INTRODUCTION

Importance of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) has been increasing in the lives of democratic nations; they became one of the major elements of the democratic decision making systems.

Today there are tens of thousands of non-governmental organizations in Turkey, and they are very effective in the democratic governance system in the country, they are also active in the international arena. Importance of these NGOs increased during the integration period of Turkey with European Union (EU). They will play an important role during the accession negotiations period which will start on October 3rd, 2005 and it will probably last for about ten to fifteen years.

All activities of these Turkish NGOs could not be covered in this thesis, instate just a few examples are considered. There are many popular Turkish NGOs which have been lobbying in EU countries and they helped the decision of EU Council to start the accession negotiations with Turkey on December 17th, 2004. These NGOs and their activities are well known by the Turkish society. One of the goals of this thesis is to explain the EU founds available to Turkey. Most of these founds are provided to the approved projects and they are led by non-governmental organizations. The number and volume of these founds will be increased during the accession talks period. For this reason NGOs covered in this thesis are selected among the ones which has successfully used the EU founds. Another aim of this thesis is to indicate the spread of the NGO activities in the country; for this reason NGOs which are not much popular but still successfully using the EU funds are studied in the last part of the thesis.

Since NGOs are powerful tools of the civil society and they can develop only in democratic environments Chapter – I of this thesis is devoted to the study of the historical developments of the concepts of "civil society" and "democracy"; ideas of some important philosophers through out the history have also been presented.

Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle introduced the concept of civilsociety; his teacher Plato tried to define an ideal state which is suitable to the city-states of his time; then the concept of "civil society" has been discussed by many intellectuals during the last

two centuries; however they could not arrive to a definitive definition. Depending on the who uses this concept and in what occasion it is used, it may have different meaning; such as "non-military" or "non–governmental". Michael Walzer's definition is general and well accepted these days, he defines civil society as, "an area in which human groups can move freely without being compelled by any kind of force, and they can freely define themselves".

Democracy is an important tool of civil society; for this reason historical development of democracy is also introduced in Chapter – I. Starting with Plato and Aristotle in ancient Greece many philosophers contributed to the historical developments of democracy; in the first chapter of this thesis, ideas of some of these great philosophers are given.

Democracy has been developed and accepted as the next to the ideal governing system in the most of the countries in the world; this increased the importance of the Civil Society and NGOs in these democratic countries. NGOs started to play important roles in democratic countries; they started to assume some of the responsibilities of the governments, they also have important roles to help the formation of public opinions, they are effectively a controlling mechanism for the government of the country.

In Chapter – II historical development of Turkish NGOs are presented, together with the economical, social and political conditions which have affected their developments. Some simple comparisons with the NGOs of the Western European countries are also included to be able to indicate the differences between the NGOs of different countries and the conditions which were available for their growth.

As many social and political reforms were achieved in Tanzimat Period and Ottoman society turned its face to modern Europe, it can be said that history of Turkish NGOs is also assumed to start with *this period*, therefore more attention should be given to the period after *Tanzimat* while studying the history of Turkish NGOs.

In middle ages as a result of commercial developments the merchants who were seeking to operate in more freedom against the feudal authorities started to get organized and established their guilds. These crafts guilds assumed the political power. As a result of this, these crafts guilds provided a means of popular organization. These conditions can be considered as a triggered factor preparing the suitable environment for the NGOs.

Historical development of NGOs in Turkey is parallel to the political history of the country; as the democracy was improved the number and the quality of the NGOs were increased. This can be observed for example in the second constitutional monarchy period (after 1908); in the multi-party period (after 1950); and in the harmonization with EU standards period (after 1990). These developments are given in detail in Chapter – II. It can be said that the NGOs in Turkey became an important part of the civil society, they became relatively free of political influence and free from the State's pressures as they became economically independent. They have also acquired a power basis in the society due to their increased legitimacy and credibility. Scopes of their activities and their effectiveness have been increased through out the years, parallel to the democratic improvements in the country. State had to transfer its many social responsibilities to the NGOs. Expectations of the society from NGOs increased as they became more powerful; recently Turkish NGOs have been lobbying in EU countries and EU's institutions to help Turkey to start negotiations for full membership of EU at the end of 2005

Increased roles of Turkish NGOs in EU – Turkey relations improve the prestige and creditability of these NGOs. EU authorities have been supporting the improvement of the NGOs in Turkey; for example many EU founds are available only to the projects submitted and carried out by the NGOs; this subject is discussed in the Chapter – III by presenting some examples of the successful projects.

In Chapter – III of this thesis some examples of Turkish NGOs and their projects which have been supported by EU funds are presented; some of these NGOs are not among the most prestigious ones of the Turkish NGOs; their activities are explained in this thesis to show the spread of NGO activities in Turkey. Lobbying for the EU membership and conducting projects which have been sponsored by EU founds were two important criterions in the selection of these example NGOs.

I. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

1.1. Development of the Concept of Civil Society and Democracy

The concept of "civil society" has been discussed by many intellectuals during the last two centuries; however they could not arrive to a definitive definition. Depending on who uses this concept and in what occasion it is used, it may have different meaning; such as "non-military" or "non–governmental". Michael Walzer's definition[1] (1992) is general and well accepted these days, he defines civil society as, "an area in which human groups can move freely without being compelled by any kind of force, and they can freely define themselves". It should not be surprising to discuss the concept of civil society together with the concept of "democracy", since civil society is out side of the state and limits its activities and its power.

In order to understand the content of the concept 'Civil Society' first of all democracy (an indispensable element of the civil society) and the relations between democracy and pluralism will be discussed, then the development of this concept and the conditions which are surrounding it will be considered. Then the formation of the civil society in Turkey will be discussed in detail together with the political and economical developments in the country; this section will be fallowed by a brief introduction to European and Turkish civil society and will be ended with the philosophical development of the concept.

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[1] Michael Walzer, « *Sivil Toplum Düşüncesi : Toplumsal Yapılaşmaya Doğru Bir Adım* », Birikim, Vol : 37, May 1992, p. 33.a

1.1.1. Democracy ; 'an Important Tool of Civil Society'

Democracy is a political system in which every individual has the right to vote, all votes have the equal value, governing power can be changed by the elections which are held in predetermined periods and there must be an established opposition which can benefit from freedom of expression and freedom of organization. A brief discussion of the historical development of democracy will help to understand the relations between democracy and civil society[2]:

History of first democratic form of government starts with Perikles in Athens in the fifth century BC and lasted about 200 years. Leaders of the assembly were not elected but assigned in this form of democracy; women, slaves and strangers were not eligible to be elected to the assembly. Another important development in the history of democracy is the declaration of Magna Carta in England, with this declaration king of England had to consult to his lords before declaring his decisions. Magna Carta is the foundation of the parliamentary system which was established later.

John Locke stated that "governments must depend on the consent of the ones being governed" in his article "Two Treaties of Government" in the 17th century. J.J. Rousseau, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were the important followers and supporters of this idea. Democracy started to be accepted as a government style and as a political regime in 19th century. Marx defined democracy as the total involvement of the individuals in social life. Political applications in Hitler's Germany, in Mussolini's Italy and Stalin's USSR were far away from democracy in the 20th century. In spite of the efforts to make democracy generally accepted after the 2nd WW it was applicable only in very few states; even in the US which has presumably one of the best performing democracy in the world civil rights movements faced a very fierce reaction from the federal government in 60s.

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[2] Bülent Tunga Yılmaz, « *Temsili Demokrasinin Krizi ve Bir Alternatif : Katılımcı Demokrasi* », Arı Turizm Tanıtım Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2003, p. 5

Today it is known that democracy has certain preconditions and can exist in communities which reach to a certain level of maturity. Unfortunately in a big portion of the countries in the world authoritarian and authoritative regimes are in power, a big majority of the people living in these countries have only an indirect idea about the benefits of the representative democracy.

a. Representative Democracy

"Representative democracy" is an administrative system in which an assembly is formed by the representatives of the people who are living in the community through free elections, in this assembly decisions are reached in accordance with the majority of the votes. Although representative democracy is criticized very widely and its problems are discussed, it is still assumed to be the best way of democratic government; neither pluralistic democracy nor participatory democracy is believed to yield a better results.

Representative democracy has been criticized widely as being elitist, exclusive and inadequate in channeling the preferences of the populace to the government. Second problem arises from the results of majority rule. Majority votes system has been transformed into majority hegemony which is the most feared result of the representative democracy. In addition to such criticisms, the increasing pace of globalization since the end of the Second World War led to the building of external restraints and influences on the democratic polity. The process of globalization in almost every field of life increased the interdependence among countries. Thus in this environment democratically elected governments can no longer be autonomous in their policies and are increasingly reacting to the effects of global developments. İlhan Tekeli describes the problems of representative democracy with his following statements [3]:

"First of these problems is related to the changing meaning of the boundaries between the countries in the globalize world. Important portions of the political and economical decisions are taken by someone or some establishment out side of a country;

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[3] İlhan Tekeli in a panel discussion which was called "Representative Democracy, Civil Networks and NGOs" realised in June 18 2004 by History Foundation

this causes the representative system lost its meaning for the people who are living in the country."

These criticisms caused some developments in representative democracy. The new approach suggests that the existence and activities of interest groups which try to influence the administration by lobbying besides the activities of the political parties are supporting factors for a well-functioning democracy. Although the decisions are taken by the majority of the parliament they may also be discussed at the different layers of the society in the new system.

b. Participatory Democracy

Participatory democracy which also facilitates the participation of the civil organizations into governmental decision-making process, it does not have the representation problem that representative democracy faces in a globalize country; but on the other hand participatory democracy could not completely replace the representative democracy; Mr. Tekeli explained the reason of its failure with his following statements:[4] "Participatory democracy has some inherent drawbacks; the most important of these is its anarchist tendency. Participatory democracy can not provide answers to the problems when the system in crises; 'How to find the remedies to the problems?', 'What should be the rules and procedures?' and 'How they should be applied?' are still the major questions." Mr. Tekeli also stated that concepts of national-state and representative democracy were still maintaining their validity.

c. Mutual-Governance

According to Mr. Tekeli the newly developed concept, "mutual-governance" is the answer to the problems of representation. Although this is originally a management

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[4] İlhan Tekeli in a panel discussion which was called "Representative Democracy, Civil Networks and NGOs" realised in June 18, 2004 by History Foundation

technique, but since it denies the ideas of "manager" and the ones to be managed, it is also a concept of democracy. "Governance" is considered in a different category than "participatory democracy" because it defends international relation webs rather than country based representation.   Governance theory defines the citizens as active and important elements of the system.   This system is always open to new additions and separations. With a system like this it is possible to produce goods and services which belong to private or public sector;   if this is true, the system do not need a political authority to manage it self.

It can be thought that the developments have contributed to the transformation of the nature and prospects of the democratic political community in a distinctive ways such as:[5]

- The locus of effective political power can no longer be assumed to be national governments
- The idea of a political community can no longer be located within the boundaries of a single nation state
- The national sovereignty has been subverted.
- The late twentieth century is marked by a significant series of new types of boundary problems. Powerful states make decisions not for their people but for others as well.

Expectation from the citizens is very limited in a representative democracy. They determine the ones who will use the political power by their votes in the elections, then live with the rules that were set by this political authority. This passive role changes when the system is transforming it self from the representative democracy to pluralistic democracy; citizens who wanted to protect their rights organize in self-interest groups and start to effect the allocation of values and resources in the country through the political system.

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[5] David Held, « Democracy and Global :*A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* », Vol.3, No :3, Sept-Dec 1997, p.252

1.1.2. The Concept of "Civil Society"

Rise of the concept of "civil society" and its developments are described in detail by referring to the ideas of related intellectuals in the following section of this study; but it is necessary to give a brief introduction here to make this section understandable. Philosophical background of civil society dates back to the works of Greek Philosopher Aristotle (384 – 322 BC)[6]. Many intellectuals tried to contribute to this philosophy since Aristotle; Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) and many other intellectuals preceding him thought that civil society (or political society) contradictory to natural conditions; but philosophers since the age of Enlightenment argued that civil society was not completely contradictory to natural conditions but it was the improved version of it; transformation was to make natural conditions better suited to humanity[7].

The separation of state and civil society was a breaking point suggested by the founder of contemporary philosophy, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 – 1831). With this definition civil society is pitted against the state; but this is not applicable in the concept of contemporary democracy, because any state which is estranged from civil society can not continue its existence[8]. Non-governmental organizations are well embraced by the states in democratic communities; the main reason for this is: non-governmental organizations do not aim to capture power, in other words non-governmental organizations are not an alternative for the ones who are in power. Definition of civil society made by Antonio Gramsci supports this view. Gramsci emphasized that civil society was not an area which covers only the economical activities but the problems in this area were really political. He demonstrated this by the following formula:

State = Political Society + Civil Society[9].   (1)

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[6] Özkan Yıldız, « *Sivil Toplum Dergisi* », No :5, January-February-March 2004, p.86

[7] Ayşenur Akpınar, « *Sivil Toplum, Düşünsel Temelleri ve Türkiye Perspektifi* », Altkitap, İstanbul, 2001, p.13.

[8] WALZER, op.cit, p.39.

[9] AKPINAR, op.cit, p. 9.

State was in superior position in Gramsci's formulation, because the limits of the area in which civil society would function and the rules they will obey were set by the state.

Civil society was considered as one of the answers to obtain a continued better life style at the end of 19th century and it was also considered as an alternative to capitalistic, nationalistic and leftist views which defined the necessary conditions for the better life style as citizenship and market economy; but a citizen can not intervene politics by only having citizenship or living in a market economy; the correct answer was civil society. Civil society was accepted as the complementary of capitalistic, nationalistic and leftist views not as an alternative to them in 80s and 90s. In another words "civil society" was accepted as an element of the magic triple medicine which heals illnesses occurred in 80s and continued in 90s, together with "democracy" and "market economy"; it was assumed to be the equivalent of "market" in economical area and equivalent of "democracy" in sociological area[10].

Concept of civil society lost some of its popularity towards the end of the 19th century but, acceptance of democracy in the East European countries caused civil society to regain its popularity at the end of the 20th century. Non-governmental organizations have been under the severe control of the states up to 90s;   they were reorganized and developed very fast after the real democracy accepted in these states. An individual can intervene to politics by influencing the decision-making process through appropriate channels of participation and this is only possible if he belongs to a well established organization. For this reason boom of non-governmental organizations was not surprising in those countries which made the transition to free democratic regimes.

In the 90s, four mutually-reinforcing processes of change which led to emphasis on the concept of civil society can be outlined:[11]   There was an explosion in global communication facilities;   the new forms of private associations, from transnational community organizations to networks were recognized; the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and military regimes in developing countries and the major UN

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[10] AKPINAR, op.cit, p.47.
[11] www.staff.city.ac.uk/p.willets retrieved on May 6th 2005

Conferences such as Conference for Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 and UN's Environment and Development Conference in Rio in 1992. One of the most important subjects discussed in Stockholm was "participation for a sustainable development". 35 000 non-governmental organizations participated besides the representatives of 178 countries to the Rio conference.   Representation of non-governmental organizations in this conference legitimated the concepts of "sustainable development", "civil society" and "participation".

A Liberal writer Benjamin Constant stated in his book, "Liberté des Anciens, Liberté des Modernes" that individuals in today's democracy lived in their own closed world and real active political involvement was only in ancient Greece[12]; for this reason contemporary individual is condemned to live under the pressures of the majority. This indicates the weakness of today's democracy. It is clear that the representative democracy had a tendency to actively involve citizens only from one election to another; and elections are the only legal aspect of participation[13]. Civil society helps citizens to coordinate their relations with one another as well as the ones in power and organize the individual efforts to create a collective action.

Civil society takes its important position in the new theoretical concept of "governance". Relations between the administrators and citizens to be administered are rearranged in this concept; citizens play a more active and effective role through non-governmental organizations in the system. This concept is also applicable in the local administrations which are a more democratic way of introducing greater democracy in the contemporary systems. It should be clear to any one that introduction of any new idea to the contemporary democracies is depending on the concept of "civil society".

One of the important characteristics of non-governmental organizations, or with a more common expression, "Non Governmental Organizations" (NGOs) which act as a buffer between the state and the groups of citizens and provide a way for the citizens to play an active role in the political life is its "pluralistic" nature. Possibility of establishing organizations of different ideas, different needs and different interests is the essence of civil society philosophy[14].   As the number and varieties of the non-governmental

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[12] Jean-Jacques Raynal, « *Histoire des grands courants de la pensée politique* », Hachette, Paris, 1999, p.92.
[13] Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "*Yurtdaşlık ve katılmacı demokrasi*", Birikim, vol : 32, December 1991, p.18.
[14] YILDIZ, op.cit, p. 86

organizations increase, the likelihood of being abolished by the central authorities decreases.

In today's world representative democracies are also under pressure from public opinion. As citizens' confidence to the politicians decreased, importance of the civil society concept became more valued. Non-governmental organizations found legal grounds to exert pressures on the politicians and even in some occasions to take over some of responsibilities of the politicians. Governing authorities ceased to question the legality of their activities and abandoned their hindering policies[15]. Now NGOs are independent from the direct control of any government. In addition there are three other generally accepted characteristics that exclude particular types of bodies from consideration:[16] An NGO should not be constituted as a political party; it should be non-profit making and it should not be a criminal group, in particular it must be non violent.

NGOs also help and even replace governmental actors in the international arena. NGOs may also play important roles in mediating between groups or parties that are in conflict with each other. NGOs started to play an important role during the period in which regional conflicts were increased and have expended their activities in conflict resolutions; they put their knowledge, experiences and skills with disputing parties to constructive use; one can say that they began to assume a mediator role. If we observe enabling characteristics of Non-Governmental Mediation:[17]

- **Unofficial status:** Many conflicts today prevent official intervention or mediation. A major obstacle is often the status of one or more of the parties involved in a dispute. (For example in a conflict between a government and rebel group, the government may not want to imply recognition of the insurgent group or to have official talks with them. NGOs can bring the disputants together in an informal, non official setting).

- **Impartiality:** NGOs as unofficial mediators are more discreet in their efforts. A trusted impartial non-governmental mediator may advance proposals that the parties find acceptable, has to bring disputing parties to some mutually acceptable middle ground and has to relay messages from one side to another.

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[15] Mithat Sancar, « *Global sivil toplum mu ? »*, Birikim, vol :130, February 2000, p.26.
[16] www.staff.city.ac.uk/p.willets retrieved on May 6th 2005
[17] Farouk Mawlawi, « *Journal of International Affairs; New Conflicts, New Challenges: The Evolving Role for NGOs Actors* », Vol :45, No : 2 Winter 1992, pp :11-14

- **Long term capability and commitment:** Formal diplomacy also suffers from an inability to address the psychological obstacles to mediation. Professional diplomats and statesmen rarely have sufficient time to develop the close relationship with the disputants. NGOs have the ability to invest time in establishing integrity with the disputing parties and gaining familiarity with the issue.

- **Early warning and preventive action:** International NGOs with local offices or projects are in an excellent position to provide early warning of a conflict situation through their headquarters and various NGO networks.

While according to classical principles of international law, international institutions consider national-states as the executive powers in the countries, they increasingly assign a more important role to the NGOs; they think that internationally established NGOs could be useful to overcome the legitimacy crises. Since the problems of unemployment, poverty, destruction of environment and activities of Mafia became impossible to solve locally, popularity and importance of those NGOs which were active in these areas increased. NGOs which were specialised in certain areas have better chance to solve the complicated problems. Existence of most of the internationally active NGOs may be connected to the new social movements which have been continued since 1968 in the West; but the assumption of all internationally established NGOs which have been active in the social areas are the products of these social movements or they are the continuation of them.[18]

The indispensability and legitimacy of internationally established NGOs are supported by international legal documents. Establishment of UN and relations of NGOs with this organization was an important step for NGOs' international acceptance[19]. The Charter of the UN and other official decisions which have been taken by UN reinforced the legal basis of NGOs. 71st article of the UN Charter allows Economical and Social Council to make proper arrangements with NGOs to consult on the subjects which are in its authority[20]. But this article allowed only political NGOs to be involved in UN activities as consultants. An important change was realized in World Human Rights Conference which assembled in Vienna in May 1993; many NGOs which were active in development and

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[18] SANCAR, op.cit, p. 24.
[19] ibid, p. 22.
[20] ibid, p. 22.

environment areas and which have been criticizing governments' actions in those areas joined the UN's activities. Internationally established NGOs are not active only under the UN umbrella today; they are participating in many conferences, declaring their opinions and even they are taking a leading role in organizing some conferences. Some of the internationally important NGOs have not been only criticizing the governments' actions but they have been able to act in the systems, two of these important NGOs are Greenpeace and Amnesty International.

1.1.3. An overview of the NGOs in Turkey and in Europe

History of the Turkish NGOs together with the economical and political developments in the country will be discussed in the following section of this thesis; here, a brief description of the activities of NGOs in Turkey and in Europe is presented.

Establishment of an effective and functioning civil society in Turkey is an inherited problem from Ottoman administration which had desired to regulate the society and bring it into line with Western standards in an authoritarian manner. Efforts to create non-governmental organizations during the modernization process of Turkey yielded a new model which may be called "bureaucratic society"[21]. It has been rather difficult for the Turkish NGO's to be autonomous, because the structures of these NGOs have been designed by the state and for the needs of the state[22]. They have been conveying demands of the state to the civil society instead of conveying the tendencies of the civil society to the state[23].

Military interventions, especially the one which took place on September 12, 1980 brought about serious limitations to freedom of expression, organization and association, and thus prevented development of the civil society. While the 1961 constitution was encouraging the citizens to participate to politics and it did not aim at limiting political activities of the citizens only to elections; 1982 constitution considered a less participatory

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[21] Gülgün Erdoğan Tosun, *'Sivil Toplum Örgütleri İçinde Katılım ve Örgüt içi Demokrasi'*, Birikim, vol : 130, February 2000, p.54.
[22] TOSUN, ibid, p.55

democracy. Only political parties and related state's organizations were considered to deal with politics in the 1982 constitution. This limited the political activities of the labor unions and associations considerably[24].

The activities of NGOs rapidly proliferated after the 1990's with ensuing democratic reforms, and especially after the Helsinki European Council where Turkey's candidacy to the EU was officially proclaimed. The EU actively supported Turkish NGOs and they became the most important indicators of democracy in the country. However, the long-standing tradition of high level of state intervention in the Turkish society can still be a barrier that Turkish NGOs have to struggle with. It should not be forgotten that it is rather difficult for the NGOs to have Western style, sustainable strong grounds in a country which has a strong states and military tradition, and in which basic political problems are considered as national security matters. The most recent proof of this is the warning given to the government by the National Security Council on February 28th, 1997. Aim of this warning was to stop the anti-secular practices of the government. It was supported by the secular majority of the society; labor unions, employers' associations, professional associations, contemporary women organizations, university professors who were considered as the guarantee for laicism[25]. However, it should also be added that Turkish NGOs had until that time established them considerably. That may be the reason why the Turkish General Staff sought the cooperation of the above-mentioned NGOs in their struggle against Islamic groups.

Another problem of the Turkish NGOs lies in the political cultural background of the society. Since "NGO" is a completely new concept to Turkish society, their responsibilities are not well understood by the citizens; they were expected to solve all kinds of problems. Citizens who were disillusioned because of the problems in the political system embraced NGOs which in turn assumed these limitless expectations with the influence of the media and public opinion. Activities of the NGOs after the earthquake in 1999 acquired wide coverage in the media and increased the popularity of NGOs. This positive atmosphere on the part of NGOs was instrumental in challenging the hegemony of political authority and to increase the societal standing of NGOs.

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[23] Serdar Tekin, « *Sivil Toplumun Devletiyle Bölünmez Bütünlüğü* », Birikim,vol : 130, February 2000, p.44.
[24] AKPINAR, op.cit, p.115.
[25] TEKİN, op.cit, p.45.

The third problem with the Turkish NGOs is problems in their internal democratic structure.   Majority of local NGOs in Turkey have been the guilds of artisans and craftsmen which provides mutual support to their members, building cooperatives, associations to develop the environment and charitable associations which were established mostly by women.   Classifying the commercial and industrial associations which can be assumed as the continuation of guilds in the Ottoman period as NGOs is creating a problem because of their relations with the government.[26] On the other hand professional associations could not provide democracy and participation in their internal organizations. Almost none of the professional associations could establish a participatory model of internal administration; their internal structure resembled the hierarchical organization of the state.   By their nature NGOs have to be democratic organization where members should be given the opportunity to express their views, influence the running of the organization and participate in its administration. In other words although the professional associations are assumed to be NGOs, they can not act as NGOs because of the constitutional requirements and because of their relations with the government and their state-centered traditions;   their organizational structure and their operations could only imitate the ones in the state.

This brief introduction for the Turkish NGOs can be concluded with the statements of Tanıl Bora:

"… I do not believe civil initiative in our country can open new horizons, unless a civil power which will guarantee their effectiveness can be combined with a will power to define the politics. Civil initiatives may provide freedom for them selves and for Turkey by forcing another model for politics; not by declaring them selves as "we are civilians", or not running away from polluted politics…"[27]

NGOs working at the European level have been organising themselves over a decade, taking forward the concept of civil society dialogue with the EU's political institutions onto new ground. The Cotonou Agreement between African Caribbean and Pacific countries and the European Union is one of the first international treaties which

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[26] Ömer Türkeş, « *STK'lar ya da sanal toplum kuruluşları* » , Birikim, vol : 130, February 2000, p.47.
[27] Tanıl Bora*, « Sivil inisiyatifler ve siyaseti yeniden kurmak »,* Gazete Pazar, 02.03.1997

refers to civil society; the document divides non-state actors into three categories:[28] the private sector; the economic and social partners, including trade unions and non-governmental organizations in all its forms.

EU's criterion to select candidates for its Economical and Social Council and the criterion for the NGOs in the database of European commission (*CONNECS*) are very similar. Meriç Özgüneş who was the guest speaker at the symposium "NGOs in the Process of Adaptation to EU" describes categories of associations which are accepted as NGOs:

- Commercial unions
- Labor unions
- Employers associations
- Non Governmental Organizations
- Service and production associations
- Local administration associations
- Political interest groups
- Religious interest groups
- Other groups

According to this categorization all non governmental associations which bring people together for a common aim and/or interest are accepted as NGOs. This definition includes religious associations, youth organizations and associations of local interest groups. In the same symposium Özgüneş mentioned the additional criterion which were defined by European Commission on December 2002; the criterion which were necessary to collaborate with civil associations are: openness, participation, transparency, consistency and affectivity. The "Social Platform" which was established by thousands of foundations, associations, clubs and voluntary organizations is a good example of acceptable NGOs.

In the Platform of European social NGOs which has realized in December 2002, three categories of associations which have been operating at the European level were determined:[29]

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[28] www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/int/eu/2002/05 retrieved on May 8th 2005

[29] www.globalpolicy.org. retrieved on May 8th 2005

- Firstly, those that set up with help of the European Commission which played a significant role in creating a European perspective amongst its 900 member organizations across the 15 member states.   This category includes the European women lobby, European Anti Poverty Network, the   International Gay and Lesbian Association...
- Secondly, networks which were created in order to influence EU; such as working on development cooperation *EUROSTEP*, network of development NGOs not linked to any religious confession whose members include *OXFAM*, the network of NGOs linked to the trade movement union War on Want, One World Action.
- Third category includes large national or even international NGOs which made a decision to open a Brussels Office such as Amnesty International, the World Wide Fund for Nature Greenpeace, Save the Children and Friends of the Earth.

In European Union which approaches to political integration every day the new concept of European civil society began to develop through the European institutions. The possibilities to represent civil society interests differ from the one EU institution to the other. The European Parliament is regarded as being most open to lobbying by non profit civil society interests; the European Court of Justice is also subject to intense lobbying activities; women's group and environmental groups have been fairly successful in this institution; the Council, by contrast, is generally regarded as being least open to lobbying; the Commission has put an emphasis on the concept "civil society".[30]

Prodi's efforts aiming to improve Commission's approach towards NGOs should not be underestimated. In the Platform of European Social NGOs; which criticized the lack of legal basis for consulting NGOs; Prodi mentioned that "three distinct forms of dialogue exist at the European level: political dialogue, social dialogue and the civil dialogue. The first of these dialogues have a structured format; the third, civil dialogue is an ad hoc dialogue with the institutions and it does exist. By saying that the creation of a structured civil dialogue to complement the political and social dialogues should be one of the essential principles of a reformed governance process, Prodi accentuated the importance of NGOs.

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[30] www.geocities.com/dspichtinger/cs-eu2.pdf retrieved on March 28th 2005

European civil society has been resembled to a sleeping dragon until the Maastrich Treaty which was signed in 1992 and which transformed an economical community to a political union; then it started the discussions if this political union should be organized in federation or in confederation. The first civil reactions in the 40 years history of European society took place during the approval period of this treaty, people in Denmark refused to be part of it, and treaty was approved with a very small majority of votes in France. One can assume that these reactions of the people woke the sleeping civil society in the other European countries. Putting Euro in circulation in most of the EU countries can be considered as the symbol of political unity, but this caused some other reaction for different reasons; these reacting groups started to be organized; these events are a corner stone in the history of European civil society. Over the past ten years the development of European civil society has been impressive. The Social platform mentioned above proves the importance of NGOs to EU; but still a development should be realized. NGOs also woke up from their deep sleep and realized the importance of organizing themselves in order to have strong influence within the EU. During the last ten years NGOs also learned to act and to work together. For now NGOs can only succeed with the support of the EU institutions but a structured civil dialogue established with a legal base in the treaties (such as Nice Treaty which recognizes the concept of organized civil society in the Article on the Economic and Social Committee report) would guarantee a role for civil society within a system of participatory democracy and would help to reinvigorate the EU's political system:[31]   If EU's political institutions can support such a step then a new period in the history of European civil society can begin.

1.2. The Philosophical Development of the Concept of Civil Society

As mentioned before the term "civil society" was first used by ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 – 322 BC) as "*politike koinonia*". Meaning of this term has

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[31] www.globalpolicy.org retrieved on May 8th 2005

been modified many times until it evolved into the meaning which is accepted today: it is a social area independent of the state but embraced by the state; there are many social and economical actors which play their specific roles in it. To understand the Latin notion of "civil societas"[32] referring to communities which conformed to norms that rose above and beyond the laws of the state works of Aristotle and Plato (428 – 348 BC) who wrote the famous *Politeia* (The State) should be studied.

Civil society started to be formed with the development of a new class, namely the bourgeoisie in the thriving cities of Europe during the late Middle Ages. Economical growth was parallel to the development of the cities, economical improvements caused the bourgeoisie to become stronger. This new class strived to carve out its own realm of action autonomously themselves; this tendency was the main motive which prepared the formation of the civil society in the Middle Ages. It can be said that development of bourgeoisie was enough to limit the power of the governing elite of the city-states of that period.

French revolution was a cornerstone in the historical development of the contemporary concept of democracy which depends on people's sovereignty. Starting with J. Locke (1632 – 1704), T. Hobbes (1588 – 1679) who completed the intellectual evolution to differentiate the responsibilities of the state and the civil society, then J. J. Rousseau (1712 – 1778) who defended people's equality, then G. W. F. Hegel (1770 – 1831) who gave the contemporary definition of the concept of "civil society", then Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) who equated civil society with bourgeoisie,[33] and Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) contributed to the historical development of democracy. The origins of the modern concept of civil society lie especially in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In those days there have been many great philosophers who contributed to the development of the concepts of "civil society" and "democracy", but to discuss all of their ideas is beyond the scope and aim of this thesis; for this reason only a few of them who focused on the idea of "citizen" and the "state" together with the concept of "civil society" are covered below.

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[32] http://iris-bg.org/publications/Ankara_paper.htm retrieved on March 30th 2005
[33] İlyas Doğan, « *Özgürlükçü ve Totaliter Düşünce Geleneğinde Sivil Toplum* » Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p. 167

1.2.1. Ancient Period: Plato and Aristotle

a. Plato and the Concept of Perfect Society

The famous Greek philosopher Plato who was the teacher of Aristotle was not interested in defining the "state" as it was, but he tried to define the ideal state. According to Plato, "state exists to serve for the needs of the people"; state's goal should be to establish an environment for the happiness of the people and this could be achieved by education and training. Plato thought that the roots of the state lay in the reality that no one was self sufficient, every one needed the helps of others; for this reason state's duty was to establish an environment in which people happily share the life with the others. This could be achieved only if society was established in accordance with moral principles.

The law of Plato's ideal state was aristocratic; ideal state consisted of three castes:[34] philosophers who were represented the state's intelligence enjoyed and making the executive power; soldiers who fight for the country were in the second caste; merchants, craftsmen and slaves were in the third caste. Plato did not require a big state, for him a state with 5040 citizens were enough for the obligations of a state.[35] He accepted slavery, for him slaves were the property of their masters; but on the other hand he emphasized "political consciousness". According to Plato someone could be considered as politically conscious if he had his rights and activities as well as he assumed his responsibilities in a political society.[36] Although he emphasized political consciousness, the idea of "democratic governance" was irrational according to him;[37] he mentioned that, "citizens of a democratic society think that politicians do not know anything about what they are doing and they like to replace a politician without having any real reason as if governing of a state is a simple matter and it does not require special talents". Plato

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[34] Alfred Weber, « *Felsefe Tarihi* », Sosyal Yayınlar, İstanbul, 1998, p. 64
[35] Frederick Copleston, « *Platon* », İdea, Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 112
[36] ibid, p. 117
[37] ibid, p. 107

prefers to have a philosopher-king who is knowledgeable and who has the capacity to overcome all kinds of difficulties.

Plato, towards the end of his life understood that many things to establish the ideal state were not possibly realized and gave up to support the ideal state as it was defined in his essay *Politeia* (The State); then he started to envisage relatively a better state in which administrators were not above the law but law was above the administrators[38] who prepared the conditions for the implementation of the rule of law.

b. Aristotle' Koinokia Politike

Starting at the ancient period until the modern ages, the concept of state and the concept of civil society were not differentiated from each other. As mentioned earlier Aristotle used the words "*koinonia politike*" for civil society in his book "*Politika*"; this concept had two meanings:[39]

- "*koinonia politike*" (civil society) was the goal and the best statue to be reached in a city-state with the help of the state; and
- All the other human groups who lived in the limits of the city.

Aristotle's definition covers the groups which were lawfully formed by the people and the society as a whole. It is necessary to understand the Aristotle's definitions of "citizen" and of "state" to be able to understand the meaning of the concept of Aristotle. Since state is formed by the people, he started to ask the question, "Who are the citizen and what is it?" According to Aristotle:[40]

- Living in a certain city did not yield the right to be a citizen, because foreigners and the slaves were also living in that city.
- People who had the right of filing a charge against someone can not be considered as citizens, because this right could be granted to some foreigners with special agreements. These people and the ones too old or too young might have a limited citizenship.

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[38] Prof. Dr. Macit Gökberk, « *Felsefe Tarihi* »Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1999, p. 66

[39] David Ross, *Aristoteles*, Kabalcı Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2002, p. 286

[40] ibid, p.286

- Even the people who had citizen ancestors for several generations might not be considered as citizens. The basic requirement to be a citizen was to have status in the legal system and to be a member of the administrating group.

These definitions indicate that Aristotle had a rather elitist idea for the citizens. A citizen should not only select the administrators but at the same time he had to contribute to prepare the laws and even he had to be a part of the administrating group when the conditions dictate. Aristotle eliminated the workers and the farmers from the citizen groups, he had two reasons:[41]

- First of all they did not have enough time; this had been considered as legitimate until the application of representative democracy, because workers might not have time to sit in the board of the administrators but they still could vote to elect their representatives;

- Secondly; Aristotle thought that manual work which turns the people into slaves and made them unacceptable to be a citizen. This statement indicates that slavery was legitimate in Aristotle's mind.

Aristotle's ideal was to have a group of people who proved them selves to be superior to the other citizens in the society and a non-extremist constitution, because when democracy and oligarchy are allowed to go to extremes they end up with revolutions. These superior people had to have special talents, good character and they should also recognize the constitution to be assigned to the higher positions in the state's administration.

According to Aristotle how the state should be? [42]

- First of all state must be big enough to be self sufficient and to achieve its goals, but it should not be bigger than it is necessary.

- Also the lands of the state must be large enough to allow a good social life, but it should not be too large to allow extreme luxury.

- All citizens except farmers and craftsmen should have two pieces of land, one at the city limits and one near the borders of the state. These lands would be worked up by the non-citizen workers.

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[41] ibid, p. 287
[42] ibid, p. 90

- One of the most important duties of the state was to offer good education to its citizens, to have good soldiers, experienced administrators and officials.

Since *Politika* is incomplete there are some missing parts in his philosophy; but it can be understood from the foregoing sections that Aristotle had high and noble ideas for the citizens and for their education.

1.2.2. New Ideas from Philosophers of Enlightenment Period

a. Hegel; "First Distinction between State and Society"

History and philosophy had been developed in dialectical processes, according to the Germany's last idealist philosopher Hegel who had developed his basic philosophy under the influence of Aristotle but who differs from him in many major concepts. He accepted "family" as a fundamental moral institution and according to him "civil society" had been developed as the anti-thesis to the family.[43] Civil society might be destroyed if the state could not take the competitive reactions in the society under its control, while the fundamental requirements of the society to be satisfied; therefore the state was necessary and it was divine, it should be formed by the citizens and for the citizens.[44]

Concept of civil society was the focal point in Hegel's political theory. He defined the family as the smallest unit of the civil society. The concept of family was changed after the 1789 revolution; traditional family concept was deteriorated and members of the family became more independent; but Hegel claimed that independence of the individuals led to mutual dependence; he explains his theory by using an analogy between the society and operations in a factory in which every individual makes a part but non of them can produce the complete end product. Therefore individuals alone in the society were insufficient;[45] unity and cooperation in a civil society was very important in Hegel's description of the civil society. That is why Hegel's concept of civil society can be defined

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[43] DOĞAN, op.cit, p. 106
[44] Frederick Copleston, « *Hegel* », İdea Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000, p. 67
[45] DOĞAN, op.cit, p. 111

as a "system of needs", a place in which individuals reconcile their private interests with social demands. [46]

It can be said that in Hegel's view, civil society contains three stages: a system of needs; the administration of justice; the public authority and competition. It is the sphere where individuals seek to satisfy each other's needs and it is based on the division of labor, system of social classes, law which promotes security of property may be regarded as the external state.[47]

Hegel who was under the influence of the events of his period introduced the concept of civil society to re-establish the legal, political and most importantly moral values which were deteriorated after the French revolution. Mutual dependence was the basis of Hegel's civil society; contrary to the state, its structure was based on business, economical activities which took place in it, for this reason bourgeoisie represented civil society. Manfred Riedel insisted that Hegel was the first philosopher who defended the idea of civil society which should be autonomous and independent of the state.[48] According to him, it is not possible to confuse the state with civil society since the state's relation to the individual is different from that of civil society based on and also this difference consists in the fact that the state is the end of for it self as the highest stage of morality while the ultimate end of civil society is to protect individual interests of its members. [49]

In spite of this distinction, Hegel doesn't deny the importance of the State. Civil society does not and "can not" overcome State's power, it will never be able to solve some of the problems which are solved by the state. He concludes that civil society depends on the state. Hegel has an importance to predict the coexistence of the State and civil societies.

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[46] http://spot.colorado.edu/calabres/pdf. retrieved on Apr 13th 2005
[47] www.aber.ec.uk/interpol/phd/Dorota.pdf retrieved on May 16th 2005
[48] DOĞAN, op.cit, p. 113
[49] www.aber.ec.uk/interpol/phd/Dorota.pdf retrieved on May 16th 2005

b. Civil Society as a Defender of Peace in Hobbes' and Locke's Approach

Science and philosophy were developed very fast during the 17th and the 18th centuries. Freedom of the mind is the basis of the enlightenment philosophy; this brought the individualism to the focal point of the philosophy. T. Hobbes who was one of the great philosophers of this period claimed that the state was the unifying element for the individuals who constantly would like to fight with each other. Hobbes tried to determine the duties of the state which became independent of the church in his period. Hobbes used hypothesis of natural circumstances while he was explaining his views on state and civil society;[50] according to this hypothesis all people are equal when they are born, but having equal rights may cause a chaos in their life and they may like to make an agreement to remove this risk, state which has the authority on the people is established by this agreement and it protects the rights of the citizens. According to Hobbes, the main goal of the state was to provide the security of its citizens. He declared in his work *Laviathan* that citizens can have a secure life only if there exists a strong state authority. He called his work *Laviathan* in which philosophy of state was presented; *Leviathan* is a giant in the Torah; inside the cover of this book there is a picture of a huge king who rises from the horizon of the country. The figure of the king is made of many human figures when it was studied closely. *Leviathan* of Hobbes is a company (commonwealth) and it is created by an agreement which was mutually accepted by the founders of this company; the basis of it, is the people, contrary to the ideas of the other philosopher who accepted the god as the basis.[51] Hobbes brought the politics to the level of citizens from the level of god; and created a national individuality by developing the idea of personal individuality idea of renaissance. *Leviathan* represents the state model for Hobbes, a strong king who can be oppressive sometimes to protect the authority of the state.

From the meaning of Leviathan, it can be understood that the state plays the most important role, it guarantees peace and the civil society can exist only when the state is

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[50] DOĞAN, op.cit, p.47
[51] Thomas Hobbes, « *Leviathan* » , Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, p.11

strong. In view of Hobbes fear has an importance due to fact that people are not naturally sociable but they enter civil society mainly through fear of their lives.

These ideas indicate that civil society concept of Hobbes was not in parallel with the contemporary civil society concept. Negative approaches of Hobbes towards the associations and groups may be explained by his fear from the groups which may reject the authority of the state and may take their positions against the state, for this reason authority should not permit such organizations to be formed. Autocratic monarchy fits best to the principles of Hobbes.[52] *Laviathan* represents the state model for Hobbes, a strong king who can be oppressive sometimes to protect the authority of the state.

In order to enter into a social contract, into a civil society, each individual has to give up some of his natural rights which are a common point with Locke. Hobbes strengthens this idea with its own words: " I authorize and give up my right of governing my self to this man or to this assembly and authorize all his actions in like manner.[53] With Locke they also consider peace as a symbol of the civil society since individuals no longer form masses which are in conflict but instead disappear into the private sphere (Hobbes) or they exercise their right of vote (in Locke).[54]

On the other hand, John Locke was the source of inspiration for the other philosophers in the enlightenment period; his works on religion, philosophy, moral and political subjects were taken as reference through out the 18th century.[55] Locke like Hobbes based his theories to the hypothesis of natural circumstances; but his model was different from the Hobbes model, it did not exalt the state in all circumstances and the society in his model depended on wisdom.

Locke's description of the relations between the citizens and the government start with "representation". According to Locke, people determine its responsibilities, then government is obliged to act in accordance with its responsibilities; people also select the law-makers to establish the responsibilities of the gowernment.[56] State should not have the absolute power for Locke; he also suggests that power should be distributed, legislatives are the most powerful element of the state.

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[52] GÖKBERK, op.cit, p. 253
[53] httm://prome.snu.ac.kr/skkim/data/article/files/choiwon.05.htm retrieved on May 6th 2005
[54] httm://prome.snu.ac.kr/skkim/data/article/files/choiwon.05.htm retrieved on May 6th 2005
[55] Gerald Hanratty, « *Aydınlanma Filozofları* » , Anka Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p. 23
[56] Frederick Copleston, « Hobbes & Locke », İdea Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p 142

He describes two stages of relationship between government and society: individuals create society obligating themselves to the majority of the group, which in turn obligates the community to a particular government established by it. The majority have the right to act and conclude the rest.[57]

Civil society is formed at the point where a contract ended the natural circumstances. People, when they are leaving the natural circumstances with their own will power, transfer some of their freedoms and the protection of their property rights to the law, and they accept to be punished when they act against the law. Civil society is formed after this transfer of rights takes place. State depends on the law and the constitution which provides the separation of powers and is accepted as the two basic institutions of the civil society.[58] Locke opened a new era in the concept of civil society by defending protection of citizens' right of life, separation of powers in the state's administration and the pluralistic structure, and a parliamentary system in which citizens can contribute to the decision making process. In Locke's State of nature men are free and equal but this understanding doesn't mean that there is no need for a government on the contrary when the Government was dissolved, the society also would dissolve.

He was a liberal philosopher who advocated to limit the power of the state instate in contrast to the autocratic state which was defended by Hobbes. But finally they both thought that each individual has to transfer some of his natural rights to be a part of the civil society and they consider civil society as a defender of peace, there can be no war or conflict in a civil society.

c. Civil Society in Marxist Philosophy: Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci

Marx defines civil society as a social group in which individuals have certain relations.[59] The hypothesis "infrastructure – superstructure" should be studied to be able to understand the concept of civil society defined by Marx. Karl Marx explains this hypothesis by using an economical example; "price" of merchandise is a concept, but to be able to talk about the price there should be a population, otherwise it is not logical to

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[57] www.aber.ec.uk/interpol/phd/Dorota.pdf retrieved on May 16th 2005
[58] DOĞAN, op.cit, p.63

talk about the determination of a price. This logic depends on the infrastructure, civil society and economy; in another words it depends on material.[60] Production activities take place in infrastructure and it affects the superstructure. Marx interrogates the relations between religion and human beings to explain the superstructure. Religion is a phenomena created by the people and it is a reflection of social conditions, according to Marx; in another words although religion is an element of the superstructure, it is a variable which also depends on production activities.[61]

Marx used the concept of civil society with three different meanings:[62]

- Civil society is the social infrastructure in which production activities take place;
- Civil society is the modern capitalistic production methods which are quite different than the old techniques;
- Bourgeoisie develops as the result of capitalistic production methods and it creates an environment which is dominated by the political state.

But Marx gave importance to the first definition mentioned above; he thought that the roots of civil society laid in the economical politics; he mentioned his views in his book, *The Germans Ideology*:[63]

"…Civil society embraces all materialistic relations of individuals during at a certain stage of the developing production powers. It covers all commercial and industrial life; it exceeds the state and the nation although it defines it self as 'national' in the international relations and it should be organized as a 'state' internally …"

Marx did not agree with the idea that the civil society is the bourgeoisie; he believed in the demolition of the civil society after the coming bloody revolution and a harmonious society which has no social casts would be formed. Then at the end a communist system would be established, freedoms and equality would be realized automatically; at this point a political society would not be needed. He was very critical of a positive civil society, he accepted Hegel's view of civil society especially its darker

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[59] Gülnur Acar-Savran, « Sivil Toplum ve Ötesi : Rousseau, Hegel, Marx », Belge Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p. 187
[60] DOĞAN, op.cit, p.164
[61] ibid, p. 164
[62] ibid, p.167
[63] John Keane, « *Sivil Toplum ve Devlet : Avrupa'da Yeni Yaklaşımlar* », Yedi Kıta Yayınları, Ankara, 2004 p. 101

aspects: "none of the so called rights of man goes behind egoistic man, man as he is in civil society, namely an individual withdrawn behind its private interests and whims and separated from the community."[64]

According to him; the ideal of a civil society in which all participated fully in all pursuits including governance could be a matter only for the future stereological myth.[65] Marx was criticized frequently, because he considered the civil society only in the scope of economical activities. One of the philosophers who criticized Marx is Gramsci defending the idea of civil society which had many other functions besides its economical aspect.

d. Gramsci's Comparative Theory

Gramsci, as mentioned earlier represents a different line of thinking than Marx; first of all he refused that the economy was the only factor which determined the history. Contrary to Marx, he also thought that civil society is not an area in infrastructure but it also covers the superstructure and it even covers the cross section of both structures.[66] The following sentence which is taken from Gramsci's *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* would help to understand the superstructure:[67]

"… At this point all we can do is to determine two levels in the superstructure; the first one is the 'civil society' which is the accumulation of special organisms; the other is the 'political society' or the 'state'…"

In order to explain the concept of civil society Gramsci, built a comparative theory of political change according to this theory; in the East where civil society was weak revolution might have succeeded through a direct violent assault on the State but in the West where civil society was strong this would not be possible.[68]

Gramsci's ideas were influential especially in 70s and inspired West European Communist Parties. Establishment of the socialism was the ultimate goal for Gramsci; but

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[64] www.aber.ec.uk/interpol/phd/Dorota.pdf retrieved on May 16th 2005
[65] www.crvp.org/book/series/1-22/chapter_iii.htm142k-retrieved on May 10th 2005
[66] DOĞAN, op.cit, p.180

[67] KEANE, op.cit, p. 102
[68] www.iris-bg.org/publications/Ankara _paper retrieved on May 20th 2005

this goal should be attained by a step by step evolution not by a bloody revolution.[69] Intellectuals and political society should convince the society that socialism brings freedom at the first stage of this evolution. The first stage was called the "cooperation stage". Acceptance of socialism by the society is called "purification" (*catharsis*) by Gramsci. Accelerated purification which strengthens the civil society is realized in the cooperation period. Then civil society would be transferred to socialism by the hegemony of the intellectuals.

Gramsci also pointed out the effects of the geographic differences; according to Gramsci civil society was weak in the Eastern countries because of dependency of the people on the state. For this reason he emphasized the need to increase the strength of the civil society in the East, and to spread the communism in the West. Gramsci increased the limits of civil society by including all non-governmental organizations; such as church, labor unions and press in the scope of civil society. Gramsci brought a new approach by assigning the task of organizing and making conscious of the community to the intellectuals. It can be said that for Gramsci the civil society is composed of institutions which represented itself autonomously from the State. Differently from Marx's view according to Gramsci economic sphere with its institutions was not a part of civil society.

e. Contemporary Philosophers Suggest Stronger Civil Society

In the post 1945 period many authors who are close to liberalism tried to restructure the central tenets. In this way pluralism which is a theory of participatory democracy aims to describe actual power relationship in liberal society.[70] One of these authors is Robert A. Dahl. According to Dahl a democratic system through a free civil society allows to organize different interests without one's domination. State can be seen as a mediator between clashes of interests and a reflection of the general consensus that support civil society.[71] In Dahl pluralist system polyarchy prevails, political participation in a network of groups and associations is very important for Dahl.

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[69] DOĞAN, op.cit, p.197
[70] http://uk.geocities.com/balihar_sanghera/saselismandweber.html retrieved on May 10th 2005
[71] http://uk.geocities.com/balihar_sanghera/saselismandweber.html retrieved on May 10th 2005

He emphasized the concept of civil society through the term of "polyarchy". Dahl determined polyarchy as a regime with two dimensions: Contestation which includes permissible opposition and participation which can be explained as the right to participate in public contests.[72]

He explores seven conditions which increase the chances of public contestation and polyarchy:[73] Historical sequences, socioeconomic order, socioeconomic order and level of development, equalities and inequalities, subcultures and governmental effectiveness, beliefs of political activists, foreign control. These conditions can be explained by details. First of all according to Dahl, most favorable polyarchy can be set up in peaceful evolution within an independent state. He gave 19th Century Britain as an example. Secondly, polyarchy can not be maintained in a country where the military or police forces intervene in politics. Thirdly, Dahl defends that in a country political competition depends on the socioeconomic level of society (provide literacy, education, health services..). Fourth, in a state, extreme inequalities can cause the replacement of competitive politics by hegemony. Fifth, According to Dahl polyarchy is relatively found in homogenous countries than in countries with a sub-cultural pluralism. Sixth, in the creation of the polyarchy the beliefs of political activists have an important role as a major independent variable. Finally according to Dahl, domination imposed by people outside the country can affect all the conditions discussed above and change the options.

For Dahl, freedom to form and join organizations can be considered as the first requirement for the democracy. As a result, the meaning of polyarchy for him, is a representative democracy with universal suffrage and it is necessary to create political institutions to decide things in common. Elections, autonomous associations, a free press are among the institutions required to make polyarchy work.[74]

On the other hand, Joseph Schumpeter, who accepts the realistic approach and considers elite leadership inevitable, offers an interesting way of democracy compatible with the realistic way of elite rule. The reason of mentioning Schumpeter's theory is; he

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[72] http://www.gotterdammerung.org/books/reviews/p/polyarchy.htm retrieved on May 13th 2005

[73] http:// www.politics.ubc.ca/tiberg/poli%20390-week%208%20-BR/Matt-Dahl.htm retrieved on May 10th 2005

[74] http://web.syr.edu/gavan/miller.htm retrieved on May 5th 2005

has a different point of view about the civil societies and especially the meaning of democracy.

According to Schumpeter's theory first of all, political rule is always exercised by a minority, which is impossible in the societies where the masses play a direct role and secondly, democracy is seen not an end but as a method by which elites can be selected by the masses and providing a circulation of elites.[75] In Schumpeter's theory it can be said that, the role of citizens is to replace one government by the other to continue the circulation of elites which is narrowly circumscribed and contrary to the thoughts of philosophers who studied the concept of civil society. What is the reason of Schumpeter's theory?

Representative democracy necessitates a full fledged civil society which is organized in parties or other social groups; they choose their representatives defending their interests. However there are skeptical ideas about the sustainable defense of the general group interest by the elected representatives, motivating the tendency towards oligarchy which brings us to the second theory of democracy, the competitive one which assumes that the majority can hardly control power and that is done by elites.[76]

This theory claims that there is democracy when there are mutually competitive elites but it ignores how elites prevent and encourage apathy among the masses.

This first chapter began with the study of main concepts such as: democracy, the types of democracy such as representative democracy, mutual governance in order to understand the concept of civil society. Also an overview of the NGOs in Turkey and Europe helped to give a general opinion in two major components of this study Turkey and Europe.

Fallowing the overview, this chapter is intended to give a brief description for the development of the concept of civil society by using the ideas of some selected philosophers from antique age to Dahl and Schumpeter. The term "civil society" was first used by the Greek philosophers in the antique age, but it had completely different meaning than what it is today. Studying Aristotle and Plato helped to understand the meaning of

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[75] http://uk.geocities.com/balihar_sanghera/saselitistmandweber.html retrieved on May 10th 2005
[76] http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/94-96/dimitrov/01.htm retrieved on Apr. 30th 2005

state and citizen and different use of civil society in Ancient Period. The term of civil society was not new.

The origins of the concept of today's civil society lie in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, the study continued with the philosophers and writers who began to distinguish between the sphere of State and society. One of these philosophers was Hegel according to him civil society was the focal point and fallowed by two liberal Locke and Hobbes. Of course it is wrong to study a concept only by one dimension that is why the concept of civil society in a Marxist theory helped to comprehend the meaning of the civil society from a different point of view. Finally Dahl's polyarchy and Schumpeter's realistic theory of representative democracy, which is a totally different understanding from those that it is used to, can be considered as the final point of this journey and this chapter.

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TURKISH NGOs

Modern Turkish republic was established over a small portion of the ruins of six century old Ottoman Empire, for this reason social roots of Turkish society are in the Ottoman culture. The period between 1839 – 1876 is called "*Tanzimat period*" in Ottoman history. Many political reforms were achieved in this period, Western societies were taken as the model for these reforms. History of Turkish NGOs is also assumed to start with *Tanzimat*, because they were initiated after Ottoman society turned its face to modern Europe; therefore more attention should be given to the period after *Tanzimat* while studying the history of Turkish NGOs.

2.1. Development of Civil Societies in Europe and in Ottoman Empire Before *Tanzimat*

Traditionally the Ottoman state was the only power to organize and manage the economy; agriculture and industry of the huge country. The preponderance of the state in economic and social life worked against the strengthening of civil society. State's administrators did not let any other social power to be developed because they thought it would lessen their own powers and it would lead to anarchy in the country. There was a big difference between Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the idea of "organized society". In Europe trading between the cities was developed after the eleventh century and free ideas started to develop parallel to these developments. In fact from the late eleventh to the early fourteenth centuries, Europe experienced economic development on an impressive scale, the population expanded, commerce and handicraft were developed in volume and techniques, capital was accumulated and there was a widespread improvement in living standards[77].

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[77] www.liberal-dt.org.tr/ingilizce/articles retrieved on Nov.25th,2004

As a result of commercial developments the merchants who were seeking to operate in more freedom against the feudal authorities started to get organized and established their guilds. These crafts guilds assumed the political power. By then the original communes had developed into oligarchies dominated by the groups of leading families and the power had gravitated from the general assembly to the small councils as a result of this, these crafts guilds provided a means of popular organization.[78] On the other hand Church's activities such as establishing policies and declaring wars to protect its power can be assumed as another way of establishing civil organization. Later on reactions against the Church's pressures can also be considered as a civil movement. This initiative which combined with the merchants' and craftsmen's reactions may be considered as the start of Enlightenment period in Europe.

In contrast to commercially changing Europe, economic and social order in the Ottoman Empire was not suitable to accumulate wealth in individuals and to establish a capitalistic trade and production system. However there were some civil organizations in Ottoman Empire; Akhism (an organized brotherhood originating in Anatolian related to trade guilds) was a kind of Tariqa, they were usually led by the sheikhs who were managing trade guilds with the guidance of the central authority and reported to it.[79] During this period state was against any kind of organizations which would be independent of the state's authority; to protect bureaucratic power of the Palace.

2.2. Ottoman and European civil societies in the *Tanzimat* period

The Imperial edict which was called *Tanzimat* and aimed to yield new order to the community was declared on November 3rd 1839. It was declared in a meeting with the Muslim leaders and the leaders of other religions; Sultan was giving up some of its power with this Imperial edict and granting more freedom to his people. The first national Assembly of Ottoman Empire was also promised to be assembled, but it had to wait until 1876. After this declaration Ottoman society became more open to various intellectual and

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[78] www.liberal-dt.org.tr/ingilizce/articles retrieved on Nov.25th,2004

[79] A.N Yücekök, İ.Turan, M.Ö. Alkan, "*Tanzimattan Günümüze istanbul'da STK'lar"*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998, p.16

cultural influences from Europe. Independent public opinion started to be formed under the effect of intellectual currents originating from Europe. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyeyi Şahane* (An organization established by the medical students of Istanbul University) which was established in 1856 with its written regulations can be considered as the first effective Turkish NGO[80] in forming the public opinion. Mustafa Reshit Pasha who was the Minister of the State during the previous Sultan (Mahmut the 2nd) was sent to Great Britain and he was very much impressed by the modernization movement he observed in Europe. He prepared the Imperial Edict and some new laws, with these the Emperor was voluntarily limiting his power;   therefore Mustafa Reshit Pasha is the one who has started the modernization period.

In Europe scientific organizations started to be formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century:[81] they were having informal meetings at the beginning, later on they are accepted as autonomous identities by the states. First of these organizations is known to be "Accademia dei Lincei." which was established by Galileo and it continued to operate until he was excommunicated. Later on Meddicie established "Accademia del Cimento" by collecting ex-Galileo students together in which their researches led to many inventions such as thermometers, barometers, microscopes.

London Royal Society was also started with informal meetings in 1645 and they started to publish the first scientific magazine "Philosophical Transaction" in which the results of their scientific experiments were declared. This kind of scientific organizations started to be established in most of the European countries. It was easier to form autonomous establishments in Britain because democratic movements started in the mid thirteenth century and also British political centre could not transform it self into an all-encompassing state due to the fact that civil initiative proved capable of governing itself. Although most of the European countries were affected from this civil movement, this can not be generalized for the rest of Europe. For example France, with its institutionalized norms and values and its absolutist character differs from some other European countries. French state had expanded its control over the civil society and defined itself as an

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[80] Şerif Mardin, "*Sivil Toplum, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*", Vol. 7, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983, p.1918-1922
[81] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p.86

autonomous power since the Middle Ages. This rigid absolutist structure had started to be soften in the seventeenth century with the influence of the developments in the other European countries; the most concrete example to this is the "Académie des Sciences" which was established by his own efforts of Louis the 14th, and it was supported with expenses from his own treasury.

The first Ottoman NGO could be established about two hundred years later than the ones in Europe. This indicates the difference between the Ottoman Sultans who maintained the absolutist state and did not share power with civil society institutions and the European Kings who as a result of specific historical developments, were obliged to concede rights and privileges to such organizations.

The first European NGOs were mostly scientific in nature where as the ones in Ottoman Empire mostly aimed social and cultural developments. Among these non-Muslim organizations which aimed to provide social aids in their districts in Istanbul were the first ones to be established.[82]

Women's rights, status and roles in the community were also an important issue during this period. There was a conflict of views between the ones who wanted to import the western ideas to the country and conservative Muslims. Both groups agreed on the need for modernization but they had completely different views regarding how the development of the country should be accomplished.

The Ottoman press was also started during *Tanzimat period*; ideological works which helped to improve Ottoman Empire's political, economical and cultural developments were published in the news paper (*Tasvir-i Efkar*) which was published by Şinasi, the great Ottoman intellectual in 1860s. Şinasi was a writer in an other news paper (*Tercüman-ı Ahval*) before then, but his new ideas were against the policy of this paper and he had to resign and established his own paper; in his paper together with Ali Süavi and Namık Kemal he tried to shape public opinion in favor of freedom and modernization; but they realized that it was impossible to put the ideas in action without an organization. They organized a fake picnic in "Belgrade Forest" on June 7th, 1865 and established their organization (*Yurtseverler Birliği* – Union of Patriots).[83]   Later on the name of this organization was changed to *Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti* (The new Ottomans' Association).

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[82] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p.88
[83] Tevfik Çandar, "*Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi*", İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2004, p. 31

The New Ottomans' movement which was started in 1865 developed very fast; the new concepts like parliament, freedom, nation and people were started to be discussed; these developments led to the preparation of the constitution in 1876. This constitution included an article for the right to establish corporations, but the right of establishing associations was not mentioned; the afore-mentioned article was used later by various groups to establish civil associations.[84]

In 1870s self employed groups started to establish their own associations, one of these was "Société du Barreau de Constantinople" which was formed by the foreigners and non-Muslim Ottoman lawyers, it was like a bar.[85] Many new immigrants who came from Bulgaria and Romania to Istanbul during the Ottoman – Russian war, had many problems in adapting their lives to the big city, and they established different commissions and associations to overcome their difficulties. The newly established *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent) helped these new immigrants. Turkish Compassionate Fund was established in England to help the emigrants who preferred to settle in England; a branch of this association was also opened in Istanbul:[86]

2.3. Historical Developments after *Tanzimat*

2.3.1. Organizations under the Despotic Rules of Abdul Hamit the 2nd

Most of the Ottoman NGOs which were established by that time were philanthropic and cultural associations. Most of them were not involved in politics and did not purport to meddle with state affairs. Thus it was understandable under these circumstances that there was no reaction from the civil society when the Sultan (Abdul Hamit the 2nd) abrogated the parliament under the pretext of Russian war. Until that time most of the organizations that had been formed were legal. There were almost no underground

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[84] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p.92
[85] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p.91
[86] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p.93

organizations by that time and the existing ones were very weak and ineffective.

Although Abdul Hamit the 2nd ruled the country with absolute despotism for 33 years, limited the freedoms and censored the press, still the new ideas were blooming among the intellectuals. Academic standards were improved, new universities and academies were opened. Well educated youngsters who would be the nightmare of the Sultan in the future formed some associations in these schools. Developments in literature were impressive, many works of the European intellectuals were translated into Turkish during this period; these translations helped to bring the new ideas and concepts to the country.

The despotic regime of Abdul Hamit the Second created fertile grounds for the formation of underground organizations. Various intellectual currents became effective among the educated elite in the Ottoman Empire by then. The influence of democratic and liberal ideas could not be stifled by the absolutism of the Sultan. The first underground organization which was composed of small cells, was formed in the military school of medicine by İbrahim Temo. This organization grew very fast; they contacted with the students of other important schools of the time and the similar cell organizations were formed in the military, navy, engineering, veterinary medicine and gunnery schools.[87]

There was not much progress in establishing associations in the next ten years; only 33 new associations were established, Istanbul's Chamber of Commerce[88] and some football clubs were the important ones. Although Sultan Abdul Hamit the second was despotic and did not allow establishments of political associations, he was tolerant to the ones in which politics was not involved; for example in a book about administrative law[89] it was mentioned that Sultan had allowed the establishment of clubs, associations for literature, music and clergy although some of these kind of associations were found harmful to the society even in Europe.

Establishing associations continued in this period although the number of them was rather low (see Figure 1) the real boom occurred in the second parliamentary period. The new nursing school and school for teachers strengthened the already started women's movement.

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[87] ÇANDAR, op.cit, p.61
[88] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 96
[89] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p. 71

2.3.2. The Second Parliamentary Period

As a result of the activities of the political Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti –* Union and Progress Association; in short "ITC") which was very much effected from the French revolution, Sultan had to accept the reopening of the parliament in July 1908. 78 new associations were established during the first five months after the declaration of the new constitution, this movement continued in the next year until the uprising of the radical religious groups on March 31st,1909; then establishing new associations was taken under the state's control.[90]

The first concrete results of the freedom of this new somewhat democratic period were the strikes and women movements. Workers went to country-wide strike to get a rise in their incomes to compensate the price increases. The government panicked and by obtaining the consent of ITC they enacted a law to limit the workers' rights.[91]

Halide Edip Adıvar who is the famous Turkish woman writer was one of the leaders of the women's movement; she and some of the others started to write about women's rights and freedom; Selahattin Asım, in his article[92] which was published in 1910, emphasized the reason for the Ottoman society to remain behind Europe in economical, cultural and social areas was the exclusion of women from the social life.

Activities of the underground organizations and the social associations attracted more attention before the second parliamentary period. The government supported establishing associations in the second parliamentary period to prevent underground activities and to be able to take them under its control; political parties and more social associations were established.

There were three political tendency;[93] first one of this was ITC which became an official political party in 1913; although Turkish nationalism was mentioned in the party's program "nationalism" was not accepted as one of the main doctrines of the party, therefore there was a ideological conflict in it self.

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[90] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *"Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler"*, Vol.1, İstanbul:Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1988, p.367

[91] Erik Jan Zürcher, *"Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi"*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000, p. 140

[92] Leyla Sanlı, *"Toplumsal Hareketler Konuşuyor"*, Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2003, p. 160

[93] Niyazi Berkes, *"Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma"*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004 p. 406

The other tendency formed the *Ahar* party with liberal ideas at the beginning, later on its name changed to *Hürriyet ve İtilaf partisi* (Liberty and Entente Party). The third tendency was named *İttihad-ı Muhammedi* (Mohamed's Union) but it could not receive enough support and it could not acquire the strength to establish a political party.

Members of the NGOs of that time were mostly intellectuals who had been active in the realization of the revolution (forcing the Sultan to reopen the parliament), they were also close to the existing government, and for this reason it is hard to say that NGOs of that time was completely independent from the government.

Number of NGOs increased more than the number of political parties, but this increase slowed down after the uprising of the radical religious groups which called it self *Muhammedçi İttihat* (Union for Mohamed) and aimed to destruct ITC on March 31st, 1909.

ITC considered organization of guilds were important, members of these guilds were Muslims and Turkish (non-Muslim Ottomans and foreigners were assembled in Chambers). ITC wanted to form a national economy and a national bourgeoisie by organizing the guilds. Yusuf Akçura was the one who pronounce this clearly,[94] "Foundation of a modern state is bourgeoisie; contemporary states exists on the shoulders of bourgeois, businessman and bankers. National awakening in Turkey is the start of the birth of Turkish bourgeoisie."

The other important associations were:[95] the ones with nationalistic identity (such as Turkish, Albanian, Armenian associations); Free Mason associations (which were established in 1909 and spread very fast); paramilitary associations which were supported by ITC. These associations helped the Anatolian resistance to start during the First World War and during the Independence War afterwards, but their number decreased considerably.

2.3.3. Early Turkish Republic

Although the population decreased, number of associations started to increase in the period between the end of the Independence War and declaration of Turkish Republic.

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[94] Feroz Ahmad, *"Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu"*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.59
[95] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, pp. 113 – 114

Associations formed in this period had a great contribution in the founding of the Republic. The most important one of these associations was *Müdafa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti* (Association of the Defenders of Law) which was established by the ones who had started by members of the Anatolian resistance before the Independence War. Later on it was renamed as *Halk Fırkası* (Peoples Party).

The Parliament issued many laws to establish a secular society after the declaration of the Republic; the most important of these was the law that abrogated the Caliphate. Ottoman Sultans bore the title of 'Caliph' and they were the leaders of the Muslim world for more than four centuries, Ottoman Empire was led by the rules of Shari'a (the Islam law which is written in Koran) and a great majority of the population of Turkey were devoted Muslims. For this reason the community had difficulties to accept the new laws easily; as a reaction to secularizing and Westernizing reforms, the first opposition party which was called *Terrakiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (Progressivist Republican Party) was formed in the parliament, but this movement failed because of the strong resistance of the majority. New rules were issued for the establishment of the associations after the declaration of republic. Republican governments aimed at controlling professional and craft guilds.

The priority of the newly-founded republic was to control the movements in the society that could form a resistance to the new regime. The immediate targets were religious orders and Kurdish associations. 'Tariqas (dervish lodges) were closed after a short period[96]. The Kurdish associations (*Kürt Terakki ve Teavun Cemiyeti*, *Roji Kürt, Hatebek Kürt*) which were established during Kurdish freedom movement and started in the second parliamentary period were still functioning.[97] These associations were linked with provoking the uprisings. As a counter-measure, the parliament issued a law (*Takrir-i Sükun* – Expounding Tranquillity), which prohibited all opposition movements, and limited freedom of the press. The new law also caused the number of the associations to decrease significantly.

The new government closed all political associations and gathered all political forces under the umbrella of (*Cumhıriyet Halk Partisi* – Republican Peoples Party –

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[96] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p. 119
[97] ÇAVDAR, op.cit, p. 304

"CHP" in short) in order not to disperse the power of the supporters of the revolution.[98] Another significant association of the period was *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths Associations) which had a great contribution in the formation of the new society were closed and members joined to "CHP". Turkish Teachers association was established to support the modern trends, right after the declaration of the republic, but it was also banned and integrated to CHP for the same reason. Later on the second opposition party was established by Fethi Okyar but it also was not successful. *Halkevleri* (Public Houses) were established in bigger districts of the cities with the support of the government, the aim of these establishments was to train the illiterate people and teach them the new values of the republic. Sports clubs were gathered under Turkish Sport Associacions.[99]

One of the important decisions of the republican government was the introduction of the Latin alphabet instead of Arabic letters. A campaign was started to teach the new letters and to obtain acceptance of the people, it was successful in big cities, but it failed in country side because the land lords did not want the peasants to be illuminated and start asking new rights; also it was difficult to find teachers who enjoy to go to the small Anatolian villages. The ratio of the literate remained low. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ordered to form a commission to overcome this difficulty; the opinion of the commission was that:[100] Young villagers should not be trained in the big cities where they probably would lose their traditional values and degenerate; but they should be trained locally and useful practical information should be included in their program. The government after studying the commission's report decided to establish *Köy Enstitüleri* (Villagers Institutes) which were very effective in the development of the country side in 1940.

2.3.4. Multi-party period

After the Second World War Turkey's transition to multi-party system began with the decision of President İnönü who decided to abandon the power monopoly of the CHP.

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[98] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p.120

[99] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p.122

[100] Ahmad, op.cit, p. 103

The multi-party system was experienced difficulties and was interrupted three times in 1960, 1971 and 1980 by the interventions of the armed forces. President İnönü who wanted to democratize the young republic and to receive the support of the Western World decided to establish a second political party just before the San Francisco Conference in 1945.[101] In January 1946, three famous defectors from CHP; Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü formed the Democratic Party (DP). Difficult period during the Second WW caused CHP to lost prestige and people were looking for a change, but CHP won the elections which were held in 1946. There were not many democratic improvements during the period of the new government which was formed after the elections; but the new law for associations which was issued in 1946 formed a legal basis for the free and pluralistic society.[102] Social opposition against CHP administration increased during 1946-1950 period. There were many other reasons for this strong opposition besides the difficult times during the second World War;[103] pressures of the single party administration on freedom of thought, belief and on life style of the people; exploiting of the poor farmers by the powerful landlords in the country side were very effective to boost the opposition against CHP administration. Workers and the government officials did not have any social rights, they were not allowed to go on strike and to protect their rights; a new "Wealth tax" law put the merchants and industrialists against CHP; combined effects of all these reasons brought the social opposition to the point of explosion and the 27 years old CHP government came to the end in the elections held on May 14th 1950, DP won the elections with a great majority.

As it was mentioned before, the 1946 law for the associations formed the legal base for the new free establishments but it did not accelerate the formation of the new associations. The majority of the newly established associations were sporting clubs (41.6%), cultural associations, charitable associations and guilds. Social and economical lassitude prevented the accumulation of the capital and establishment of the corporations (such as supermarkets, cooperatives) for this reason small scale retailers were important and their guilds were supported by the government. As mentioned earlier, workers' unions

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[101] Ersin Kalaycıoğlu- Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "*Türkiye'de Politik Değişim ve Modernleşme*", Alfa Yayım, İstanbul, 2000, p. 207
[102] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p.161
[103] ÇAVDAR, vol:2, op.cit, pp: 16,17,18

were very weak, unions of the government officials were acting like a charitable association; there were practically no farmers' associations. Formation of the NGOs started to accelerate after the elections on May 14th 1950 (see Figure 2).

After the first legitimate two-party elections Celal Bayar elected as the third president of the Turkish Republic and Adnan Menderes became the prime minister. Application of liberal economy was one of the prime objectives of the new government; this period was characterized by large but uncoordinated investments in agriculture, regional infrastructure and primarily state-owned industries.[104] One of the important characteristics of this period is the influence of the foreign policy on the domestic decisions, for this reason international relations of the period must be studied to be able to understand the domestic affairs. This period is the corner stone in the relations between Turkey and USA. The world was divided in two sections by an iron curtain, Turkey was left alone against the growing Soviet threat, the first support to Turkey came from the USA, and Turkey took its place besides it. Turkey received economical and military aid in accordance with the Truman Doctrine and later on in accordance with the Marshal Plan. Then pro-American Turkish foreign policy was started to be applied, it was against the Soviet regime and communism; this was reflected also to domestic policies, every kind of leftist movements were banned, many intellectuals who probably had leftist tendencies started to be held under scrutiny. *Köy Enstitüleri* (Villagers' Institutes) which were thought to be the source of the communist youth lost their popularity and became ineffective. Leaders of the *Kominizm ile Mücadele Derneği* (Association to Combat with Communism) and *Milliyetçiler Derneği* (Association of Nationalists) welcomed to the DP organizations.[105] In the same period the government decided to send troops (4500 solders) to the Korean War which later led Turkey to join NATO. The most serious objection to sending troops to Korea came from *Barış Severler Derneği* (Association of Peace Lovers) which was established by the leftist intellectuals.[106]

Prime Minister Menderes increased his and his party's support in 1954 elections; he had fulfilled all of his promises and received support especially among the population in rural areas. Support for the DP began to wane during the following years. DP had

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[104] Dietrich Jung with Wolfango Piccoli, *"Turkey at the Crossroads"*, Long House,New York, 2001, p:86
[105] ÇAVDAR, vol:2, op.cit, p. 27
[106] ÇAVDAR, ibid, p. 33

promised a more liberal environment before they assumed the power; but they took steps to control and put pressure on the press and universities after they took on the government. They could punish or reward any news paper by using the rules which was set by a governmental decree (1954) for the distribution of the public notices and advertisements[107] to the news papers. They started to apply disciplinary punishments to the university professors, intimidate the government officials and judges and exploit religious sentiments for political gains. This attitude caused a big reaction in intellectual groups and armed forces. All of these and economical problems caused aggravation of economic and social crisis and they prepared the conditions for the military take over on May 27th 1960.

During the ten years when the DP was in power (May 14th 1950 - May 27th 1960); number of charitable associations increased (to compensate for the impoverishing effects of the 'Wealth Tax'); and especially bourgeoisie was able to form associations[108] when the rate of economical growth was high in mid fifties. However, the number of workers' unions and associations decreased during this period (See Figure 3). Since the DP governments wanted to attract the votes of the religious groups, they gave support their activities. As a result the number of religious associations and associations to build mosques increased. Students' associations like *Türk Talebe Federasyonu* (Federation of Turkish Students) and *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği* (National Turkish Students Union) were active especially regarding the Cyprus problem. They organized country wide meetings to publicize the Cyprus issue and protested pro-American policies of the government. DP, in an effort to rally the support of the society, organized *Vatan Cephesi* (Motherland Front) in the villages, towns and cities; the aim of these civil associations was to demonstrate the strength of the party and to protect its ever decreasing popularity.

The DP period that was terminated by the 1960 military coup, can be considered as a missed opportunity to establish the real democracy in the country. Although DP came to the power with the first democratic, multi-party elections in the country, they failed to keep their promises which were presented to the public before the elections. It failed to remove the anti-democratic laws it had criticized before the elections, they tried to establish a more

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[107] Mete Tunçay, "*Çağdaş Türkiye 1908 – 1980*", Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul,1997, p. 179

[108] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 183

despotic administration, and they tried to restrict the activities of the oppositions toward the end of the 50's. DP's anti-democratic policies can be listed as follows:[109]

- Pro-American policies led DP to implement restrictive measures towards leftist movements and intellectuals, such as closing down of associations, banning of literary works and press censorship. Political parties, associations, organizations and press establishments which assumed to have left tendency had very difficult time.

- Also it was not possible to talk about the freedom to be organized. The administration allowed (and controlled) only two previously mentioned student organizations: these were *Türkiye Talebe Federasyonu* and *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği.*

- Workers and labor unions were also under pressure; the only positive step in this area was foundation of *Türk-İş Konfederasyonu* (A Confederation of Labor Unions).

- Dependency on foreign sources in every aspect; from economy to military, increased in this period.

The period between 1950 to 1960 is a step forward toward democracy and it was supposed to bring more freedom to the community; first of all there were more than one party in the political arena, secondly political party which was in the power was elected with a real democratic elections; but the political culture of the ones in power had not been improved to tolerate the criticisms of the opposition, and of the public. As the criticisms got tougher, the reaction of the government also got tougher; this increased the pressure on the freedoms and finally it led to the military take-over. Therefore elections in 1950 was a good step forward towards the democracy, but it failed to bring more freedom to the people; but still it can be considered as a stage in the democratic adventure of Turkish political life.

2.3.5. 1960 – 1980 period

After the military coup d'état, a new constitution which was prepared in a very short time was presented to the public opinion and it was approved by a big majority in the referendum of 1961. The new constitution was a progressive and liberal document in comparison with the previous constitution. The structure of the state was changed, the

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[109] ÇAVDAR, vol:2, op.cit, p. 81

Senate was abolished from the parliamentary system, and fundamental freedoms were improved.

The new constitution altered the rules on forming associations. Different laws were issued for the formation and management of labor unions, political parties and civil associations which had been considered in the same basket up to that time.[110] The ratios of the religious associations increased in the total in this period due to the increased number of associations to build mosques. There was corresponding decrease in the ratios of the other associations while the ratio of the newly formed sporting clubs stayed same. Later on State Planning Organization suggested that the ratio of the other associations should be leveled with the ratio of the religious associations. The importance of the guilds decreased, this indicates the loss of importance of the small bourgeoisie. The ratios of labor unions and civil servants' associations increased in this period and continued to increase until the end of 60's. The conservative segments of the community were also involved in establishing religious associations until the end of 60's. Later on the formation of mutually-antagonistic organizations and associations would lead to an important struggle between the conservatives and leftist groups in the second half of the 70's.

As mentioned before the foreign policy of the government influenced the internal policy; USA's intervention to the Cyprus crises caused a country wide reaction against USA in 1963; after the attacks on Turkish Cypriots it was thought that government should send troops to the island to protect them, but President Johnson's famous letter to the Turkish prime minister İnönü mentioning that Turkey's invasion to the island, would necessitate US forces intervention ended the government's pro-American policy, and divided population into two blocks: pro-Americans and the anti-Americans.[111]

Adalet Partisi (Justice Party –in short AP) which was established in 1961, under the leadership of an retired general, received the support of the high ranking commanding officers (leaders of the coup) and won the elections. After the death of the general, Süleyman Demirel who was the least objected leader became the chairman of the party. AP under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel was very successful in the elections held in 1965. But after people learned that he had been the representative of an American company in Turkey he became a symbol of American connections and the capitalism; then

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[110] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 198
[111] AHMAD, op.cit, p. 169

he became the target of all blocs (leftists, neo-Kemalists, and the religious groups who claimed that he was a member of a Mason's lodge).[112] So he lost prestige toward the end of the 60's; still he was able to win a marginal victory in the elections in 1969, although AP lost many sits in the parliament. This encouraged the leaders of the other movements at the right wing of the political system and new political parties started to be established. One of these leaders was Necmettin Erbakan who established *Milli Nizam Partisi* (National Order Party – MNP in short) to represent the religious groups in the parliament. Alparslan Türkeş, powerful colonel of the 1960 coup, had been banned (because he was extreme nationalist) and sent to India as military attaché, later on he came back to Turkey, joined a small party, then he became the leader of this party and changed the name to *Milli Hareket Partisi* (National Movement Party – MHP in short); the young militants of this party was called *Bozkurtlar* (grey wolves, which were symbols in the ancient Turkish mythology); they had a long fight with the leftist groups;[113] they exerted pressure on the leftist students, teachers and writers.

As it was outlined before, leftist movements which was created by the intellectuals was very effective in Turkey as it was in the other parts of the world. The "Opinion Clubs" which were representing the left were very popular in all universities. The most important of these clubs was the one in Political Science Faculty in Ankara University. Students who were the members of *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish Workers Party –TİP in short) were dominating all of these opinion clubs.[114] Federation of these opinion clubs transformed it self into well known *Devrimci Gençlik Teşkilatı* (Revolutionist Youths Association – DEV-GENÇ in short). The other underground left wing associations like: *Türkiye Kominist Partisi Marksist/Leninist* (Turkish Communist Party Marxist/Lenininst – TKP-ML in short), *Türkiye İşçi Köylü Kurtuluş Ordusu* (Turkish Workers and Villagers Liberation Army – TİKKO in short), *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu* (Turkish Folk Liberation Army – THKO in short) and *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi* (Turkish Folk Liberation Party – THKP-C in short) took up their positions against the right wing organizations and city guerilla fights started on the streets.[115] The fights between these

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[112] AHMAD, ibid, p. 170
[113] ZURCHER, op.cit, p. 374
[114] ZURCHER, ibid, p. 371
[115] ZURCHER, ibid, p. 373

groups became more intensive and weakened the Süleyman Demirel's government; as the result of this the first period of AP government ended with the military intervention on March 12th 1971.

The military intervention of 1971 aimed at bringing stability and order to the regime. Although the political repression of the 1971 coup by communiqué depoliticized the student unrest and delivered a crushing blow to the leftist movement the political turmoil soon resumed and in the second half of the 1970s clashes between left and right wing militants increased into a wave of terror and urban guerrilla warfare in which 4500 Turks lost their lives.[116]

Military intervention received negative reactions from the politicians; Demirel's government resigned, opposition leader İnönü took his position against the coup; but at the end they reached to an agreement; Nihat Erim who was from the right wing of CHP became prime minister; his program included; re-establishing the public order, and introducing a reform program to protect the Turkish industry from outside effects. Fights calmed down for a short period, but accelerated later on, government declared marshal law in eleven cities. Underground militant groups which were supported by the government were called counter-guerrilla, they played an important role to suppress the left movement.[117]

CHP under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit obtained the highest number of seats in the parliament in the elections held in 1973; but Mr Ecevit who was considered as the leader of the leftist groups had to form a coalition government with Mr Erbakan's conservative *Milli Selamet Partisi* (National Salvation Party – MSP in short) which was an extension of MNP. Ecevit ordered armed forces to save the Turkish Cypriots from the attacks of Greek Cypriots in July 1974; Turkish arm forces conducted the so called "Peace Operation" and invaded one third of the island (the northern part of the island where Turkish Cypriots were concentrated); Mr. Ecevit became a national hero after the peace operation.

Mr. Erbakan who afraid the increased popularity of Mr. Ecevit draws back his support from the government, and Mr. Ecevit had to resign. Following the resignation of Prime Minister Ecevit, the first and the second National Front governments (*Milliyetçi*

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[116] JUNG with PICCOLI, op.cit, p. 93
[117] ZURCHER, op.cit, p. 377

Cephe 1 and 2 – MC in short) were formed under the leadership of Mr. Demirel. Main aims of MC governments were to prevent CHP to assume power and to gain superiority over the left wing by collecting the right wing parties under the AP flag.[118] Many weak coalition governments with short life-span were formed either by Mr. Demirel or . Ecevit until the military take over in 1980. Mr. Ecevit's government had to resign after the senate elections in 1979 and Mr. Demirel formed a minority government;   political violence was at the top level, fights between the left and right groups were continuing: extremist youth organizations at the left were fighting with *Bozkurtlar* (grey wolves) of MHP, and *Akıncılar* (raiders) of MSP (radical religious group), 25 – 30 people were killed every day from each groups; police organization was almost completely under the command of MHP.

At the same time national economy hit the bottom, long queues at the gas stations and even at the grocery stores were common; oil price shock in 73-74 and economic depression in Europe had a bad influence in Turkey's state controlled economy whose industrial sector was based on foreign reserves and technical supports. In this way political turmoil had coincide with the collapse of Turkish economic system which began to prepare conditions for calibrated "operation flag",[119] Turkish Armed forces intervened for the third time since 1960 on September 12th 1980.

The leader of the coup, General Kenan Evren and *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi* (National Security Council) took the power. All political parties were closed, leaders of the parties were taken under custody and activities of the two radical labor union federations were banned. Marshal law was exercised in the country. The leader of the coup general Kenan Evren and *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi* (Council of National Security) took the power. High ranking officers of the local armed forces in cities and in villages assigned as the mayors of those locations; they also started to control the press, universities, labor unions, chambers of commerce and the police force. Leaders of the militant organizations, some news reporters and writers were taken under custody. All kinds of political discussion were prohibited.[120]   Political fights and killings stopped suddenly.

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[118] TUNÇAY, op.cit, p. 241
[119] Crossroads p. 93
[120] ZURCHER, op.cit, p. 406

Activities of most of the new associations established in 1970 – 1980 period reflected the political polarization in the general political community (see Figure 4- Associations in Istanbul) 1961 constitution which encouraged establishment of such organizations was annulled after the coup. The new rules put some constrains on the associations, limit the rights of government officials' unions, and individual freedoms were also limitted.[121]   Military government which was established after the coup blocked the governmental financial aids to the associations; financial supports to the pro-governmental associations had been provided to ensure their continued supports and to encourage other people to establish such organizations since the Ottoman period.[122]   An example to such associations was "Associations to combat with Communism".

Transition to democracy took three years; a committee under the leadership of Prof. Orhan Aldıkaçtı prepared the draft of the constitution, as a result of the chaotic environment of the preceding years the new constitution brought some limitations on freedoms; many intellectuals campaigned against it but it was approved by the majority of the people in a democratic referendum held in 1982.[123]

There were no political parties at that time, because all of them were closed right after the coup; administration lifted the ban on political parties in May 1983, but the leaders and board members of the old political parties, and also teachers, government officials and students were prohibited from membership of the new parties. The new political parties were not allowed to establish youth and woman organizations and to develop relations with labor unions. 15 political parties were established; military-backed government did not allow some of the parties to join the elections and some of the candidates were eliminated; most of the parties could not fulfill the requirements to join the elections, finally only 3 parties could join the elections held in 1983.[124] One of these political parties was *Milliyetçi Demokrasi partisi* (Nationalist Democracy Party – "MDP" in short) was led by Turgut Sunalp, a retired general (commanding officer of the Cyprus peace operation). MDP was supported by the military but people wanted to stop military interference, so they lost the elections. The second of these parties was Republican People's Party (CHP) which was on the left of the political spectrum with links to the

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[121] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 200
[122] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, 200
[123] ÇANDAR, vol:2, op.cit, p. 271

traditional state bureaucracy. Turgut Özal was leading the third party, it was called *Anavatan Partisi* (Motherland Party – "ANAP" in short). Mr. Özal had been the head of The State Planning Office and he was undersecretary of the prime minister before the elections; he had prepared an austerity program known as the January 24 1980 decisions to cure the ailing economy. He was known with his liberal ideas and his belief in free market economy. ANAP won the majority in the parliament and Mr. Özal became prime minister.

2.3.6. 1980 to 1991: The Özal Era

ANAP commanded a majority in the parliament from 1983 to 1991; Turgut Özal continued his economic reforms after he became the prime minister. He reduce the overpowering influence of the bureaucracy and intervention of the public sector in the economy, further liberalize the economy, strengthen the private sector and create a fast-growing competitive and export-oriented economy. Exports of Turkey increased ten folds in his period.

Mr. Özal was elected president in 1989; Yıldırım Akbulut who did not have enough wisdom and capability was elected to be the party's chairman and became prime minister; this caused political instability in the country; terrorists activities became more violent; activities of the radical religious groups increased, some well known intellectuals, professors and writers like Çetin Emeç, Muammer Aksoy were murdered; at the same time economy slowed down and high inflation became permanent; these created the fear of another military intervention among the people; fortunately Süleyman Demirel's *Doğruyol Partisi* (Through Path Party – DYP in short) obtained more sits in the parliament than ANAP in 1991 elections and Mr. Demirel formed a coalition government with social democrats; fear of interruption of democracy once every ten years starting from 1960 was passed over. First "Gulf War" had been started just before the elections and Turkey had taken its position with the US in accordance with Mr. Özal's inspirations; the gulf war helped formation of the Mr. Demirel's coalition government.

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[124] AHMAD, op.cit, p. 224

ANAP although fiercely criticized for charges of corruption, mismanagement and nepotism, had an important effect in dispersing liberal ideas in Turkish society. Ottoman mentality "people are for the state" had been still accepted by the community before ANAP came into power; ANAP tried to change it into "state is for the people, bureaucrats are the servants of the people", ANAP also tried to privatize the economy and free it from bureaucratic control. However economic liberalization did not go hand in hand with political liberalization. ANAP did not completely realize the main needs of the civil society, it was thought that "free market economy" was the only interest of the community.[125]

As mentioned before, ANAP continued to apply restructuring and stability programs which had been started by Mr. Özal when he was undersecretary; these programs caused rapid developments in Turkish economy; exports and national income were increased, unemployment ratio was decreased. These developments had three impacts on the expansion of civil associations:[126]

- Major companies which wanted to get bigger shares from public procurement contracts and the ones which wanted to develop better public relations established associations to support social activities;

- Number of well trained, young professionals who were open to the out side world increased, they were accepted and taken as a model by the public; this created many potential leaders for the future associations;

- Increasing incomes of the people encouraged them to be a member of a club or an association.

The concept of "NGO" was considered as a symbol of "demand for more democracy which is not hampered by political power struggles" until the end of 80's.[127] Although President Özal's export oriented liberal economy model opened the Turkish society to the outside world and many young entrepreneurs with western ideas were brought up, and ideological liberalism was improved, 1982 Constitution and the old laws did not allow personal and social freedoms to develop to the desired levels. NGO's faced

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[125] KALAYCIOĞLU, op.cit, p. 457
[126] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 203
[127] İlhan Tekeli, "*Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*", İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p. 338

more restrictions than they had before 1980, there were practically no improvements in the human rights and women's rights.

2.3.7. From 1992 to the Present

President Özal died in 1992, Mr. Demirel was elected as president; Mrs. Tansu Çiller became the leader of DYP; then after the elections held in 1994 she became the first female prime minister in Turkey; she formed a coalition government with a theocratic *Prosperity Party* (*Refah Partisi — RP*). RP was known for its theocratic ideology and affinity with radical groups; activities of religious groups increased during this coalition government. Kurdish terrorist activities in South-East of Turkey increased during DYP – RP coalition government, more than 30 000 lost their lives until their leader was captured, trialed and received life sentence.

International events at the beginning of the 90's effected internal politics. Collapse of the communism in USSR weakened the leftist movements in Turkey, US became the only major power in the world, and its support to Israel caused reactions in the Islamic countries and increased the strength of the religious groups in Turkey. Besides these international effects, military supported government which came to power after 1980 and the ANAP governments following it were sympathetic to the conservative and religious groups; these factors caused an increase in the votes of the religious party and it became stronger; as it got stronger its demands for its supporters increased. The rise of the right wing reached to the peak during the DYP – RP coalition period; some leaders of RP started to talk about bringing Islamic law (*Shari'a*) to Turkey. Number of associations to build new mosques increased very rapidly, numbers of men and women wearing turbans, black sheets, which are forbidden by law, increased (see Figure 5). These were created a big reaction in the intellectual and Kemalists groups; armed forces were also disturbed.

The National Security Council (*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu – MGK*) which was composed of the president of the Republic, the leaders of the coalition government (the prime minister and deputy prime minister) and the commanding officers of the armed forces took action on 28 February 1997; they unanimously made a decision and declared some remedies to prevent the activities of the religious groups. Later on the assistant prime minister denied his agreement with this declaration, but it shook the coalition

government and RP. These developments also led to the separation of RP into two groups (the radicals and the conservative democrats) in the year 2001.

New elections which were held in 1998, resulted with no clear majority for the competing political parties. Three parties, all with different political tendencies formed a coalition government: Democratic Leftist Party (*Demokratik Sol Parti – DSP*) under the leadership of Mr. Bülent Ecevit who became the prime minister because he had the highest number of seats in the parliament; radical nationalist, right wing party MHP and ANAP which was at the centre. Clashing political tendencies caused big problems in the cabinet, although they usually tried to reconcile their differences and to find a middle course, they were not successful, because the middle courses did not yield the best solutions. Increasing terrorist activities, economical crises, rumors about corruptions in public contracts and preferential treatments for each parties' supporters caused all three parties to lost prestige; indeed non of them could get enough votes which exceed the 10% threshold to obtain seats in the parliament in the elections held on 3rd November 2002. Only two parties which used to be in the opposition could obtain seats in the parliament: Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma partisi – AKP*) which was formed by the conservative democratic wing of RP; and CHP. AKP obtained absolute majority in the parliament and its leader Mr. Tayyip Erdoğan became the prime minister. 2002 elections brought one party into power, terminated ineffective coalition governments period and provided relatively stable economy and politics.

Terrorist assaults to the Twin Towers in New York City on September 11, 2001 helped the US and the other Western countries to understand the danger of the global terrorism. Turkey started to receive better understanding and more support for its fight against terrorism. The Afghan War and the occupation of Iraq by coalition forces created some commercial and financial opportunities for Turkey; but especially war in Iraq caused some problems in domestic politics. An important portion of the public, the opposition party in the parliament and some NGOs criticized the government for its supports which was given to US in its occupation which did not have justifiable reasons. The law which permits the US soldiers pass through the Turkish territory to invade North Iraq was rejected in the parliament; this reduced the Turkey's involvement to the Iraq war, but it created a conflict between US and Turkey, it also increased the role of Kurdish groups in Iraq.

2.3.8. Some Recent Activities of NGO's

In this period there were some developments which displayed the growing strength and activism of civil society in Turkey. The first was linked to the uncovering of a scandal involving an illegal link between a state official, a member of parliament and a Mafia leader that was sought by the police for criminal offences. Public learned about the existence of some underground organizations which were supported by high ranking civil servants and even some members of the parliament after a traffic accident occurred in the small town called *Susurluk*. As a consequence of the outrage felt by the general public, a campaign to protest the wicked relations of the state officials with illegitimate organizations was started by some NGO's during the trial period of the accident; motto of the campaign was "*One moment darkness for permanent brightness*"; all lights were turned off for one minute at exactly 9 PM in homes and offices in every big city in every evening. This campaign received a big support, majority of the public participated in the campaign. The support of the public for this campaign indicates that the public became conscious and sensitive about these kinds of events and can react to protest in a democratic way; it also proves the power and effectiveness of the NGOs of that period.

Two major earth quicks hit the highly populated industrial zones in *Adapazarı* and *Bolu* and claimed the lives of about 30 000 people and also destroyed many production facilities, office buildings and homes in the area in August and November 1999. These had very bad effects on the country's already crawling economy. The public again expressed its frustration with problems in the delivery of emergency relief by public bodies. In the highly distressing environment of the aftermath of the earthquakes NGOs provided an alternative source of relief and assistance and filled the vacuum created by the inefficiencies of some public agencies. Financial and physical contributions of NGOs to heal the wounds of the earthquake victims were very effective, this indicated the changing role of the Turkish NGOs, that is NGOs can provide help to solve the problems that can not be handled by the state alone.

Relations between Turkey and the EU had an enhancing effect on the democratization process in Turkey. But Turkey's relations with EU has been changing; Turkey rejected to apply for full membership in the 70's because of economical reasons, EU frozen its relations with Turkey after the military take over in 1980. President Özal

cured the relations in 1986 and Turkey applied for the full membership in 1987, finally Turkey joined customs union with EU in 1996. The deficiencies in Turkish democracy, violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms strained the relations between the two sides. The EU authorities frequently criticized Turkey on account of problems in the functioning of democracy and limitation and abuse of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Conservative and nationalistic groups in Turkey viewed these criticisms as an intrusion into domestic affairs and expressed their indignation and resentment to such criticisms. Progressive and reformist groups in Turkey, on the other hand, used the EU as their ally in their struggle to enhance democracy and human rights in Turkey. In that sense closer relations with the EU meant that Turkey had to reform its democracy and lift the limitations and sanctions that deterred civil society and NGOs from functioning effectively. It also meant that the EU and its policy towards Turkey had a supporting influence on reformist and democratic forces in Turkish society.

Scopes and effectiveness of the Turkish NGOs as well as their numbers increased in 90s, with the help of improved democratic rights in the country; many new associations to deal with the subjects such as women's rights, human rights, environment, consumer protection, etc. were established. These developments were parallel to the developments in other parts of the world; because after the collapse of the communism NGOs' effectiveness in social and economical areas increased; Rio Conference, Habitat meetings and AGİK are good examples to show the effectiveness of the world's NGOs.[128]

Charity organizations, associations, clubs and guilds which were established after 1980 had a great deal of autonomy when compared with the ones which had been established earlier. The growth in the number and variety of NGO's went hand in hand with a positive development in the relative position of NGO's in the society. The main reason of this improvement was the change of mentality that resulted from shifting state-society relations; democratic improvements in the country led to a more conciliatory approach of state authorities towards to NGOs.[129] The main aim of most of the NGOs which were established before 1980 was to provide services to the community, the services that were supposed to be provided by the state. The rise of the private sector and increasing incomes caused stronger and better organized NGOs to be established and the

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[128] TEKELİ, op.cit, p.339
[129] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, op.cit, p. 206

state had to leave many service areas to NGOs. Increased economical activities helped the accumulation of funds which can be used in charity organizations and in other social associations, leading to financially autonomous NGOs. These NGOs did not need public funds and therefore did not succumb to wait state's leadership to provide services.[130] As mentioned before the campaign, "*One moment darkness for permanent brightness* " indicates the change of mentality of civil society, and also it proves the effectiveness and power of the NGOs.

As mentioned earlier Turkish society also experienced the flourishing of religious associations in this period under the effect of the strengthening of Islam ideology. Number of religious associations increased especially during DYP-RP coalition period. As a reaction to the 'Islamization' of the society, secular groups also formed associations to fight off the encroaching religious influence. Association for Ataturkist Thought (*Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği*) and Association to Support Contemporary Life (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği*) were established in 1989; the main activities of these two associations were to spread the Kemalists philosophy in Turkey, they introduced this new dimension into the agenda of Turkish society, between the two repelling poles of the NGOs (the radical religious groups and contemporary progressive groups).

The Pentagonal Initiative which was formed by Union of Turkish Guilds and Stock Exchanges (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği* – TOBB), Federation of Turkish Labor Unions (*Türk-iş*), Confederation of Turkish Tradesman and Craftsman Unions (*Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Dernekleri Konfederasyonu* – TESK), Confederation of Turkish Employers Unions (*Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* – TİSK) and Confederation of Revolutionist Labor Unions (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* – DİSK) supported the National Security Council's declaration on 28th February 1997,[131] they were very effective in the acceptance of the Council's decision by the majority of the community, and they proved the independence of NGOs from the government.

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[130] YÜCEKÖK; TURAN, ALKAN, ibid, p.208

[131] TEKELİ, op.cit, p. 343

2.4.   Foundations

Religious foundations had special rights in the Ottoman society; their autonomous position was accepted by the Sultan. The importance of these foundations was not because of their religious background but because they were maintaining and managing the caravanserais and inns on the trade roads which connected East to West.[132]   Autonomy of these foundations was abolished by the Ottoman Sultan during the last years of the Empire; religious foundations were taken under the state's protective umbrella after the declaration of Republic. In 1967 a new law which allowed an ordinary person to establish a foundation[133] was accepted by the parliament. Foundations had some advantages to receive charity contributions and they have more freedom in their expenses. Number of foundations increased rapidly after 1967. Foundation to Protect Environmental and Cultural Wealths (*Çevre ve Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Vakfı* - ÇEKÜL) and Foundations for Voluntaries for Education (Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı - EGV) are good examples for these foundations.

In this chapter of the thesis, historical development of the Turkish NGOs is considered together with the conjectural political and economical developments which affected their activities. NGOs became an important part of the civil society, they became relatively free of political influence and free from the State's pressures as they became economically independent. They have also acquired a power basis in the society due to their increased legitimacy and credibility. Scopes of their activities and their effectiveness have been increased through out the years, parallel to the democratic improvements in the country. State had to transfer its many social responsibilities to the NGOs. Expectations of the society from NGOs increased as they became more powerful; recently Turkish NGOs have been lobbying in EU countries and EU's institutions to help Turkey to start negotiations for full membership of EU at the end of 2004. Next final chapter will focus especially on the current relation between Turkey and the EU through the NGOs by mentioning especially the use of EU's economical instruments and giving example of these associations as case studies.

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[132] Rana Zincir, "*Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı Bülteni*", No:11, Alkan Maat, İstanbul, Apr. 19th, 2004, p.7
[133] ZİNCİR, ibid, p.7

III. CIVIL SOCIETY IN TURKEY AND IN EUROPE

3.1. Recent Development in European Civil Societies

This chapter aims at discussing the situation of NGOs in the European context mentioning the main features of their formations, civil dialogue at the European level regarding the institutions and EU's Europeanization policy.   The effect of this Europeanization on Turkish NGOs (funds, EU programs), political reform packages, and the activities of some of the Turkish NGOs as case study will be presented at the final part of this chapter.

Alexis de Tocqueville was one of the first philosophers who emphasized the significance and the social preconditions of associations in modernity, about 150 years ago. To understand the structure of the European civil dialogue, the social bases of politics should be conceived. The cleavage model of politics suggests that political divisions derive from critical junctures[134] (Lipset- Rokkan Model) in the development of a political system in EU. This model gave as example the democratic revolution of eighteenth and nineteenth century in Europe which produced a conflict between church and state; and the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century that raised workers against capitalists (socialists vs. conservatives). According to Lipset – Rokkan model there are two main cleavages in the EU:[135] First the combination of a common territory, historical myths, a mass culture and a national economy constitutes a powerful force for individual attachment to the nation state. As a result of this situation the EU as a community of states is segmented along national lines. Secondly; on certain issues in the EU agenda, a group of citizens in one nation state will share more in common with a similar group in another nation state. For example German and French farmers who have collective interests to defend the Common Agricultural Policy against French and German consumers. This transnational cleavage can also emerge around newer issue divisions such as environment, human rights education, which become increasingly important on the EU agenda.

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[134] Simon Hix, *"The Political System of the E.U"*, Macmillan Press, London, 1999, p. 133
[135] HIX, ibid, p.133

The origins of the European civil dialogue formation date back to the forties. United European Movement (UEM) can be considered as one of the first examples characterizing this process. One of the major achievements of the UEM, which was created in 1948, was the creation of the European Council.[136] By setting up of think-tanks and a network of mobilization in the democratic countries, it played a pivotal role in the process of European integration. Its principle role was to transform the relations between the European States and its citizens into a federal European Movement. The European Movement, which put the citizen at the heart of the community construction in order to achieve this goal, can be considered as the milestone of the European civil dialogue process.

In 60s, European Labor Parties, trade unions, organizations of trade played important roles to create further collective action. One of the most important types of collective civil action was the action of the students. There were two novel features of 1960s student action:[137] First, the thrust of the movement was internationalist and often anti-nationalist. Events such as the Vietnam War and the colonial war in Algeria provided the catalyst for protest movements. Secondly; 1960s student movement also established a new type of collective action, which can also be called triangular action. The action was directly against State or University authority but the main meaning of it was a general message to be relayed and amplified by the mass media. As we mentioned before, the years between 1960-1980 were also the golden years of the labor movement.

Student movements have triggered another important issue which was short lived but characterized the European civil movement of 70s. The feminist movement had an important effect on the collective actions of women's organizations. It has hardly given rise to new associations and led to the dissolution of earlier women associations such as the UDI in Italy.[138] Even this movement hasn't lived long, it has more concrete and effective consequences such as abortion rights which almost became legal everywhere and the social rights of working women were improved. As a result it can be said that the intellectual

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[136] www.europeanmovement.org retrieved on March 9th 2005
[137] Göran Therbon, "European Modernity and Beyond", Sage Publications, California, 1996, p. 313
[138] THERBON, ibid, p. 317

heritage of feminist protest is very well developed especially in the Anglo Saxon world and in the Nordic countries.[139]

Among the new movements, environmentalism which began in the USA and the issue of disarmament or pacifist movements became popular in Europe in 70s and 80s. Two concerns have made environmentalism a focus point of a mass action:[140] One has been the opposition to nuclear energy and the other is autonomous electoral mobilization. These environmental issues played an important role in the beginning of the new protests and led to the emergence of green parties. Characteristics of the bipolar system created a new threat "threat of nuclear war" which triggered largest protest meetings around Europe.

In 80s European right wing has made an important contribution to world. Due to this development Europe made xenophobia a current issue and also created a divergence in the public support for the European integration. Easton's theory of affective and utilitarian support can explain the main reason of this duality:[141] According to Easton's theory affective support is an ideological or non material belief in the value of the political system; on the other hand utilitarian support is the belief that the system promotes individual economic or political interests. Pursuant to the treaties of Paris and Rome some of the authors such as Lindberg and Scheingold argued that there was a permissive consensus amongst Europe's publics in favour of European integration[142] which means that a large majority of European citizens were not interested in European integration and at that time they had no idea about their governments' actions on the issue. In order to measure, and compare the attitudes of the citizens towards European integration, European Commission has undertaken European opinion polls every six months. Now these polls became a guide for all the European institutions to evaluate the level of support or opposition for the European integration process these years when the public support for the European integration is observed, it can be said that the permissive consensus which was mentioned before disappeared in 80s. Support for European integration rose due to the project of completing the single European market which reflects the utilitarian support and mentioning the importance of the unified Europe.

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[139] THERBON, ibid, p. 317
[140] THERBON, ibid, p.318
[141] HIX, op.cit, p.139
[142] HIX, ibid, p.135

Support for the EC decreased with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and the level of opposition continued unabated in the 1994 referendums. On the other hand when the European interest groups activities are observed it can be said that the volume of private individuals and groups seeking to influence the EU policy process increased towards the end of the 80s. Until the mid 80s it was possible to identify between 400 and 500 interest groups with offices in Brussels, this number trebled by the mid 90s. The table concerning interest groups in Brussels[143] shows that the largest type of interest represented at the European level are individual companies, secondly European interest association (such as trade unions), interest groups and international organizations are also listed. Lobbying activities of the private sector were at the national level in 70s and 80s but the completion of the European single market (removing barriers to free movement of goods, services and capital) necessitated European standards and created its own civil society coming together around common aims (such as the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (EUROCHAMBERS, Union of Industrial and Employers-UNICE). Business associations have had the most important role to influence the creation of the Single Market.

Coming to our days as the European integration is no more limited to economic pillar these collective civil society activities progressed and expanded to diverse fields. Concrete steps have been taken: The Cotonou Agreement between African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries and the European Union can be considered as one of the first international treaties which refer to civil society. It makes a distinction between non state-actors such as the private sector, the economic and social partners and civil society organizations.[144]

At the European Union level the founding Treaties began to underline the necessity of social dialogue beside the political dialogue. The draft of the European Constitution emphasizing the importance of the civil dialogue in its articles I-46, I-47, I-48 embodying the Charter of fundamental rights of the EU reflect the actual situation of the civil dialogue at the European level:[145] First of all the first article mentioned the principle of representative democracy. The importance of this article is to emphasize that every

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[143] HIX, ibid, p.192
[144] www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/int/eu/200205civsoc.htm retrieved on Mar. 28th ,2005
[145] http://www.unizar.es/euroconstitutionlibrary/constitution29.10.2004/part:1, retrieved on Mar. 28th ,2005

citizens shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union and decisions shall be taken as openly as possible to the citizens. Article 47 determined the relations with the institutions and civil dialogue by mentioning that the institutions shall give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union actions and maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with the representative associations and civil dialogue. And finally article 1-48 underlines the importance of the social partners and autonomous social dialogue.

3.2. The role of European Institutions in the Civil Dialogue

As it is observed above in the coordination of the engagement with non-governmental organizations and in the funding of their activities European institutions have a significant role. Even during the 1990s when opposition to European integration increased as surfaced during the ratification of the Maastrich Treaty, many European citizens expressed that they trusted more EU institutions than their national institutions, which prove that they have already reserved a particular role for the EU institutions at that time. Coming to our days as the concept of European integration has changed since the mid 80 and developed in 90s, new areas such as environment, health, justice and home affairs have involved in the European agenda. This situation has had three important consequences for interest groups:[146] First the number of groups which are operating at the European level has increased, secondly the interest groups coverage in the EU has become much more diverse and finally because the interest organizations find it difficult to predict short term political developments in the EU, they had to devote resources to monitoring EU developments. In this process, European level institutions have to play an important role in influencing the interest group structure, shaping their role and activities. Today there are many uncertainties about these institutions:[147]

First it is not clear that there have been a major shift in power to the EU in the area of social policy and also there is no binding in EU legislation in the area of poverty, homelessness, family policy in which national governments continue to preserve their

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[146] Michelle Cini, "*European Union Politics*", Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, p. 193

[147] Laura Cram, "*Policy Making in the EU*", Routledge, London, 1999, p. 125

national prerogatives. Secondly, there is only limited evidence of the spontaneous development of Euro groups and Euro interest activity in EU social policy without funding or support from the EU institutions. Also the costs of working at the European level such as diverse traditions, language problems, different mentalities, make cooperation at the European level extremely difficult. Thirdly, it is not clear that the most important, motivating factor is the desire to influence the EU social policy process. Few evaluations have been realized but concrete examples showed that the primary interest lies in obtaining help from the EU funding.

The proliferating NGO activity at the level of European institutions is like the U.S. system; rather than the situation prevailing in some of the member states. In fact, the EU institutions actively promote NGO activities at the EU level. As it is mentioned before, the promotion of such activity usually takes the form of coordination and funding of NGO activities. Giampiero Alhadeff and Simon Wilson, in order to make the relation between NGOs and European institutions clear, specify three categories of associations operating at the European level:[148] firstly there are those that were set up with the Commission, secondly networks which were created or moved to Brussels due to the increased importance of the EU and to the need of influencing EU affairs and third group includes national and international NGOs which decided to open a representation office in Brussels.

In the first category, the Liaison Committee of the Development which is known by its French acronym CLONG can be mentioned. This Association which was entirely funded by the Commission played a significant role in creating a common European view amongst its 900 member organizations across the 15 member states. The second category includes the organizations which have insufficient resources comparing with the first category but have a larger number of members. These are groups such as APRODEV (regrouping Protestant NGOs), CIDSE (regrouping Catholic NGOs), as the third category has an international aspect, it includes the offices of Amnesty International, The World Wide Fund for Nature, Greenpeace.

At the beginning the EU institutions have had contradictory feelings about the civil society. There was no legal basis obliging the EU institutions to engage in dialogue with the NGOs but as it has mentioned above there are concrete efforts to officials and regulate

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[148] www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/int/eu/200205civsoc.htm retrieved on March 28th 2005

these relations (EU Constitution Draft).   In the absence of a legal basis, the role of EU institutions, especially the EU Commission and the EU Parliament can not be denied. The EU Commission has the catalyst role in structuring of the European Civil movement.

The Commission's monopoly over policy initiation entitles the Commission a crucial role in agenda setting and policy formulation. It also has a crucial role to play in monitoring compliance with Community laws by member states and non state actors.[149] In this process the interest groups try to maintain relations with one or more commission departments and with the General Directorate. Some of the other activities of the European Commission in the process are: [150]

- First, there are some networks initiated by the European Commission but coordinated by other organizations such as the network on older people in poverty or the network on older workers;

- secondly there are independent organizations established on the initiative of the European Commission which includes European Women's Lobby;

- thirdly there are a number of organizations which have developed because of the European Commission funded initiatives such as FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organizations working with the homeless);

- Fourth European Commission operates also in some of the social programs such as HELIOS II, IRIS II, poverty program; it also funds a number of observatories to investigate the issues of social exclusion, unemployment, homelessness and it has established a number of forums in which Euro groups may jointly participate in the EU policy process.

The European Commission is not the only institution which encouraged the development of the European civil movement. As the European Parliament is more open to national pressures, its influence varies according to the issue and the decision making procedure that applies. In the EU Parliament the heads of the Standing Committees and the rapporteurs responsible for particular dossiers constitute the most important addresses for interest groups' demands.[151] Although the European Council and European Court of Justice are not as active as the European Commission and Parliament, their involvement in

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[149] CINI; op.cit, p. 195
[150] CRAM, op.cit, p. 129
[151] CINI, op.cit, p. 195

this process can not be underestimated:[152] European Council can be considered as a relevant contact for interest groups. But the Council and its administrative machinery, the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) and the Council working groups are rarely lobbied directly. Rather the domestic interest groups prefer to address their concerns to the particular government departments.

The European Court of Justice monitors compliance and interprets the EU laws. As a consequence the preliminary rulings procedures offers a channel for national courts to refer questions about European law to the ECJ and allows interest groups to challenge the compatibility of domestic and EU law.

Observing the role of European institutions the importance of European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) should be underlined. The EESC is the organ which has the aim of providing a forum for the representation of social and economic interests at the EU level. EESC is one of the two consultative committees of the European Union (the other one is Committee of regions). European Parliament and European Commission have to ask the EESC's opinion prior to making any legal arrangements in the subjects which are stated in the founding treaty of the EU. Also if it is necessary they can ask for advice out of these subjects. In EESC structure there are three different groups: The first one includes employers and employer's union; the second one includes employees and the third one includes NGOs and other independent organizations. The EESC has Joint Consultative Committees (JCC) in candidate countries. First of these Committees has been established in Turkey in 1995 on Turkey's demand. Fallowing Turkey JCC, ten new European member state and Bulgaria and Romania JCC have been established. TISK-DISK-HALK-IS, TOBB, IKV, TUSIAD are Turkey's JCC participants. In the work program of the new EESC President; especially the relation between Constitution and Civil Dialogue and Committee's position within the institutional framework have been emphasized: The draft Constitution and its provisions on participatory democracy and civil dialogue have given the Committee every opportunity to put it self image as a bridge to civil society to the rest. This situation will enable the Committee to play a key role in promoting and structuring European civil dialogue. On the other hand one of the Committee's goal is to conclude a cooperation agreement with the European Parliament, set out a formalized strategy for

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[152] CINI, op.cit, p. 195

cooperation with the Council and optimize the relations with the Council of Representatives (COR).

As it has been mentioned above, the development of the civil society has progressed in the past ten years. NGOs endeavored to organize themselves and regulate their activities to influence the EU. It has been understood that positive change within the EU can only be realized through collective action, enhanced participation and consistent dialogue. In order to realize these aims NGOs are trying to work effectively, support each other, and cooperate with EU institutions. A structured civil dialogue can not be formed without the support of the European Union. The inclusion of the articles 46, 47, 48 within the principle of participatory democracy in the draft treaty constitute a concrete victory of NGOs efforts.

As in the formative years of any long-term process, many different kinds of problems exist at the European level regarding civil movements and collective action. According to a recent report titled *Lobbying in the European Union: Current Rules and Practices,*[153] more than 70 percent of EU lobbyists work for corporate interests and only 20 percent represent non governmental organizations such as trade unions, health, poverty, etc. and remaining 10 percent are sectoral lobby groups. In October 2004, 50 NGOs wrote an open letter to the European Commission warning of the excessive influence of the corporate lobby groups over EU policy making. Despite these problems EU interest groups are much more involved than national groups in policy making at the EU level.

The involvement of NGOs in EU policy making and the interaction at the EU level between EU institutions, and national governmental and non-governmental organizations give rise to the 'Europeanization' of civil action.

3.3. The Rise of A New Concept, "Europeanization"

At the end of 80s, especially after the Maastricht Treaty period EU circles witnessed to the rise of a new concept "Europeanization". It can be considered as a process of structural change or an adaptation of the cultural, political, economic policies to

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[153] www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/tncs/2004/1222murkylobby.htm retrieved on March 28th 2005

the European Union. According to different point of views many definitions can be made to clarify this new concept. First, it can be explained as the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance which means networks specialising in the creation of European rules.[154] Second, it helps to understand the current transformations which take place on the European continent[155] and also it can be considered as a structural change affecting the actors, institutions, ideas and interests and in this context in a maximal sens, the structural sens involves predominating attributes which identified with Europe and minimally this concept involves a response to the EU policies.[156] Even the usage of the term "Europeanization" increased in recent years it is hard to give a common definition. Many authors have used this term emphasising every time one of its different characteristics. Identifying these different uses will help to understand the concept in detail. First of all Europeanization is;[157]

- the changes in external territorial boundaries;
- it is the development of institutions at the European level and penetration of European level institution system into national system of governance;
- it is a political project supporting a unified and strong Europe. Secondly Europeanization is[158]
- a historic phenomenon;
- an increasing trans-nationalism and finally
- it is the export of European policies, institutional and political organization beyond Europe. One of the key point of this thesis is to understand the impacts of the EU policies, instruments (funds, programs etc.) in Turkey.

Europeanization as the changes in external territorial boundaries has a geographical aspect which means the transformations are not limited to the EU. The EU through various mechanisms such as free trade agreements, association agreements, financial aid and assistance programs can influence governance, contribute to norm-building and affect relations between political and societal actors in neighbouring countries. The specific role

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[154] Maria Green Cowles, « Transforming Europe », Cornell University Press, New York, 2001, p. 3
[155] CINI, op.cit, p. 334

[156] Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M.Radelli, "The politics of Europeanization", Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, p.3
[157] CINI, op.cit, p.334
[158] FEATHERSTONE and RADELLI, op.cit, p. 6-7

that EU has assumed after the cold war implying responsibilities to Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) and the EU enlargement and EU policy towards the Balkan countries can be considered as an example.

In order to develop common norms, ideas, understanding; to implement European policies common European level institutions became a necessity. In order to create a solidarity among its citizens and justifying its existence EU needs its own institutions. On the other hand the existence of the European level institutions creates a fusion and influences national institutions. It is also identified with the adaptation of other institutional actors in domestic political process. Especially a change at the parliamentary politics, in the behaviour of organised interest, political parties and in the role of NGOs.[159]

From the beginning the principle aim of EU was to prevent the war between European countries and create a unified Europe in which internal borders would be weakened and external borders would be strengthened.

Europeanization is an increasing trans-nationalism due to the diffusion of cultural norms, identities, ides and patterns of behaviour on a cross national basis. It effects social activities citizenship, culture and ideologies. In this perspective EU in order to install its values like democracy, equality, the rule of law, freedom, human rights which are characterised by pluralism, justice, solidarity it uses its own instruments (funds and projects) which is important to determine the nature of the relation with candidate countries. In the last section current EU relation with one of these countries (Turkey) (including reform packages prepared in harmony with EU fundamental criterions)   and its financial aspect (including financial dimensions of the EU – Turkey relationship, EU programs);   current case studies of Turkish NGOs which benefited from these EU programs will be observed. Turkey's full membership became a very important issue on the EU enlargement process.

Turkey's application to the EC for full membership in April 1987 triggered a negative approach among the Turkish public opinion. This situation is resulted as the rise of anti European feelings in Turkey. The changes in the post cold war climate and the decisions of the Luxembourg summit reinforced these feelings. In this context the issue of full membership for Turkey became important in the enlargement process of the EU.

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[159] FEATHERSTONE and RADELLI, ibid, p. 8

3.4. The Development of the Relationship between Turkish NGOs
and the EU

Candidacy of Turkey to EU was approved in the Helsinki Summit on December 10th and 11th, 1999; relations, as well as the financial cooperation between Turkey and EU entered to a new phase after this approval many important changes were occurred. Financial cooperation which is an extension of Europeanization policy of EU was started to be reorganised; effects of the new financial structure on the Turkish NGOs and political reforms which were realised between 2000 – 2004 period will be discussed in the next section, here EU – Turkey relations which had many ups and downs will be observed during the last forty years.

Democrat Party (DP) which supported free market economy and which is known with its pro-American policies applied to European Economic Community (EEC) for an association in mid 50s; but it did not bring the issue to Turkish Grand National Assembly nor opened a general public debate talking about the advantageous or disadvantageous outcomes of the partnership. The Association agreement had predicted the beginning of dialogue beyond governmental actors. The final aim of the Ankara Agreement was full membership and it had forwarded a three-stage plan to reach this goal: preparatory phase, transition phase and the final phase. Additional Protocol which became effective in 1973 established the rules of the transition period; important subjects such as the free movement of the labor, transitional conditions for the custom union, special commercial conditions for the agricultural products were mentioned in this protocol but unfortunately relations between Turkey and European Community (EC) were not developed as desired and relations were frozen in the beginning of the 80s. On the other hand, during the preparatory phase only members of the Turkish Parliament and the European Parliament have had a permanent dialogue; until 1995 Turkish partners and other professional organizations could not form a Joint Consultative Committee with their EU counterparts within the EESC.[160]

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[160] Ali Çarkoğlu and Barry Rubin, "Turkey & European integration", Frank Cass, London, 2000, p. 103

DP government did not only bring the issue to the Parliament but they also did not receive the views of any universities, labor unions, chambers of commerce or any NGOs. But CHP (Republican People's Party); the opposition party of that period and TOBB (Turkey's Association of stock exchanges) studied this subject and they shared the outcomes of their researches with the civil society.[161] CHP urged DP that they should not act hastily and carelessly during the negotiations with EEC and that they should avoid making unnecessary concessions just to improve the relations with the international associations. Dr. Cihan İren, the general secretary of TOBB emphasized the political importance of EEC in contrast to CHP which was considering the issue purely economical; Dr. İren mentioned that Turkey could not stay out side of EEC if it aimed to integrate with the western world.

There were many reactions to not having any consultations and not having any disclosure about the subject; one of these reactions was establishment of Economic Development Foundation with the aim to investigate the probable consequences of such integration. In 1970s also independent organizations such as Turkish Confederation of Employers Association (TISK), Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association (TUSIAD) were formed. Later they became members of the Union of Industrial Employers Confederation of Europe (UNICE) in order to influence the decision making instruments of EU and create closer relationship.

Coming to 80's Turkey's membership application became a turning point in Turkey – EC relation but it was also an initiative without seeking the support of the TGNA or public opinion. EC's negative opinion concerning Turkey's membership made clear that relations between Turkey and EC were based on political questions such as democratization and human rights and this situation triggered TUSIAD's and TOBBS's reactions. TOBB re-evaluate relations with the EC and tried to convince the government to improve the relations with the neighbour countries and TUSIAD criticized the government for failing to hold closer relations with a liberal economic and political regime;[162] finally due to these criticisms EC membership became a current issue. That is why UNICE's membership of TISK, TUSIAD; Euro chamber membership of TOBB have played an

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[161] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu", Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1993,p. 129

[162] Mehmet Uğur and Nergis Canefe, *"Turkey and European Integration"*, Routledge, New York, 2004, p. 104

important role in this process and became a proof of their efforts in order to realize the aim of full membership. The responsibilities that they assumed in this process prepared appropriate situation to start the negotiations over the customs union and finally with the Council's Decision number 1/95 conditions of the customs union between Turkey and EC for the industrial goods were declared. Customs Union was effective on January 1ˢᵗ 1996; this marked the end of the transition phase of Ankara Agreement and the start of the final phase. Customs Union was also a cornerstone in the historical development of small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) and craftsmen at the EU level. Foundation for Professional Formation and Small Trade (MEKSA), Small and Medium Industry Development Organization (KOSGEB), Union of Turkish Craftsmen and Tradesmen Credit and Cooperatives (TESKOMB), the Confederation of Turkish Craftsmen and Small Traders (TESK) opened representative offices in Brussels and became a member of Association of Crafts and Small and Medium Sized Enterprises of the EU (UEAPME).[163]

Turkey was obligated to put in practice some additional political conditions which were not applied to the other 10 candidate countries in the Luxembourg Summit on December 12ᵗʰ and 13ᵗʰ, December 1997. The outcomes of this summit had slowed down the developments of the EU-Turkey relations, Turkey did not join to the European Conference to show its reactions although it had been invited. These crises effected civil society groups positively, they became more active in supporting the Turkey's candidacy to EU; especially TUSIAD was very effective, it's lobbying activities in UNICE and its report about the relations of Turkey with EU created very important results. Finally European Council decided to accept Turkey as a candidate country at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999.

Although Turkey's application for becoming a full member dates back to 1987, it was the last country that was given the candidate status in 1999. The reason of this delay relies in slow progress of the accession process. Few of them are mentioned below.[164] The new enlargement process has new features due to the number of countries and element of the new process (agenda 2000, national program, pre-accession assistance); secondly, this enlargement process constitutes a political design with political aims and objectives.

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[163] UĞUR and CANEFE, ibid, p. 105
[164] Nail Alkan; Çağrı Erhan, periodical "*Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi*", Vol:2, No:3, autumn 2002, p. 18

European Union necessitates common European values and according to these values the issue of identity and culture became more and more dominant. These developments increased the question marks for Turkey's situation; and thirdly the lack of progress and transformation in important areas such as human rights, supremacy of law and democratization decelerated the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate.

The process of changing was initiated by the European Commission with the publication of accession partnership which highlighted the short and medium term priorities:[165] In political arena the targets are the freedom of expression, freedom of association, elimination of torture practices, combating human rights violations, efficient functioning of the judiciary, removal of provisions forbidding the education of Turkish citizens in their mother tongue, the use of their native language in TV and settlement of the Cyprus problem. In the economic sphere requirements were compatible with IMF program involving disinflation, structural reforms, control of public expenditure, financial sector reforms to establish transparency.

As a response to these targets Turkey prepared national program for the adaptation of the acquits in 2001. According to the Laeken Summit in December 2001 Turkey has made progress towards complying with the political criteria. Similarly in Seville Summit European Council welcomes the reforms adopted by Turkey.[166]

3.5. Harmonization Packages

In 2002 the process of change accelerated with harmonization laws which were grouped in seven so called packages have been approved by the Parliament.[167]

3.5.1. The First Harmonization Package (February 6th, 2002)

This package enacted a series of amendments to the Penal Code, the Anti terror law, law on establishment of and Proceeding at the State Security Courts and the Code of Criminal Procedure in the context of the expansion of the freedom of expression, the

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[165] ÇARKOĞLU and RUBIN, op.cit, p. 12
[166] ALKAN and ERHAN, op.cit, p.47
[167] Directorate for Political Affairs, "*Political Reforms in Turkey*", Özkan Maatbacılık, Ankara, 2004, p.3

reduction of pre-trial detention periods and the safeguard provisions of the rights of prisoners. There has been an amendment to article 159 and 312 of the Penal Code and article 7 and 8 of the Anti-terror law.

3.5.2. The Second Harmonization Package (April 9th, 2002)

Especially this package has a crucial role in the changing status of the Turkish NGOs. In order to enhance the exercise of the freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly this package entered into force on April 9th, 2002. Closing the political parties became more difficult by these amendments, instate they would be deprived from the financial aids from the national treasury. The Law on Meetings and Demonstration Marches was also amended in the context of the freedom of association and peaceful assembly. Article 9 was amended by reducing the minimum age to 18 for founding an Association. People who were committed some crimes and sentenced were prohibited to be a member of associations even if they would be affected by a pardon. Meetings and demonstration marches organized by the associations, labor unions and professional associations are allowed even the purpose of these demonstrations are not in the scope of their main objectives.[168]

3.5.3. The Third Harmonization Package (August 9th, 2002)

The third harmonization package which entered into force on August 9th, 2002 abolished the death penalty and introduced provisions to the relevant codes paving the way for retrial, further extended the freedoms of expression and association addressed the legal conditions pertaining to real estate held by community foundations, provided for changes in provisions on education and broadcasting vis-à – vis cultural rights.

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[168] www.izto.org.tr retrieved on Sep. 23th 2005

3.5.4. The Fourth Harmonization Package (January 11th, 2003)

The fourth harmonization package which entered into force on January 11th, 2003 engendered significant changes in the context of the expansion of the freedom of association, deterrence against torture and mistreatment, safeguard provisions on the rights of prisoners with a series of amendment. Lawsuits against Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Turkey's Communist Party (TKP) in the Supreme Court were withdrawn; obstruction which prevents Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the chairman of AKP, to be elected to the parliament was removed.[169] In the context of the freedom of association; with an amendment to article 6, associations were allowed to use foreign languages in their international contexts and unofficial correspondence. The package invalidated requirement for a decision of administrative board of an association and the signature of its members for announcements, declarations, and similar publications and also deleted the expression "in any language prohibited by law and in writing" from the text of the article. Articles 11 and 12 on the activities abroad of associations established in Turkey and on the activities in Turkey of associations established abroad were invalidated while amendments to Articles 91 and 92 provided for uniformity in implementation in this area.

3.5.5. The Fifth Harmonization Package (February 4th, 2003)

The fifth harmonization package which entered into force on February 4th, 2003 includes provisions on retrial and on the freedom of association. The retrial on the basis of European Court of human rights included Leyla Zana and her three comrades, the ex-members of the parliament.[170] The amendment to article 82 of the Law on Associations replaced prison sentences with fines for offences such as failure to obtain permission for contacts with foreign associations and organizations, failure to fulfill auditing obligations and failure to declare real estate holding.

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[169] www.tihv.org.tr retrieved on Sep. 25th 2005
[170] www.izto.org.tr retrieved on Sep. 25th 2005

3.5.6. The Sixth Harmonization Package (July 19th, 2003)

The sixth harmonization package which entered into force on July 19th, 2003 introduced legal changes. Article 8 of the anti-terror law was abolished; this famous article was setting the rules for the propaganda "indivisible integrity of the state". Broadcasting in Kurdish by the state's radio and TV networks became possible. Prohibition on naming the children was abolished.

3.5.7. The Seventh Harmonization Package (August 7th, 2003)

The seventh harmonization package which entered into force on August 7th, 2003, introduced significant changes in the context of the expansion of the freedom of expression, freedom of association, safeguard provisions on the rights of prisoners, religious freedom, the rights of children, cultural rights, civilian-military relations and the functionality of the executive by a series of amendments enacted to the penal code, Anti-Terror law, Code of Criminal Procedure, Law on the Establishment, Duties and Trial Procedures of Juvenile Courts, Law on Associations, Decree Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Directorate General for Foundations, Law on Assembly and Demonstration Marches, Law on Foreign Language. In the context of amendments to the Law of associations were undertaken with this package. Article 4 was amended to reduce the restrictions on the establishment of associations by lifting the prohibition on the establishment of associations for a specific period of time for those who have been convicted of criminal offences under article 312. Article 16 was amended to lift the restrictions on those who have been convicted of criminal offences under article 312 of becoming members of associations for a specific period of time. Article 38 was amended to broaden the freedom of association of students registered at institutions of higher education by allowing associations also on artistic, cultural, and scientific themes. An amendment to article 10 reduced the maximum time period in which the Ministry of the Interior may conclude its evaluation of the charter of an association (from 90 days to 60). Associations were allowed to establish more than one branch in provinces and the conditions for persons establishing these branches to have resided for 6 months in the local

of the branch was repealed with an amendment to article 31. Finally the article 66 of the civil code was amended to abolish the requirement for a member of an association to submit six months prior notice of his/her intention to terminate membership.

As it's seen contrary to the pre Helsinki period in which none of the major political parties were able to satisfy the EU conditions, especially Mesut Yılmaz former prime minister has assumed an important role in complying EU reforms. But in this period more than any political party the principle pressure for EU based democratic reforms came from non-governmental organizations and especially from the business community. TUSIAD which published a report in 1997 emphasized political reforms, lobbied in Brussels and observing major issues such as Cyprus, human rights; on the other hand IKV promoting closer relations with the EU more than 3 decades, constituting a platform which mobilized 175 non-governmental organizations are some of the examples[171].

Of course there have been also negative reactions; for example confederation of major labor unions (TURK-IS) which has continued to be nationalistic outlook but still NGOs in general supported the government and played many important roles in the realization of the reforms.

3.6. Financial Cooperation

As mentioned earlier, acceptance of Turkey's candidacy for the full membership in the 1999 Helsinki Summit started a new phase in Turkish – EU relations; the most important development for the Turkish NGOs was occurred in financial cooperation.

Many important changes were realized in the mechanism of the financial cooperation after the Helsinki Summit. Studying the pre-candidacy conditions in financial cooperation will be helpful to fully understand the importance of these changes. Pre-candidacy period can be divided into two: the periods before and after the customs union. During the period before the customs union (1964 – 1981) financial aids to support the

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[171] UĞUR and CANEFE, op.cit, p.20

social and economical development of Turkey were delivered in accordance to three financial protocols:

- The first financial protocol covered the 1964-1969 period, it was about ECUs 175 million; it could be used in the developments of infrastructure and the industry.

- The second financial protocol which was effective in the period from 1971 to 1977; it was approximately ECUs 220 million and mostly used for the projects of the private sector.

- The third financial protocol covered another ECUs 220 million from European Investment Bank, most of these funds were used for the developments of the public infrastructure projects.

- The fourth financial protocol was vetoed by the Greece and could not be used[172].

During the period between the customs union and Helsinki Summit donations and credits became more dominant in the financial cooperation; but the amounts were found unsatisfactory. Financial cooperation in this period can be collected under main headings[173]:

- Aids sourced from the main budget of EU:

- Administrative cooperation fund which amounted to Euros 6 million

- Macroeconomic aid for the emergency conditions (not used)

- Special Action Plan which contained Euros 375 million as donations and Euros 750 million as credit.

- Europe – Mediterranean Cooperation Program

- Credits of European Investment Bank

- Donations from the EU budget to improve the relations between the Mediterranean countries and EU.

Total allocation for the credits was Euros 339.5 million and projects totaled for the same amount were approved and became effective. About 300 projects were prepared and submitted to EU to receive donations but they faced some difficulties to obtain approvals because of the application differences in EU.

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[172] www.ceterisparibus.net/ab/ab_makaleler.htm retrieved on Feb. 9th 2005
[173] www.ceterisparibus.net/ab/ab_makaleler.htm retrieved on Feb. 9th 2005

Important developments in the relations between Turkey and EU and some qualitative and quantitative changes in the financial assistance programs were realized after the Helsinki Summit. The pre-accession regulations for the financial assistance for Turkey were approved on December 17th, 2001; all grants were collected under one financial framework which was considered as donations in a single frame[174]. In this new phase EU's financial aids consist of:

- Pre-accession financial aids (donations),
- European Investment Bank's credits which are coordinated by the Undersecretary of Treasury,
- EU programs including 6th framework program, gender equality, multi years entrepreneurship

As the last chapter is based on the impact of financial cooperation on NGOs it will focus especially on grants.

Realization of priorities in the National Program and accession partnership documents were aimed in the projects presented to receive donations during the candidacy period; and financing of the projects to help harmonization with EU's rules and regulations were considered important.

Realization of the same institutional structure with the other candidate countries, establishing a common base for the terminology and establishing good relations between the candidate countries and between the candidate countries and member countries were aimed in this period; in order to realize these developments the most important change was localization and decentralization of the decision making process for the EU's financial cooperation system. This financial system which is managed in Turkey contains coordination of financial cooperation, selection of the projects in accordance with their ranks of priority, doing the necessary preparatory works and obtaining EU Commission's approval for the financial agreement[175].

Another important change after receiving the candidacy statue is in the increased amount of the financial assistance. It was decided to allocate Euros 1.04 Billion for the 2000-2006 period, it was increased to Euros 1.05 Billion later on.[176] This amount is still

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[174] Arzu Odabaşı, *AB Fonları ve Kullanım Koşulları,* İKV Yayinlari, İstanbul, 2004, p. 9
[175] Bülent Özcan Lecture notes in EU Project Preparation Seminar (March 8th 2005)
[176] Daily Newspaper, *"Referans"*, 22.12.2004, p.10

very low when compared with the financial amounts donated to the other candidate countries. The main reason for this unsatisfactory amount is probably in the increased number of countries which are using the same budget.

Development of the civil societies in the candidate countries, including Turkey has been very important for EU; for this reason NGOs have a special place in building EU's social Europe. The first EU assistance to the Turkish NGOs targeted the Unions of Municipalities in Marmara region and to IKV (Economical Development Foundation) toward the end of 1980s, in the scope of a special action program (IULA).[177] Many important changes have occurred in Turkey since the first EU support to the Turkish NGOs; especially during the recent years strengthening and diversifying the NGOs became a must for the pluralistic democracy. EU started to apply a Civil Society Development Program in Turkey; the aim of this program was to increase the capacity of the civil society, numbers and effectiveness of the NGOs and also increase their roles in the democratization process[178].

After Turkey's recognition as a candidate country in the Helsinki Summit donations from EU have been directed towards the civil society establishments rather than to the private sector; this was the most striking difference when the pre-Helsinki and post-Helsinki periods are compared. The importance of NGOs was mentioned in the recommendation decision of EU's commission dated October 6th, 2004; in this progression report it was mentioned that Turkey had been completed the requirements for the Copenhagen criterion and start of the accession negotiations were recommended. It was also recommended in this report that people from the member countries and from Turkey should get closer to each other, and importance of the Turkish NGOs emphasized in this context In December 2004, Economic and Social Committee of the EU declared its views about Turkish NGOs:[179]

- There are some limitations in membership, raising funds and fields of activities in the law for associations;

- In practice activities of some of the associations are hindered;

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[177] Monthly Periodical, "*Forum Diplomatik*", No:1, 31.01.2005, p.12
[178] Monthly Periodical, "*Forum Diplomatik*", No:1, 31.01.2005, p.15
[179] www.tobb.org.tr, retrieved on Jan. 20th 2005

- NGOs which are thought to be positioned against the government have been faced with surveillance and censorship.
- Associations of the religious minorities have some difficulties with property rights;

Turkish government has promised to find remedies for these complaints, but could not make the necessary changes yet. Problems in the religious training of the minorities and religious functionaries , especially Greek-Orthodox monks have been continuing. Greek-Orthodox school for theological education in Heybeliada has been closed for about thirty years.

84 projects which aim to remove obstacles for the civil society in Turkey, to support harmonization of laws to EU's laws, to provide technical assistance for them to be institutionally organized, to provide social and economical adaptation have been approved up to today and some of the implementation measures are still continued. Some of the important projects which were already completed are:

- Project for active work force,
- Project to strengthening professional training.

Projects which are still continuing are:

- Projects related to EU's business improvement centre,
- Programs to provide credits to small and medium size enterprises (SME's),
- Donation program to improve democracy and human rights,
- Donation program for healthier proliferation.

Projects which will be started in the near future are:

- Regional development projects,
- Donation project to develop fashion and textile industry,
- Project to improve cooperation beyond the borders,
- Projects to improve the dialogue between the civil society and the public establishments.

Relation between the EU and Turkey took a positive turn in this period; "Association Council" meeting that took place in November 1992 accelerated developments. Turkey entered the last stage of the Customs Union with the EU on January 1st 1996 and thereby removed custom taxes, quantitative restrictions and all other charges and measures having equivalent effect on industrial goods which were imported from EU countries and started to apply the common customs' tariffs for the goods imported from the

third countries. This can be assumed as one of the corner stones in the EU-Turkey relations. There were some negative developments also; for example although Central European countries and Cyprus were declared as candidates in Luxembourg Summit in 1997, Turkey was excluded. Turkey had to wait two more years until Helsinki Summit to be accepted as candidate. The proclamation of candidacy for EU membership accelerated the preparations made by Turkish governments to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria and be ready for the "negotiations". Several major constitutional amendments and legal changes have been carried out with the aim of removing undemocratic provisions and approximation with EU laws and regulations.

Turkey has been waiting at the door of EU for more than 40 years; but the importance of the full membership to EU has been well accepted by the authorities these days and EU is at the verge of arriving to a decision. Efforts of the Turkish NGOs can be very effective on the EU's positive decision. The methods of lobbying and activities of the NGOs were discussed in the 14th Non-Governmental Organizations Symposium which was held 13th and 14th December 2003. Many Turkish NGOs have been lobbying in EU for Turkey's membership; their methods and effectiveness are discussed in a separate section of this thesis.

3.7. Some Selected NGOs

TÜSİAD, İKV and some other well known Turkish NGOs are always remembered when the people have been talking about the Turkish NGOs which have been effectively lobbying for the membership of Turkey since 70s. But during the last few years many other less popular NGOs have been very effective in their lobbying actions in EU circles. To emphasise the spread of NGOs in Turkey and their increasing numbers following NGO are selected to be presented here; their important projects which are supported by EU funds together with their lobbying activities.

3.7.1. TÜGİAD

Today's business world has been shaped by the development of free and private entrepreneurship, non governmental organizations have an important role to ensure that the

business world fulfill their social responsibilities. TUGIAD (Young Turkish Businessmen's Association), as one of these organizations, can be considered as the first national and international young businessmen association of Turkey. It has been aimed to raise consciousness of such social responsibilities.

TUGIAD targeting to contribute Turkey in every field of national and international policy to accede to the EU. It forms its views and suggestions in current and general issues not only by discussing them among its members but at a wider platform that covers all the parties, as well as by making various researches. It activates the other associations principally sharing same views and perspective and it creates means for cooperation together with relevant international establishments and organizations.

One of these international organizations is "YES for Europe – Confederation of Young Businessmen Associations". YES membership provides important means to contribute to the international lobbying activities of our country and to maintain Turkey's prestige and respectability among the young entrepreneurs of the European countries. YES is the fundamental association of the young European entrepreneurs; it has 35 000 active members, all of these young entrepreneurs from EU countries except the members of TUGIAD. The last meeting of the confederation of young businessman association of Europe (YES) was held in Antalya on September 23 – 26. Murat Saraylı chairman of TUGIAD emphasised in his opening speech that the European society was prejudiced for the Turkish community and he suggested that the Europeans to learn about Turkey and the Turkish people better before making up their minds for the membership of Turkey to EU. He explained TUGIAD's efforts for this purpose, he added that they had very worm relations with the relevant associations and groups in Europe. A positive opinion was declared for the membership of Turkey to EU in the declaration which was announced at the end of the meeting.

TÜGIAD is also in active cooperation with TBCCI (Turkish British Chamber of Commerce and Industry) to improve the commercial relations between the countries. This cooperation emphasised the improvement of the commercial relation between two countries and also created a suitable chance for Turkey to make lobby for Turkey's full membership to EU

One of the most important projects of TUGIAD to support Turkey's membership to EU is called "**Open Your Heart**". TUGIAD started this campaign to remove the

Europeans' prejudice against Turkey and to gain the public support in Europe. This campaign is supported by a euro-blue stamp with 12 yellow stars, like EU flag, one of the stars has a small crescent in front of it; it is a combination of EU and Turkish flags; it also contains the above motto, "open your heart". These stamps of various sizes has been in use on the envelops of the letters, on cargo packages, on containers, on the sides of the ships and trucks which go to Europe. It is also in use in digital media. This campaign has been supported by various companies and triggered positive reactions in general.

TUGIAD has also prepared some panel discussions to support Turkey's efforts to be full member of EU.

TÜGİAD joined the İŞKUR's EU supported project, "*The Second Active Work Force Program*" which will be completed at the beginning of November. The aim of this project is to create, to develop and to apply employment policies which are parallel to the ones in EU. TUGIAD's contribution to this project is to provide training to 200 high school graduates between ages 18 to 30 in the areas which were hit by the two major earth quicks in 1999. This training program will cover the basics of computer operations, basic accounting principles and accounting by using computers. This program will help to provide the work force which is highly needed in those areas like Bolu, Düzce, İzmit and Sakarya.

3.7.2. Youth re-autonomy foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Çocuklara Yeniden Özgürlük vakfı*)

Youth re-autonomy foundation of Turkey (TÇYÖV in short) was established in 1992. The aim of this Foundation is to win back the youngsters (12 –18) who were forced to commit crimes. TÇYÖV was established by Comrades Solidarity Association (*Dostlar Dayanışma Derneği*) which had the same goals with TÇYÖV. Youth re-autonomy foundation of Turkey is included in this thesis because it is the first NGO which dealt with juvenile delinquents and although it is not very well known in Turkey it plays a very important role in EU projects. TÇYÖV was very effective in the

preparation of the reforms in the laws and punishment systems for juvenile delinquents, and bring them to the EU norms. Secretary General of TÇYÖV Mrs. Nevin Özgün was interviewed to learn the goals and current projects of the foundation, she determined the goals and projects as fallowing:

- To prepare and to carry out projects to prevent juvenile delinquency; to raise public awareness about this subject; to cooperate with other national and international NGOs which works in the same area; to establish a central data base for the rights of the children and specifically for the juvenile delinquency.
- To carry out projects to re-socialize the youngsters who are in the reformatories and jails. To work on the projects like "Project to reform justice and punishment systems for children in Turkey."
- To provide various support services for the youngsters during and after the trial periods and to help them to have a decent life in the society.
- To support scientific researches, participation to panel discussions and symposiums on the relevant subjects to help increasing the public's sensitivity on the subject.
- To carry on training programs for the convicted youngsters to prevent them to get involved in an other crime, in their "Youth Training Centre".

Headquarters of the Foundation was located in Istanbul and they had three branch offices in Ankara, Izmir and Trabzon; activities of the branch offices are similar to the ones in headquarters, they provide vocational training, social/sportive facilities and art studies for the youngsters who were convicted or who may have the risk to commit a crime; provisions of the branch offices are selected suitable to the local conditions of each branch office.

Activities other than Mrs. Özgün mentioned above are shown in detail in the web cite of the Foundation (www.tcyov.org). Some of these activities are mentioned below:

- **Free Training Classes**: these courses include computer operators' program, computer aided accounting, library administration.
- **Social, sportive and art training activities** in Elmadağ Reformatory (started in 2000), and in Ankara Correctional Facility for Juveniles (started in 2001).

- **Consultancy Units for Children and adults:** these units have been active in the above mentioned correctional facilities since the above mentioned activities started; they aim to prevent the youngsters to commit (or re-commit) a crime by working together with the families.

Mrs. Özgün also explained the activities which help Turkey to integrate EU; she said that they have been applying to different foundations to receive funds for their projects; recently their project "**Vocational training for the youngsters which are under the risk and to inform them about the human rights**" has been approved and fund eligible to receive a donation from DIHAG (Democracy and Human Rights Initiative) program which was announced by the Turkey's delegation of EU. With this project, youth who are already attending to some programs in Youth Training Centre and the young people who are living in high risk areas will be informed about the human rights and they will be provided some vocational training, such as "Computer aided accounting". This project will be completed in 16 months and will cover 120 selected young people, outcome of this program is expected to be:

- It will help democratization process; human rights training will help the youngsters to find peaceful solutions to their conflicts and prevent fights.
- It will also provide training about human rights to the families of the youngsters through their children;
- Young people will be using their rights to obtain vocational training.
- It will help the youngsters who migrated to the cities from the country side and who have social, economical and cultural conflicts to adapt themselves to the conditions of their new environment.
- Target group will actively participates the project; this project will protect the rights of the unjustly treated groups.

Another project of the Foundation is the participation to the "Grudvig Learning Partnership" program of the National Agency; application for this partnership was accepted by the Agency, there are two (one from England and one from Germany) more partners in the project.The aim of this project to provide information flow to the volunteers of the NGOs which work on the disadvantaged groups and strengthen their information network. This project is in the contract phase.

The third EU supported project of the Foundation has been started by the Ankara branch; this project was called "**Making mechanism of supervising training operational**" and it was supported by the program to strengthen the NGOs of Turkey by using EU's donations; this project was already approved by the EU's delegation of Turkey and application was started.

The aim of this project is to strengthen the services to the juvenile delinquents who are under supervision, and to use the supervision periods more effectively for the benefit of the youngsters. Project will cover the following subjects:

- Introduction of the supervising services and its mechanism to the public and develop the public's sensitivity to the subject.
- To provide transfer of information for the various supervising mechanisms and their applications.
- To develop the knowledge and skills of the specialists who will be employed as supervisors.
- To help standardization of supervising services.
- To start a model application of a supervising service in Ankara, to strengthen the cooperation and communication with other related organizations.

The last project of the Foundation is "**Project to reform justice and punishment systems for children in Turkey**". Foundation took its place, together with Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, General Management of Social Services and Union of Bars of Turkey in the project which was prepared, introduced and supported by UNICEF. Application of the Project was started in 2001 and it is completed in April 2005. Project has four main goals:

- Improvement of the laws and procedures
- Training of the personnel and to improve their capacities
- Development of the information network
- Creation of the new service models.

Target groups of the project are:

- Children and their families who have problems with law or children who are in the risk groups.

- Administrators of the cities and correctional facilities for juveniles; judges, public prosecutors, attorneys, medical jurisprudence doctors, police, gendarmes, civil servants, NGOs, related press and other media members, professionals who are working with children's problems.

Another outstanding project is shown in the web site of the Foundation (www.tcyov.org); "**Community Youth Action Program**" which was prepared by the EU Commission and the EU Parliament to establish the legal frame of supporting the activities for the widespread training programs for the youngsters in the member states. Foundation has been busy to develop projects for youth under the following headings:

- Youth for Europe
- European voluntary services
- Youth initiatives
- Supporting activities.

The aims of these projects are:
- To help youngsters to be united with the society and encourage their entrepreneurship souls.
- To train youngsters to increase their knowledge, skills and competencies.
- To improve their solidarity senses, to encourage them to freely express their ideas and also to support the struggle against racialism and hostility to the foreigners.
- To increase the understanding about the common basic values and inheritance of Europe and its diverse cultural background.
- To remove all kinds of discriminations and to provide equality in every level of the society.

3.7.3. TESEV

Turkish economic and social studies foundation (TESEV) which is an independent think-thank, forms a bridge between academic research and the policy making process,

carries out research based on scientific principles and seeks to share its findings with the widest possible audience. Valuable information for the activities of TESEV can be reached at its web site (www.tesev.org.tr)

TESEV's projects can be divided into 3 general categories:

- **Governance and Transparency: Uneven Incentive Structure of the Turkish Financial System and Reform Suggestions for the Impact of the Financial Crises:** This research Project consists of two sections. In the first section it analyses the efficacy of the financial reforms; in the second section it discusses the damage of the November 2000 and February 2001 crises on Turkish economy via banking sector and the possible policies to minimize the impact of these crises on society.

- **Proposals for Constitutional Changes and Political Reforms:** This monograph examines the Turkish constitutional changes of 2001. The author states that in general these changes were only a small, although important, step in the right direction. However, they were not radical or strong enough to enable Turkey's EU accession. The author goes on to discuss and evaluate recent suggestions on constitutional changes, election systems and law as well as the law for political parties and political reforms.

- **TESEV's Corruption Project:** Corruption is an important obstacle to the functioning of a market economy, fighting with corruption is one of the elements of the EU's Copenhagen criteria for membership. TESEV's Corruption Project, which builds on the earlier State Reform project, aims to analyze the conceptualization of corruption within the bureaucracy, the business community and the general public, as well as the likely outcomes of various possible reform measures.

    Other important projects of TESEV are given below.

- **DEMOCRATIZATION OF TURKEY: Corporate Social Responsibility:** This research project aims to find out the perception of social responsibility in the corporations. It also analyses other issues like management of the stakeholders and measurement, supervision and reporting of the social performance.

- **FOREIGN POLICY and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:** In this section especially **Turkey and Europe: " Cultural Perceptions and Interactions"** Project draws attention. This research analyses dominant paradigms on cultural relations of Turkey with Europe and explores new ways of grasping the complex issue of Turkish cultural contribution to Europe. The project aims to contribute to the discussions on European culture from a fresh and new perspective.

- **Economic Policy of Turkey's Customs Union with the EU: A Curse or a Blessing?"** This research project is based on the assumption that the implementations and outcome of the Customs Union agreement is intrinsically intertwined with both the politics of EU integration/enlargement and Turkey's membership status.

- **Impact of the Custom's Union with EU on Turkish Manufacturing Industry** which aims to analyze the impact of the 1996 Customs Union on Turkish manufacturing industry at the sectoral level. The issues of particular interest are growth, employment, investment, productivity, market structure and conditions of competition.

TESEV has initiated a new project which aims to make a critical analysis of Constitutional amendments bringing Turkey closer to meet the Copenhagen Criteria and of the harmonization law packages. The Project aims to monitor the implementation deficiencies in Turkey and it will run in cooperation with other NGOs.

In order to have detailed information about the activities of TESEV, I had an interview with Mrs. Ayşe Yırcalı. She especially underlined the importance of the **State Reform Project** which was approved in February 13th, 1998 with a budget of € 600.000. Mrs. Yırcalı explains that the results of the State Reform Project were first disclosed in a conference which was held in TÜBİTAK, on June 30th, 2000;

Mrs. Yırcalı explained why TESEV had spent one and a half years on the State Reform Project: "In this democratic world, support of the civil society must be obtained to be able to reform the systems in a democratic state, for this reason the State Reform Project is at the cross section of the State and the civil society, and they have reciprocal influences on each other; preparation of this report by TESEV, as a non-governmental organizations, is an other interesting part of this work."

Mrs. Yırcalı answers the question, "Why the state needs to be reformed?": "In today's Turkey, States ability to develop policies to satisfy the ever increasing and

diversifying service demands of the society is not sufficient. Existing administrative system is not able to answer the demands of the public. Turkey wants to change and develop and it also wants to have a state organization and style of operation which make such changes easier. We call these demanded changes "reforms". Application of the rules of the representative democracy alone becomes insufficient to prove the legitimacy of the reforms during their preparation period. Reforms meet resistance in receiving general acceptance unless they were sufficiently discussed in public and unless they were open to the new suggestions. Style of a reform is important as much as it's content not only during its application but also during its preparation period. Chance of a reform to be successful is relatively low even it is rich in content but its style is not sufficiently sensitive." For this reason TESEV likes to open its research on State Reform Project to public's review, and it likes to receive opinions and even criticisms.

Mrs. Yırcalı gave the following headings of the State Reform Project:
- Performance of the public administration
- Poverty in the cities
- Regional development
- Political regime
- Legislation in democracy and effectiveness of the parliament
- Organizations of the political parties, internal democracy in political parties and the law for the political parties
- Transparency of public's finance
- Budgeting commission of the parliament and its supervising power
- State's supervising function: Government Accounting Bureau (*Sayıştay*)
- Public personnel reform
- Regulating function of the State

105 specialists worked on the preparation of State Reform Project; specialist and scientists from universities of Turkey, Middle East and Europe; ministers and ex-ministers, members of the parliament, journalists; specialists from the World Bank and from other international finance organizations; members of the labor unions and NGOs were among the ones who contributed to this project. State Reform Project had been widely discussed in the press, in other media and in seminars before its results was disclosed to the public.

State Reform Project had been supported by the field researches, statistics and various reports of the specialists.

State Reform Project suggests complete reorganization of the state and it does not only give the reasons why the State should be reorganized, but it also suggests what it should be changed and in what way it should be changed. TESEV draws a road map for a State Reform Project which is urgently needed in Turkey.

3.7.4. ARI MOVEMENT (*ARI Hareketi*)

ARI MOVEMENT which is an independent social movement founded in 1994 in order to produce information–based and participatory solutions to the domestic and international challenges faced by Turkey. ARI MOVEMENT defines its mission in three parts (www.ari.org.tr):

- to raise awareness of participation among youth,
- to strengthen civil society by establishing local and national institutions, and
- To contribute to a political transformation that envisages greater participation of the people.

To achieve its mission the ARI MOVEMENT underlines the importance of the youth participation to encourage the development of voluntarism.

When asked about their activities, Mr. Önen explained: "ARI MOVEMENT has supported Turkey's efforts to be full member of EU since the beginning of the movement; our efforts increased during the last two, three years parallel to the increasing efforts of Turkey. We established a representation office in Brussels which is presumably the capital of EU in 2003; our representatives and members has been very active in Germany, England and in Strasburg. Year 2004 is a very important cornerstone in the history of Turkey's EU adventure; for this reason we have directed most of our resources to EU. ARI MOVEMENT declared the year 2004 as "EU year"; we have organized many forums about Turkey in Brussels, we continued our lobbying efforts in the USA and we have

supported Turkey's candidacy with articles in our magazine "Turkish Policy Quarterly". 40 percent of our press releases in 2004 were about the subject Turkey and EU."

Only some of the projects and activities of the ARI MOVEMENT related to EU are considered in this thesis; first of these is: "**Countdown for a stronger Europe: Turkey is attracted to EU"**. This is a 100 day campaign which aims to support the candidacy of Turkey to EU and to influence the leaders who will vote for Turkey's candidacy on December 17th, 2004. Mr. Haluk Önen, general coordinator of ARI MOVEMENT explains their planed activities for this campaign:

- **Meetings and conferences in Istanbul, Brussels, Vienna, Strasburg, Paris, Berlin and London:**
    - Many Turkish and international specialists will join the International Security Conference in Istanbul on September 9th and 10th , they will explain their views about the subject, future contribution of Turkey to the defense of EU will also be emphasized.
    - First of the two final meetings of the project "Turkey-EU" which was planned by "Forum for Economy and Foreign Policy (*Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Forumu -* EDP*), and* Centre of European Political Studies *(Avrupa Politikaları Çalışmaları Merkezi -* CEPS*)* will be held in Brussels and the second meeting will be held in Istanbul
    - Forum for Turkey will be held in the House of Lords, in London on October
    - The conference "Turkey on the way to EU membership and EU" which will be organized together with Centre for European Reform (CER) will be held in Istanbul on October 15th, 2004.
    - "EU-Turkey" meeting which will be organized by ARI Foundation, it will be held in the Congress, in Washington DC.
- **Lobbying activities on the decision making circles and visits of some delegations:**
    - Lobbying efforts has been concentrated on the members of the parliaments of the countries which will play key roles in December 17th voting, like Austria, Germany and France.
    - Lobbying activities of ARI representatives in Washington DC; their activities in major think-thank groups and in the office of Secretary of the State.

- Visits of the members of ARI MOVEMENT to embassies and consulates of EU countries and acceptance of EU politicians in ARI offices.

- **Campaign in the September special issue of the magazine "Turkish Policy Quarterly".**

    Another project of ARI MOVEMENT is "**Human Rights for All**". General Secretary for Local Development Mr. Ural Aküzüm explained the aim of this project: "The aim of the project is to improve awareness of and support for human rights issues in the Turkish society. The target group for the project is the youth, between ages 18 and 30, with an emphasis on people living out of the main centers of Istanbul and Ankara. 80 % of the funding of the project was provided by the EU Commission. The objectives of the project are:

- To transform political debate on the issue of human rights from a polarized, ethnic/political/religious group-based issue into an individual-driven issue;
- To persuade young people that human rights are important for the majority, not just for minorities;
- To involve young people in the intellectual and political processes;
- To assist young people to get better informed about the history and current state of the human rights issue;
- To encourage a knowledge-based debate rather than a debate based on dogmatic beliefs and views.

    The project was designed to complement and build upon the accomplishments of two important civic initiatives in Turkey:

- The "Youth Participation" project of ARI, which consists of an exploratory study, provincial forums, national conferences and an on-line network targeted towards increasing youth participation in civic organizations.
- The EU-funded "Freedom of Expression" project of the Association of Liberal Thought (ALT).

Mr. Aküzüm mentioned that the project has been strengthen by a **web site** which includes background information on human rights, by **provincial forums** which is targeted to raise awareness in the area of human rights and rule of law among the youth and the residents of smaller towns in the less developed regions in Turkey; and they published and distributed five booklets; related to this subject:

- Booklet on History and Meaning of Human Rights and Basic Documents on Universal Human Rights;
- Booklet on Rule of Law & Human Rights in the Turkish and EU Legislation;
- Booklet on Pluralism;
- Booklet on Human Development;
- Booklet on the Research Results.

We can not deny also the importance of the Brussels Office of ARI MOVEMENT which aims to function as a bridge between Turkey and the EU and support Turkey in carrying out an effective and stable EU policy. This office has an important role in organizing Turkey forums in Europe such as: "**Turkey: a role model for Islam and democracy?**" which was held in European Parliament; "**Secularism, international terrorism and security**" which was organized in association with the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London and finally "**Cyprus: towards a settlement**" which was also held in the European Parliament.

ARI movement in order to strengthen women's place in Europe prepared a project named "**Enhancement of Women's Knowledge on European Union**" which was carried out by the Ankara branch of ARI Movement with its partner Association for Supporting and Educating the Women Candidates (KADER). The goal of the project was to train women from various NGOs and political parties about the EU. Eleven seminars on the European Union and Social Politics were organized in eleven provinces of Turkey (Samsun, Sivas, Van, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Mersin, Aydın, Eskişehir, Bursa, and Tekirdağ).

The final project that we can mention is "**Enhancement of Youth Initiatives' Knowledge on the European Integration Process of Turkey**". This project was carried out by the Ankara branch of ARI Movement in cooperation with the Danish Embassy to increase the EU consciousness of the youth especially in non-governmental organizations,

university clubs and political parties. A series of seminars were organized at the ARI office in Ankara between October 7th , 2003 to November 20th , 2003.

CONCLUSIONS

As soon as the human beings started to live in groups, they started to try to find solutions to their shared problems. The increase in their needs, the formation of social hierarchy and the disputes and the disagreements between the social classes, which caused differences in opinions, made them cling to their shared aims and goals and become organized. In fact, it took them a long time to name this organization and calling it 'civil society organization' which dates back to antique ages. It went through different stages and every nation approached the subject in a different way.

The first part of this paper introduces the idea behind this organization, the main factors which form the idea, the views of the leading philosophers in the antique ages and now, and some general information about the civil society organizations. Furthermore, this part emphasizes 'democracy', an indispensable concept for the civil society supporters, and two different versions of democracy, namely participatory and representative along with the management concept. Representative democracy can be explained as an administrative system in which an assembly is formed by the representatives of the people who are living in the community through free elections. Although it is criticized very widely and its problems are discussed, it is still assumed to be the best way of democratic government. On the other hand, participatory democracy which also facilitates the participation of the civil organizations into governmental decision-making process, could not completely replace the representative democracy. To be able to understand the difference, the essence of these concepts will help to understand the concept of civil society.

As mentioned before, the development of civil society organizations varies from country to country because of the differences in cultures, in the structure of the societies and the states. The aim of this paper is to show the relation between the Turkish civil society organizations and the EU, and the importance of civil society organizations in the process of joining the EU. The second part informs about the civil society organizations in Europe. In the Middle Ages people were suffering from feudal system. However, the development of commerce created a merchant class who gave great importance to the concept of freedom and they were organized against feudalism. On the other hand, Church was also an important symbol of the civil society. First of all people who came together to keep Church's authority and image and started wars to spread the power of Christianity

and secondly people who are against the absolute power of the Church are considered to have started civil society organizations in Europe. After giving brief information about European civil society organizations, the second part also informs about Turkey's historical, political and economical development mentioning the evolution of civil society organizations. It is important to understand the evolution of civil society organizations in Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire from the absolute power called 'sultans' to secret organizations, to Constitutions, to the foundation of the republic, to opposite groups fighting against and for the "change" and to the military coupes followed one by another inform us about the influencing factors of the formation of civil societies and also it will help to understand current situation of NGOs in the third chapter.

After Helsinki summit, Turkey had to deal with its social and economical problems and at the same time try to make the necessary changes in the society to become a member of the union. The civil society organizations, universities, and various unions tried their best to conform to the rules of EU as well. The third part shows how the Europeanization policy of EU has affected Turkey and inform about how the relationship between Turkey and EU has changed. It ends with the efforts of civil society organizations representing different interests of different groups of the society in the integration process with the EU.

1999 Helsinki summit changed the relations of Turkey with EU. After the summit, Turkey spent more time and effort on developing the economic and political system. People from different groups, associations, foundations got together to be more institutionalized and to carry out new projects. With the projects that they realized they became more effective, and Turkey became a country with active and responsible NGOs

As it was mentioned before in the past 20 years, associations of women rights, charity foundations, youth associations came together in order to create regional and sectoral civil cooperation. As EU considers civil society organizations as the main factor in the participatory and representative democracies, it has started program to support the civil society organizations in the candidate countries. This support has begun in 90s, and after the Helsinki summit it has dramatically increased and this approach helped to develop the civil society organizations in Turkey.

Today EU supports many program including SOCRATES and LEONARDO, which are educational program, Eastern Anatolian Development Program, Health Program, Cultural Heritage Program, Active Labor Program, and a program to develop civil society

organizations. The aim of the last program is to increase the capacity of the existing organizations and to make the local organizations more active.

In this positive atmosphere, the summit which was held on December 2004, announcing the beginning of accession negotiations with Turkey can be considered as a turning point in this process. In the fallowing days, the NGOs which were active during the last years, will have to assume more responsibilities. First of all, it is important for these organizations to take part in the negotiation process, especially they have to provide necessary help to the related institutions in the application of the reforms.

This study shows that the history of the Turkish people in the organizational area is different from the European approach. It is not common for people to get organized to fight the main problems. Most of the civil society organizations are not supported by their base, their members but their existence is usually related to their leaders. As it was mentioned before, there is a big resistance against the word 'organization' due to the absolute power of the Ottoman style society and ruling system. There are about 100.000 civil organizations among which there is a lack of communication and they don't feel enough conscious of civil defense. Most of the organizations are based in Istanbul and they don't tend to cooperate with the small organizations in Anatolian. The recent support of EU has affected the civil organization system positively.

The programs introduced by EU help the organizations not only financially but also help them to create new projects and provide communications and cooperation with the other civil organizations. The project which will be applied with many partners (the ones in big cities and the small cities) are more likely to be accepted. Some of these projects aim at minimizing the differences between the eastern and the western regions of Turkey. At the same time, the informing conferences held all around Turkey plays an important role to improve the civil organization concept. Although there seem to be some problems, the successful projects, the changing attitude of the government, legal changes, and successful campaigns carried out by the civil organizations, the gradual increase in the interest of media and EU candidacy make us feel optimistic about the future of these organizations. In the beginning, the number of these organizations was thought to be very limited. TUSIAD, IKV, TOBB were some of the few organizations which took an active part in the EU business. But today it is known that there are many other small and big civil organizations which are eager to take active part in the EU process.

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Fig. – 1. Proportional Distribution of Associations in 1905

NOTE: Retrieved from: A.N. Yücekök, İ. Turan, M.Ö. Alkan, *"Tanzimattan Günümüze istanbul'da STK'lar"*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998

- Secret Parties 13,1
- Self Employment Associations 10,3
- Others 0,7
- Worker Associations 2,1
- Cultural Associations 15,9
- Agriculture 0,7
- Religion 2,8
- Foreign Associations 0,7
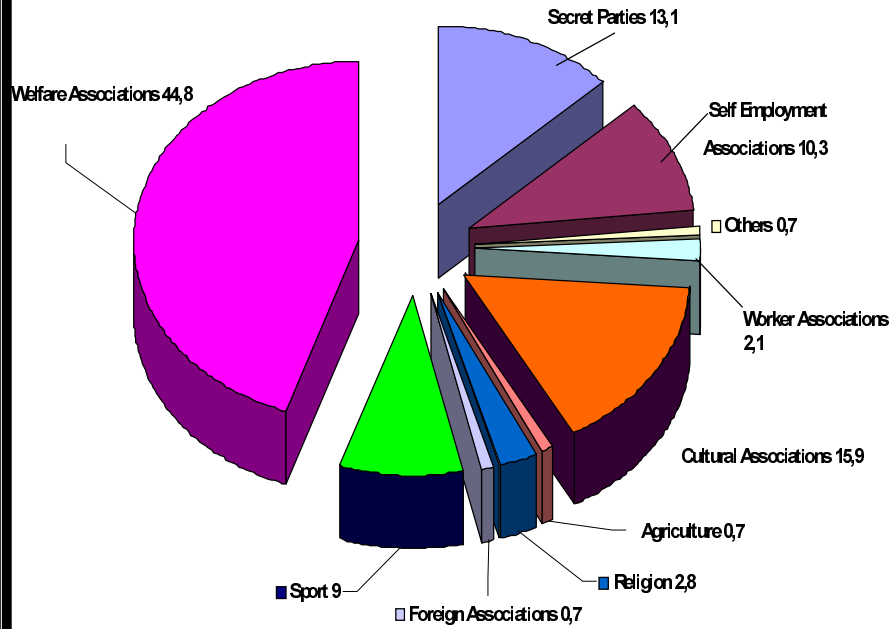- Sport 9
- Welfare Associations 44,8

Fig. 2. Proportional Distribution of Associations in 1950

NOTE: Retrieved from: A.N. Yücekök, İ.Turan, M.Ö. Alkan, *"Tanzimattan Günümüze istanbul'da STK'lar"*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998

- Welfare Associations; 2,5
- Environment Development; 4,7
- Sport; 32,1
- Tradesmen and craftsmen; 11,6
- Public Sector; 4,2
- Self Employement Associations; 2,3
- Others; 1,6
- Worker Associations; 7,7
- Foreign Associations; 3,5
- Agriculture; 2,3
- Cultural associations; 13,1
- Religion; 7,1

Fig. 3. Proportional Distribution of Associations in 1960

- Agriculture; 1,5
- Employer; 0,2
- Environment Development; 5,2
- Sport; 20,2
- Tradesmen and craftsmen; 16,5
- Foreign associations; 1,9
- Public Sector; 3,9
- Others; 1,3
- Self Employment Associations; 1,1
- Worker Associations; 2,4
- Religion; 30,7
- Cultural Associations; 15,1

Fig. 4. Proportional Distribution of Associations in Istanbul in 1980

NOTE: Retrieved from: A.N. Yücekök, İ.Turan, M.Ö. Alkan, *"Tanzimattan Günümize istanbul'da STK'lar"*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998

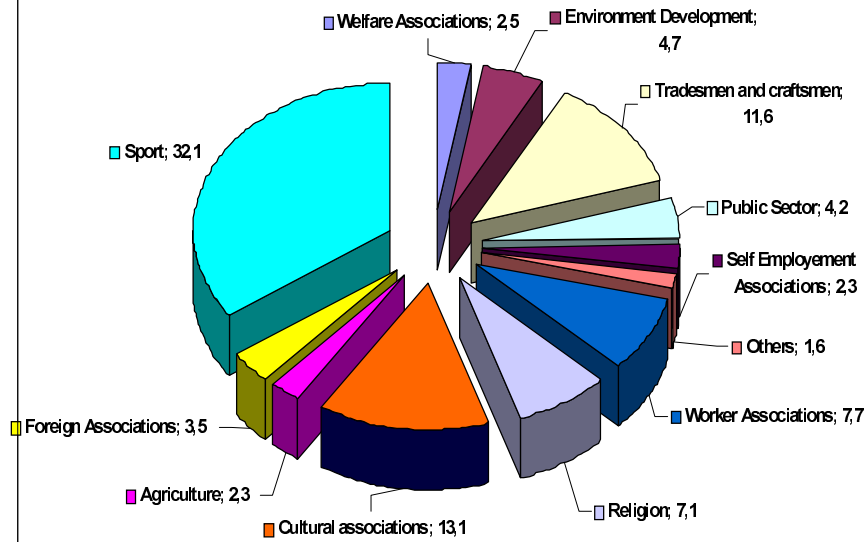

Foundations; 4
Environment Development; 12,4
Welfare Associations; 11,4
Tradesmen and craftsmen; 8,2
Sport; 18,1
Public Sector; 2,7
Self Employment Associations; 3,1
Employer; 1,2
Others; 4
Foreign Associations; 4,4
Worker Associations; 5,7
Religion A; 5
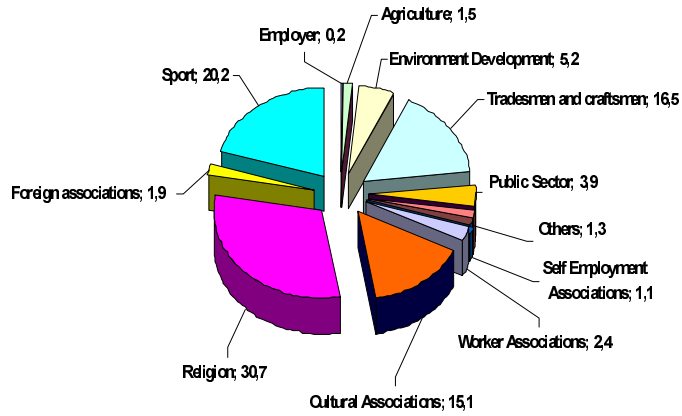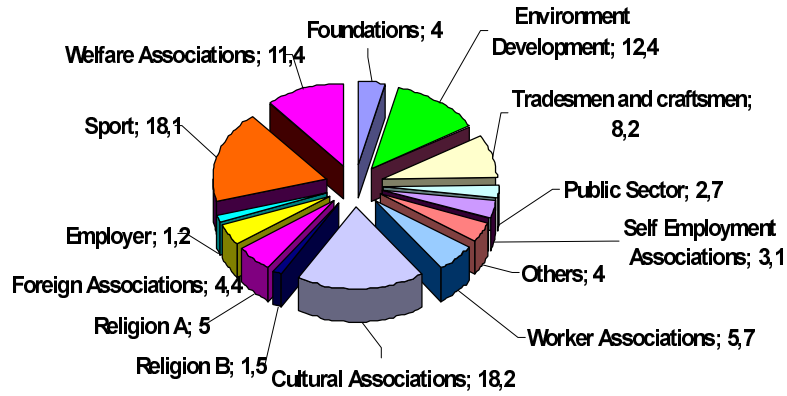Religion B; 1,5
Cultural Associations; 18,2

Fig. 5. Proportional Distribution of Associations in Istanbul in 1995

NOTE: Retrieved   from: A.N. Yücekök, İ.Turan, M.Ö. Alkan, "*Tanzimattan Günümüze istanbul'da STK'lar*", Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998

Foundations; 7,1
Environment Development; 11,3
Welfare Associations; 20
Tradesmen and craftsmen; 5,5
Public Sector; 1,2
Self Employement Associations; 3,6
Sport; 13,8
Others; 3,7
Employer; 1,1
Worker Associations; 2,5
Foreign Associations; 2,1
Cultural Associations; 17,5
Religion A; 7,8
Religion B; 2,6