past, NGOs were mostly actors of the national arena, in recent years they became active in the international level as well. Their contribution and influence became clear in the policy areas which are presently global. The emergence of global issues and the necessity for global cooperation led to the need for information-gathering and specific kinds of expertise, where NGO contribution is essential.

3.3.1 NGO Participation in International Arena

According to the Realist understanding, state is the unitary actor in international relations. However NGOs' interest areas have expanded in a way that, they also started to be seen and accepted as an actor in international relations as well. In the last couple of decades, NGOs have expanded their purpose of establishment to more than one country, or they became and created an upper level institutionalization by coming and working together.

The rising importance of the NGOs is not only the result of increase in the quantity, but also because of the idea that they form the striking force of the civil society⁶⁶. NGOs have become primary social actors in the international organizations official programs. Therefore it is not a mistake to regard the NGOs as global actors.

For a proper functioning in the international scene, NGOs have to gather formal status in international relations and organizations. As for political developments, one of the most significant is the foundation of the United Nations, which – like the League of Nations – was to work closely with

⁶⁶ L'Harmattan, *Sivil Toplum Örgütleri Neoliberalizmin Araçları mı, Halka Dayalı Alternatifler mi?*, E. Ergüden, I.(çev), (1991), Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi, İstanbul, pp.11

international NGOs (INGOs) and granted many of them 'consultative status'⁶⁷. The phrase 'non-governmental organization' only came into popular use with the establishment of the United Nations Organization in 1945 with provisions in Article 71 of Chapter 10 of the United Nations Charter for a consultative role for organizations which are neither governments nor member states. In 1945, under the Article 70⁶⁸, for the first time it is said that the Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies, and the Article 71⁶⁹ of the UN Charter created formal relations between interest groups and intergovernmental body. Non-governmental organizations have been active in the United Nations since it was founded. They interact with the UN Secretariat, programmes, funds and agencies and they consult with the Member States. NGO work related to the UN comprises a number of activities including information dissemination, awareness raising, development education, policy advocacy, joint operational projects, and providing technical expertise and collaborating with UN agencies, programmes and funds. This work is undertaken in formal and informal ways at the national level and at the UN.

ECOSOC resolution 1296 spells out the process for NGOs to obtain such status.

An international NGO must be "of representative character and recognized international standings; it shall represent a substantial proportion, and express of views of major sections of the population or of the organized persons within the particular field of competence, covering where possible, a substantial number of countries in different regions of the world. A national

⁶⁷ Davies T., (2008), *The Rise and Fall of Transnational Civil Society: The Evolution of International Non-Governmental Organisations Since 1839*, Working Paper CUTP/003, April 2008
http://www.city.ac.uk/intpol/dps/WorkingPapers/T_Davies%20The%20Rise%20and%20Fall%20of%20Transnational%20Civil%20Society.pdf (11.09.2009)

⁶⁸ Article 70 The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm#art70>

⁶⁹ Article 71. The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm#art70>

NGO has the additional hurdle of being admitted only after the consultation with the member state” where it is based⁷⁰.

After the pass of this process NGO gains a consultative status, observer or may attend to the meetings concerned with matters within their field of competence.

Presently, the consultative relationship with ECOSOC is governed by ECOSOC resolution 1996/31. Non-governmental organizations with a consultative status may attend the relevant international conferences convened by the UN and the meetings of the preparatory bodies of aforementioned conferences. They may also designate persons to represent them at offices of the UN⁷¹.

In 1986, to be applicable only on European Council members, some arrangements were done for the recognition of formal status to the NGOs which are active in international activities. In 1991, the agreements which conclude these arrangements were accepted.

In 1989, with the support of EU, European Foundation Centre and Comité Européen des Associations d’Intérêt Général were established⁷². Since its creation in 1949, Council of Europe has put in place clear structures of cooperation with organized civil society. It has provided NGOs with consultative status since 1952, which was replaced by a participatory status in 2003⁷³. The NGOs which are going to assume participatory status must be international and representative, with permanent headquarters, a structured organization and a secretary general. Today approximately 370 NGOs hold participatory status.

⁷⁰ E.S.C.Res. 1296 (XLIV) on Consultative Agreements, (1968), UN ESCOR, 44th Session, 1520 the Meeting, UN Doc. E/4548/Supp.1

⁷¹ Fazi, E. and Smith, J., (2006), *Civil Dialogue: making it work better*, the Civil Society Contact Group, pp. 24

⁷² Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000’li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye’nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımlar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp. 24

⁷³ Council of Europe Webpage – NGO participatory status
<http://www.coe.int/t/ngo/particip_status_intro_en.asp> (13.09.2009)

Dialogue is structured through three mechanisms. The Liaison Committee consists of 36 members representing 36 different INGOs, set up in 1976, aims to improve cooperation of NGOs within the Council of Europe. The annual Plenary Conference of NGOs decides the general lines of action for the coming year and set objectives for its Liaison Committee. The last mechanism is the sectoral groupings, which are a platform for dialogue, and provide a structured partner for the Council of Europe bodies⁷⁴.

NGOs had gained advisory, participatory or monitoring function in many of the international institutions. With their abilities, and flexibilities, like in the relations with the states and the governments, NGOs relations had gradually but constantly developed and intensified with the international institutions.

3.3.2 Role and Place of the NGOs in the Western Democracies

The development of NGO identity and effectiveness has passed some painful periods even in European countries as well. The welfare state ideal's so called collapse in the western communities led to the gain of power by the conservative parties which have abolished or showed efforts to abolish the social policies. Parallel to these developments, with the aim of protecting citizens' rights and enhancing them, as a pressure tool NGOs become important. On the other hand, NGOs are seen as important devices to improve the educational level, political consciousness in these countries.

Again the decline in the voting behavior of the citizens and inflexibility of political institutions have led to the questioning of the democratic representativeness in European countries. At this point, NGOs exists as supporting and enhancing the legality of the Western democracies⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ Fazi, E. and Smith, J., (2006), *Civil Dialogue: making it work better*, pp 7

⁷⁵ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımşar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp.26

In the European countries the level of the influence and level of existence of the NGOs vary from one to another. This is much because of the political, economic and social background of each country. Often, the size of the NGOs, the commitment and the motivation of their personnel and their knowledge of the field permit rapid and effective action at a lower cost as compared to the governmental operations⁷⁶. The growing role of the NGO involvement in a vast array of activities calls for improved qualification for the staff working within the NGOs.

European Communities which are no longer have the idea of solely depending on the state, are being organized according to the different interest which they are representing, and to the purposes of each organizing themselves locally, regionally and nationally and spreading speedy in European scale⁷⁷.

According to the American NGO Consortium; Inter Action, presently in the EU, there are more than 10000 lobbying organizations⁷⁸. The lobbying functions of NGOs have been supported. By this way, it is believed that the European citizens' interests and participations will be increased in the integration process.

The NGOs in Europe are important in the creation of democratic and transparent European community, in the reconciliation of the visions of different interest groups, in the efforts of the community in coping with the changes resulted from the pressures of the new technologies and globalisation, and in filling the gaps of the governments' mechanisms. From the same perspective, the existence of the NGOs in the decision making process in Turkey also has also the same importance to achieve a transparent as well as representative system.

⁷⁶ European Commission, (1995), *Partners in Development: the European Union and the NGOs*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities L-2985, Luxemburg, pp.10

⁷⁷ Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi, *Sivil Toplum İş Başında* <www.stgm.org.tr> (16.09.2009)

⁷⁸ Yıldız, O. (1997), "Hükümetlerin Yeni Ortakları Sivil Toplum Örgütleri", *Hak-İş Dergi*, Haziran 1997, İstanbul, pp.33

3.4. THE EU AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE NGOS

Organized civil society embraces a vast variety of non-profit organizations, which includes;

NGOs working for the public welfare, associations, clubs of chess players, universities, humanitarian aid organizations, human rights defenders, unions and employee organizations⁷⁹.

These organizations put their interests into agendas by short or long term campaigns and variety of activities⁸⁰. There is a strong relation of mutual interests between the NGO sector and the European Union. The genuine interests, relevant experience and positions in a broad range of policy fields of the NGOs make them impossible to be ignored by the EU. In return these organizations are faced with the fact that European construction is getting so strong and so interesting for the achievement of the interests of the NGOs. Therefore, it can be said that the EU and the NGOs do and have to continually interact.

The role and the contribution of the civil society organizations, in particular NGOs in the EU policy process has grown hugely over the last decades. Its value is increasingly recognized by the EU institutions. However the practices vary from one institution to another.

The European Commission appears as the main driver for structured forms of interactions, followed by the European Economic and Social Committee. The European Parliament has so far opted for more informal ways of interactions, while the Council is marked by a strong degree of closedness to NGOs and the wider public⁸¹.

The level of the dialogue with the Council of the European Union is particularly limited. No regular and formalized dialogue structure exists, and

⁷⁹ *ibid*, pg 45

⁸⁰ Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi, *Sivil Toplum İş Başında* <www.stgm.org.tr> (16.09.2009)

⁸¹ Fazi, E. and Smith, J., (2006), *Civil Dialogue: making it work better*, pp 7

when such a dialogue appears, it is mainly by the initiatives of the NGOs⁸². Contacts with NGOs take place however on an informal basis. As the Council is the final decision making body, it can be said that due to its structure, it is more open to national associations than European wide ones.

European Parliament is elected by the EU citizens directly, to represent their interests, since 1979. Parliament, thus, expresses the democratic will of the Union's citizens, and represents their interests in discussions with the other EU institutions. The present Parliament has 736 members from all 27 EU countries⁸³. When compared to the Council, contacts between NGOs and the European Parliament are highly open. However, the formalization of the contacts has still been low. A number of NGO platforms have set up regular meetings with the standing committees in charge of their main field of activity, such as Social Platform, whose board meets biannually with the Employment and Social Affairs Committees, and Concord, who meets biannually with the Development Committee⁸⁴. On the other hand, EP is open to lobbying activities. There are 1725 accredited lobbying organizations, to operate in the EP. According to the January 2010 figures, 9 of these 1725 are Turkish lobbyists; Centre for Turkey in Europe, Republican Peoples Party (RPP; CHP), Economic Development Foundation (EDF; IKV), Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (WEAT; KAGIDER), Turkish Cypriot Representation (TCR; KTT), The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (UC CET; TOBB), Turkish Industrialists' & Businessmen Association (TIBA; TUSIAD), Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey (CBIT; TUSKON)⁸⁵.

⁸² *ibid*, pp 31

⁸³ European Union Institutions and the Other Bodies
<http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/parliament/index_en.htm> (13.10.2009)

⁸⁴ Fazi, E. and Smith, J., (2006), *Civil Dialogue: making it work better*, pp.32

⁸⁵ Lobbyists Accredited to the European Parliament
<<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/expert/lobbyAlphaOrderByOrg.do?letter=T&language=EN>>
(13.10.2009)

The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) can be seen as an intermediary between the EU institutions and civil society. It is established in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome, and according to the Nice Treaty, EESC consists of “representatives of the various economic and social components of organized civil society”⁸⁶. EESC is a consultative body that gives representatives of Europe's socio-occupational interest groups, and others, a formal platform to express their points of views on EU issues. Its opinions are forwarded to the larger institutions - the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament. It thus has a key role to play in the Union's decision-making process⁸⁷.

The Commission was set up from the start to act as an independent supranational authority separate from governments; it has been described as “the only body paid to think European”⁸⁸. The members are proposed by their member state governments, one from each, however they are bound to act independently – neutral from other influences such as those governments which appointed them. This is in contrast to the Council, which represents governments, and the Parliament, which represents citizens and the Economic and Social Committee, which represents organised civil society. Over the past two decades the partnership between the European Commission and NGOs has expanded in all forms. This intensification has covered a range of issues from policy dialogue, policy delivery, to project and program management both within the EU and its partner states. As the European Commission has acquired additional responsibilities in a number of policy areas, this has been matched by

⁸⁶ Europa Press Release RAPID: Summary of the Treaty of Nice
<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/03/23&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>

⁸⁷ European Social and Economic Committee, How the European Economic and Social Committee works
<http://www.eesc.europa.eu/organisation/how/index_en.asp> (03.07.2009)

⁸⁸ EURACTIV, Interview with European Commission Secretary-General Catherine Day Published: Monday 25 September 2006 <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/interview-european-commission-secretary-general-catherine-day/article-158149>> (18.12.2009)

an ever-increasing number of NGOs operating within and outside Europe and widening the scope of their work⁸⁹.

The European Commission, unlike many other bureaucratic structures, is willing to maintain and strengthen its relations with NGOs, since the beginning of the integration process. It has developed persistent relations with the NGOs which are organized especially throughout Europe.

With the integration process, the role of the nation-state has become relatively questionable in the European Community. Some issue areas such as employment, environment, and social justice become impossible to be settled in the national scale. These areas required NGO participation in policy development in the EU.

Neither the public sector, nor the civil society alone and in isolation provides satisfactory solutions to the needs and problems of the population in general and of specific groups in particular. NGOs should play their roles in social policy making as actors in the implementation of governmental policy; critical partners to be consulted and instruments to build capacity in society⁹⁰.

NGOs are important in Europe because of their position towards the creation of a democratic and transparent European society as well as the conciliation of different point of views of the interest groups.

With the objective of further involvement of the civil society in European policymaking, the Commission has adopted European Transparency Initiative. The Commission has started registering of interest representatives. All entities are engaged in activities carried out with the objective of influencing decision making process of the European Institutions and researchers are mobilized to

⁸⁹ European Commission, the Commission Discussion Paper, (2000), The Commission and Non-Governmental Organizations: Building a Stronger Partnership, pp.2, <http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/ngo/docs/communication_en.pdf>(20.06.2009)

⁹⁰ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, (2000), European Union's Contribution for the Dialogue with NGO's, 38th Session, 8 to 17 February 2000, Agenda Item 3a, New York, pp. 2

that end⁹¹. The currently registered NGOs in the EU institutions are listed in Table 1.

However there is also a negative tendency among some of the NGOs, related to the registration. Although Commission is strongly supporting and fostering the registration of the NGOs, some of the NGOs still show reluctance.

⁹¹ European Commission Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, (2007), *Follow-up to the Green Paper 'European Transparency Initiative'*, COM(2007)127final of 21 March 2007.

Table 1

Registered NGOs in the EU Institutions⁹²

<u>Professional consultancies /law firm involved in lobbying EU institutions</u>	<u>44</u>
Law Firms	13
Public affairs consultancy	73
Independent public affairs consultant	37
Other (similar) organizations	21
<u>In-house' lobbyists and trade associations active in lobbying</u>	<u>1272</u>
Company	322
Professional associations	732
Trade union	61
Other (similar) organizations	157
<u>NGO / think-tank</u>	<u>691</u>
Non-governmental organizations / association of NGOs	546
Think – tank	63
Other (similar) organizations	82
<u>Other Organisations</u>	<u>288</u>
Academic organization / association of academiz organizations	74
Representative of religions, churches, and communities of conviction	10
Association of public authorities	44
Other (similar) organization	160

Source:<https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/transparency/regrin/consultation/statistics.do> (30.11.2009)

There are thousands of NGOs across Europe. In order to maximize their effectiveness, many have organized themselves at a European level, and

⁹² European Commission, Register of Interest Representatives, Statistics for register
<<https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/transparency/regrin/consultation/statistics.do>> (30.11.2009)

have established joint platforms. With the increasing focus on the EU integration, some of the NGOs had set up representations in Brussels. These include national NGOs like Legambiente, and international NGOs like Greenpeace and Oxfam⁹³. They also set up umbrella organisations like EEB, bringing together several NGOs across Europe, working on the same policy areas. As a next step, these umbrella organisations set up platforms like the Social Platform in 1995.

3.4.1 The European Commission Cooperation with NGOs

There are five main reasons for the cooperation between the European Commission and the NGOs, which are;

- Fostering participatory democracy
- Representing the various views of specific group of citizens to the EU Institutions
- Contributing the policy making
- Contributing to European integration
- Contributing to Project management ⁹⁴

As indicated in the Copenhagen Criteria, membership in the EU requires the achievement of stability of institutions, guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and the respect for and protection of minorities⁹⁵. Membership to the NGOs with political, social interests areas, gives them a chance to voice their ideas, with another channel, than the traditional way as

⁹³ *Making Your Voice Heard in the EU; A Guide for NGOs*, (2006), Civil Society Contact Group, Brussels, pp.10

⁹⁴ European Commission, the Commission Discussion Paper, (2000), pp.4-5, <http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/ngo/docs/communication_en.pdf>(20.06.2009)

⁹⁵ *ibid*, pg 4

supporting a political party. NGOs are important contributors of civil society and supporter of a democratic system. Not only in the member states, but also in the candidate countries and in other countries NGOs can be channels for democratic participation to contribute the development of the civil society.

Lobbying has been a feature of Brussels life since the 1960s⁹⁶. One of the defining characteristics of “Brussels” is the openness of opportunities for the access for a range of interest groups. The representation function of the NGOs is not only related to the Commission, but also to the European Parliament, Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of Regions and the Council.

As indicated before, NGOs have limited areas of interests. This feature enables them to become experts in those specific areas. While defining and establishing the policies, EU institutions may receive the needed information from the NGOs.

Through their links of local, regional, national and European level, NGOs can provide expert input for EU policy-making. In particular they can provide feedback...⁹⁷

As a matter of fact, European unity has been relatively absent from the everyday concerns of Europeans, in other words, their main interest lies in the matters which are oriented more towards their nation-states, than towards Europe⁹⁸. Being aware of this reality, NGO networks are being supported to work together to achieve common purposes; in order to create “European public opinion”⁹⁹. This common opinion will let and contribute the process of the European political integration

⁹⁶ Wallace, H. and Young, A.R., (1997), *Participation and Policy Making in the EU*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.1

⁹⁷ European Commission, the Commission Discussion Paper, (2000), pp 5

⁹⁸ Diaz, V.P., (1998), “The Public Sphere and a European Civil Society” In: Alexandr, J.C. (ed), *Real Civil Societies, Dilemmas of Institutionalization*, pp 222

⁹⁹ European Commission, the Commission Discussion Paper, (2000), pp 5

The EU finances projects which are managed by NGOs, as in the case of many international organizations. Their detailed knowledge and experience in specific areas contribute to managing, monitoring and evaluating projects. Because of the above mentioned reasons, the EU, particularly the Commission, has developed relationships with the NGOs. The Commission has little alternative in fact, but to pursue an “open-door” policy towards NGOs. It will need to consult and enter into dialogue with NGOs in all policies of interest to them and in an effort to listen widest possible range of views¹⁰⁰.

3.4.1.1 Dialogue and Consultation

In policy shaping, the Commission has developed extensive contacts with the NGOs. *Ad hoc* meetings between the Commission services and the NGOs have created open and structured dialogue between them¹⁰¹. Structured dialogue is the systemic, regular meetings with NGOs to discuss policy issues. Biannual meetings between the Commission services and Platform of European Social NGOs can be an example of such structured dialogue.

Representatives of four NGO “families” namely; social NGOs, environmental NGOs, human rights NGOs and development NGOs¹⁰² are in regular contact. Formalized consultation is consultation through the decision making. NGOs also participate as members or observers in the advisory groups / consultative communities. The Commission however rejects the official consultative status for the NGOs. There is no legal basis for the dialogue and consultation in the Treaty.

¹⁰⁰ European Commission Communication from the Commission, (2002), *Consultation Document: Towards a Reinforced Culture of Consultation and Dialogue - Proposal for General Principles and Minimum Standards for Consultation of Interested Parties by the Commission*, COM. 277 final of 5.6.2002, Brussels

¹⁰¹ *An Open and Structured Dialogue Between the Commission and the Special Interest Groups*, 93/C63/02 of 5 March 1993, <http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/interest_groups/docs/v_en.pdf> (03.07.2009)

¹⁰² Press Release, Alhadeff, G., (2000), *Convention on the Future of Europe*, Belgium

3.4.1.2 Funding

Two types of funding are available for the NGOs in the EU; core funding and project funding. The Commission provides core-funding for variety of organizations. The Commission gives very much importance to develop a European wide public opinion, through the creation of networks between national NGOs and the European level NGOs. Therefore it supports the NGOs by providing core-funding.

There are criterias for the core-funding:

- genuine European nature of the activity undertaken
- representativity of the European NGO
- long term financial viability of the NGO or the activity¹⁰³

Besides the core-funding, the Commission provides project based funding to the NGOs. The basic criterias which the NGOs have to meet can be described as;

In co-financing on NGO project, the NGO must be able to raise at least 15% of the funds needed for a project from private sources. The principle of the NGO having to make its own contribution is one of the best ways guarantees of respect for its autonomy¹⁰⁴.

Co-financing is a flexible instrument distinguished by the absence of any political and economic interest. Because of large number of requests, the Commission determined some selection criterias as; experience, professionals, financial liability of the NGO, project quality and project impact¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰³ *ibid*, pp. 13-14

¹⁰⁴ European Commission, (1995), *Partners in Development: the European Union and the NGOs*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities L-2985, Luxemburg, pp. 12

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, pp.14

There are several budget lines in order to gain support and finance from the EU. However there are also some obstacles to have direct access to those supports. First of all, many NGOs are insufficiently informed about the complexity of the EU administration and legislation. Because of the lack of relevant information and training, they are not able to face challenges and to use possibilities of the EU¹⁰⁶. Some NGOs are unaware of the ways to get information on EU funding. Some have the information but do not know how to sort this information out. Another problem is related with the sustainability of the project. EU funding is often allocated to the short term projects and at the end of the funding the project ends too.

Another obstacle for the NGOs to access to those funds is the procedures of the EU. Those procedures are often so complex and they have various requirements for applications¹⁰⁷.

3.4.2. Examples from Member States : Civil Society and the NGO Sector Participation to the Dialogue Process at the EU Level

Although EU member states and EU in general has a good record of civil society and civil society organisations as well as NGOs activities, it can not be said that there is a homogenous application in general. Due to their own unique historical, social and economic conditions, and traditional differences, the place and effectiveness of the civil society and NGOs in particular differs significantly in member states. In France for example, due to its centralist state tradition, the development of civil society is weak compared to federalist Germany. In France, NGOs are mostly active in health and social services,

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Ms Çisel İleri, IKV Senior Researcher, on 14.01.2010

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Ms Çisel İleri, IKV Senior Researcher, on 14.01.2010

education and sports and professional training. Germany is one of the member states, where the NGOs effectiveness is high, as well as the quantity. The new members, which belong to the former Eastern Block, have a different civil society and NGO participation tradition due to the political and social conditions of the Cold War period and because of their communist background.

To have a general idea about the heterogeneous appearance of the civil society sector in the member states, some examples are examined briefly from five member states. To illustrate although Italy and the Netherlands are two of the founding members, they have different characteristics from each other. Therefore brief NGO analyses from these two countries will be exposed. In case of Czech Republic, it is chosen as an example since it is one of the late-comers of the EU and will be a good case to study on the EU impact on NGOs and NGO effect on accession process. Bulgaria and Romania are the last members of the EU, whose social and political structure had heavily been affected by Communist block tradition.

3.4.2.1 *Italy and the Netherlands*

There are very noticeable differences with regard to NGO tradition between Italy and Netherlands. The political culture in Italy stresses informal contacts above structured consultations. Instead of conducting regular and formal relations with the government as well as with the EU, their established relations are more random and informal.

That NGOs have adapted to this culture does not contradict the fact that they would like the government to engage them more openly on major policies be they national or European¹⁰⁸.

Despite the growth of the NGO sector in Italy, the civil society can not be labelled as matured because of its traditional politics.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid* pp. 75

Moreover, in Italy there is a tendency among NGOs to operate independently, rather than sharing skills and expertise. Organizations work together on isolated projects, but there is no culture of conventional networking¹⁰⁹.

An exception to this is the Legambiente, which has an office in Brussels since 1999. The establishment of this office was a respond to the shift of competence on transport and other environmental issues from the national to the EU level.

The civil society and the NGOs are highly developed in the Netherlands. The Dutch NGOs are benefiting from the inclusion in the decision-making process of their government, by negotiation and consensus. Government is open to the views of the NGOs. However, the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty showed that despite these close ties with the national level NGOs, there is still a gap between government and NGOs in EU affairs.

3.4.2.2 Czech Republic

Most NGOs in the Czech Republic are located in small towns, and only 15 percent are located in Prague, the Czech capital. Only 39 percent of the groups consider themselves grassroots organizations. Most NGOs operate at the local level (56 percent) or within a particular region of the country (28 percent), and only 1.3 percent operates internationally¹¹⁰.

Czech national NGOs do not show much willingness to work together on general subject areas, instead they tend to cooperate more with other NGOs from their local area. This attitude can also be observed in their relations with the EU institutions. Czech NGOs have little direct engagement with European policy processes. They have more immediate objectives within the Czech

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, pp. 75

¹¹⁰ REC, NGO Directory: Czech Republic: Overview
<<http://archive.rec.org/REC/Publications/NGODirIntros/Czech.html>> (07.12.2009)

Republic¹¹¹. Working with other Czech NGOs and government agencies is perceived by the Czech NGOs to be critically important in solving problems.

3.4.2.3 Bulgaria and Romania

Both countries belonging to the communist block gained freedom at the beginning of the 90s and after almost 17 years of struggles managed to become members of the European Union¹¹².

Civil society has been created in Eastern Europe more as a response to outside pressures than to the internal necessity¹¹³. Most NGOs in Romania and Bulgaria had been created as a response to a funding programme or a grant scheme through a top down approach, keeping a strong focus on donors' requirements and not on citizens needs. The regional dispersions of the NGOs are also unbalanced. In Bulgaria, civil society sector is concentrated mainly in the large cities, and in Romania, one-fifth of NGOs are Bucharest-based¹¹⁴.

NGOs relations with the EU institutions can be summarized as fund collecting action in some of the member states. Primarily in order to benefit from the funds, NGOs are established. Therefore it can be said that emergence and development of the NGOs is very much dependent on funds raised by the EU. Bulgarian and Romanian NGOs have lot to learn to be able to participate in the EU policy development processes. As in the case of Turkey, the development of relations with their counterparts in Europe, and benefiting from their similar experiences, establishing Brussels based offices have quite importance.

¹¹¹ Fazi, E. and Smith, J., (2006), *Civil Dialogue: making it work better*, pp. 72

¹¹² CEDAG, Comité Européen des Associations d'intérêt Général, (2007), *Civil Society in Romania and Bulgaria*, Brussels, pp. 1

¹¹³ *ibid*, pp. 1

¹¹⁴ *ibid*, pp. 3

As it is clear from the above given information, the NGO participation in national and EU level policy development, the level of participation and effectiveness are quite different among the member states of the EU. Although there are still differences can be observed in the level of participation of the NGOs in especially EU affairs, it can be said that the civil society existence is high in the founding members, when compared to the Central and Eastern European members. The effect of communist history of the Eastern European members can still be observed in the NGO activities. In the latest comers of the Union are although they support the NGOs existence in the relations with the EU and in the interest areas of the NGOs' and other civil society components', the level of influence is still lower than it is desired. However EU itself, with its willingness to include the civil society representation in its politics creates new opportunities to the NGOs to be more influential in those member states.

4. CIVIL SOCIETY AND NGO SECTOR IN TURKEY AND THE ROLE OF NGOs IN TURKEY – EU RELATIONS

Civil society is a relatively new concept which entered in the social discussions in 1980s in Turkey. There are two reasons for this;

1. The concentration of control and pressure of the state with the 1980 military *coup d'état* and the constitution in 1982.
2. Increasing critiques of Statism in West and East in the world in general and its reflections on Turkey

However this inclusion of the term in Turkey is not denoting the generally accepted explanation of the civil society; rather it is understood as the community of civil versus military. Briefly in its widespread usage in Turkey, it refers to a system where the “civil” dominates; not the military group.

The main obstacle which hindered and still hinders the formation of a genuine civil society is the inability of the proper functioning of the democracy with all its institutions¹¹⁵. Besides there are some other reasons for the inexistence or late development of a civil society in Turkey. The first one is Turkey's administration tradition; a tradition which combines, on the one hand Asian administration tradition; Sasaki effects, on the other hand Byzantine administration tradition and in addition to these Islamic mentality¹¹⁶. Combination of these above mentioned elements embraces the social life as a whole and welcomes political intervention. It perceives the state as a tool to organize everything which belongs to social life. This process has led to an increase in the distance between the state and the society. While the state

¹¹⁵ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımlar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp.39

¹¹⁶ Turan İ., (1991), “Sivil Toplum Kurumları ve Özerklik”, In: Fincancı, Y.(ed), 1991, *Sivil Toplum*, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı, İstanbul, pp.31

becomes more distant from the public, it has become more and more sacred¹¹⁷. Briefly, the central body had not allow existence of a life-space for the civil society. This tendency of political authority is still uncomfortable towards the unification of people under such NGOs.

Another reason is that, the formation of civil society in the West is partly as a result of feudalism, partly the industrialization. In Turkey, this process did not occur naturally or as the indispensable result of societal change. The industrialization function was also undertaken by the state and this role was accepted by the public in return.

The support of the political parties was directed to the autonomous groupings from the resources of the state again, for the ones which are supporting their policies. They were asking for the development under their patronage. In Turkey, governments have two attitudes towards the pressure groups; either to take them under pressure, or try to convert them their policy tools¹¹⁸. Human Rights Association can serve as a good example for this attitude. In 2009, many investigations as well as trials had been done towards the administrators and staff of the Human Rights Association.

4.1 CIVIL SOCIETY BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

Turkish political and social structure finds its roots in the Ottoman Empire. The Republic was constructed over the heritage of cultural, social, economic and political practices of the Ottoman Empire.

¹¹⁷ Sarıbay, A.Y., (1998), "Türkiye'de Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum, in Küreselleşme, Sivil Toplum ve İslam, in Keyman E.F. and Sarıbay A.Y (ed.), Ankara Vadi Yayınları, pp.92

¹¹⁸ Turan İ., (1991), "Sivil Toplum Kurumları ve Özerklik", In: Fincancı, Y.(ed), 1991, *Sivil Toplum*, pp.33

Until the beginning of the 19th century; when the Westernization process began, the existence of a civil society was invisible in the Ottoman Empire. The production relations were under strict control of the center. Agriculture, industry and commerce were established and organized by the center itself which caused an endless and unquestionable authority.

The closed market economy hindered the economic differentiation and competition, which in return resulted in a monotonous society. The society did not experience the Industrial Revolution and open market economy; therefore the cultural structure could not be released from its traditional dimensions. Islamic features were raised as the widely accepted values¹¹⁹.

In such a social structure, it was not possible to consider the existence of association, liberal professional organizations or other voluntary organizations, municipalities or political parties. However the existence of foundations since the pre-Ottoman period was maybe the only evidence of an example of civil society. They were performing tasks on educational, health and religious services¹²⁰. Their material properties were enlarged in the phase of time and they became important actors in the economic and managerial areas. However, the autonomy of the foundations was ended in 1826, by the establishment of a central office¹²¹; 'Efkafl-Himayun Nezareti'¹²².

The authority of dominant military bureaucracy was rejecting all kind of efforts which could serve as a competitor to their authority. While the West was experiencing industrialization, the Ottoman administration was a block on the bourgeois development in the Empire.

¹¹⁹ Yücekök A.N. Turan İ., and Alkan M.Ö., (1998), *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da STK'lar*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, pp. 13

¹²⁰ Toksöz, F., Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi, *İktisat Dergisi*, Sayı 440, Ağustos 2003, pg 125

¹²¹ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımşar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp. 40

¹²² Efkafl-Himayun Nezareti was established in the period under the rule of Mahmut 2nd, under the scope of Reform Activities, in order to arrange the directory of the estates of mortmain, and also to end the disorganisation of the foundations.

The relations with the West initiated a socioeconomic differentiation especially in the big cities. With this process, a cultural dualism took place in the society between the ones who adopted the changes by imitating, and the ones who did not change their dominant characteristics as being Muslim.

This socioeconomic development process did not make industrial revolution possible, because of some external and internal dimensions. As a result, Ottoman community became so slow to follow up the developments but trying to eliminate this difference by copying some institutions from the West. However with the lack of social bases, this downward modernization caused an unsupported modernization process, degenerated social order and cultural duality¹²³.

After 1838, the prominence of private entrepreneurship and efforts of corporatism and industrialization (especially in big cities), induced the association of artisans and workers¹²⁴. Again in the same period, the establishment of associations to influence national and foreign policies, to direct the economy and to contribute the social and political life was accelerated.

Another kind of civil society organizations were the religious orders; 'tasavvuf tarikatları'¹²⁵ in the Ottoman Empire. They contributed to the social development in a way, because they were also out of the area that the state authority could control. The most widespread pressure group within the Ottoman Empire had risen as religious divisions. Semi-religious 'Lonca'¹²⁶ organizations and the 'Ahi's'¹²⁷ are the best examples of this type of groups¹²⁸.

¹²³ Timur, T.,(1996), "Türk Devrimi", *SBF Yayını*, Sevinç Matbaası, Ankara, pp. 56

¹²⁴ Yücekök A.N. Turan İ. and Alkan M.Ö., (1998), *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da STK'lar*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, pp. 21

¹²⁵ Institutions where Islamic mysticism disciplines are educated and applied.

¹²⁶ Lonca refers to the organisation of professions in the Ottoman period, mostly geographically defined.

¹²⁷ Ahi is the socio-economic organisation, which is composed of artisans and craftsmen, but also has religious reflection in the functioning of the system.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, and the efforts of the newly established state to create a bourgeois class, a movement started again.

With the efforts of political and cultural modernization, when the industrialization efforts gained a momentum, the attempts for the civil society organizations had significantly increased. Besides the political and ideological divisions, organizations based on social resolutions had been observed as well. Although it was still semi official and consultative body, with the establishment of Chambers of Trade and Industry in 1882, the merchants could express themselves¹²⁹.

'Jön Turks' (Young Turks) and their associations during the constitutional efforts had tried to effect the governments of the period. As a result of these associations' power of mobilization, for the first time in the events of July 1908, the mass public participation had been seen¹³⁰.

4.2 CIVIL SOCIETY AND NGOs IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

The military- bureaucratic heritage of Ottoman state affected the organization of the new state from the beginning. However with the awareness of the necessity of institutions, organizations, classes and laws to the well functioning of democracy, efforts were intensified.

Besides all these efforts, because of the rebellions and highly conservative oppositions, the orientation towards multiparty system was

¹²⁸ Osmanlılarda Ahilik Lonca Teşkilatı/Osmanlı Tarihi <<http://www.gozlemci.net/4356-osmanlilarda-ahilik-lonca-teskilati.html>> (10.01.2010)

¹²⁹ Aslan, S. and Gül, C., (2004), "Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye'de Baskı Grupları", *C.Ü. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, Cilt 5, Sayı 1, pg 87

¹³⁰ *ibid*, pp.87

interrupted and the dominant single party authority was established¹³¹. The new Republic was empowering bureaucracy and as a result, delaying the development of civil society.

The first arrangement in the Turkish Republic on the civil society elements had been done in the 1924 Constitution; by 70th and 79th Articles, the meeting and establishment of associations had been given permission¹³². The first law code about the associations is the Code of Association, dated 1938, which was much more authoritarian, when compared to 1924 Constitution and 1926 Turkish Civil Code. The reasons of this shift can be the failure of the transition to multiparty system, as well as the economic crisis of 1929.

Even after the introduction of multiparty system, this authoritarian attitude did not change so much. During the period from the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 to 1961, civil organizations, even Football Federation, were kept under enormous pressure and strict control of the central authority¹³³.

1961 Constitution established a framework for the development of voluntary organizations and trade unions with its liberal approach for association¹³⁴. The political polarization affected those associations as well. Each political party was supporting those associations with the tendency to reach the voters. Those associations became the tools of the political parties to impose their objectives to the society. The civil society organizations, NGOs lost their very first obligation of the transmission of the desires of the society to the governing class.

¹³¹ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımlar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp. 42

¹³² TBMM Official webpage, 1924 Constitution <www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa1924.htm> (16.09.2009)

¹³³ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşımlar: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri*, pp.42

¹³⁴ Yücekök A.N. Turan İ., and Alkan M.Ö., (1998), *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da STK'lar*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, pp.199

1971 military intervention could not create a solution to the chaotic environment and almost ten years later, in 1980 *coup d'état* took place. Meanwhile, many of the NGOs were prohibited. Many legal and constitutional alterations were made which restricted the activities and membership of the NGOs. They were deprived of any kind of political activity¹³⁵. In 1983 elections, all the mainstream political trends have started to discuss the place of the state in the society. The common point was the stress on the reduction of state intervention. Because historically there was not a mechanism to protect the individual against the state, for the reconstruction of democracy in Turkey, the construction of civil society was seen as necessity¹³⁶.

This determinism caused an attitude so-called "civil society activism"¹³⁷. Voluntary associations, trade unions and other organizations have gained an important autonomy after 1980's with the rising belief that the private entrepreneurship is the driving force of the economic development. Another reason for this autonomy was the preference of the state to undertake some public services by those voluntary organizations; like family planning. The increase in the quantity of the NGOs, made it difficult to create a control over them as well¹³⁸.

The expansion of the international associations which bring together the local or national NGOs acting to achieve same purposes, and the increase of the importance of the NGOs in world affairs also contributed to their autonomy. The sharp increase can be observed in the quantity and effect of the social relief organizations, associations, religious organizations as well as the

¹³⁵ Karakuş, O., (2006), Avrupa Birliği Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'deki Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, Masters Thesis, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kamu Yönetimi Ana Bilim Dalı, Isparta, pp.69

¹³⁶ Toprak, B., (1996), Civil Society in Turkey, In: Norton, A.,R.(ed),*Civil Society in the Middle East*, Vol2, Leiden, pp.92-96

¹³⁷ Sarıbay, A.Y., (1998), "Türkiye'de Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum, in Küreselleşme, Sivil Toplum ve İslam, in Keyman E.F. and Sarıbay A.Y (ed.), Ankara Vadi Yayınları, 98

¹³⁸ Yücekök A.N., Turan İ. and Alkan M.Ö., (1998), *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da STK'lar*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, pp.216

organizations strengthen the status of women and human rights improvement organizations. Even in the environment of pressure of 1980's especially in two areas; particularly associations and organisations which focused on women rights and human rights, there were improvements¹³⁹.

Through the developments in the political and economic environment of Turkey, the organizational models which aimed to achieve results rapidly, around the smaller interest areas started to gain importance. Those organizations were different than the political parties and professional organizations. After the beginning of 1990's, the hesitant conduct of the society towards NGOs gradually diminished. It gained its legitimization as well¹⁴⁰.

The impact of globalization, especially its influence on the further development of the private actors, also made a positive impact on the extension of the civil society in Turkey. With globalization, the civil movements in the world could find reflections in Turkey as well, especially in the areas of environment and women's rights. The technological developments also created a base for the development of the civil society and the NGOs in Turkey. The extension of the transportation facilities, the extended usage of the internet and mobile phones, made the world a smaller place, and created opportunities for the contacts between people, and the organizations. The establishment of free and private media also made contributions to the public awareness on the social and political issues.

The emotional reflexes of the Turkish citizens are also contributing to the development of civil society and the NGO sector in Turkey¹⁴¹. Although there is a weak side of this type of organization in the society as lack of continuity, the impact on the development and increasing the reputation of

¹³⁹ Görüş, (2000), Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Yayınları Organı , Sayı 43, Mayıs-Haziran 2000, pp.12

¹⁴⁰ ibid, pp. 12

¹⁴¹ Bianet Haftanın Özeti, Deprem Sivil Toplumunu Tetikledi, Burçin Belge

<<http://bianet.org/bianet/bianet/2627-deprem-sivil-toplumunu-tetikledi>> (27.01.2010)

NGOs can not be ignored. The best example for this was the earthquake in 1999 and the aid NGOs' success afterwards¹⁴².

However the institutionalization of the civil society has not been developed enough in Turkey yet. NGOs are still not in a position as being a third sector next to state and private sector; as in the Western democracies. This is partly because of the government tradition in Turkey and partly because of the legislation in effect. The legislation does not support the active functions of the NGOs, instead it still creates obstacles in the performance of their tasks and their relationships with international counterparts.

Aforementioned points in the historical evolution of civil society in Turkey demonstrate that although the civil society and the NGOs have achieved a great process particularly in the last two decades, still their performance and influences are weak when compared with the Western examples. Although there are many NGOs successfully operating, their functions are limited either by the state authority, legislation or by financial and technical insufficiency.

4.2.1 Types of NGOs in Turkey

Many different methods are being used to classify the NGOs throughout the world. This confusion is not only in the definition of the civil society, the civil society organization but in the classification of the NGOs as well.

They can be classified by their orientation as

- Charitable Orientation: It includes NGOs with activities directed toward meeting the needs of the poor -distribution of food, clothing or medicine; provision of housing, transport, schools etc.

¹⁴² Toksöz, F., "Sivil toplumun Gelişimi", *İktisat Dergisi*, pp. 127

- Service Orientation includes NGOs with activities such as the provision of health, family planning or education services in which the programme is designed by the NGO and people are expected to participate in its implementation and in receiving the service.
- Participatory Orientation is characterized by self-help projects where local people are involved particularly in the implementation of a project by contributing cash, tools, land, materials, labour etc.
- Empowering Orientation is where the aim is to help poor people develop a clearer understanding of the social, political and economic factors affecting their lives, and to strengthen their awareness of their own potential power to control their lives¹⁴³.

Another classification criteri can be level of operation. According to this classification there are four types of NGOs, which are;

- Community-based Organizations (CBOs) arise out of people's own initiatives. These can include sports clubs, women's organizations, neighbourhood organizations, religious or educational organizations. There are a large variety of these, some supported by NGOs, national or international NGOs, or bilateral or international agencies, and others independent of outside help.
- Citywide Organizations include organizations such as the Rotary or Lion's Club, chambers of commerce and industry, coalitions of business, ethnic or educational groups and associations of community organizations. Some exist for other purposes, and become involved in helping the poor as one of many activities, while others are created for the specific purpose of helping the poor
- National NGOs include organizations such as the Red Cross, professional organizations, etc. Some of these have state and branches and assist local NGOs.
- International NGOs range from secular agencies such as Redda BArna and Save the Children organizations, OXFAM, CARE, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations to religiously motivated groups. Their activities vary from mainly funding local NGOs, institutions and projects, to implementing the projects themselves¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴³ Cousins W., (1991), "Non-Governmental Initiatives" in ADB, *The Urban Poor and Basic Infrastructure Services in Asia and the Pacific*, Asian Development Bank, Manila <<http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/ngo-types.html>> (06.08.2009)

¹⁴⁴ *ibid*

Lastly, NGOs can also be categorised as;

- INGO stands for international NGO, such as CARE;
- BINGO is short for business-oriented international NGO;
- RINGO is an abbreviation of religious international NGO such as Catholic Relief Services;
- ENGO, short for environmental NGO, such as Global 2000;
- GONGOs are government-operated NGOs, which may have been set up by governments to look like NGOs in order to qualify for outside aid;
- QUANGOs are quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations, such as the W3C and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), which defines itself as an NGO, but is a network of the government standards agencies of 147 countries¹⁴⁵.

Although the above given classifications are also started to be used in Turkey, below listed organizations are the main civil society organizations in Turkey. Associations and foundations can be seen as genuine NGOs, as they sustain the main requirements of being an NGO, as voluntary, non-profit making, involved in public interest issues and independent from government and state institutions.

Associations can be defined as, organizations which were formed by the continuous unification of consolidation of the information and studies of at least 7 persons in order to undertake such a specified and common aim, other than profit sharing¹⁴⁶. Young Businessmen Association of Turkey (TÜGİAD) can be given as an example, which is a member of European Confederation of Young Entrepreneurs as well.

¹⁴⁵ Non-Profit Sources Online, Non Governmental Organizations
<<http://www.nonprofitexpert.com/ngo.htm>> (25.11.2009)

¹⁴⁶ Türkiye Genç İşadamları Derneği, (1997), *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Türkiye'nin Önde Gelen Sorunlarına Yaklaşım*: 21-Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, pp. 46

1982 Constitution defends the right of association however by putting certain limits on the membership, international activities, formation of superior organizations, creating public opinion and similar actions.

Foundations: These are voluntary organizations which aimed to help individuals in economic and social areas, without an aim of profit maximizing. They have 4 main principles:

- Financial property
- Sustainability
- Aim other than profit maximizing
- Functioning towards public benefit¹⁴⁷.

History Foundation of Turkey, Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı; TEGV, EVFT), TEMA, Umut Foundation can serve good examples

Foundations and associations face with similar limitations, which regard to the membership, international activities and so on. Some foundations as TEMA (Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection and Natural Habitats; Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı), (which is an ENGO at the same time), SCLA (Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği; ÇYDD) as an association, are perfectly matching with the qualities of an NGO. They are voluntary organizations with formal structure, dealing with specific issues, non profit making, and working independently from state. The number of the examples can be increased. On the other hand, EDF (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı; IKV) is also an NGO, however the target group of this foundation is the private sector, and in this sense it is distant from the above mentioned foundation and associations. EPRFT (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı; TEPAV) can also be evaluated under the

¹⁴⁷ ibid, pp.50

same framework with the EDF. These two foundations can be accepted as both INGO's as well as, business oriented NGOs.

There are some other organisations, which are accepted as NGOs although some of them are lacking the main features of an NGO. In fact, they can be given as the examples of pressure groups, however in generally accepted approach; they are also accepted as NGOs as they are also constituting an important part of civil society and representing the views and interests of their stakeholders. They are working independent from the state and the government as well. These organisations can be listed as such:

Trade Unions: The first trade unions were established with the 1909 Associations Law, before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. However after the 1961 Constitution, new steps were forwarded with the democratic environment it established. Today, trade unions are subject to 1983 Trade Unions Law¹⁴⁸. Even though some alterations were made in order to eliminate some limitations on the functioning of the trade unions, they are still subject to limitations in their functions and memberships to international trade union associations.

Professional Institutions: Professional institutions in Turkey are organized as associations or chambers. Chambers have a quality as being public institutions. Membership to the professional associations is voluntary, the membership to the chambers is obligatory. The control of the central authority on those chambers is much more visible than on the associations.

Industrial and commercial chambers: In the merchant and industrial organization, instead of profession base, geographical base is adopted. UCET (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği; TOBB) is although the highest legal entity in Turkey representing the private sector¹⁴⁹, it is still evaluated as an NGO. Its

¹⁴⁸ Gönel, A., (1998), *Önde Gelen STK'lar, Araştırma Raporu*, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, Numune Matbaacılık, İstanbul, pp. 6

¹⁴⁹ The Union of Chambers and the Commodity Exchanges of Turkey official webpage <<http://www.tobb.org.tr/>> (26.11.2009)

effectiveness as a pressure group, can be understood from the phrase that; “during the preparations of the legislation, UCCET has a different importance. The governments are consulting their economic policies and legislation proposals, and take into consideration UCCET’s revision suggestions as well as proposals, as it is the largest NGO in Turkey”¹⁵⁰. The aim of the Union is to protect and develop the rights and interests of chambers and commodity exchanges in Turkey, by organizing nation-wide. It is using the tools such as regional visits, newspaper, and review and book publications, to influence the government in Turkey. UCCET has engaged in EU activities, with its Directorate of European Union. It has assumed tasks as helping the Turkish private sector as well as the EU Secretariat General, during the harmonization and the adaptation of *acquis*, besides the projects developed.

TIBA (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği; TÜSİAD) also serves as another example of this. As they have been the mostly developed actors, they have been integrated with Europe in a great extent. It represents almost 200 of the largest industrialists of Turkey. With this quality, even in the “dark” period of 1980s, when almost all organizations had been dissolved, TIBA could have been exempt from this application, and became the platform where public opinion could raise its voice. Especially since 1984, TIBA is regarded more as a pressure group, than an interest group¹⁵¹. TIBA is following up the agenda, and is an important actor in the political life of Turkey. It is using the media extensively. TIBA is working on the EU *acquis* as well.

Like UCCET, TIBA is trying to affect the government by regional visits, meetings and panels, and also with the publication of newspapers, reviews and books, where it declares its view and conceptions.

UCTEA (Türkiye Mimarlar ve Mühendisler Odası Birliği; TMMOB) had been established to represent engineers and architects in professional,

¹⁵⁰ *TOBB Yayınları*, Ocak 1995

¹⁵¹ Aslan, S. and Gül, C., (2004), “Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye’de Baskı Grupları”, *C.Ü. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, Cilt 5, Sayı 1

economic, social and cultural platforms to protect and develop their rights and interests, to create a ground for them to use their professional experiences in the sake of the public and to contribute to the development of projects for the public good. Currently, the registered chamber number is 23, with the membership of 342.996 engineer and architect¹⁵². However the missing quality of being an NGO is the voluntary character of the membership. Besides this important deficiency, UCTEA is still called as an NGO as well, because of its independence from the state and because of its aims to protect its stakeholders' interests.

Bars: The membership of the bars is also an obligatory membership. This quality caused hesitation to call the bars as the NGOs. There are also some other activities which belong to the civil society, act as initiatives, platforms, actions which are effective in their interest areas.

4.2.2 Problems of the NGOs in Turkey

The organized and effective civil society with a strong infrastructure and organization is critical and indispensable for the participatory and democratic world system. As explained in above headings, the rise of civil society in Turkey is a recent phenomenon, with its generally accepted definition. Therefore, because of the lack of experience, there are some problems still to be overcome.

¹⁵² Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects official webpage
<<http://www.tmmob.org.tr/>> (26.11.2009)

First of all, there is an amateur approach in the NGOs¹⁵³. There is no established professional point of view in Turkey. Generally, there is no employment and full-time work habit in this sector.

Another issue is the voluntary structure of the NGOs. Although this is one of the main determinants of the NGOs, the continuity of the membership is voluntary and therefore always facing with the problem of the lack of personnel especially for the projects which require long term studies.

Finance is one of the most fundamental problems which NGOs are facing today. The finance of the NGOs mainly depends on several resources, as membership fees, donations from the individuals, companies or from some organizations, grants from the national governments and international bodies on specific subject area projects¹⁵⁴. On each point, NGOs are having difficulties, as the continuity of the membership is low in the NGOs, therefore the time and money spent by the members of the organization can not always be sustainable. Receiving donations and grants needs some specific expertise, and people who knows the ways to receive funds. In Turkey, such peoples' existence is low, and in most of the occasions, the NGOs may not reach the correct person or institution in charge. Receiving grants from the international sources has a language barrier as well.

The most fundamental problem of the Turkish NGOs is their dependency on the state. This dependency can be analysed in three respects. The first one is economic dependency and the second one is the political culture. State is the basic subject of the Turkish political culture, which has been elevated over the individual and over the society. This long established atmosphere is also making the NGOs dependent on the state. The last point is

¹⁵³ Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve AB'ne Üyelik Sürecinde Sivil Toplumun Önemi
<http://www.ari.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=180&Itemid=34> (28.08.2009)

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Ms Çisel İleri, IKV Senior researcher, on 14.01.2010

the fear from the state. Because of the experiences of the last four decades, the society has been made passive¹⁵⁵.

Another problem area is the relations with the political parties. As in many other countries, some of the NGOs in Turkey are functioning as the prolongation of the political parties or an ideology. As a result they become dependent on the political authority and also a remarkable decay occurs in their reputations.

Transparency is one of the most important qualities of the NGOs. Some of the Turkish NGOs are suffering from the lack of this very important quality in their management, budget and administration, which cause a loss of confidence in the public.

4.3 NGOs IN THE ACCESSION PROCESS OF TURKEY TO THE EU

After the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in France and in the Netherlands in 2005, the EU has fully recognized its gap between the EU and its citizens, and admitted that the EU was facing a crisis of political legitimacy. All of its institutions, with different levels of interactions and practices, aimed to develop further relations with the civil society and NGOs to overcome this

¹⁵⁵ Fatih Üniversitesi, Prof Dr. Ömer Çaha webpage, “Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum: Sivil Topluluktan Sivil Topluma”
<http://www.fatih.edu.tr/~omercaha/Makaleler/Turkce%20Makaleler/Sivil%20toplumla%20ilgili%20makaleler/Sivil%20Toplum%20Sivil%20Topluma.doc> (17.09.2009)

deficit, and to bring the EU closer to its citizens, by understanding them better, and explaining themselves better to them.

The EU accepts NGO involvement in policy and decision making not only as a necessity, but also as a requirement of the democratic system. Suffering from a general democracy deficit due to its indirect forms of representation and political appointment, the EU includes NGOs in policy processes in order to increase its democratic legitimacy and bring itself closer to its citizens¹⁵⁶.

With the admission of this gap, EU also requests from the candidate states to include the civil society, and the NGOs in the process of accession negotiations. As Olli Rehn, the former EU Commissioner responsible from Enlargement, stated in his speech on April 17th, 2008, "Moving closer to the EU membership requires both political will and citizens' support. Civil society organizations can help achieving this."¹⁵⁷.

In the regular progress reports, it is clearly and insistently mentioned that civil society organizations' involvement in the process is required. The communication adopted by the European Commission on the civil society dialogue between the EU and the candidate states in June 2005, which was in the Regular Report 2005, as well. Since then, many projects were realized to achieve the goal of this dialogue.

Not only to develop a constant dialogue between the civil society of the EU member states, institutions and the candidate states' citizens, the EU seeks for the participation of the NGOs in the harmonization of the EU *acquis* with the candidate countrys' laws and regulations.

¹⁵⁶ Julian, L. and Kigali, R., (2006), *Comparing NGO Influence in the EU and the US*, Brief, September 2006, Programme on NGOs and Civil Society, CASIN, Switzerland

¹⁵⁷ Rehn, O., (2008), *Civil Society at the Heart of the EU's Enlargement Agenda*, Speech/08/201, Conference on Civil Society Development in Southeast Europe Building Europe Together, 17.04.2008, Brussels

Turkey's accession debates have some other dimensions as well. The geographical position of Turkey brings the issues about the future borders of the EU. Turkey's accession would extend the EU's borders to countries which are presently a source of tension, and bring problems of the region higher onto the agenda of the EU's external relations¹⁵⁸.

As to the institutions, Turkey's accession, assessed on the basis of the Constitution, would significantly affect the allocation of EP seats of current Member States, in particular the medium sized and large countries. In the Council, Turkey would have an important voice in the decision making process in view of its population share which would be reflected in the Council voting system. The impact in terms of the Commission would be less important given the planned reduction of the members of the Commission from 2014 onwards¹⁵⁹.

Concerning Turkey's accession to the EU, NGOs stand in an important position, NGO involvement in the accession process can be summarized in three headings.

- NGOs' Role in the Harmonization of the *Acquis Communautaire*
- NGOs' Role in the Preparation of the EU and its Citizens to Turkey's Accession
- NGOs' Role in the Preparation of Turkish Citizens to the EU Membership.

¹⁵⁸ European Commission Staff Working Document, (2004), *Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective*, {COM(2004) 656 final}, 6.10.2004, Brussels
<http://www.stratim.org.tr/files/downloads/recommendation.pdf> (13.11.2009)

¹⁵⁹ *ibid*

Aforementioned headings not only explain the roles of the NGOs in relations between Turkey and the EU, but also can offer different perspectives to the further development of civil society in Turkey in general.

4.3.1 NGOs' Role in the Harmonization of the *Acquis Communautaire*

The term *acquis communautaire*, or EU *acquis*, is used in European Union law to refer to the total body of EU law accumulated thus far. The term is French: *acquis* means which has been acquired, and *communautaire* means the community¹⁶⁰.

It is composed of approximately 120.000 pages. The *acquis* is constantly evolving and includes the original and then revised founding treaties, the accession treaties which the member states had signed, and all the legislations prepared by EU institutions such as the Council, the Commission, and also the jurisdictions of the European Court of Justice. The *acquis* had been classified under 35 chapters¹⁶¹.

During the process of enlargement of the EU, the *acquis* was divided into 31 chapters for the purpose of negotiation between the EU and the candidate states for the fifth enlargement (the ten that joined in 2004 plus Romania and Bulgaria which joined in 2007). For the negotiations with Croatia and Turkey, the *acquis* was split up into 35 chapters instead, with the purpose of better balancing between the chapters: dividing the most difficult ones into

¹⁶⁰ SeeNet, South East European Business Network, FAQ <<http://tr.seenetwork.eu/index.php/faq/51-what-is-the-eu-definition-of-acquis-communitaire/4-what-is-the-eu-definition-of-acquis-communitaire>> (21.09.2009)

¹⁶¹ TC Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, Müzakere Süreci <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=37&l=1>> (17.11.2009)

separate chapters for easier negotiation, uniting some easier chapters, moving some policies between chapters, as well as renaming a few of them in the process.

Accession negotiations is the process, where it is determined, how Turkey's adaptation of the *acquis* to its own laws, how enforcement and effective execution are going to be done, and how much time is needed for it.

Although the name is negotiations, it does not mean real negotiations, instead, the candidate countries' scope of activities is so narrow. They have to determine the time schedule of the implementation of the *acquis* in their own system, how they are going to realize this, and how they are going to establish the needed administrative infrastructure. Therefore it can be said that only thing open to discussion is the time schedule.

It is not possible, and it should not be expected that the bureaucrats working in the harmonization of *acquis communautaire* and Turkish system, shall be experts on all 35 headings. They will need help from the experts of the subjects¹⁶². NGOs participation in the working groups, where the discussion positions are determined, is essential for successful accession process.

In fact, since the very first stages of the Customs Union, interest groups, social partners and the NGOs have been working together with the public units, especially on the regulation and legislation preparations. Today it is a common practice that the draft bills are being sent to the sectoral representatives and the NGOs, and their participations have been encouraged especially in the subcommittees and technical committees working on the EU relations¹⁶³.

¹⁶² Bovard, A., (2003), *Politikaları Etkileme Süreçlerinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü*, STK Yönetimi Konferans Yazıları no:2, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Eğitim ve Araştırma Birimi

¹⁶³ Maç, N., (2006), *Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları*, Araştırma Raporu Sayı : 2006 – 42 / 15, 09.01.2006, Konya Ticaret Odası Etüd-Araştırma Servisi, <http://www.kto.org.tr/dosya/rapor/absiviltoplum.pdf> (17.10.2009)

EU is giving importance to the structures, which are necessary for the application of its decisions, as social partners, and NGOs which are active in the areas of social security, equality between men and women, fighting with poverty and discrimination. From this respect, after the Helsinki summit, the active participation of the organized civil society in Turkey's adaptation to the EU gained much importance, and it had been emphasized in the Accession Partnership¹⁶⁴ .

As an example; Secretariat General for EU Affairs has consulted to Turkish Public Health Institution on the subject of Food Safety, Veterinary Medicine, and Herbal Health Policy, to ask for the opinion and suggestions, and also a general evaluation of the Harmonization Programme, which can be seen as a road map on the subject of "2007-2013 Program for the Harmonisation of EU *acquis communautaire*" in 2007¹⁶⁵ .

Following the Screening Process, which is done to assess the state of preparation of Turkey for opening negotiations in specific areas and obtain preliminary indications of the issues that will most likely come up in the negotiations, Council decides on which chapters will be opened for the negotiations on the basis of the results of the screening¹⁶⁶ , and declare it in the Intergovernmental Conference. Following step is the request of the Council from Turkey to prepare its Position Papers. According to the chapter contents, the working groups which consist of the related public institutions, representatives from private sector, NGOs and universities prepare negotiation position papers and represent it to Turkish Negotiation Team. Almost on all the chapters which have been closed already or in process, EDF has participated to the working

¹⁶⁴ Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi, Sivil toplum İş Başında <www.stgm.org.tr> (16.09.2009)

¹⁶⁵ Türkiye Halk Sağlığı Kurumu Derneği'nin, "Tüketicinin ve Sağlığın Korunması" Faslında Müzakere Pozisyonu Hazırlıkları Konusundaki Görüş ve Önerileri, 26 Temmuz 2007, Ankara <<http://www.t-hasak.org/tuketicikorunmasi.pdf>> (12.10.2009)

¹⁶⁶ Council of the EU, (12 October 2005), 12823/1/05 REV1, LIMITE, ELARG64, Brussels, http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/NegotiatingFrameowrk/Negotiating_Frameowrk_Full.pdf (21.08.2009)

groups¹⁶⁷. EDF is also working closely with the General Secretariat for the EU and Ministries on the subjects related to Pre-accession Assistance Programme for Turkey.

The participation of the NGOs to this process has two dimensions. First, although these participations have been supported, this still do not fit the traditional government practices of the Turkish administrative system. Therefore the existence of the civil society representatives, and the NGOs in all of the phases this process requires a change in the comprehension and prospect as well.

On the other hand, it is necessary for the NGOs to have comprehensive knowledge in their area of interests; especially they shall be competent on EU and Turkish legislation. They shall create relations and cooperation with the concerned ministries, public bodies, other NGOs, and their counter parts in the EU member states. They shall also inform their platform, which they are representing, during the whole process, and reflect their visions and demands in a rational way¹⁶⁸.

Although EU has started its adventure as an economic integration, it is now more an evolving to a political integration project. Therefore it is essential that all parts of the society shall be a part of this process, contribute it according to their competences, and work together to create a positive result.

From the capacity building perspective, NGOs may contribute to the process greatly, for ensuring sustainable and people centered development. With the capacity building activities such as training of the personnel working on the harmonisation of *acquis*, further institutionalisation and professionalisation of the process, undertaken by the qualified people are aimed. These activities

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Ms Çiseli İleri, IKV Senior Researcher, on 14.01.2010

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*

may include development of skills and training sessions, providing coaching and supporting collaborations with other NGOs.

Nevertheless, a closer look to the current practice of the consultation to the NGOs in the harmonisation of *acquis* reveals the fact that in practice there is a low level participation although the participation of the NGOs in the process is a desired situation for both parties; NGOs and the government and state institutions. The Turkish NGOs are complaining about their underestimated position in the process. In many cases and at different platforms their ideas and expertise are asked for, yet this process is not working smoothly and effectively most of the times an even can not go beyond hearing their opinion. Another important point here is that, generally the reports and the ideas of some specific NGOs, such as EDF and TCCEF, are mostly consulted, which can also be said that more institutionalised ones. Put it simply, NGO opinion and expertise can not be successfully integrated in decision making structures in general.

As the NGOs in the Europe, and the EU, the Turkish NGOs which are considered as reliable depending on their knowledge and expertise as well as their will to serve for public benefit have to achieve a consultative status in the Turkish system of governance.

4.3.2 Role in the Preparation of the EU and its Citizens to Turkey's Accession

In the EU many citizens are skeptical about the further enlargements¹⁶⁹. According to the Eurobarometer survey which was conducted from the January 26th to the February 1st 2009, between 27,000 randomly selected individuals,

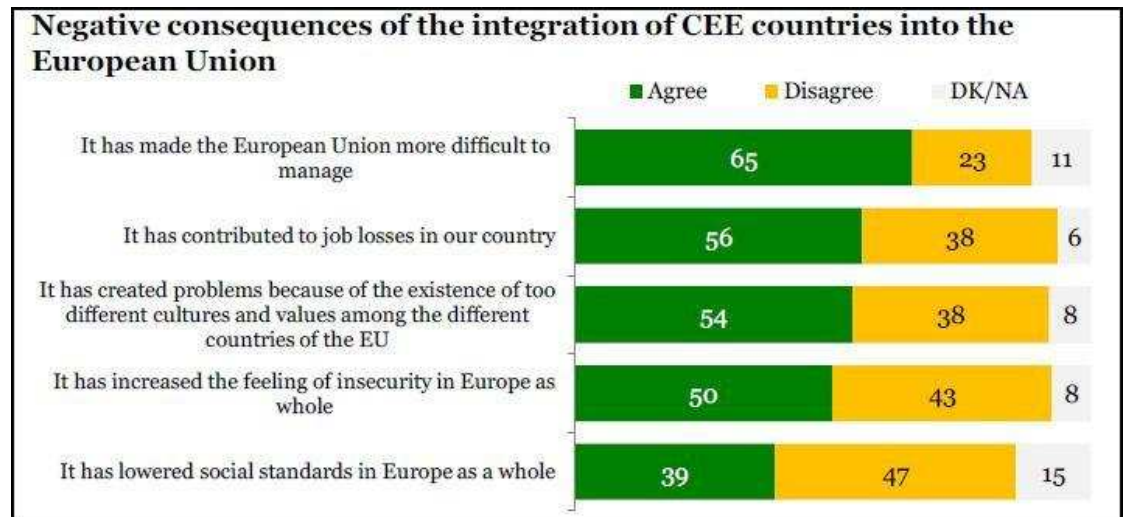
¹⁶⁹ Rehn, O., (2008), *Civil Society at the Heart of the EU's Enlargement Agenda*, Speech/08/201, Conference on Civil Society Development in Southeast Europe Building Europe Together, 17.04.2008, Brussels

aged 15 and older, from 27 EU Member States, at least half or more of the EU respondents consider that enlargement has:

- made the enlarged EU more difficult to manage (66%)
- contributed to job losses in their country (56%)
- caused problems because of the divergent cultural traditions of the new Member States (54%)
- led to an increased feeling of insecurity (50%) in the European Union as a whole¹⁷⁰

Figure 1.

EU Citizens' Answers for the CEE Enlargement



Source: Views on European Union Enlargement Analytical Report, Fieldwork: February 2009, Eurobarometer

These hesitations have mainly resulted from a couple of reasons. In general, there is enlargement reluctance, due to economic reasons. When compared to the new members of the EU and the other candidate countries, the size of Turkey, both population and area wise, is not easy to seize and accept. In case of full membership, almost all the regions of Turkey will have the right to

¹⁷⁰ Views on European Union Enlargement, Analytical Report, Fieldwork: February 2009, Conducted by The Gallup Organization, Hungary upon the request of the DG Enlargement A.2 "Information, Communication, Coordinated by Directorate-General Communication, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_257_en.pdf

benefit from the regional funds. As a result, Turkey, as a country which is contributing to the European budget by only 1.5% of its gross national product, will be an important partner/consumer of the budget, and therefore will affect the share of the current member states negatively¹⁷¹. Thus some argue that EU citizens do not want to share their welfare with a highly populated Turkey, who has a low per capita income compared to those in the EU.

Another reason is more political, but again related to the population of Turkey. If the current structuring will be kept as it is, when Turkey's full membership is realized, then by having the most of the chairs in the EP, it will have an outweighing capability in the decision making processes¹⁷². EP plays an active role in drafting legislation which has an impact on the daily lives of its citizens. EP also has joint power with the Council over the annual budget of the EU. Presently the EP is firmly established as a co-legislator, has budgetary powers and exercises democratic controls over all the EU institutions¹⁷³. Therefore the number of the chairs gains significance when the powers of the EP are taken into the consideration.

The last issue is related to more social issues. It can not be disregarded that the countries with different historical, cultural, political and social backgrounds' togetherness may have some conflicts, disagreements and hesitations¹⁷⁴. It is known that the intensified Islamofobia, and increasing nationalism and xenophobia in the EU members, and the attitudes of the governors of some member states creates and intensifies the EU citizens' unwillingness to Turkey's accession.

¹⁷¹ Yatkın, A., (2008), *Avrupa Birliği Üyelik Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları: Güçlü Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, Avrupa Birliği Üyesi Türkiye*, Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları, Fırat Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi

¹⁷² ibid

¹⁷³ European Parliament : Parliament - an Overview
<<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/public/staticDisplay.do?id=146&language=en>> (15.10.2009)

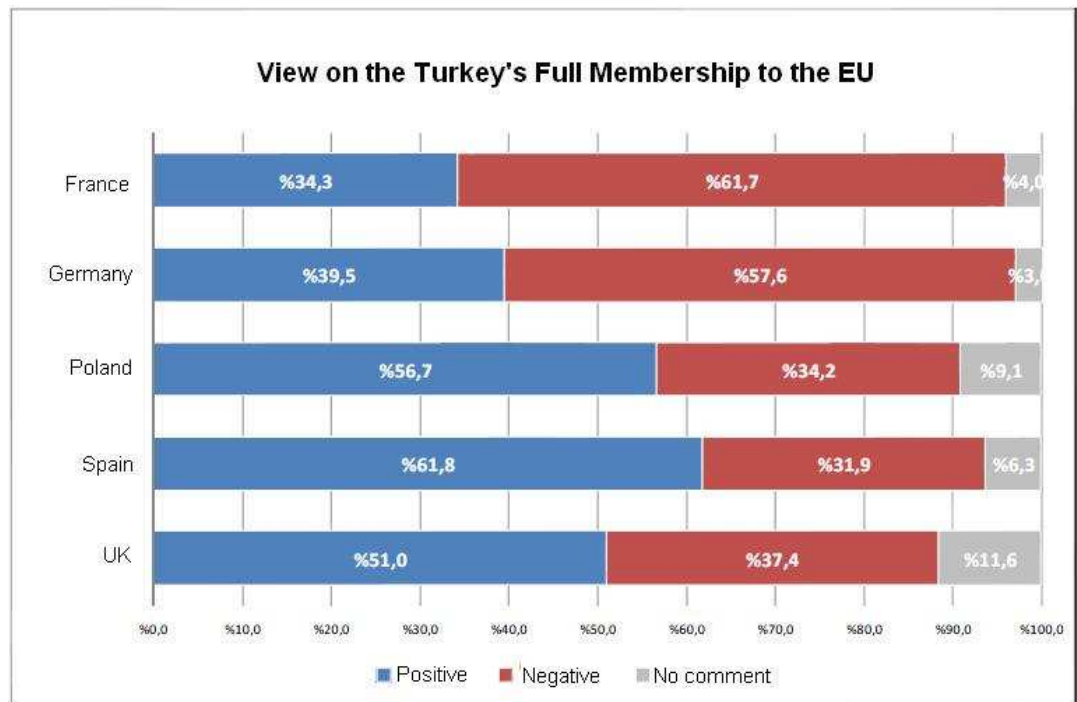
¹⁷⁴ Kaya, A., (2008), *AB Ülkeleri Kamuoylarında Türkiye Algıları*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Avrupa Birliği Enstitüsü

Recently the political, socio-economic and class based expressions have been started to be replaced by more religious and cultural discourses, in some member states, and this position is mostly developed by the conservative governments, which base their policies on the fear towards the immigrants and particularly the Muslim people. In these countries, opposition to the Turkish accession is even a frequently used argument during the national elections.

On the opinion poll study¹⁷⁵ which was done between June 2008 and November 2009, the different perspectives of the five different EU members on Turkey's full membership to the EU can be seen.

Figure 2.

EU Citizens' View on the Turkey's Full Membership to the EU



Source: Views on European Union Enlargement Analytical Report, Fieldwork: February 2009

¹⁷⁵ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi, (Haziran 2008-Kasım 2009) *Avrupalıların Müstakbel Bir AB Üyesi Olarak Türkiye'ye Bakışları ve Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşıma Sorunları*,

To sum up, the EU and its citizens have not made their minds about the Turkey as full member, because of the combination of the economic, political and social reasons, like the allocation of regional and structural funds, free movement of workers and immigration issues and of course unemployment issues, the high and increasing population of Turkey, different education levels, cultural, historical and social backgrounds.

On the basis of the above facts, it is obvious that the view of the EU citizens, as well as the member states governments have to be affected positively for a successful accession process. At this point, not only the policies of the Turkish government, or the diplomatic relations, but also the constant contacts created between two sides' civil societies are necessary. Especially the contacts between the Turkish NGOs and their counterparts in the EU may create a positive atmosphere for understanding each other.

As it is explained before, not only the preparations for the adaptation of Turkish system to the EU's *acquis*, NGOs shall undertake responsibilities for the achievement of this difficult role. There are certain benefits of accession, which Turkey will assume with the full membership. On the other hand, it has a great potential to put in this mutual relationship and to EU in general. The proximity of Turkey to the energy sources, its geographical location and as a result being a bridge for the petroleum and gas sources and Europe, and commercial opening outs to the Caucasian and Middle Eastern countries will be economic opportunities, on the other hand, Europe will have a chance to prove that it has not based its organization on a single religion, rather universal values and equality principle.

As Turkey has already been a member of the Customs Union, there have been ongoing relations between the members of societies, both in the EU and in Turkey. This economy based relations at the beginning eventually lead to increasing cultural and social relations. However these relations shall be

developed further by the efforts of the NGOs by the joint projects maintained between the European counterpart NGOs and the umbrella organizations.

The EU itself has already been aware of the fact that its citizens are not so eager for the further enlargements. From their point of view, this is also resulted from the inadequacy of the information supplied by the EU to its citizens, about the enlargement and its benefits. It is obvious that with the last enlargement towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Europe has gained a new dynamism in economic terms, and also it is much more influential and stronger in political terms. EU is giving much importance to the NGOs and other civil society organizations to raise the awareness of the success of the last enlargements and increase the level of support to further enlargements.

There are several NGOs in Turkey, which are successfully maintaining the task of developing positive understanding in the EU itself, and amount its citizens by their activities. For example, TESSF (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; TESEV) has long established relations and finished and ongoing projects. TESSF has been organizing the Bosphorus Conferences together with its partners which are British Council (BC) and Center for European Reform (CER) since 2005. These conferences are organized annually which aim to evaluate and analyze the developments in the negotiation process and political environments. Policy-makers, academics, civil society representatives, business people and journalists from Turkey, UK and other European countries come together in a closed meeting and share ideas and suggestions regarding possible questions that are expected to arise during negotiations¹⁷⁶. The last Bosphorus Conference was held on 17 October 2009.

EDF has been developing projects on the EU and EU-Turkey Relations since the establishment in 1965. One of the latest projects is the Visa Complaint Line project, which is a joint project with the European Citizen Action Service, which is a Brussels based NGO. This project aims to collect the calls related to

¹⁷⁶ Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; (TESEV, TESSF), Foreign Policy; Bosphorus Conferences <<http://www.tesev.org.tr/default.asp?PG=DPL01EN03>> (12.01.2010)

the visa applications, and also the questionnaires made by the universities and the chambers, and prepare a report, which will be presented in different platforms, to the attention of EU institutions and the other related institutions with a seminar.

Besides these economic based activities, there are many cultural relations developed due to the joint projects of the Turkish NGOs with their counterparts in the EU. SCLA, Turkey – EU Cooperation Association (Türkiye – AB İşbirliği Derneği; TURKAB), and European Students' Forum (AEGEE) have performed activities in several different areas. Turkey – EU Cooperation Association had developed several projects, and one of them; Racism and Hostility Towards Foreigners, aimed to make a due diligence, and to develop consciousness in the countries participated to the project. Partners from Spain, Malta and Greece had worked in the project¹⁷⁷. Turkey – EU Cooperation Association had dissolved itself in May 2009, due to the loss of interest and financial contributions following the slowdown of the accession process. AEGEE is a student organization that promotes co-operation, communication and integration amongst young people in Europe. AEGEE has Turkish branches in different cities including İstanbul, Ankara and Tekirdağ. The latest event planned in Turkey is Wines of Dionysos¹⁷⁸, which will be held in Tekirdağ, on 17- 22 May 2010, and will be open to public. The event is published in the official website of AEGEE. Besides these, EDF, Foreign Economic Relations Board (Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu; DEİK) have arranged and and still arranging visits to EU member states.

In the cultural areas, the Turkish Season activities, which are organized by the İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı; İKSV) and Cultures France's joint work, more than 300 events will take place until March 2010. Several panels, exhibitions, concerts have been organized by

¹⁷⁷ Türkiye Avrupa Vakfı, Etkinlikler <http://www.turk-ab.org/etkinlikler/etkinlikler_projeler.asp> (15.08.2009)

¹⁷⁸ AEGEE Europe, Wines of Dionysos <<http://intranet.myaegee.net/event/view/213/1491>> (24.12.2009)

the participation of different NGOs, which will contribute to the recognition of Turkey and Turkish culture especially in France.

4.3.3 NGOs' Role in the Preparation of Turkish Citizens to the EU Membership

The westernization is a goal in Turkish politics, which has been a project for a long period of time. It has its roots from the Ottoman times, and followed by the Turkish Republic. The process of modernization and westernization began in the late eighteenth-century and deeply transformed the Ottoman Empire. This process of transformation started from reforming the Ottoman army and eventually influenced political ideas. Europe was a model because of its developed science and technology but it represented also a serious menace¹⁷⁹. The same approach that we find in the reform of the military was applied also to modern education. Consequently, the history of the reform movements in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries is largely concerned with the attempt by Western-educated intellectuals to impose a Western pattern of secular political classification and organization on the religious community of Islam.

From the earlier experiences, the founders of the Turkish Republic knew that for the sovereignty of the country, it is necessary to join the family of the Europe. This desire reflected itself in the implementation of western-oriented reforms at home and the pursuit of closer security cooperation with the western European states abroad¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁹ Guida, M., (14.10.2008), *Notes of Turkish Political Thought*, Fatih University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Public Administration, lecture notes, pg 5
<<http://www.fatih.edu.tr/~mguida/PUB273/1.pdf>>

¹⁸⁰ Oğuzlu, T., (2007), "The Future of Turkey's Westernization: a Security Perspective", *Insight Turkey*, July, 2007, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7057/is_3_9/ai_n28498506/pg_2/?tag=content;col1 (22.10.2009)

Although the presentation of the westernization and integration with Europe has changed its name as the EU membership today, it does not have a different meaning to the society since then.

According to Ambassador (R) Ozdem Sanberk , with 1987 application; Turkey confirmed its traditional goal which was to align itself with Europe that was politically plural, economically liberal, rich in cultural diversity and strategically necessary to the defense and security of the West. For many people, for the first time in this almost 200 years, with the candidacy to the EU full membership, Turkey has a concrete perspective in this process. The integration with European Union has reached a different platform, after the Helsinki Summit where Turkey's candidacy was declared, and on 3 October 2005, when the discussions for the full membership has started¹⁸¹.

Although this project has been seen as an undisputable target, this long established relation and the project has its ups and downs, sometimes due to the changes in the EU's position towards Turkey, and sometimes due to the internal political climate changes.

Although the accession to the EU has been supported by the Turkish citizens, sometimes it is losing its momentum and enthusiasm. Between the period 1999 and 2005, the reforms were realized especially in the fields of democratization, human rights, transparency in the sake of integration with the EU. However since 2005, this positive tendency has been paralyzed, due to the either some of the political figures of the EU, or member states' governments' declarations. In this period, Turkish people have become insensitive, even lost their belief in the full membership. According to the online poll of the Turkey Europe Foundation (TAV) webpage, the question if the Turkey can be a full

¹⁸¹ Kaya, A., (2008), *AB Ülkeleri Kamuoylarında Türkiye Algıları*

member of the EU, %52.2 answered as no, % 40 answered as yes and %7.2 answered as hesitant¹⁸².

At this point, to revive the Turkish citizens' interest as well as the belief in the EU membership, the role of the NGOs is critical, besides the efforts of the government and the official institutions. It can be argued that, one to one relations of the NGOs with the society, and their qualities as non-profit making and voluntary and subject specialist characters may create a more reliable source of information and comment for the society, and can be more effective than a overall project to alter the perception of the EU positively.

Not only today, since the beginning of the EU membership discussions, Turkish NGOs have assumed roles in this process, and had been part of this project. To be able to raise consciousness in the Turkish society, Turkish NGOs have made contributions, by developing projects, preparing discussion panels, issuing books and leaflets, preparing and participating in TV programmes.

Although the path to the EU has started as an economic integration, today it has reached an overall system, where the social and political dynamics have gained great importance and now it is no more possible to see it as solely a group of states which came together to achieve economic targets. EU is much more than a market. It stands for a model of society. The Turkish society shall be informed about the positive outcomes of the membership, the advantages which the membership will bring due to the social rights' standards in the EU. The detailed and complicated procedures of the EU are difficult to follow up and understand by the ordinary citizens, which have no familiarity on the issue. The NGOs specialized on the subject areas may simplify the procedures, for the people who are interested in, but are not familiar with the language of the EU.

¹⁸² Türkiye Avrupa Vakfı, Pool Study, Türkiye Avrupa Birliği'ne Tam Üye Olur mu ?
<<http://www.turkiyeavrupavakfi.org/index.php/component/poll/16-turkiye-avrupa-birligi.html>> (12.12.2009)

As the existence of the Islamofobia in the minds of some EU citizens, which leads to a hesitation towards Turkey's accession, it is also known that in some parts of the Turkish society, there is a tendency to see the EU as a Christian club. This perception leads to the belief that EU does not intend to accept a country that has predominantly Muslim population. This concept has even been given voice by the EU and the Turkish politicians. During his visit to Poland in May 2009, the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that if Turkey is not admitted to the EU, the organization will be a Christian club¹⁸³. Europe's new president, Herman Van Rompuy, had expressed his similar view in a 2004 speech when he was an opposition deputy in the Belgian parliament, as;

Turkey is not a part of Europe and will never be part of Europe. An expansion of the EU to include Turkey cannot be considered as just another expansion as in the past . . . The universal values which are in force in Europe, and which are fundamental values of Christianity, will lose vigor with the entry of a large Islamic country such as Turkey¹⁸⁴.

On the other hand, officially EU declares that the basis of the Enlargement Policy is the 49th article of the Amsterdam Treaty¹⁸⁵, which does not have religious criteria. The NGOs in Turkey shall develop strategies and projects to overcome this prejudice in the Turkish society. In the enlargement and then the integration process of Turkey religion should not be considered as a criteria or as an obstacle by the Turkish citizens as well as the EU citizens.

Besides these roles, Turkish NGOs have another role to play in the preparation of the Turkish citizens to the EU membership, to prepare them to the painful process of the enlargement.

¹⁸³ *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, Without Turkey, EU Is Christian Club: Turkish Prime Minister, Friday, 15 May 2009 <<http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/76920/-without-turkey-eu-is-christian-club-turkish-prime-minister-.html>> (18.12.2009)

¹⁸⁴ *Reuters*, Does Europe's new prez really think it's a Christian club?, Nov 20, 2009 <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2009/11/20/does-europes-new-prez-really-think-its-a-christian-club/>

¹⁸⁵ Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, *the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Related Acts*, Official Journal C 340, 10 November 1997 <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html>> (22.11.2009)

In the candidate countries, the discussions are mainly on the political criteria which shall be completed. However, besides political criteria, the harmonization of the *acquis*' 35 chapters will affect deeply the everyday life of the Turkish citizens. This harmonization process is the one which requires sacrifices, from all parts of the society. The adaptation of several different areas to EU standards will bring extra costs to the public institutions, industrial producers, and various employees which are operating in different sectors. It shall be well defined and explained that these costs will eventually lead to an overall advantage to the employee side and worker side. Not only small business owners, but also the important sector players may not be experts in all subjects of the discussions and *acquis* in detail. Therefore sectoral NGOs may explain the process better and the impacts which the process and the membership will bring. As Olli Rehn stated,

in the enlargement countries, people sometimes ask why they should go through substantial even painful reforms to join the EU. ... Reforms are not done only for the EU, but primarily for the people of the region. Enhancing democracy and the rule of law, promoting fundamental freedoms and developing a rules-based economy do indeed improve everyday lives of the citizens¹⁸⁶.

The NGOs shall help people to see the membership, and the reason of the need for the reforms from this point of view.

When we look back the record of the NGOs participation in the history of Turkey – EU relations, it can be argued that especially before 2005, the studies of the NGOs were much more enthusiastic about the accession, and there had been many project, seminars, conferences were initiated by the NGOs, which were targeting to all sides of the process, with the aim of full membership. However, in course of time, it is observed that, except a couple of NGOs which are actively working in this area, many of the NGOs lost their interest, and eventually their efforts had been diminished. The downward trend

¹⁸⁶ Rehn, O., (2008), *Civil Society at the Heart of the EU's Enlargement Agenda*, Speech/08/201, Conference on Civil Society Development in Southeast Europe Building Europe Together, 17.04.2008, Brussels

in the recent Turkey – EU relations can also be observed in the participation of the NGOs in the process as well.

4.4 CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE

The enlargement of the EU in 1 May 2004 with the accession of 10 new members has strengthened the unity of the European continent, and developed peace, stability and security. The ongoing enlargement process brought together many advantages. However, on the other side, enlargement is not an automatic process. One of the lessons taken from the earlier enlargement is that, the EU citizens have not been informed well or prepared enough. During the enlargement processes, the citizens shall become closer, and informed about different cultures, political and economic systems, and shall be included in the process¹⁸⁷.

In this context, in the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the EP: Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession¹⁸⁸, it is suggested that a number of fora should be created, bringing people together from Member States and Turkey, where concerns and perceptions can be discussed in a frank and open manner. This includes a dialogue on difference of cultures, religion, issues relating to migration, concerns on minority rights and terrorism. Civil society should play the most important role in this dialogue, which should be facilitated by the EU.

¹⁸⁷ ABGS webpage, AB ve Sivil Toplum: Sivil Toplum Diyalogu
<www.avrupa.info.tr/Sivil_Toplum_Diyalogu/STD,Sivil_Toplum_Diyalogu.html> (06.09.2009)

¹⁸⁸ European Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament (2004): Recommendation of the European Commission on *Turkey's Progress Towards Accession* – COM (2004) 656, 06.10.2004, Brussels <<http://www.stratim.org.tr/files/downloads/recommendation.pdf>> (13.11.2009)

In the Summit 17 December 2004, the advise of the European Commission had been approved, and the scope had been extended by saying “parallel to accession negotiations, the Union will engage with every candidate state in an intensive political and cultural dialogue. The long-term objective of the dialogue is to prepare civil society from the EU and candidate countries for future enlargement”¹⁸⁹.

In 2005 the European Commission adopted a Communication¹⁹⁰ that establishes objectives and priorities for further development of a civil society dialogue between the EU and Candidate countries. The objectives of the civil society dialogue are;

- strengthen mutual exchange of experience between civil society in EU and the candidate countries;
- help bridge the information gap;
- generate mutual knowledge and understanding; and
- ensure a stronger awareness of the opportunities and challenges of future accessions¹⁹¹.

Turkey had been receiving pre-accession assistance from the EU since 2001. As from 2007, this pre-accession Financial Instrument for Turkey has been replaced by the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) which provides pre-accession assistance for both candidate and potential candidate countries. The aim of IPA assistance to Turkey is to support the EU pre-accession strategy adopted in the conclusions of the European Council Summit in December 2004, and corresponds to three objectives: Progress towards fully

¹⁸⁹ AB Komisyonu, Komisyondan Konseye, Avrupa Parlamentosuna, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Komiteye ve Bölgeler Komitesine Bildirim (2005), AB ve Aday Ülkeler arasında Sivil Toplum Diyaloğu SEC (2005) 891, 25.06.2005, < www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/984/abveadayulkellersivl.pdf> (12.11.2009)

¹⁹⁰ European Commission Communication, (2005), Civil Society Dialogue Between the EU and Candidate Countries, COM(2005) 290 Final, Brussels, < <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0290:FIN:EN:PD>> (26.10.2009)

¹⁹¹ EU and Civil Society: What is Civil Society Dialogue >http://www.avrupa.info.tr/EUCSD,Csd_Sayfa.html?LanguageID=2> (18.10.2009)

meeting the Copenhagen political criteria, adoption and implementation of the *acquis communautaire*, and promotion of an EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue.

The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) is the Community's financial instrument for the pre-accession process for the period 2007-2013. Assistance is provided on the basis of the European Partnerships of the potential candidate countries and the Accession Partnerships of the candidate countries, which means the Western Balkan countries and Turkey¹⁹². It has replaced the programmes PHARE, SAPARD, ISPA, Phare Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) and Coordination, pre-accession financial assistance for Turkey.

The 2006 Pre-accession Assistance Programme for Turkey includes a project titled: Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between EU and Turkey. The Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue targeted groups and organisations that are interested and influential in the process of Turkey's integration. This included media, youth, academic institutions, local authorities, professional organisations, social partners, and NGOs¹⁹³. A second priority within this objective was to support for Turkey's participation in Community programmes and agencies. It was expected that the contacts that would be facilitated under IPA would help counteract the negative perceptions that exists in certain segments of public opinion about the Turkish accession process to the EU.

As a continuation of the above mentioned project of Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between EU and Turkey I, the project titled: Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between EU and Turkey-II (CSD - II) is included in 2007 Programming under IPA. The overall objective of this project is to ensure a better knowledge and understanding of Turkey within the EU, including the values on which it is founded, its functioning and policies as well as Turkish

¹⁹² Summaries of EU Legislation
<http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/ongoing_enlargement/e50020_en.htm> (14.10.2009)

¹⁹³ Commission Decision, C(2007)1835 of 30/04/2007, on a Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD) 2007-2009 for Turkey <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/mipd_turkey_2007_2009_en.pdf> (19.11.2009)

history and culture, thus allowing for a better awareness of the opportunities and challenges of future enlargement.

The project provided the implementation of three Grant Schemes amounting to 4.2 million Euros and aiming at establishing a framework for cooperation; supporting the establishment of partnerships; and promoting dialogue between the civil societies of Turkish and EU counterparts on Culture and Arts; Fisheries and Agriculture. The Project also aimed to provide financial assistance to small, grassroots NGOs through small-scale projects all over Turkey via Micro Grant Schemes¹⁹⁴.

It also provided for implementation of four Grant Schemes amounting to 19,3 million EURO and aiming at intensifying and diversifying the contacts between:

- Towns and Municipalities (5 MEUR);
- Professional Organizations (3 MEUR);
- Universities (9,3 MEUR) and
- Youth Initiatives for Dialogue (2 MEUR)¹⁹⁵.

Depending on the absorption capacity and quality of proposals the Contracting Authority reserves the right to reallocate the remaining funds from one component to another component¹⁹⁶.

The Grant Schemes would address issues that would contribute to better informing the public opinions from the EU and candidate countries, by addressing the opportunities as well as the challenges posed by future enlargement, encouraging a discussion on perceptions regarding everyday culture and values expressed by the society and the state on both sides, increasing bilateral exchanges, thereby contributing to the sharing of experience, the adoption of best practices and the increased participation of

¹⁹⁴ ABGS webpage, TC Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, Current Situation in Accession Negotiations <<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=65&l=2>> (03.12.2009)

¹⁹⁵ Secretary General of EU Affairs webpage, Civil Society Development Project: Compedium, <<http://www.csdproject.net/web/AboutTheProgramme/tabid/54/language/tr-TR/Default.asp>> (24.09.2009)

¹⁹⁶ ABGS webpage, TC Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, Current Situation in Accession Negotiations <<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=65&l=2>> (03.12.2009)

civil society in the political, cultural and economic development of Turkey and supporting the further development of a lively and vibrant civil society Turkey, which is key to the consolidation of human rights and democracy, in line with the political criteria for accession¹⁹⁷.

119 projects had been qualified to have financial support, varying between 30.000 – 465.000 EUR, and with different terms with an average of 15 months. The project owners are from different parts of Turkey, and all has partners from either EU member or candidate countries (See table 2 and table 3)¹⁹⁸.

Table 2
Regional Dispersion

Marmara Region	25
Aegean Region	23
Mediterranean Region	17
Middle Anatolia Region	40
East and South East Anatolia Regions	10
Black sea Region	4
Total number of the projects	119

Source: <http://pym.uludag.edu.tr/kaynaklar/csd/CSD.pdf> (26.12.2009)

¹⁹⁷ ibid

¹⁹⁸ Secretary General of EU Affairs webpage, Civil Society Development Project
<<http://www.csdproject.net/web/AboutTheProgramme/tabid/54/language/tr-TR/Default.asp>> (24.09.2009)

Table 3**119 Project Details**

	Municipalities	Professional Organisations	Universities	Youth Initiatives for Dialogue
Project #	41	25	28	25
Project duration 18 months #	16	0	20	0
Project duration # 13-17 months	11	19	7	10
Project duration # 12 months	14	6	1	15
Partner #	Single partner: 17 More than 1 partner: 24	Single partner: 14 More than 1 partner: 11	Single partner: 4 More than 1 partner: 24	Single partner: 17 More than 1 partner: 8
Early Signature date	30.05.2008	30.06.2008	30.05.2008	30.06.2008
Budget	€200.000 or more: 13 € 100.000 – € 200.000: 25 Below € 100.000: 3	€200.000 or more: 3 € 150.000 - € 200.000: 7 Below € 150.000: 15	€400.000 or more: 4 € 300.000-€ 400.000: 11 € 200.000 - € 300.000: 12 Below € 200.000: 1	€100.000 or more: 6 € 50.000 - € 100.000: 18 Below € 50.000: 1
Type of the institution	Association: 4 Municipality: 37	Chambers of Trade: 5 Chambers of Agriculture: 6 Other: 14	Private/Foundation: 6 State: 22	Organisation: 18 Foundation: 2 Youth Centers: 2 Sports Clubs: 3

Source: <http://pym.uludag.edu.tr/kaynaklar/csd/CSD.pdf> (26.12.2009)

Main objectives of the program can be defined as establishing and strengthening sustainable cooperation and relations between municipalities,

professional organizations, universities and youth in Turkey and EU Member and other candidate countries.

Towns and Municipalities:

- Increasing the level of the dialogue, establishment and strengthening of long-term and sustainable cooperation between the municipalities in Turkey and EU member and candidate countries.
- Supporting efficient, transparent and participatory local governments, and performing high quality local services.

Professional Organizations:

- Developing sustainable relations between the Turkish and EU member and candidate countries' professional organizations, by which both sides can benefit mutually, establishing and strengthening long-term cooperation and supporting dialogue.
- Fostering good practice and information exchange towards the planning and application of EU policies.

Universities:

- Supporting dialogue between the sides in Turkey and in the EU member and candidate countries, establishing and strengthening of the long-term and sustainable relations between the universities.
- Fostering good practice and information exchange towards the planning and application of EU policies.

Youth Initiatives:

- Developing sustainable relations between the Turkish and EU member and candidate countries' youth initiatives, by which both sides can benefit mutually, and developing dialogue between the youth organizations in Turkey and in the EU member and candidate countries, by emphasizing the opportunities and difficulties of the enlargement
- Fostering good practice and information exchange towards the planning and application of EU policies¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁹ TC Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği web sayfası <www.abgs.gov.tr> (July 2009 – 18.01.2010)

119 projects, under the scope of the CSD Project, had been in interaction with at least one counterparts in the EU. Therefore more than 200 institutions had come together. As a result of the training activities, conferences, researches, books, reports, leaflets and the websites, it had been possible to reach approximately 2 million people.

Under these 119 projects, to be able to lower the lack of information and to develop mutual understanding, partners have operated in European networks, and also exchanged experiences in the subjects of the assuming responsibilities and application of the EU *acquis communautaire*, increasing quality of local governments' activities in the public services²⁰⁰.

At the same time, important steps had been taken by the signing of protocols and partnership contracts, developing joint projects in the future, and with the attempts to join European federations and the umbrella organizations, in 87% of these projects, on the way to sustainable cooperation between the EU and Turkey²⁰¹.

Translation service was one of the services under this project. The language obstacle is one of the major problems which the NGOs face with, in their relations with the EU institutions, and their counterparts in the EU in general. The Turkish NGOs, especially the small scale ones are having difficulties in expressing themselves in international arena and in reaching financial support opportunities.

This translation services had been mainly given during the meetings and conferences as simultaneous translations. Not only in the organizations in Turkey, such as during the meeting conducted by the ITKIB to discuss the problems in the textile industry with similar institutions in the EU, or during the

²⁰⁰ Secretary General of EU Affairs webpage, Civil Society Development Project
<<http://www.csdproject.net/web/AboutTheProgramme/tabid/54/language/tr-TR/Default.asp>> 824.09.2009)

²⁰¹ Uludağ University, Project Management Center <<http://pym.uludag.edu.tr/kaynaklar/csd/CSD.pdf>>
(26.12.2009)

workshop which was performed by Turkey Diabetes Nurses Foundation with their European colleagues, but also in the meetings, conferences done in the Europe, as in an organization made in Paris, on the cultural heritage. In a smaller scale, translation services had been given during the preparation of websites, workshop materials and during the preparation studies of the projects, and therefore made contributions to develop relations among Turkish NGOs²⁰².

4.5 EXAMINATION THE ROLE AND THE VIEW OF SELECTED NGOs IN EU – TURKEY RELATIONS

Three NGOs have been chosen to examine and understand the position of the NGOs in the relations between Turkey and the EU. The roles which are assumed by the NGOs in Turkey – EU relations are although examined under three main headings, these roles are interrelated to each other, and in fact are difficult to be separated from each other with bold lines, when they are evaluated in the activities of the Turkish NGOs. As explained earlier, EDF has been selected, as its scope of the activities is all related to the EU since its establishment in 1965. It has been playing important roles in respect to all three roles defined. TESSF has been an active and influential NGO in Turkey, as well as in the international arena. It also assumes roles in the accession of Turkey to the EU. In case of TESSF, its efforts and activities are difficult to be framed under only one of the roles of the NGOs in Turkey EU relations. Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation (Türk Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih Vakfı; TTV) on the other hand is an active NGO, in the civil society debates, since the revival of the concept in the discussions since 80s and 90s.

²⁰² Secretary General of EU Affairs webpage, Civil Society Development Project: Compendium <http://www.csdproject.net/web/docs/compendium/compendium_TR.pdf> (24.09.2009)

Meetings were held with the representatives of the three NGOs. The periodicals, the publications of these NGOs had been examined, as well as the webpages. The projects of these three NGOs had been researched, and their position in relation to the roles in the accession had been evaluated.

4.5.1 Economic Development Foundation (EDF; IKV)

With the Ankara Agreement in 1963, Turkey has made its first step towards taking place in European integration process, which brought obligations for both sides. In this process, it became necessary to follow up the developments in Europe and to create an information flow to Turkish associations and institutions. With this aim, in November 1965 EDF was established. Its aims are:

- To contribute social and economic development of Turkey,
- To initiate and develop necessary studies to develop Turkey's with economic groupings and especially with the EU,
- To organize seminars, conferences and panels to inform Turkish public,
- To issue the studies and papers which are prepared either by the EDF or made by EDF other institutions to prepare,
- To provide cooperation and coordination of business world in Turkey and abroad,
- To introduce Turkey in abroad²⁰³.

It has been informing Turkish private sector and Turkish public about the EU and Turkish – EU relations through its researches, publications, seminars and conferences. To perform this task more efficiently, in 1984 IKV

²⁰³ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (IKV;EDF) Official webpage, www.ikv.org.tr

Representation Office was founded in Brussels. This office is transmitting the information about the developments in Turkish private sector and their expectations to the EU institutions, special representation organizations and effective individuals²⁰⁴.

It has been in contact with EU Commission, the Council, the EP, ECOSOC, Eurochambers, other representative organs of the member states, organizations and institutions which provides education opportunities in the EU, universities, research groups, think-thanks, European media and NGO's which are active in these interest areas²⁰⁵.

To be able to have information about the EDF, and to understand the EDF's position and state regarding to the three roles mentioned in this study on NGOs role in the accession process, a meeting was held with Ms Çisel İleri²⁰⁶, at EDF office on 14 January 2010. In the harmonization of the Turkish system with EU *acquis communautaire*, EDF is assuming an important role, together with other NGOs, working in the same area. According to Ms İleri, after the Helsinki Summit, many new NGOs had been established, or the existing NGOs established directorates on the EU affairs. Therefore their contribution in the harmonization of the *acquis* is more professional since then.

At EDF, each researcher is responsible from one or more chapters of the *acquis communautaire*. They follow up the process and the developments. They issue the opinions on the state of the developments.

EDF is one of the bodies consulted by the Secretariat General for the EU Affairs, during the preparation of the negotiation position papers. During the continuation of the process, EDF is constantly in relation and cooperation with

²⁰⁴ *ibid*

²⁰⁵ *ibid*

²⁰⁶ Interview with Çisel İleri; Senior Specialist; Economic Development Foundation, 14.01.2010

the other NGOs. EDF is participating to the regular sectoral meetings with different Ministries, especially those related with IPA.

EDF had assumed an important leading role in the gathering of the NGOs, and the establishment of Turkish Platform, which had held meetings both in Turkey and in Brussels before the start of the accession negotiations, to call for the start of the accession negotiations immediately. Therefore it can also be said that EDF had a role of warning both sides of the process. It is preparing press releases on the up-to-date issues, like the visa problem of the Turkish citizens. It also evaluates the Progress Reports on Turkey, and declares its opinion both to Turkish institutions, as well as European Commission.

EDF had developed a project which is called Window to Turkey²⁰⁷, under which the experts working in the European Commission, EP, and the other EU institutions, especially on Turkey, are being invited to Turkey. During the meetings, not only the subjects related to the EU and accession is discussed, but also Turkish culture, history, art are being discussed. The first meeting was held in Brussels on 11 July 2007, the second one on 24 September 2007 and the third one on 17 April 2008. Another study to represent Turkey is targeting the EP. The EP members, who are hesitant towards Turkey's accession or the ones had negative opinions, had been contacted, and invited to Turkey. The NGOs with the same area of study with these members and the parliamentarians could have a chance to meet, as well as the press. The EP member Nirj Deva participated the meeting on 12 September 2008, in Istanbul, on the Turkish NGOs and EP Dialogue meeting. Alexander Lambsdorff and Karin Resetarits participated the meeting on 28 April 2008, Jan Zahradil, Eva Tomaszewska and Katarina Tomaszewska met with the Turkish NGOs on 25-28 April 2008 in İzmir, Ankara and İstanbul. In 21-22 July 2008, Emine Bozkurt and Richard Howitt participated the meeting in İstanbul. The main three

²⁰⁷ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (IKV; EDF): Projects
<<http://www.ikv.org.tr/icerik.asp?konu=projeler&baslik=Projeler&id=1385&arama=1&anahtar=bilgi%20k pr leri>>
(05.01.2010)

target of this project were the people working in the EP, European Commission Enlargement Directorate General, Directorate B, Desk Turkey and Coreper Enlargement Group.

Another project is “Bandırma on the Road to the EU”. The effect of the harmonisation of the *acquis* especially on the environment and food safety subjects, on the working practices of the businesses in Bandırma had been assessed. Based on the result of the poll study, there is a great lack of information in these 76 enterprises²⁰⁸. To be able to fill this gap, seminars had been done to explain the process and the results of the harmonization. The aim of EDF is to develop this project further with the studies on the other regions and sectors of Turkey.

EDF is in constant contact with the European NGOs, as well as the project partners. EDF is preparing a publication on the misunderstandings about Turkey, which are commonly accepted as the truths in the EU. This publication will be distributed to the EU institutions, universities, and the NGOs in Europe.

Under the European Horizons project, EDF organized seminars and by those seminars to inform Turkish people about the aims, application, and content of the pre-accession period. By this way, it aimed to increase the consciousness of all levels of the society about the possible economic, social and political implications of the pre-accession period. These seminars took place in many of the provinces of Turkey, including Bursa, Edirne, Kayseri, Konya, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon, Erzurum and Kars,²⁰⁹

The target group of the project was public institutions, local governments, universities, NGOs, private sector, trade and employee unions, local organizations of political parties, media and private firms.

²⁰⁸ *ibid*

²⁰⁹ Avrupa Komisyonu Türkiye Temsilciliği, *deltur.cec.eu.int* (2002)

Below some of the recent activities, projects and the publications of EDF are listed.

Table 4.

EDF Activities and Publications

27 November 2009	“Turkey and Europe – An Example: Alessandro Missir di Lusignano” Book Presentation in Brussels
04 December 2009	Conference on "EU-Turkey Relations : Free Movement of Persons"
11 December 2009	Seminar on “State Aids and Turkey’s Adaptation to the EU
05 November 2009	Seminar on “Turkey and China, from the perspective of China – Europe Relations”
19-20 October 2009	Speech in the Conference on “Improvement of NGOs – Nation States – EC Triangle”
2-3 October 2009	Seminar on “ The Accession of Turkey to the EU: Individual Approaches”
11-13 September 2009	Meeting in Lausanne “Action Committee for European Countries. Method, Activity, Effect”
7-8 September 2009	Jean Monnet Conference in Brussels
11-12 June 2009	Meeting on “Window to EU” Project
08-09 June 2009	Conference on “Croatia’s EU Accession Negotiations: Developments, Problems, Solutions and Reflections for Turkey”

Source: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (IKV;EDF) Official webpage, www.ikv.org.tr

- “Visa Hotline Project’ - Survey Report (English)
- “Visa Policy of Member States And The EU Towards Turkish Nationals After Soysal
- “Visa Hotline Project” Project Report (English)
- * “Visa Hotline Project” – Pre Survey Report (Turkish)
- “Visa Hotline Project” - Background Paper: Turkish Citizens’ Rights in the Eu (English & Turkish)
- Turkey Eu Relations Almanac 2009 (Turkish)
- ‘La Turquie et l’Europe - Un Exemple: Alessandro Missir Di Lusignano’ (French & English)
- Turkey Eu Relations Almanac 2008 (Turkish)

4.5.2 Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESSF)

Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, TESEV) is founded in 1961, as an independent think-tank. It aims to transmit the academic researches to the policy making levels.

- To enhance and encourage social and political transformation in Turkey,
- To support Turkey's accession to the EU and implementation of the Copenhagen criteria,
- To study and analyze rapid social and cultural changes taking place in Turkey, as well as the Government's responses to those challenges ,
- To study the effects of globalization
- To encourage independent and alternative thinking
- To help Turkish society become an integral part of democratic political life, and ensure that civil society plays an active role in the transformation process.
- To encourage the development of transparency and openness in Turkey
- To inform the public on issues of democracy ²¹⁰.

TESSF program areas are grouped under three headings; democratization, foreign policy and good governance. The most significant role in the preparation of the EU and its citizens to the Turkey's EU membership can be studied under the foreign policy heading according to Ms Yırcalı²¹¹. TESSF has a 3 years programme of Europe Meetings. It is choosing partner NGOs in European countries, and conducting studies together. These studies can be on specific issues or on more general topics as the future of Europe. The latest report prepared will be presented to the members of the Spanish Parliament,

²¹⁰ Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; (TESEV, TESSF) official webpage, ww.tesev.org.tr (2002 – 16.01.2010)

²¹¹ Interview with Ms Ayse Yırcalı., Executive Coordinator, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, 15.01.2010

universities and NGOs representatives and press in Madrid. These presentations will continue in London, Brussels and Paris during the coming 6 months. Previously similar meetings held in Paris, with the cooperation with IFRI. This partnership had evolved to a new project; Turkish – French Media dialogue, as most of the prejudices are arising from lack of information, or misinformation as well as communication defects.

On 27 May 2009, the TESSF organized an international workshop entitled “Turkey-EU Relations and Sweden's EU Term Presidency” in collaboration with Lund University Center for European Studies. The meeting was designed to serve as a platform for academicians, civil society members, journalists and bureaucrats from Sweden, Turkey and other EU member countries to discuss the challenges that lay ahead of Turkey and the EU during the Swedish Presidency²¹².

TESSF, The British Council, and Centre for European Reform jointly organize the Bosphorus Conferences every year. This year's Conference, like the previous four, was a thought-provoking event and presented an opportunity to address some of the issues expected to arise as relations between the EU and Turkey evolve over the next decade²¹³.

As Ms Yırcalı noted, the contribution of TESSF to the role of NGOs in the preparation of Turkish citizens to the EU membership, is its role in the democratization of Turkey in general²¹⁴. The topics on which TESSF has been working on are, also the areas where EU asks for further development from Turkey, Mentalities and Perceptions Structures; Security Sector Reform;

²¹² Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; (TESEV, TESSF) Official webpage, www.tesev.org.tr , (2002 – 16.01.2010)

²¹³ ibid

²¹⁴ Interview with Ms Ayse Yırcalı,, Executive Coordinator, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, 15.01.2010

Kurdish Question; Constitutional Citizenship and Minority Rights; and Religion, State, and Society Relations²¹⁵.

TESSF also performs as an NGO in the preparation of the new codes in the area of their interest, by presenting their ideas. Rather than a technical support, they help to fit the laws in the frame of human rights and democracy. The support they gave in the preparation of the law on the right to have information.

The accession process to EU necessitates the application of good governance principles to the Turkish context as well. Starting with 2004, TESSF started the Good Governance Program with an aim to include academia, civil society and all the relevant stakeholders into the law making process²¹⁶.

The table below demonstrates the projects that TESSF has initiated and implemented since 2000.

²¹⁵ Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; (TESEV, TESSF) Official webpage, www.tesev.org.tr, (2002 – 16.01.2010)

²¹⁶ *ibid*

Table 5.**TESSF Projects and Publications**

March 2000- 2002	'TESEV's Corruption Project' ²¹⁷
February 2002 - September 2002	Impact of the Custom's Union with EU on Turkish Manufacturing Industry
February 2002 - November 2002	Political Economy of Turkey's Customs Union with the EU: A Curse or A Blessing?"
September 2002	Turkey and Europe: Cultural Perceptions and Interactions
2006-2008	Press conference: Almanac Turkey 2006-2008:Security Sector and Democratic Oversight
11.06.2009	Conference: Security Sector Oversight and Civil Actors
27.05.2009	International Workshop: Turkey-EU Relations and Sweden's EU Term Presidency
2008	Security Sector Governance: Turkey and Europe prepared by Ümit Cizre and İbrahim Cerrah
2008	European Council's Police Code of Ethics and the Vocational Socialisation of Security Personnel in Turkey edited by İbrahim Cerrah
2008	Nationalism and Turkey-EU Relations, prepared by Ümit Özkırımlı
2006	The Majority and Minority Policies in Turkey: Citizenship Debates in the EU Process, prepared by Ayhan Kaya and Turgut Tarhanlı ²¹⁸

Source: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; (TESEV, TESSF) Official webpage, www.tesev.org.tr , (2002 – 16.01.2010)

²¹⁷ Reflections, (2001), *Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation*, İstanbul

²¹⁸ Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation Leaflet, 2009

4.5.3 The Economic and Social History Foundation (ESHF)

The organization is based on the joint initiative of a group of intellectuals of various backgrounds and professions. It was founded by 264 prominent intellectuals in September 1991²¹⁹.

The goal of this foundation are:

- To enrich and lend a new content to the way in which people regard history
- To encounter the conservation of the historical heritage with a deep rooted sensitivity and active participation of wide sections of the society.
- To help the Turkish people form a direct, truly comprehensive and non-instrumentalist relationship with their own history,
- To make the subject of history a field for civic action²²⁰.

The main study areas of the History Foundation are history and education. Lately there have been two projects done in the school books on history. The first project started in 2005, with the financial support from the EC and the Open Society Institute. Between 2007 and 2009 the second project had been completed. During the project, 139 school books on every course from , history and music to social sciences had been evaluated according the criteria set by the advisory boards, and checked their compatibility to the human rights. Following these assessments, the experts wrote their reports and sent to the Ministry of Education. These reports have been sent to EC as well²²¹. This project has also taken place in the Human Rights Education in the School Systems of Europe, Central Asia and North America: A Compendium of Good

²¹⁹ Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation webpage <www.tarihvakfi.org.tr> (2002 – 18.01.2010)

²²⁰ ibid

²²¹ Interview with Gamze Rezan Sarışen , Project Coordinator in THF, on 15.01.2010

Practice, as an example of the good practice²²². Since 1994, the foundation has actively taken place in all civil society symposiums, and published the books of these symposiums, such as, “Civil Society”, “Democracy and Islam”, “NGOs in Istanbul Since Tanzimat”.

The Foundation works in cooperation with all individuals, groups and institutions engaged in similar activities both in Turkey and abroad. It organizes scholarly meetings, international conferences, panels, workshops.

ESHF had been mainly active in the field of NGOs and democratic citizenship areas especially between 1994 and 2003. Below list of the publications on this specific subject area can be found.

Table 6.

ESHF Projects

12-13 December 2003	Symposium XIV NGOs in Turkey: EU Adaptation process and NGOs
15 October 2003	NGOs Directory 2004 – 2005
13 December 2002	Symposium XIII NGOs in Turkey: Projects, Project Development and NGOs
15 August 2002	Project on Visual Explanation of Human Rights in Turkey and Development of the Civil Society
21-22 June 2002	Symposium XI NGOs in Turkey: Localisation, Local Governments and the NGOs
02 November 2001	Symposium X NGOs in Turkey: Youth – Participation and Civil Society
15 – 16 December 2000	Symposium VIII NGOs in Turkey: The Role of the NGOs in EU-Turkey Unification
12-13 November 1999	Symposium VI NGOs in Turkey
01.01.1996	Project on the Istanbul NGOs History

Source: Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation webpage
www.tarihvakfi.org.tr (2002 – 18.01.2010)

²²² Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation: News, A Compendium of Good Practice

<<http://www.tarihvakfi.org.tr/haberayrinti.asp?ID=706>> (16.01.2010)

5. CONCLUSION

The civil society concept is a developing and ever-changing concept which denotes different meanings to different people in the course of history. However there is a common understanding that civil society refers to the space between the family and the state. In order to understand the evolution of civil society concept, it is necessary to look back to the 18th century Europe. This term first expressed by Aristotle, who defined the civil society as gathering of people by their own consent and living together. With the Enlightenment, the concept developed further and intensified. The social contract idea expressed by philosophers, which converted the society to civil society by abandoning, the state of nature. These early perceptions explain why people live in societies instead of state of nature.

However in Hegel's understanding civil society (*Gürgerliche Gesellschaft*) is a bourgeois society and not created as a result of a contract; it constitutes the environment where such a contract can be performed. It can be said that the first philosopher was Hegel, who had separated the civil society concept from the state in a great scale, and evaluated it as a complex social structure²²³.

In 1990's, civil society was seen as the driving force of the societal modernization and renewal especially in the USA and the EU. On the other hand, in developing countries, the desires for the limitation of state and the governments to be more open to public opinion, created an arena for the development of civil society.

²²³ Boobbio, N., (1998), "Gramsci and Civil Society Concept", (çev) Mehmet Küçük, *Sivil Toplum ve Devlet*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 99

The various interests of the society organized together in different interest areas and created their NGOs. They are the organizations out of central or local authority control which voluntarily come together. There are many reasons for the raising importance of the NGOs. The central power monopoly of the state is gradually dissolving. The new partners of the governments become the business world, international organizations, various citizen groups and initiatives; in short civil society. The development and intensification of communication facilities' is another reason as well. Information, technology and communication dissolve the classical hierarchical relationships and empower individuals and groups.

The growing effectiveness of the NGOs on policy areas is a result of their flexibility, their ability to concentrate on a single area, their independence from politics and because of their ability to access direct relations with individuals. All these factors contribute to their prompt and efficient actions. On the other hand, NGOs suffer from some limitations due to their financial dependency and skilled personnel insufficiency.

NGOs today act globally and create networks of relations with their counterparts around the world. Especially the acceptance of NGOs' status in international organizations, gave them a great opportunity to express the interest of their members globally. In some interest areas as human rights, environmental issues, social and development issues, the extensity and intensity of those relations are greatly developed.

Turkey has experienced the process of the formation of civil society long after the Western countries. The traditional hierarchy of central authority was inherited to the Republic from the Ottoman Empire. While Europe was experiencing the Industrial Revolution, Ottoman Empire was still continuing its closed economic activities. This system prevented the establishment of bourgeois class and the modernization of citizens. Every activity was under strict control of the center; therefore the civil society was not existed, or existed in a very limited sense in the Ottoman Empire.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the tendency of central authority continued. However, the necessity of a bourgeois class was understood by the government and tried to be established again with state initiatives. The formation of plural society in Turkey was seen after 1961 constitution. With the freedom provided by the constitution, NGOs were started to be established and spread in a great extent. However, this process of the establishment and development of civil society in Turkey was interrupted approximately in every ten years with military interventions. After each intervention, the freedoms were restricted, many NGOs were closed. Bureaucratic structure of the state enhanced the blockage on the formation of the civil society. Especially in 1980s the discussions of civil society were prevailed. However the perception of civil society was seen as equal to unmilitary society.

The differentiation in social structure and intensification of stratification contributed to emergence of conflicting the interest. These factors also made it impossible for the state or the political parties alone to satisfy all those interests. Strengthening of market economy and the establishment of closer relations with international economy system intensified the civil society as well. There are also external pressures for the development of civil society in Turkey. Presently, the number of NGOs is continuously rising in Turkey although they are facing legal limitations. For example, to receive a financial support from an NGO or institution in another country, still the permission of Council of Ministers of Turkey is required.

As many international organizations, the EU has established close relations with NGOs. In fact, since the beginning of the integration process, a great importance was given to the NGOs by the institutions of the EC. After the integration went beyond the boundaries of economic integration, in accordance with this the importance of the NGOs increased. Since European NGOs represent the interests of the European citizens, the institutions of the EU need the information, experience of the NGOs to a great extent. In the creation of the

European identity and citizenship, although some improvements had been realised, there is still a big way to go. There are hot debates about the legitimacy of the EU and embrace of European identity by the citizens of the member states. All in all, in the current EU structure, NGOs contribute to the determination of policy agenda, implementation and monitoring of the policies and programs.

Depending upon its activities, it can also be claimed that the EU also supports the NGOs not only within Europe, but also the ones functioning in the countries which the EU has been in close cooperation. It places importance on the existence and development of civil society in countries which declared their intentions to access the EU. This sensitivity can be observed in the Copenhagen Criteria.

The EU has relations with Turkish NGOs long before the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate for full-membership. It provided funds to Turkish NGOs which were working for the improvement of economic and social conditions and development of Customs Union. After the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate for full-membership, the possibilities of financial support increased. The main financial tool is the IPA. It has replaced the earlier financial tools.

The EU also supports the establishment of intense relations between Turkish NGOs and their counterparts in Europe. Such an exchange of information and experience will be beneficial for both sides. As a candidate country, Turkish NGOs can benefit from the information and education opportunities from the ones in Europe. On the other hand, European NGOs with these intense relations can understand the structure and sensitivities of Turkish citizens. This two sided relation can serve as a tool for introduction of both sides' interests to each other. With the establishment of these relations besides the diplomatic procedures, direct relations between citizens have increased.

The relations with the EU have not been a smooth one since the beginning. There have always been ups and downs, not only in the official

relations between the EU and Turkey, but also in the perception of both EU citizens and the Turkish citizens. During the 1950s and 1960s, the debates on the relations between Turkey and the EU had been in the axis of mainly economic and geographical position of Turkey. After the end of the military rule in Turkey in 1980s, and with the membership application of Turkey in 1987 to the EC, the membership of Turkey had been started to be seen as a possibility. Since then, discussion about Turkish accession to the EC/EU as a full member is increasingly has been framed as a question of cultural similarities and differences and thus as a question of (European) identity²²⁴.

The latest developments, like discussions started by Sarkozy and Merkel, the referendum in Switzerland about the minarets of the mosques, are showing that the EU has not decided its position about the Muslim population who are currently the citizens of the EU. Besides this, in the case of Turkey's accession to the EU, their Muslim population will increase to 16%²²⁵.

Not only is the religious side creating question marks in the minds, but also already crowded population, and high birth rate, problems of education are some of the reasons of the EU citizens' reluctance towards Turkey's accession. A Eurobarometer survey made in 2006, demonstrated that among the peoples of the EU-25, a clear majority of 52% considered that Turkey's accession would be in the primary interest of Turkey, only 20% viewed it as a mutually beneficial outcome, only 7% saw it in the interest of the Union and a paltry 3% believed that it would be in the interest of their own country²²⁶.

The official and diplomatic relations have an undeniable role in the change in the position of the governments of the member states. Turkish

²²⁴ Walter, J., Albert, M., (2009), Turkey on the European Doorstep: British and German Debates About Turkey in the European Communities, *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12, Bielefeld

²²⁵ C. Arvanitopoulos (Ed.), (2009) "Turkey's Accession to the European Union", Tziampiris, A., *The European Union, Islam and Turkey: Delineating Europe's Soft Power*, Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, pp 68

²²⁶ ibid

officials are presenting the importance and the profits of Turkey's accession in the official platforms. However, even if the Copenhagen Criteria has been fulfilled, in some of the member states, there is requirement of a referendum on the accession of future members. At this point, besides the official platform, the activities in the social and cultural platforms gain significant importance. Only with the efforts of the NGOs and other civil society organizations the conversion of the current negative, neutral or hesitant perspectives will be possible. Face to face relations between the citizens will make it possible to overcome the prejudices.

The concerns about Turkey's full membership do not have only social and cultural aspects. The geographical position of Turkey brings some issues to the table such as the new borders and new neighbours of the EU. The other aspect is related to the place and weight of Turkey in the EU institutions' composition. This issue is raising questions related to the EP seats' allocation, and Turkey's importance in the Council due to voting weights.

Therefore, not only the citizens of the EU have some question marks, but also some political leaders of the EU have. The establishment of permanent branches of the Turkish NGOs, and their continuous lobbying activities will be an effective way to overcome the prejudices. Their active presence in Brussels and in other European capitals gains importance. It is necessary to meet with the EP members, to have meetings. Even at this point, it will be useful to utilize and benefit from the earlier experiences of the European NGOs and umbrella organizations, as they have a history with the EU institutions, and they may guide the Turkish NGOs to reach the correct person, in the right time and through an effective way.

Although the goal of full membership to the EU has been accepted and embraced by the Turkish citizens, there is also a belief in the society that this project will not reach an end, or will not end positively. When compared to the processes and the timing of achieving the full membership of the latest members, the despair in the society is understandable. However, it is important

to understand that the qualities and dynamics of Turkey are much more different than any of the other new member states or the candidate countries. It is also the responsibility of the Turkish NGOs to explain this fact to the society, with their expertise in specific areas of interest.

It shall also be clearly explained that the membership to the EU is not only a project of belonging to a group of countries, however it is more to be in the equal position with these countries, to have equal standards in social, political and economic areas. The Copenhagen Criteria have not been developed to create obstacles in the path to the membership; however on the contrary, the aim is to bring Turkey to a much democratic level. Therefore, the idea in many of the Turkish citizens' minds of the dead end of this membership needs to be clarified and they shall be convinced that these reforms have been in the favour of Turkey and Turkish citizens, but maybe in a longer term than they had been expected to take place. Turkish NGOs, which are active in different policy areas, can explain this better, with the conferences, meetings with the sector representatives, or through youth activities.

Besides the activities of the government, the ability of the NGOs to reach people, and to have one to one contact, establish relations during the meetings, conferences, or with the field studies, makes their contribution much deeper and more effective. During this process of information, it is critical to reach ordinary citizen, who does not have an intention to have such information, and who is not making any effort to reach the correct information from the correct source. With the expertise of the NGOs, it will be possible to inform and educate all segments of the society about the pros and cons of membership, and make them prepared for the process. The expertise of the NGOs is especially needed in the harmonization of *acquis communautaire*. However, nobody or no institution can be expert on all 35 chapters. Therefore, the participation of the NGOs to the harmonization process is not only a voluntary support to represent the voice of their supporters, but also necessary to help the officials with their expertise in their area of activities, and experiences, as well

as with the contacts with their counterparts in the EU and other candidate countries, with the aim of sharing experiences.

It has to be underlined that NGOs bring valuable knowledge and skills to the accession process, gained from direct contact with the grassroots movements and as providing vital feedback on what works and what does not.

To conclude, NGOs bear several different roles and responsibilities in the political, cultural, economic and social lives of the individuals, as well as states and the global system as a whole. This is also the case about the Turkish NGOs. Some of them are mainly active in the education and health issues, such as SCLA, TEVF (Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı; TEGV), and TMA (Türk Tabipler Birliği, TTB) some are more in social and political areas as TEF and TESSF. There are also some, whose main areas of activities are economic issues, such as TIBA and EPRFT, on the other hand there are some, which are specialized on certain subjects as human rights protection or women's rights, or on more specific issues as neighbourhood associations, or maritime associations. They all have expertise in the areas in which they are active. Turkey shall profit from these several different civil society organisations and NGOs, in the accession process to the EU. Their expertise in the specific issues may help adoption of the *acquis communautaire* in a smooth way.

Many of the Turkish NGOs have been in contact with other NGOs, which are located and active in Europe and other parts of the world. This is partly because of the Customs Union, partly because of the necessities of the modern world, and globalisation, and partly because of the Turkish population living in these countries. It will be beneficial to utilise the already established networks of relations, to get two sides of the issue together, and make them understand each other. For many years, Turkish NGOs have been assuming this role of representing Turkey and Turkish citizens in Europe. This role can be played in a more conscious way, to prepare both European and Turkish citizens for Turkey's full membership, and to develop a common understanding and a solid ground for the future relations.

On the other hand, it shall be stated here that the cooperation between the Turkish NGOs themselves is lower compared to their established relations with their counterparts in the EU. To achieve a well-functioning and beneficial system, the relations between the Turkish NGOs, especially which are sharing similar interest areas shall come together more frequently, and work together to become an effective party of this process.

Without the existence and participation of the NGOs in the accession process, it will not be possible to represent all parts of the societies of both sides; Turkey and the EU. To be able to have a positive result for everybody, the voice of all affected person and interest shall be taken into consideration as much as possible. Only in this case, the accession for Turkey and enlargement for the EU will have a meaning and the system will further develop on a solid and sustainable ground.

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Meeting with Çisel İleri; Senior Specialist; Economic Development Foundation, 14.01.2010

Meeting with Gamze Rezan Sarışen; Project Coordinator, the Economic and Social History Foundation, 15.01.2010

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. The Table Listing the 35 Chapters of *Acquis Communautaire*, Together with the Current Status of Turkey²²⁷

<u>Opened and Provisionally Closed</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>To be Opened</u>	<u>Screening Reports Approved at the Council of the European Union with Benchmarks</u>	<u>Draft Screening Reports are to be Approved at the Council of the European Union</u>	<u>Screening Reports have not been drafted yet</u>
25) Science and Research	4) Free Movement of Capital	17)) Economic and Monetary Policy	1) Free Movement of Goods	2) Freedom of Movement of Workers	31)) Foreign, Security and Defense Policy
	6) Company Law	26)) Education and Culture	3) Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services	13) Fisheries	
	7) Intellectual Property Law		5) Public Procurement	14) Transport Policy	
	10) Information Society and Media		8) Competition Policy	15) Energy	
	16) Taxation		9) Financial Services	22) Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural	

²²⁷ <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=65&l=2>

				Instruments	
	18) Statistics		11) Agriculture and Rural Development	23) Judiciary and Fundamenta l Rights	
	20) Enterprise and Industrial Policy		12) Food Safety, Veterinary and Phytosanitary Policy	24) Justice, Freedom and Security	
	21) Trans- European Networks		19) Social Policy and Employment	30) External Relations	
	27) Environmen t		29) Customs Union	33) Financial and Budgetary Provisions	
	28) Consumer and Health Protection				
	32) Financial Control				

Source: Secretariat General For EU Affairs webpage www.abgs.gov.tr, January 2010

ANNEX 2. Sample Projects from Civil Society Dialogue:

TOWNS AND MUNICIPALITIES

A EUROPEAN APPROACH FOR INTEGRATED WASTE MANAGEMENT

Partners of the project are Şişli Municipality, Büyükçekmece Municipality, Arnavutköy Municipality and Landeshauptstadt Hannover, Germany.

Duration of the project is between June 2008 and November 2009.

The Budget of the project is €189.859,45

Objectives of the Project:

- to develop the information of the management and decision makers in Turkish local governments about the EU *acquis communautaire*, policies and the functions on environmental subjects.
- to develop cooperation between the local governments and public private sectors of Turkey and the EU member states on the environment and waste management.
- to increase the efficiency of the initiatives aiming the environmental protection in local level, by public participation and performing information activities, and creating awareness in public.

Project Activities:

- ✓ Training programmes had been done for the Şişli Municipality management, decision makers and the personnel.
- ✓ Technical visit to Hannover on 10-14 May 2009, meetings with 7 different ECOPROFIT users, several NGOs and Hannover region major.
- ✓ Information meetings and trainings for 409 personnel on waste management
- ✓ Seminars on 13 primary school, with the participation of more than 3000 students,

- ✓ Specially prepared 3600 books by the ÇEVKO Foundation had been distributed to the students
- ✓ Similar studies in the Istanbul technical University and Bahçeşehir University, with the participation of 220 students and academicians.
- ✓ Arrangement of a idea-concept contest, “Ideas which are not thrown to the waste”, in the primary and secondary schools in Şişli.
- ✓ Trainings for the management and the personnel of shopping centers.
- ✓ Conference held on 23-24 October 2009, on the Local Governments and Waste Management in EU – Turkey Relations.
- ✓ Addition to above mentioned activities, approximately 10000 leaflets, 1500 posters, 4000 booklets and 1500 conference books prepared and distributes. With the news on the Turkish and German media, it is estimated that the project could reach total 75000 people.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

FRAGMENTS OF LIVING IN ARCHITECTURE

Partners of the project are Istanbul Serbest Mimarlar Derneği, Bund Deutscher Architekten (BDA), Germany.

Duration of the project is between July 2008 and November 2009.

Budget of the project is €211.017,91

Objectives of the Project:

- To bring the the architecture to the public debate area, and to develop a consciousness for the notification of quality in the constructed environment, as well as to develop awareness on the values of planning and design in the contemporary architecture.

To benefit from the EU's experiences where architecture is used as a cultural arena, and to develop knowledge on how to apply EU standarts in Turkey.

- To help Turkish architects to understand the EU values and legislation on the architecture, and introduction of the Best Practice's in EU architecture policies on planning and application.

Project Activities:

✓ In the context of the project, a serial has been prepared, which consists of 13 parts, each 22 minutes. These parts will be on NTV and a film gathered from these 13 parts has been prepared to be shown on a German national TV channel.

This film will be also given to the universities architecture departments, and also to the Architecture Chambers.

✓ Two conferences had been held; France Conference on May 15th, 2009 in Paris and Turkey Conference on June 4th, 2009 in Istanbul.

UNIVERSITIES

PROMOTION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DIALOGUE IN THE EU

Partners of the project are Selçuk University, Freie University, Germany, and Karamanooğlu Mehmetbey University, Turkey.

Duration of the project is between May 2008 and November 2009.

Budget of the project is €177.789,00.

Objectives of the Project:

- The support of the civil society dialogue in historical and cultural subjects in the European countries, to solve the problems in the Turkish and German history and culture resulted from the historical balks,
- The strengthening of the experience exchange and mutual relations of the civil societies in Turkey and Germany, to achieve a better understanding of Turkish history and culture in Germany,
- To achieve better understanding of the EU Social policies in Turkey, to develop and strengthen long term and sustainable relations between the Turkish and German NGOs as well as the universities.
- Developing mutual tolerance and understanding between the NGOs working on cultural and historical areas, in Germany and Turkey,
- To develop an interaction to increase the quality of historical and cultural policies, to construct a dialogue bridge between Turkey and Germany,

- to conduct researches, which will contribute to the policies aiming to develop equality rights of the EU citizens.

Project Activities:

- ✓ Project has been presented to the press, with the participation of representatives from the public and private sector and the NGOs.
- ✓ Preparation of the website, where all the news, conference plans and the achievements would be presented.
- ✓ Visit to the project partner in Berlin Freie University, and meetings with the project committee on the activities, the schedule of the planned activities, the determination of the target audiences.
- ✓ Education seminars on the common history and the culture of the EU members and their social policies, to the NGO members and students.
- ✓ Seminars together with the NGO representatives on culture and history in Germany.

One of the main and unexpected achievements of this project was the signing of 5 years term Erasmus protocol with the project partner.

INTERACT- EU, FRANCE, TURKEY UNIVERSITY DIALOGUE²²⁸

Partners of the project are İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Turkey, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France, Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, Turkey.

Duration of the project is between May 2008 and November 2009.

Budget of the project is € 309.576,14.

Section 1.01 Objectives of the project:

- Eradication of prejudices, and hence decrease of the levels of mistrust through enhanced dialogue promoting rational information between the publics of Turkey and the EU;
- Dissemination of better knowledge and understanding of TR within the EU and of EU within TR;

²²⁸ <http://www.interactproject.org/?m=2>

- Provide for the exchange of knowledge on EU policies as well as enhance analytical skills and academic know-how on both sides;
- Contributing to the enhancement of civil society dialogue and research capacity between EU and TR through institutional cooperation between BILGİ, Sc Po and IFEA;

Section 1.02 Project activities:

- ✓ Three thematic/awareness raising conferences
- ✓ Scientific exchange of professors and doctoral/post-doctoral research fellows, expert task force of academicians,
- ✓ joint multidisciplinary research projects
- ✓ workshops for the Phd students' participation.
- ✓ Summer school,
- ✓ Establishment of network ateliers for the NGO representatives.

As a result of this project, Erasmus agreement has been signed with Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and protocols for the joint seminar and conferences for Turkish Season activities.

YOUTH INITIATIVES FOR DIALOGUE

DEVELOPING A CHAIN OF RURAL YOUTH BETWEEN TURKEY AND EUROPE

Partners of the project are İçel El Sanatları ve Eğitim Vakfı, Turkey and Europartners 2000 Foundation, Bulgaria.

Duration of the project is between July 2008 and November 2009.

Budget of the project is €89.756,95²²⁹.

Section 1.03 Objectives of the project:

- To support the economic, political and ideological dialogues between turkey, Bulgaria and the EU.
- To achieve the integration of Turkey to European and north Atlantic organizations.

²²⁹ <http://www.ruralityouth.org.tr/index.php?sa=icerik&mn=62>

- To develop beneficial cooperations on the development, tolerance, intercultural understanding, rights and participation.

Section 1.04 Project activities:

- ✓ Participated in the Project of Developing European curriculum of the EU Culture 2000
- ✓ Performed the distribution of many products of Information and Communication Technologies on the European Heritage and Cultural Achievements and values, together with the CECE (Committee for the European Construction Equipment Industry).
- ✓ Establishment of the first European Virtual School, with web base.
- ✓ With this project, the organization of rural youth had been achieved in turkey for the first time, and developed a network of rural youth organizations, based on a comprehensive research on the special necessities of the rural youth. With this organization, Turkey has been included to Bulgarian, Italian, Spanish, French and other EU networks.

Establishment of Rural youth centers in Mersin and Trabzon.

ANNEX 3. List of 119 Projects under CSD II.:

	Project	Partner 1	Partner 2
Istanbul Greater Municipality	Share Of Experience Related To Municipalities And Municipal Companies In Eu And Turkey	Denmark, City Of Odense	
Zeytinburnu Municipality	Municipal Dialogue For Integration Of Migrant+B11	Belgium, Stadsbestuur Bergen	Germany, Bezirksamt Friedrichshain Turkey Bağcılar Municipality, Turkey, Union Of The Municipalities Of The Marmara Region
Armutlu Municipality	Armutlu İn Ecotourism - Eu Dialogue	Bulgaria, Municipality Of Madjarovo	Turkey, Termal Municipality, Turkey, Çınarcık Municipality
Municipality Of Osmangazi	Swedish - Turkish Municipal Networking İn Participatory Budgeting System Project	Turkey, Bursa Nilüfer Municipality	Turkey, Eskişehir Tepebaşı Municipality Turkey, Ankara Altındağ Municipality, Sweden City Of Umea
Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality	I Love Environment, İn Origin I Sort	Turkey, Körfez Municipality	Germany, Die Stadtreiniger Kassel
Şişli Municipality	A European Approach For Integrated Waste Management	Turkey, Kumburgaz Mayiralty	Turkey, Durusu İlkademe Mayoralty, Germany, Landeshauptstadt Hannover
Bursa Gölyazı Municipality	Eu Model İn Lake Culture Fishery And Birdwatching Tourism	Hungary, Self Government Of Town Balatonfüred	Greece, Municipality Of Rafina
Adapazarı Central Municipality	Increasing Environmental Awareness İn The Region Of Adapazarı	Turkey, Güneşler Municipality	Bulgaria, Municipality Of Shumen
Babaeski Municipality	Municipal Services And Eu Accession Building The Capacity Of Babaeski Municipality	Bulgaria, Municipality Of Peshtera	
Kadıköy Municipality	Management Of Waste Produced By Electric And Electronic Equipment	Sweden, The Municipality Of Torsby The Administration Department For Environment And Construction, Sweden	
Yalova Union Of Chambers Of Craftsmen And Artisans	More Dialogue More Cooperation	Bulgaria, National Association Of Small And Medium Sized Business	Turkey, Edirne Chambers Of Tradesmen And Craftsmen Union

Yenileme Pazarı Geliştirme Derneği	Promoting Of Awareness Of Block Exemption Regulation In Parts Replacement Market	Gva, Gesamtverband Autoteile Handel E.V. -	
Istanbul Serbest Mimarlar Derneği	Fragments Of Living In Architecture	Germany, Bund Deutscher Architekten Bda	
Turkish Constructional Steel Work Association (Tucsa)	Cultural Sharing Through Constructional Steel Sector	Romania, Romanian Association For Constructural Steelworkss	
Akyazi Chamber Of Agriculture	Strengthening Farmers Organizations With Cooperation Of Acvc	Hungaria, Agricultural Chamber Of Vespem County	
Yıldız Teknik University	Promote Education And Reciprocal Understanding Through Multicultural Integrated Teaching (Permit)	Italy, Università Ca'foscari Venezia-Sentro Eccellenza Per La Ricerca Didattica De La Formazione Avanzata(Cerdfa)	Slovenya, University Of Primorska Italy, Twas-The Academy Of Sciences For The Developing World
İstanbul Bilgi University	Interact- Eu, France, Turkey University Dialogue	France, Institut D'etudes Politiques De Paris France, Institut Francais D'etudes Anatoliennes	
Bahçeşehir Universities	European Media And Cultural Studies Masters Programme And Media Awareness	Germany, University Of Postdam Germany, University Of Applied Sciences Postdam	
İstanbul Trade University	Research On Rural Economic And Social Development For Mountain Villages In Thrace	Gr, South East European Research Center	
Marmara University	University - Municipality Cooperation In The Local Government Education	England, The Department Of Politics And Philosophy Manchester Metropolitan University	
Sabancı University	Mapping European Higher Educational Models	Italy, Università Degli Studi Di Siena Facoltà Di Economia Richar Goodwin	England, The Chancellor Masters And Scholars Of The University Of Oxford Sweden, Uppsala University

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi	Problems Of Europeanization And European Perceptions Of Turkey As A Future Member State	Spain, Geri (History And Theory Of International Relations Official Research Group- Universidad Autonoma De Madrid)	Turkey, Avrupa İle Diyalog Derneği
Uludağ University	Network For Intercultural Dialogue And Education: Turkey - Bulgaria	Bulgaria, Sofia University 'Stkliment' Center Of Intercultural Education And Communication	Turkey, Kocaeli University Turkey, Muğla University
Boğaziçi University	Renewable Energy Networks Between Turkish And European Universities (Renet)	Germany, University Of Applied Sciences Hamburg	Sweden, Kth Royal Institute Of Technology Turkey, Akdeniz University
Marmara Üniversitesi - Avrupa Birliği Enstitüsü	Bridges Of Understanding: Intercultural Europe And Turkey's Contribution	Germany, University Of Bremen	
Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar University	City And Art	Austria, Academy Of Fine Arts Vıenna	England, Central Saint Martins College Of Art And Design Sweden, Schools Of Art And Communication, Malmö University
Koç University	Managing International Urban Migration- Turkiye-İtalia-Espana (Mium-Tie)	Spain, Üniversida De Cadız (Uca)	Italy, Università luav Dı Venezia
Fatih University - Ankara Meslek Yüksekokulu	Comparative Assessment Of Turkish And European Budgetary Processes	Italy, Università Dı Udine Dipartimento Dı Scieenza Economiche	Litvania, Alytus College İngiltere, University Of Greenwich Turkey, Marmara University Türkiye, University Of Hitit Polonya, Poznan University
Bursa Young Industrialists Businessmen & Executives Association	Young Entrepreneurs Academy And Civil Society Dialogue	Association Savremie	
Association Of Research And Development On Societal Issues	Networking Europe	Romania, Associaion For European Integration (Quiz)	Spain, Dema Italy, Eurogems Organization For Civil Society Empowerment
Ari Social Participation And Development Foundation	Peace Leaders Of The Future	Belgium, Inside Europe Foundation	Slovenia, Pontis Foundation

Gaf Global Art Association	Art (Fellow) Ship	Bulgaria, International Initiatives For Cooperation	Turkey, Semiha Berksoy Opera Foundation Turkey, Development And Participation Association
Anatolian Young Leaders Association	Global Citizen	Denmark, New Europe Foundation	
Guida- Young Executives Businessmen Association	Young Executive And Business People Platform	Litvania, Lithuanian Social Democratic Youth Union	
Durağan Municipality	Greece Turkish Cooperation Towards Organic Cities	Greece, Municipality Of Epanomis	Turkey, Saraydüzü Belediyesi
Merzifon Madeni Eşya Sanatkarları Esnaf Odası	Project On Capacity Development For Trade Associations And Improved Cooperation With Eu Associations	Turkey, Gümüşhacı Köy Madenî Yöpler Esnaf Ve Sanatkarlar Odası	Turkey, Suluova Madeni İşler Esnaf Ve Sanatkarlar Odası Germany, Innung Für Metall-Und Kunststofftechnik Berlin
Amasya Damızlık Sığır Yetiştiricileri Birliği	Current Applications And Recent Improvements In Cattle Breeding	France, Institut De L'eleavage	
Amasya Genç Yp Adamları Derneği	European Cultural Legation Of Young Turkish Entrepreneurs	Litvania, Lithuanian Young Businessmen And Economists Club	Litvania, Lithuania/Vilnius Ngo Bulgaria, Iniziativa Regional Youth Committee
Bafra Keyder (Bafra Karadeniz Eğitim Ve Yardımlaşma Derneği)	Embrace The Other	Germany, Tüdesb	
Kula Municipality	Katakekaumene-Yanık Ülke	Germany; Stadt Lorsch	Turkey, Salihli Municipality Greece, Municipality Of Eressos-Antissa Britain, Fermanagh District Council
Development Of Regional Waste Management System For Yalova	Development Of Regional Waste Management System For Yalova	Bulgaria, Silystre Belediyesi	
Denizli Municipality	Municipal Support To Municipalities	Turkey, Municipality Of Honaz	Denmark, Viborg Kommune(Municipality) Romania, Local Council Of Cernavoda Town Turkey, Municipality Of Gümüşler

Bursa Metropolitan Municipality	Household Waste Management For Sustainable Environment	Italy, Roma Beledýyesý	
Çine Municipality	Joint Initiatives For Municipal Services At Eu Standards	Italy, Sassuolo Municipality	Hungary, Tapolca Municipality
Balçova Municipality	Development Of Good Governance Continuity In Balçova	Greece, Municipality Of Rion	
Bornova Oto Tamircileri Ve Sanatkarları Odası Başkanlığı (Botso)	Project On Improving Eu Relations By Increasing Existing Capacities Of Trade Associations	Turkey, Ortak 1:Ýzmýr Trade Association Of Furnacemen And Sanitary Installers	Germany, Chamber Of Crafts And Skilled Trades, Munster
Menderes Ziraat Odası	Promotion Of Certificated Agriculture	Italy, Confederazýone Italiana Agricoltori (Cýa) Dell'umbrya	
İzmir Union Of Chambers Of Craftsmen And Artisans	Staff Accreditation	Italy, Ecipa-Ente Confederale Dý Istruzýone Professýonale Per L1artýgýanato La Pýccola Ýmpresa	
Association On Organic Agriculture Organization	Acting Organic By Thinking Organic	Turkey, Ýzmýr Chamber Of Agriculture	Romania, National Federation Of Ecological Agriculture Italy, Associazione Italiana Per l'agricoltura Biologica
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart University	Eu And Turkey: Connecting Identities, Bridging Cultures	Germany, Universtiy Of Education Heidelberg	Germany, University Ludwigsburg Italy, Corso Di Laurea In Scienze Dell'investigazione, Universita Di L'aquila
Uşak Universities	Understanding Europeaness And Promoting European Citizenship In Turkey	Turkey, Dokuz Eylül University	England, University Of Leicester
Efem Gençlik Ve Spor Kulübü	I Have Only The Candles Thus Needing You	Turkey, Çýđlý Beledýyesý	Germany, Schilleria Madchen Café
Aksiyon Derneđi	Challenge For Prejudice	Italy, Eurogems Associazione Di Promozione Sociale	Poland, Rural Youth Union
Uşak Genç İşadamları Derneđi	Turkish German Young Entrepreneurs Enterprice	Germany, Wirtschafts Junioren Dusseldorf Association	Germany, Der Verband Türkisher Unternehmer Und Industrieller In Europa

Ege Youth Center	Young Steps For Stronger Europe	Germany, Aegee- International Politics Working Group	Arnavutluk, Beyond Barriers Association France, Fair Trade Hellas Belgium, Aegee Leuven Türkiye, Taka- Music And Folklor Youth And Sports Association
Kalecik Municipality	Participated Urban Regeneration And Grape Investment Promotion For Ankara-Kalecik	Italy, City Of Venice	Portugal, Camara Municipal De Lisboa England, Leeds Municipality
Union Of Municipalities Of Turkey	Promotion Of International Partnerships Between Turkish And Spanish Municipalities	Spain, Federacion Espanola De Municipios Y Provincias (Femp)	
Mucur Municipality	The Formation Of Environment Consciusness	Austria, Grieskirchen Beledýyesý	
Meram Municipality	Picked Of Decomposed Of The Packing Wastes And Recycling Project	Malta, Rabat (Gazo) Local Council	
Yenikent Municipality	Children's Traffic And Enviroment Education Project	Sweden, Botkrka Beledýyesý	
Sivas Municipality	Monitoring Gas Consumption For Thermo-Rehabilitation Of Residential Buildings	Ýstanbul Metropolitan Municipality	Atelier Parisien D'urbanisme (Apur) - City Of Paris
Eskişehir Tepebaşı Municipality	Our City Is Our Home	Belgium, City Of Ghent	Romania, Association For Sustainable Development Brasov
Kırşehir Municipality	Sürdürülebilir Turizm Stratejisinde Kırşehir Ve Bydgoszcz Kardeşliği	Poland, City Of Bydgoszcz	
Çekerek Municipality	The Project Of Developing Tourism In Çekerek, Aydıncık, Kadişehri Region	Holland, City Of Roermond	Turkey, Kazankaya Belediyesi Turkey, Halıköy Belediyesi
Niksar Municipality	Niksar Management Plan Project	Sweden, Karlskrona Kommun / Department Of Culture	
Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality	Kayseri Fire Department On The Way To The Eu	Germany, Stadt Duisburg Der Oberbürgermeister Feuer Und Zivilschutzamt	Turkey, Ürgüp Belediyesi

Konya Serbest Muhasebeciler Ve Mali Müşavirler Odası	Adaptation Of Independent Standards On Auditing To Turkey	England, Association Of Chartered Certified Accountant	Turkey, Aksaray Chamber Of Self Employed Accountant And Finacial Consultant
Union Of Turkish Bars	Promoting Civil Dialogue In Bars Through Legal Education	England, Law Society Of England And Wales	France, Conseil National Des Barreaux Belgium, Council Of Bars And Law Societies Of Europe
Corporate Social Responsibility Association Of Turkey	Accelerating Corporate Social Responsibility In Turkey	Begium, Csr Europe(The European Network For Corporate Social Responsibility)	
Association Of Turkish Consulting Engineers And Architects	Improving Engineering Consultancy Sector With Civil Society Dialogue	Holland, Dutch Association Of Consulting Engineers (Onrı)	
Türkiye Sebzeçiler Meyveciler Ve Seyyar Pazarcılar Federasyonu	Tüspaf'ın Kapasitesinin Artırılması	Germany, Handwerkskammer Ulm	
Yeşilhisar Chamber Of Agriculture	Building Capacity And Increasing The General Awareness Of Phytosanitary In Line With The <i>Acquis</i>	Hungaria, Hungarian Chamber Of Agriculture	Turkey, Yahyalı Chamber Of Agriculture
Eskişehir Chamber Of Agriculture	Sustainable Cooperation And Strengthening Institutional Capacity For Integration To Eu	Bulgaria Council Of The Bulgarian Agricultural Organisations	
Türkiye Esnaf Ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu	Occupational Health And Safety Conciousness Development In Trademen/Craftmen Enterprises	Germany, Handwerkskammer Wiesbaden	Germany, Handwerkskammer Koblenz Germany, Handwerkskammer Düsseldorf
Türk Eczacıları Birliği	Electronic Health For All	Belgium, Pharmaceutical Group Of The European Union	
Bilkent University	Towards A Deeper Understanding Of Rural Europe	France, Universtiy Of Markblosch Ufr Arts	Holland, University Of Leiden
Hacettepe University	Terminology For Cross - Cultural Dialogue And Specialized Communication	Turkey, Bapkent University	Austria, University Of Vienna , Center For Translation Studies Germany, Cologne University For Applied Sciences Romania, "Politehnica" Univesity Timisoara

Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı (Tepav)	Economic Assessment Of The Reach Regulation On The Chemicals Industry Of Turkey (Ercit)	Turkey, Middle East Technical University	Turkey, Economic Development Foundation (Ikv) England, University Of Hull Litvanya, Kaunas University Of Technology
Middle East Technical University	Strengthening And Integrating Academic Networks	Germany, Jean Monnet Chair, University Of Cologne; Department Of Political Science And European Affairs	
Ankara University	Reorganising The Business Education Programme Under The Uk Experience	England, Warwick Business School	England, Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College
Gazi University	Developing The Cooperation Between Universities And Sme's	Litvania, Siauliai University	Turkey, Bozok University
Ankara University	Turkey And Its Participation In The European Knowledge Economy	Turkey, Bilkent University	Turkey, Koç University Holland, Inholland University Romania, Academia De Studii Economice Din Bucuresti/ Academy Of Economic Studies Bucharest, Romania
Erciyes University	Training Social Studies & History Educators For Multicultural Europe	Turkey, Karadeniz Technical University Fatih Faculty Of Education	England, University Of West England Bristol
Selçuk University	Promotion Of Historical And Cultural Dialogue In Eu	Turkey, Karamanođlu Mehmetbey University Kazimkarabekir Vocational School	Germany, Freie University
Fatih University - Ankara Meslek Yüksekokulu	Comparative Assessment Of Turkish And European Budgetary Processes	Italy, Università Di Udine Dipartimento Di Scienza Economica	Litvania, Alytus College Yngiltere, University Of Greenwich Turkey, Marmara University Türkiye, University Of Hitit Polonya, Poznan University
Gsm - Youth Services Centre	Civil Active Dialogue(Civil Ad)	Italy, Lunaria Youth Association	Italy, Erudesk National Association For Social Promotion
Gençev-Gençlik Kültür Evi Derneđi	Youth Can (Youth Culture In Action)	Spain, Red Europea De Dialogo Social	
Hisarcık Belediye Spor	Turkish And European Youth Hand In Hand	Austria, Ski Club Obertauern	Turkey, Hisarcık Belediyesi

Gören Kalpler Eğitim Derneği	Starting Dialogue Of Blind People Via Bicycle	Italy, National Association Of Blind People	
Yurt- Yuva Der	Cascading Training Of Turkish Youth On Conflict And Diversity Management (Cttycdm)	Bulgaria, Sustainable Development Of Civil Society Club	
Yenimahalle Youth Centre Youth And Sport Club	We Are In For An Unhindered Accession To The European Union	Italy, Risorsse Umane Europa	
Business And Professional Women Association	Solution Time For Employment Problem Step	Association Of Youth Reserah And Policy Development	Greece, Balkan Amfiktionia Association Of Young People Of Balkan Countries
Artvin Municipality	Development Of Volunteer Environmental Protection Programmes	Italy, Association Of Italian Municipalities Of Umbria	Greece, Municipality Of Kea Türkiye, Ardanuç Municipality Turkey, Murgul Municipality
Atatürk University	Rural Development Challenges In The Eu And Turkey	Italy, College Of Agriculture University Of Padova	Turkey, Cukurova University Faculty Of Agriculture
Anadolu Kalkınma Ve Eğitim Derneği	Developing Youth Initiatives For Sustainable Development	France, Centre Mediterranéen De L'environnement	Greece, Society Of Protection Of Nature And Eco-Development Fyrom, Tourist Association Of Ohrit City Biljana
Vangözü Folklor Turizm Spor Kulübü Derneği	Vangözü Uluslararası Gençlik Ve Kültür Festivali	Germany, Academy Culture Art And Scientific And Technical Research Foundation	
Akdeniz Belediyeler Birliği	A Different Approach To Municipal Services, A Strategical Look	Lithuania, Assoc Of Local Authorities In Lithuania	Turkey, Kepez Municipality
Antalya Metropolitan Municipality	Fuse- Future Sustainable Education In Turkey And Sweden	Sweden, City Of Malmö, Environment Department	Turkey, Muğla Municipality Turkey, Tarsus Municipality
Arpaçbaşış Municipality	Yaşanabilir Bir Çevre İçin Ortak Akıl	Turkey, Odabaşı Beledyye Başkanlığı	Turkey, Yeşilköy Belediye Başkanlığı Italy, Ottaviano Belediyesi
Ilıca Municipality	Joint Initiatives For Municipal Services At Eu Standards	Makedonya, Municipality Of Strumica	Hungary, Municipality Of Town Balatonfüred
Alanya Municipality	Alanya And Vıdın- Promotion Of Business And Investments From A Regional Perspective	Bulgaria, Vıdın Munıcpalıty	

Alanya Çevresi Turizmi Geliştirme Ve Alt Yapı Birliği	Sustainable Waste Management For Small And Medium Sied Municipalities	Denmark, Esbjerg Municipality	Greece, Local Government Association
Toroslar Municipalty	Medra - Mersin And Drama Municipalities' Cooperation On Accessible Tourism	Greece, Local Union Of Communities And Municipalities Of Drama District	
Payas Municipalty	Castle Tourism Network "Cross-Castles"	Turkey, Ceyhan Municipality	Turkey, Yumurtalık Municipality Turkey, Toprakkale Municipality Turkey, Kurtkulağı Municipality Germany, Commune Dı Fiuggı Italy, Commune Dı Anagnı Ortak Almanya, Landeshauptstadt Schwerın İtalya, Commune Di Fiuggı
Bucak Municipalty	Cooperation And Friendship Bridge Between Bucak - Burdur And Krotoszyn - Poland	Poland, Miasto I Gmina Krotoszyn	Turkey, Burdur Belediyeler Birliği
Antalya Association Of Journalists	Press Academy Antalya	Holland, Press Now	Belgium, Indymedia.Be Turkey, Antalya Center Of Support For Eu Studies Association Türkiye, Akdenız Basın Vakfı
Antalya Esnaf Ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği	Improving Quality Of Hairdressing And Personal Care Sector	Turkey, Chamber Of Hairdressers,Manicurists And Pedicurists	Turkey, Antalya Chamber Of Barbers Tradesmen And Craftsmen Bulgarsitan, National Association Of The Hairdressers In Bulgaria
Mersin Universty	Accessibility Network For Turkish - Greek Societies (Actus)	Greece, Aristotle University Thessaloniki	
Akdeniz University	Reorganization Of Akdeniz University Edcas Eu Office	Germany, University Of Hamburg	Holland, Praktijkonderzoek Plant And Omgeving Bv
Mustafa Kemal University	Towards Inclusive Universities By Empowering Disabled Students	Bulgaria, Neofit Rilski Southwest Universty	Turkey, Middle East Technical University Holland, Stichting Handicap + Studie/ Nss
İçel El Sanatları Ve Eğitimvakfı	Developing A Chain Of Rural Youth Between Turkey And Europe	Bulgaria, Europartners 2000 Foundation	
Youth Communication Association	Youth Action For Future	Çek Cumhuriyeti, Obcanske Sdruzeni Hodinah	Poland, Stowarzyszenie Sensu Stricto Association

Mersin Genç İşadamları Derneği	Yong Ecological Entrepreneurs In Mersin	Italy, Circolo Festambiente	Greece, Antigone Informationa And Documentation Centre On Racism, Ecology, Peace And Non-Violence
Besni Municipality	All Labor Is For Problem-Free Generation	Italy, Comunýta Montana Alta Val Polcevera	
Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality	Increasing Dialogue And Establishing Cooperation Between Gaziantep And Karlstad Municipalities	Sweden, Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen,Karlstads Kommun	
Adıyaman Gazeteciler Derneği	N.E.O.S-News Effectiveness And Objectiveness In Press Services	Spain, Annur-Formacion-Cultura	
Kurtalan Chamber Of Agriculture	Strengthening The Institutional Capacity Of Kurtalan Chamber Of Agriculture	Hungaria, Agrarian Chamber Of Szabolcs	Turkey, Batman Chamber Of Agriculture
Yüksekova Ziraat Odası Başkanlığı	Incoming Human Health With Eu	Germany, Chamber Of Agriculture Of Lower Saxony	
Association For Social And Economical Development Of Youth In Gaziantep	Power Of Dialogue	Italy, Ngo Accademia Psicologia Applicata (Apa)	