

THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN UNION FUNDING ON
TURKISH CIVIL SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN UNION FUNDING ON TURKISH CIVIL SOCIETY

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The thesis explores the impact of European Union funding on Turkish non-governmental organizations in the post-Helsinki period. The European Union financial aids in the post-Helsinki period is analysed with a specific emphasis on civil society and how Turkish civil society is affected from these financial aids. The search for impact analysis is done through case studies of three different civil society organisations at several levels. The organisations studied are, Women Entrepreneur's Support Foundation of Turkey (KAGİDER), Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) and Southeast Anatolia Project- Entrepreneurs Development Centres (GİDEM) The importance of these three cases is being representative of different strata of civil society and operating in priority areas in such as, women, entrepreneurship and basic education the pre-accession stage.

The effects of EU funding will be analysed in different subject areas and levels, such as organisational changes, operational changes, mission differentiations and changes in relations with third parties. The study concludes with the analysis if these impacts have a permanent effect on Turkish civil society and civil society organisations, together with the critiques of the extent EU funds can be utilised by an average NGO.

Keywords: European Union, European Union funding Turkish civil society, non-governmental organizations.

ÖZ

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ TARAFINDAN VERİLAN FONLARI TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SİVİL TOPLUM ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

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Bu tez Avrupa Birliği tarafından Helsinki sonrasında verilen fonların Türkiye'de sivil toplumu organizasyonlar üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Avrupa Birliği tarafından Helsinki sonrası sağlanan mali yardımlar sivil toplum ve sivil toplumun bu yardımlardan etkilenişi odaklı olarak incelenecektir. Bu etkinin analizi üç farklı sivil toplum örgütü üzerinden, çeşitli seviyelerdeki değişimler üzerinden yapılacaktır. Vaka çalışmaları olarak incelenen sivil toplum örgütleri şunlardır; Kadın Girişimcileri Destekleme Derneği (KAGİDER), Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı (AÇEV), ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi- Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri'dir. (GAP-GİDEM) Bu üç vakanın önemi, değişik sivil toplum tabakalarını temsil etmeleri ve adaylık sürecinde öncelik olarak görülen, kadın, girişimcilik, temel eğitim gibi konularda çalışmalarıdır.

Bu anlamada, Avrupa Birliđi fonlarının etkileri , organizasyonel deđişim, operasyonel deđişim, misyon farklılaşması, üçünü partilerle ilişkilerde deđişim gibi farklı seviyelerde ve konu başlıklarında incelenecektir. Bu tez, söz konusu etkilerin Türkiye'deki sivil toplum ve sivil toplum örgütleri üzerinde kalıcı bir etkisi olup olmadığı, mali yardım sürecinin eşit katılıma olanak sağlayıp sağlayamadığının kritikleri ile birlikte incelenerek bitirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Birliđi, Avrupa Birliđi fonları, Türkiye'de sivil toplum, sivil toplum örgütleri.

*To My Mother and Father
who has shown the meaning of strength all through my life and
who has been the lighthouse all over my life even in the darkest
times*

and

*To My Sister, who may actually be a butterfly
with all her vulnerability
and showed me that it is possible to achieve the impossible
with all she did..*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AÇEV: Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı (Mother-Child Education Foundation)
- ADAF: The Association for Women Entrepreneurship Development
- AFAEMME: Association of Organizations Mediterranean Business Women
- CARDS: EU funding programme for Western Balkan countries
- CEE: Central and Eastern Europe
- CFCU: Central Finance and Contracts Unit
- CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
- DP: Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
- EEC: European Economic Community
- ERI: Educational Reform Initiative
- EU: European Union
- EESC: European Economic and Social Committee
- EUSG: Secretariat General for EU Affairs
- GAP-GİDEM: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri (Southeast Anatolian Project-Entrepreneurship Support Centres)
- IAPBWB: International Association of Professional and Business Women in Bulgaria
- IPA: Instrument of Pre-Accession
- JDP: Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
- KA.DER: Association to Support and Train Women Candidates
- KAGİDER: Kadın Girişimcileri Destekleme Derneği (Women Entrepreneur Association of Turkey)
- KAGİMER: Women Entrepreneur Business Development Centres

KOSGEB: Small and Medium Industry Development Organization under Ministry of Industry and Trade

MEDA: The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

NGO: Non-governmental organisation.

NPAA: National Programme for the Adaptation of the Acquis

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PHARE: Pologne et Hongrie: Assistance pour la Restructuration Economique (Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies)

PMCU: Project Management Central Unit

SAPARD: Special Accession Program for Agriculture and Rural Development

SHRH: Sexual Health/Reproductive Health

SME: Small-medium sized enterprises

TUSIAD: Türkiye İşadamları Derneği (Turkish Businessmen Association)

UIA- Union of International Associations

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction and The Problem of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the impact of European Union funding on Turkish non-governmental organizations in the post-Helsinki period. With the Helsinki Process, Turkey has gained the status of candidate country, which started the period of harmonisation to *Acquis Communautaire*¹. To narrow down the subject, the major investigation will be made considering the impact of this process on civil society and civil society organizations in Turkey. The analysis will be based on direct relations of EU and Turkish civil society. The impact analysis will be studied within a cycle which also includes the selection of certain civil society organizations for the funding provided by European Commission which is the executive organ of EU.

The funding given by European Union in certain subject areas and cases with the systemization and amplification of this process will be examined through the different civil society organizations which had used these funding. Civil society is very important in all the elements of *Acquis Communautaire*, which briefly are: the legal documents, policies, legal frameworks and all the institutional structure. Some priority subjects may be listed as women, (equal opportunity and employment problems) children, (use of illegal child labour, education shortcuts for the girls) education, equal opportunity, poverty, and social security. Considering these

¹ The body of all laws and regulations that is binding for European Union and the candidate countries.

elements the participation and active involvement of Turkey's civil society in all post-Helsinki period processes has gained importance.

Through this examination I will first analyse civil society and non-governmental organisations' definitions, then will go into a brief history of civil society in Turkey. I will continue my analysis with the EU accession process, a look at the Turkish-EU relations, then examining financial assistance deeper in this relationship. Within the framework of this thesis, the procedure of funding and grants and the programmes to systemize these assistance is important and will be analysed with linkage to EU funds given to Turkey and how they are being used. As the major point of question is the effect of the financial assistance on Turkish civil society and organisations. In order to analyse the impact, three cases have been selected, which utilised these funds. The cases have been analysed with reference to how they are affected by means of structure, systems, operational capacity, mission and so forth.

1.2. The Significance of the Thesis

The thesis will be unique in the manner of classifying the grants given by European Union in the context of EU-Turkey relations through an axis of impact analysis. The study will examine if these impact(s) could have a changing effect on civil society and civil society policies regarding Turkey. Through this exploration the impact of EU policies will be traced down in shaping the Turkish civil society and organizations after they have started using the EU financial assistance programmes. These will be studied in relation to capacity building efforts of civil society organizations and their networking process both in enlarging their grassroots and in means of creating networks with other partners. In addition, the resource

mobilization process created by EU will be reviewed as being the catalyser of creating change agents in the civil society sphere. The thesis will read this process as EU creating links to the world and spot out the boundaries of the relations which are preferred to be established.

1.3. The Methodology

The thesis will examine basically the practical procedures and applications of EU funding. To understand this in the conjectural analysis, prior literature study has been conducted in the subject areas of civil society, civil society organizations, civil society-state relations, evolution of civil society conceptions in Europe, EU enlargement process.² The subjects are to be reviewed both in the political sense and also in the practical sense; as to understand the execution process.

The thesis will mainly be based on practical applications of EU and their past and recent comparisons in financial aid. Therefore the thesis will mainly include the investigation of these applications which brings the need of an actor based approach³. A detailed investigation of EU procedures will be made in order to frame the policy. The grants opened to Turkey will be listed. The data collection will be basically based on European Union's official documents.

² EU Enlargement Process basically may be defined as the inclusion of new countries to the Union, with complying the standards of the Acquis Communautaire and all the processes within.

³ Actor-based approach will be used for the persons related with the subjects will directly be contacted and interviews will be utilised for further investigation.

For the subject is very recent and fresh in the sense that it is an ongoing process, interviews has been conducted with officials from European Commission Delegation in Turkey. Unfortunately, as per the request of the interviewee, the information gathered in this interview has been used only as starting point of orientation for the thesis research and will not be used directly. For the case studies, also interviews has been conducted and used in detail in the Chapter 4 for further quest of the research question. The consent of each interviewee has been for reflecting the interviews in this thesis together with their actual names. In Chapter 4, which covers the case studies, the ideas and thoughts of the interviewees might be read through.

As the core of the thesis is to analyse the impact of funding or grants on organizations; cases have been selected and examined. For the case studies KAGİDER⁴ (Women Entrepreneurs Association), AÇEV⁵ (Mother Child Education Foundation) and GAP-GİDEM⁶ (Entrepreneur Support Centres) will be studied. The short summaries of these three case organisations can be found as Appendix A, as a profile table. The three different organisations have been chosen to represent the different strata of Turkish civil society, which in return would enable a comprehensive analysis. For this, KAGİDER represents rather new organisations that are in the stage of forming and maturation. KAGİDER is a good example, since they have started to take EU funding in a short time after their establishment and further shaped through their fund taking process. AÇEV represents the older and settled organisations, as being one of the oldest and institutionalised NGO's in Turkey. They

⁴ Kadın Girişimcileri Destekleme Derneği

⁵ Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı

⁶ Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri

have a wide range of past experience and were able to monitor their own development and associate it with EU funding process they have been experiencing. GİDEM is chosen because the organisation itself is created and established totally with EU funding under a major financial aid programme, MEDA. In this manner, GİDEM is different from the previous cases.

For the research, an organisation in a rather small scale was not included because; it is rather hard to find a solid organisation with EU funding experience and to follow up their functions and processes.

I have chosen three organizations which has utilised different EU funding in different levels. The importance of these cases is, their operation areas are among the priority areas of pre-accession such as equal participation of women, education, regional disparities and entrepreneurship. It is indisputable that the relations of state and society are changing along with the EU process.⁷ In one line, the change is through creating more services through the non – governmental organisations, and utilising them as change agents. Through increasing the importance of civil society, governance on a wider base is aimed with more stability in economics and politics.

My first case study, KAGİDER is an organisation founded by business women, aiming to increase the participation of women to work life and encourage entrepreneurship in this sense. KAGİDER as the first case study has significance in terms of being a new organization and an organization that has three projects in EU funding programs gained by then. As the organization is very

⁷ www.ec.europa.eu/enlargement/questions_and_answers/index_en.htm

young, it is open to organisational and managerial changes and thus is moulded easily in its relationship with the EU. This enabled me to portray the structural changes with the EU funding in a civil society organisation.

AÇEV is mainly working on the areas of pre-school education and training mothers mainly. Its mission is to provide equal opportunities in the area of education together for the child and the mother and also increase the level of consciousness for the parent to complement this aim. Another significance of AÇEV is that it is one of the oldest civil society organizations, which do work in a strict institutional manner. Therefore, AÇEV has records of past studies and an institutional memory in order to track down the effects and changes with EU funding. AÇEV has participated in three EU funded projects and operated in very large scale with these projects, which enabled me with the possibility of finding enough data for examining the effect of EU funding.

The third case study is GAP-GİDEM, "Small and Medium Scale Enterprise Development Project in Turkey's Southeast Anatolia Region" project. The overall objective of the GİDEM Project is to improve managerial, entrepreneurial and the operational capacities of the entrepreneurs, and micro, small and medium size enterprises in the Southeastern Anatolia. There are four GİDEM offices in Adiyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Şanlıurfa and a project management and control unit (PMCU) mainly located in Ankara. For particularity, only Mardin office will be examined, because the examination of all four offices would be very extensive and hard to cover under major headlines as all offices specialize in different areas. The third case study is quite different from others by having the uniqueness of being funded totally by EU.

The research will take place with the hypothesis that within the country level, the funding given by European Union has effects on Turkish civil society and non-governmental organisations. The search will not be done only in the general level, but the effects will be analysed in the levels of micro, (to capture the effects on the organisation or specific levels), meso (to capture the effects on the subject area level) and macro levels (to capture the effects on societal or international level). Therefore, these effects will be searched through the organisation itself, their field projects, their daily practices, operations and overall systems. With the effects on these micro variables, the effects on the meso level, (meaning on the organisational or subject areas level) will be linked to macro level effects such as the changes at the country level or changes in the harmonisation process of EU. The levels are explained in detail below.

Before explaining the multi-level analysis for civil society; for functionality purposes, civil society can be defined as the grouping of individuals for expressing their interest between the powers of state and market economics. For the methodology and to avoid certain interpretation errors we should also mention that civil society could be analysed in macro, meso or micro levels.⁸

At the macro level, the civil society perspective is taken at the higher society level, containing relationships between economy, state and civil society. The macro level may include information such as a civil society conception within national boundaries or international relations, or hold number of civil society organizations

⁸ Center for Civil Society- <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/>

in the country level, or number of volunteers for civil society. At the meso level, the civil society is taken into consideration within certain branches or specific areas such as human rights or some certain interest or development areas e.g. education. This may include what area a certain organization is interested, which sources they channel, how they reach their targets and how they influence them. The meso level is highlighted as the linkage between macro and micro levels, an area to connect different variables. At the micro level, one organization or one specific entity or specific comparisons are analysed. This may include a specific organization of one certain area and also some specific data on the staff, volunteers, their programmes and projects.

The three level distinctions are also important to avoid attribution fallacies of different levels and to draw a firm line of enquiry. Each level requires different type of indicators for analysis to cumulate information. Each case study and the EU funding they received, together with the end effects will be analysed with regard to three level analysis.

This thesis will include different levels to have total understanding of general civil society development at the country and Union level followed by analysis of certain areas which are funded by EU as the result of the relationship in between two macro actors and how these iteration result in differences in the micro level.

In this first chapter, a general introduction of the thesis is given explaining the concepts and issues that are studied. Also the significance of the thesis is explained with reference to Turkey- EU relations. Following, the methodology is explained in order to clarify the data collection and analysis all throughout the study.

In the second chapter, the concepts of civil society and non-governmental organizations are given with different perspectives and the historical evolutions of the concepts. This is important in order to grasp how the concept of civil society and non-governmental organizations emerged and how they engage in the sphere of the individual and its relation with the state, economy and the social life. The civil society in Turkey will then be examined, starting with the 1890's to grasp an understanding of the background for today's civil society and organisations in Turkey. The developments in the Republican era is important to review to further evaluate Turkey-EU relations in its historical dimension in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 3, EU accession process and the importance of funding process are taken into examination. The chapter starts with the chronology of Turkey-EU relations in order to understand the past and recent developments and how the relationship was shaped since 1960's. The political perceptions of Turkey-EU relations are analysed with the reference point of westernisation in Turkish politics. In this section the westernisation viewpoint as one of the major streams starting with the early Republican Era is briefly examined. Political assistance of European Union is explored next, to give a basis for the major relation of European Union's financial assistance and how it actually develops. As the major research question of the thesis is the influence of EU funding, the financial assistance is explored deeply, starting with the programmes of EU and how they are used in giving financial assistance. The major

financial programmes up to date for Turkey, MEDA and PHARE⁹ are then studied for they are the major programmers used in civil society funding. To understand the effect of these funds, the fund allocation and processes of using EU funds are analyzed. The framework drawn here is linked to EU funds used in Turkey within the assistance programme. This is analyzed through the case studies ,to better understand the significance of projects the civil society organizations have participated. Also the new financial aid programme of EU, IPA, starting with 2007, is briefly examined to catch a chronological understanding.

In Chapter 4, three case studies are examined. For each case study, first the civil society organization is introduced with its mission, objectives and the programmes and their role as the second section, EU's approach to the areas of relevant organisations' study is given with reference from legal documents. Then, the EU projects of the organisations are examined with the changes occurred in the organisation itself and their work. The relevance of projects as change agent for the organisations is studied taking the impact of funding as reference point. In the conclusion chapter, these changes are tracked down in all areas and explored deeply in major headings for all three cases.

⁹ MEDA: Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Programme to assist social and economic structures

PHARE: Financial instrument for pre accession of Central and Eastern European Countries

Both programmes are analysed deeply in Chapter 3.

2. CIVIL SOCIETY AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Tarrow defines civil society as citizens acting collectively through the networks and associations that he/she joins voluntarily to address a common problem, move forward for a collective cause or defend shared interest.¹⁰ We may argue that the civil society is becoming a new kind of temporary public space. It is a new kind of political sphere; one which is neither private nor public; but civic. Tarrow defines the politics that is leading to the interaction between the citizens as quoted below.

*Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents... when backed by dense social networks and galvanised by culturally resonant, action oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents.*¹¹

As in the very general term; civil society is collectivity of individuals and groups regarding all kinds of social actions which are not directed adequately by the state. Civil society as a concept has been interpreted in many different meanings throughout the history of Europe. Yet, it used by Adam Ferguson in 1767, which later influenced thinkers such as Hegel, Marx, and Tocqueville.¹² The term evolved up to date is now modernized and is used as the third area of the contemporary societies, other than the state and the market. Today civil society has become an arena where

¹⁰ Tarrow, S., (1998), *Power in Movement*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Braconier De, P. (1998), Avrupa'da Sivil Toplum ve Avrupa Kurumları ile İlişkileri, Kaynak: www.stgp.org.

individuals may act independent of state, family or the local life, but still within the framework of law.

All through the history of the European Union civil society has been a part of daily life and was given specific importance and role in the policy-making processes. According to Maastricht Treaty, European Commission should consult to the economic and social organizations while preparing the draft regulations. European Commission meets the social organization at the EU level, before initiating the decision-making process on social issues.¹³ Therefore EU has initiated a cooperation process with Turkey as with the other candidate countries. Considering these elements the participation and active involvement of Turkey's civil society in all post-Helsinki period processes has gained importance. All EU funding is channelled towards precise objectives and priorities under the various common policies, which, in turn, are based on provisions of the Treaties. On the basis of specific EU legislation, grants are awarded.¹⁴

European Commission has started to give grants on the areas of human rights, democratisation, and civil society since 1993.¹⁵ The amount and requirements of the grants has changed over time. This enforces civil society organizations to familiarize with the Acquis and should offer the projects in the "project cycle management" and "logical framework approach" for compatibility to EU standards. Thus, the active participation of Turkey in the post-Helsinki period is formed around strict EU rules and policies.

¹³ www.europa.eu.int

¹⁴ http://europa.eu.int/grants/info/introduction_en.htm

¹⁵ http://europa.eu.int/grants/info/introduction_en.htm

Turkish civil society has crucial role in the accession period because of its role in adapting many different parts of the society to Copenhagen Criterion. Moreover it will also be responsible for the image of Turkey in Europe and its adoption to the Union. As different parts of the society will participate in civil society; participative democracy will strengthen which again in return prosper civil society. ¹⁶ This also may be expressed in terms of initiating an identity formation process within accession.

2.1. A Critical Review of the Concept Of Civil Society

Civil society has become an important concept in social sciences¹⁷, which necessitates a quest for its real conception and meaning. Therefore definitions as more relevant frameworks should be searched for such an important concept needs a clearer understanding in its various dimensions in the context of politics, economy and society. As civil society covers wide range of subjects, it is not really possible to make one standard definition. Therefore I will be utilizing different definitions from different resources to review the historical evolution of the concept of civil society and the non-governmental organizations, which are crucial terms for the core of this thesis. It is also important to mention that because civil society is a part of a highly evolving and changing dynamic political and social world, many definitions and

¹⁶ Keyman, F. E., (2004), *Avrupa'da ve Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Eğitim ve Araştırma Birimi Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Seminerleri, (20.10.2004) , İstanbul

¹⁷ Keane J., (1998) *Civil Society: Old images, new visions*. Polity Press. Cambridge, England.

characteristics may change over time or from one focal point to the other.

Centre for Civil Society¹⁸ defines civil society as “*the sphere or institutions, organisations and individuals located between the family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests.*”¹⁹ Taking this definition as a general one, which brings together the most essential parts of the term the evolution of civil society and its elements will be analysed below.

Looking back to the historical evolution of the concept, it is claimed that civil society is the product of 18th century. It may be claimed that civil society concept was born within a triangle of state power very much characterized with status-based order, a market economy developing and the notion of citizenship in between these trying to make a solid stand. As with the words of E. Gellner “civil society is the set of institutions which are strong enough to counterbalance the state, and whilst not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of peace and arbitrator between major interests.”²⁰ It is considered that the major conditions that enabled civil society is division of labour and commercialisation, which in turn led to the liberalisation to political and civil life.

An important characteristic of the 18th century is the emergence of the notion of popular sovereignty. The absolute rule of the monarch and people as his sovereign objects were challenged by the

¹⁸ Center for Civil Society: London School of Economics

¹⁹ www.lse.ac.uk/depts/ccs/briefings.htm

²⁰ Gellner, E., (1994). *Conditions of Liberty: civil society and its rivals*. Hamish Hamilton. London

American Revolution in 1776 and then maybe with a bigger effect by French Revolution in 1789. This doctrine of sovereignty and power of different actors rising, constructed new relationships within the lines of power and territory. During this period there there was the emergence of voluntary associations rising first in America.²¹ Durkheim also points out the importance of voluntary associations as the middle layer of power between the citizen and the state. As the citizens aimed protecting themselves from the abuse of power and tried to express or channel their interests, the voluntary associations gained a crucial importance. These self-controlled groups, forming into organisations, became an characteristic of the industrial society. To the points, where the clergy, the family or the state was not sufficient, these groups started to emerge and gather for a common interest with specialized tasks.²² These common grounds and interactions create a new-shared morality which may be viewed as the essence of civil culture. However, Durkheim puts forth the condition that collectivity may put a limit or constraint on the individual, and the forces of collectivity may turn into an exercise of power on the individual.²³ Therefore participating in groups may bring the condition of limitation as well as the freedom of expression of interests.

From this definition, we see that many different thought lines also are within this framework. For example Adam Smith gave weight to relationships of trade and commerce between private citizens and their connections in between whereas, John Locke and Alexis

²¹ De Tocqueville, A. (1945) *Democracy in America*, Vol.2., Vintage Books, New York

²² <http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~lridener/DSS/Marx/ch12.htm>

²³ Durkheim, E. (1982). *The Rules of the Sociological Method*, (Ed. by Steven Lukes; trans. by W.D. Halls). New York: Free Press, pp. 50-59.

Tocqueville emphasized more political terms instead of economic ones and mentioned the importance of democratic associations in everyday life. Tocqueville's viewpoint emphasizes the informal culture and self-organisation; certain liberties formed into associations, which through time become integrated. The political side stands out with the efforts of cooperation and associations.²⁴ Locke saw the civil society as formed through consent of the people that were associated.²⁵

Hegel put forth another viewpoint which call attention to state and civil society depending on each other on the capacity of completing and counter-balancing each other.²⁶ In other words, civil society is characterized as a feature of modern society and equated as "society minus state"²⁷ Hegel saw civil society as a sphere of contradictions which could be resolved in the higher institution of the state. Marx believed, in contrast, that civil society was a sphere of conflicts between competing private interests, and that far from being reconciled in the state; these conflicts would take the form of class struggles as a result of which the state itself would be overthrown²⁸

Habermas points out the emergence of civil society in 17th and 18th century in the saloons of France or coffee houses of England in

²⁴ <http://www.wpunj.edu/newpol/issue24/ehrenb24.htm>

²⁵ Seligman, A. (1995) *The Idea of Civil Society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

²⁶ Anheier, H.K & A. Carlson, "Civil Society: What is is and how to measure it" www.lse.ac.uk/depts/ccs/briefings.htm

²⁷ Cohen, J.L. and A. Arato, (1992) *Civil Society and Political Theory*, MIT Press, USA

²⁸ *ibid.*

which the public opinion organized itself as the carrier of the public opinion in which there was freedom of thought and opinion, in which some culture circles were formed independent of economic interests and state.²⁹ The formation of public space thus occurs which may be thought as the basis of civil society forming.

For another point of view, it may be useful to mention the Gramscian views, which views grouping of cultural institutions as supporting the hegemony of the ruling class. For Gramsci, civil society is the set of organisations, which are associated by society autonomously from the state.³⁰ Although the civil society represents the spheres, other than the state, it again forms under the hegemony of the ruling class, subordinating classes³¹

Civil society, therefore, carries with it two distinct meanings. First, it represents an important developmental stage in the social history of Western Europe, and, second, it refers to a theoretical concept in the field of historical philosophy.

Looking at the term, we may say that what constitutes civil society is the term civil itself as a sphere in which citizens can organize themselves into groups and associations at different levels. It may be interpreted as Gellner's opinion, saying civil society creates a more humane and equitable version of the market economy³² Though Gellner does not only state that civil society should be a

²⁹ <http://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/public/terms.html>

³⁰ Cox, R.W. *Civil Society at the turn of the Millennium: Prospects for Alternative World Order*, Review of International Studies, (1999) 25: 3-28, Cambridge University Press.

³¹ <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/hafa3/cs.htm>

³² Gellner, E. (1994) *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals*, London: Hamish Hamilton

natural condition of the mankind but also necessarily should be accompanied by economic prosperity and a civic spirit which binds citizens together. ³³

Civil society has at least two contrasts by this term; one, as a part of human condition and second as the bipolar oppositions of monocentrism and pluralism. The assumption of unconstrained and secular individual in the west, comes with the conditions of freeing theological bonds, freely choosing his aims, reaching some agreement concerning social order and aiming a will. ³⁴

Civil society might be analysed as the society of citizens which allows them to act in a space in which the state does not interfere and they can deal with certain issues. To understand the constitution of civil society, it is also important to understand that markets, firms, state and related public agencies are not a part of civil society, although they can be in the position of supporting groups and beneficiaries.

For the purpose of this thesis, although the concept is defined in so many ways, a general definition of civil society will be utilised. In the most broadest sense of civil society, it should cover the sphere between the family and the state, including citizens and the organizations they associate in which may be non-governmental organisations dealing with development issues, labour market organisations such as trade unions and federations, and grassroots organisations representing local communities.

³³ Gellner, E. (1991) 'Civil Society in Historical Context' *International Social Science Journal* 43 (129), pp.495-510

³⁴ Keane, J. (1998) *Civil Society: Old Images New Visions*. Polity Press, Great Britain

2.2. What are Non-Governmental Organisations

In the civil society definition provided above, it is mentioned that any kind of association between the state and the family falls within the borders of civil society. Thus it may further be argued that civil society sphere associates in organisations to express themselves or to carry out activities in line with their purposes. These organisations are the non-governmental organisations which will be analysed deeper in nature and activities in this chapter.

In the last two decades NGO's have experienced an excessive growth and influence and have undergone significant changes which have defined both their role and mission and elements of world politics. It may be a question; what the term NGO clearly encompasses. To have an answer, we should have a look at the evolution of NGO's and their role and place in the rapidly changing political world.

Different institutions have sets of different criteria to define NGO's that vary both in essence and broadness. The diversity of definitions for once comes from the size, duration, and scope of the activities that are targeted and progressed by NGO's³⁵. Also terming an NGO brings many terms together such as non-profit, voluntary, independent, intermediary, private and informal.

United Nations Economic and Social Council define NGO's as...

³⁵ Princen, T., Finger, M., (eds) (1994), *Environmental NGO's in world politics : Linking the local to the Global*, London and New York : Routledge)

Any international organization which is not established by intergovernmental agreement shall be considered as an NGO ...including organizations which accept members designated by government authorities that such membership does not interfere with the free expression of views of the organization. ³⁶

According to another major institution, the World Bank;³⁷ the diversity of NGO's strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions, that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian and cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organizations. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations' water use societies, women's group and postural associations. Groups that raise awareness and influence policy and making lobby may also be classified as NGO's. ³⁸

To have a comprehensive understanding of NGO's and their role both in daily political and social life; a breakdown of the term non governmental organizations in the verbal sense may also have some contribution for it would help to explain the nature in more detail.³⁹ As being non-governmental they are outside the official

³⁶ ecosoc resolution 288(X) of 27 feb 1950 and 1296 (XLIV) of june 1968)

³⁷ <http://www.worldbank.org/civilsociety>

³⁸ Hrebenar Ronald J. "The Influence Of Nongovrmental Organizations" (27-28 july 1998)

³⁹ Gündem, Ş. "The NGOs as policy actors:The case of TÜSİAD with regard to Turkey's EU membership" thesis submitted to METU Social Sciences Institute, Januray 2004

government and any related agencies however, they are also most of the time in collaborative relationship with the governments to influence or to bring forth their voices. The word government in the term also brings up a tricky side of the relationship, which is the discussion of interdependency. NGO's are supported or funded by government in various ways from time to time, and as claiming to be non-governmental, the effect on their interdependency may be questioned. With the verbal analysis, when we look at what is included in the organizational part of NGO's; we may see that their characteristics are more based on being organized (though this does not mean fully professional) by means of volunteer or professional staff, having a clear mission or a target group and being set up for studying for defined activity purposes.

Area and size are also important elements of characteristics of civil society. When we look at what may be the concern areas for non governmental organizations, we may say that most of them are concerned with development areas which may vary from agricultural, to women rights, from media to education. They may be very local and small or may be a larger entity which serves an area or a region with the same problems or maybe even larger on the national basis or with international arena.

Examining the role of NGO's it can be said that, bringing people to form solidarity network which fills the gap between state and citizens has been the major role. The achievement of this mission lies in NGO's being flexible with regard to other organizations and being focused on specific issues that people would need the help in. They also have the ability to find new solutions, develop new projects and services according to very specific needs on the certain areas they work in with the chance and ability (flexibility) of

being able to touch very first hand and be on the field very close to target groups with minimal bureaucracy, if any. It should also be added that the entrepreneurial and amateur spirit of NGO workers and volunteers makes the organizations achieve this quality, for the very nature of their work requires a first step of personal choice and they come to interact in the very first hand, which in turn makes the work more devoted to increase quality.

When we look at the booming of NGO'S, the records of *The Union of International Associations*⁴⁰ (UIA) may be a guide to understand especially the post World War 2 period. The union has recorded the numbers as the sorted in the following table.

Table 1: Number of NGO's compared through years

YEAR	NUMBER OF NGO's
1951	832
1960	1,255
1972	2,795
1981	9,398
1990	16,208

Source: *website of The Union of International Associations:*
www.uia.org

In the last two decades, an extreme increase in the number of NGO's may be seen, which is interpreted in a close relationship with the change in world politics and widening of voices heard due to technological advances and communication technologies. What made this booming were probably the needs (of many kinds such

⁴⁰ www.uia.org

as education, and other accessibilities) that could be seen more clearly with comparison to others and a more possible environment that allowed expression of the needs and intentions of change. Technological developments for sure enabled easiness of communication and spread of ideas and more voices to be heard. Also this development allowed NGO's to reach their targets and find ways to actualise their operations.

Whether be regional or local in the smallest sense, all NGO's planned for themselves a role of creating an effect, making a change or at least being of some influence. Having at least the opportunity to voice these needs and intentions brought the people with common interests and concerns under organizations, which may be named as the basis behind the booming number of NGO's.

With regard to NGO's and their relationship in themselves and with governments, it can be said that cooperative relationship were meant to form the basis of delivery of possible services, which in turn were hoped to close the differences in accessibility and development.

Going into some detail with the booming, looking at the figures provided by UIA given above, we might say that following the breakdown of Cold War, which relieved tension on the political relationships, fairness has become a new influence driving these organisations. In societies which many rational actors had part in, many diverse interests and needs come to exist, which requires more intimate concerns and specific organizations, to have more suitable and advantageous solutions. Some of these interest may be listed as caused from, growing political and ethnical differences, quality and quantity change in the service standards of welfare

state, minority groups and their need emerging from migration and immigration, decreasing level of confidence for state and related agencies for them staying too much at the general level and not being able to answer specific needs, budget considerations that led to cuts in public services and so forth. With characteristics of being more practical and flexible, and being directly in touch with grassroots, NGO's were able to react quickly, diagnose needs and canalise the distinguished needs to offer solutions of projects. They also had higher effect than governmental institutions, for they had the characteristics of communicating the focus groups directly.

The Post Cold War Era is marked as the new era in international arena by terms of nation state sovereignty, rise of international authorities and regionalism versus globalisim. Among all these, it may also be useful to re-analyse the stand and meaning of civil society with all the spheres being affected. Challenge to state oriented system and growing importance of low politics and certain specialized areas in delivering services paved the way for NGO's and their development. NGO's are channelled to voice the problems or need of the certain groups, and identities and defined their work over this trying to maintain their rights of all kinds as much as possible.

The growth and booming of NGO's of course changed in different countries and regions. Societal, political and economical backgrounds, together with the possibilities of the country determine how and to what extent the NGO's may develop. On *Social Origins of Civil Society*⁴¹ it is claimed that cultural differences

⁴¹ Salamon Lester M., Sokolowski, Wojciech S., Anheirer Helmut K., (December 2000) *Social Origins of Civil Society: An Overview, Working Papers of The Johns*

effect the NGO expansion and development which also can be seen in the comparison of number of NGO's. The number of NGO's in developed countries is much higher compared to Latin America and East Europe. Some example figures for the size of non-profit sector are as; 12.6% in Netherlands, 6.2% in UK, 4.5% in Spain and only 0.4% in Mexico.⁴²

As all concepts and entities the strengths and weaknesses of NGO's should also be discussed to grasp a more precise understanding. Civil society and NGO's has become amongst the most fashionable words. We can hear *civil society, the importance of civil society* or *expected actions* or *outcomes from civil society* almost every day from media channels, politicians or citizen opinions. Faith in achievement of development or in structural changes has shifted from governmental institutions to NGO's. Local people trust their own NGO's or international NGO's to effect and change the system they are living in, and in their ability to provide more.

A premier strength of an NGO would be its ability to be flexible and touch the ground on first hand basis as they are working directly with the grassroots that are in the focus. By learning the issues of people and the conditions from first hand, we may say that the NGO's can learn their targets groups experience in depth from their point of view, their daily needs and most of the time in relation with their environment. NGO's are far away from a formal and prescribed structure. Their structure is not rigid and open to the possible changes in the field and in the grassroots. This flexibility is essential for them to catch the real environment in

Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, p: 1-6

⁴² *ibid.*

their foci and how it is changing. For as, it is neither possible nor necessary to have a comprehensive and detailed bureaucratic structure, which in turn make them slower in terms of operation.

Following this trait, it should also be mentioned that NGO's are not structured and controlled with strict management rules that recentralised as government agencies or private institutions. This trait is related again with NGO's need of capability to response daily or momentarily changes as quick as possible. As their response and captures are quick, they are being more effective to answer the needs of their target groups at the very first hand.

If a certain branch of a NGO needs something on the filed or realizes the need to intervene, or needs to mirror some change, they can act quicker than any governmental agency and make it publicised if necessary. They gain their speed as they are not waiting for the centralised decision-taking procedures to take place; they have direct channels of communication with the headquarters. If there occurs a need of taking action, their specialism on the issue is trusted, so they are allowed to take action as quick as possible.

Their ability of reaching people and issues at the first hand makes them a reliable sources of information and abrogate any need of official sources of information. They know the people and most the time the gatekeepers of the area, they have connections and they may eventually send their volunteers or employees to the site. As their structure is not bureaucratic as mentioned before, they are not restricted by policy completions, regulations or paper works.

They are quickly adapted and take action easily with quick clarifications and solutions.⁴³

Also their amateur working spirit and the informal approach eases the communication and probably makes them more reliable based on the intimate connection. Also NGO work usually requires a self-dedication and a cognizant choice of job, which in turn brings high levels of consciousness with high dedication to work.⁴⁴ The probability to create a value adds through their actual job, increases productivity. Another aspect of the personnel of NGO's is that most of them which closely working with academicians which changes their working conditions to a more professional one, one closely following the literature and academic circles, having command over both theoretical and practical issues and applications.

Communication area also forecomes for NGO's in their relationship with other institutions whether be private or governmental. Their experience from the first hand and positioning on the issues makes them reliable source of information as well as practical partners, if not seen as a threat to authorities.

Looking on the sunny side, we see that these are basic strengths of typical NGO'S. On the other hand we may also count some weaknesses, which in turn affect their being, their operational and their accountability and reliability on the scene.

⁴³ Gündem, Ş. "*The NGOs as policy actors: The case of TÜSİAD with regard to Turkey's EU membership*" thesis submitted to METU Social Sciences Institute, Januray 2004

⁴⁴ İbid.

Financial problems of the NGO's are recalled almost first among their weaknesses given the very nature of their institution. Because there is no real source of earning money, and because making profit is not aim of the NGO's, there are various ways used to "fund raising". NGO's either are supported by some groups, organizations or private companies or some special funds granted such as World Bank or EU etc. This may bring certain limitation or problems for the funders might have certain expectations, or politically correct schemes, it may force the NGO following its own pathways. In such funds, especially from private organization expectations of certain studies with certain outcomes might enforce NGO's to keep their financial autonomy. Financial support or funding from a certain resource also brings a concealed concern, which may also be read as threat, which is losing the money and staying stuck in the half way of studies/projects.

Looking at the fund-taking process, it is obvious that there is competition between NGO's in who will take how much funding. This competitive environment may create concerns on how to take the funds or become eligible for the funds. It is doubtful that if this should really be a concern for writing projects for EU and having the funding requires a certain capacity, and not so many of the NGO's in Turkey are eligible for these processes. As time goes by, through experiences and sharing the funding process became even wide spread though many funds are not totally used. This funding process is important in the sense of democratic processes, for it creates the mean for NGO's and certain parts of the society, to see themselves as apart of this integration process and as being responsible and joint part of the action.

At the political sphere, NGO's have the position of being new experts on certain areas in which governments and/or specialised government agencies act on. These areas might be exercised on the underdeveloped regions, or be preschool education or women issues. These areas are covered by governments but sometimes not at the sufficient level. The expertise of the NGO's on the issues and because of their afore mentioned flexibility, their motion areas, and ability to reach first hand knowledge is much higher. This may raise an issue of authority, or create feeling of hostility for NGO's are acting outside the are of regular ideological and practical routines and programmes. NGO's may be seen as standing on the way and blocking the politically correct way of acting, by their independent studies and interventions.

On the institutional side, we see that many NGO's have small core group of workers, their study areas are not as large and they act on rather petit terms. This may also become a weakness or an assessment for insignificance. Although they represent a certain area or group of people, and have the ability of creating big influence, their voices might be unheard or be devalued for their relatively small size. Another weakness may also be associated with NGO's being detached from other institutions or not being under one big organization or umbrella association. This separation may be read as being disconnected and powerless. NGO's trait to be non-profit might also be interpreted as being low-budget, which may create the image of being low quality in the services.

All these constraints which may occur or be interpreted as such, would have gateway of relief through connecting other NGO's or international civil society organization on their area. Cooperation with other institution whether be civil society or government,

changing the role image of NGO's from being an alternative to governments to being cooperative partners or compensatory collaborators would enhance the image and power of NGO's in this manner.

Şenatalar⁴⁵ frames state-NGO relationships in four different possible types.

1. Adversary relationship in which state is trying to pressure NGO's trying to ban or limit them through unnecessary policies or bureaucratic actions.
2. Patronizing relationship in which the state may found some NGO's, direct or fund them as in some extreme examples in Middle East
3. Disinterested relationship in which NGO's may be free of all these, but the state may also be careless and detached. And absent from any activity.
4. Governance relationship in which NGO's and state has a relationship based on support and partnership.

It is important to draw the framework of the efficiency of NGO's in these participation processes, such as their relevance in the national and international arena, their members, volunteers, the degree they are working in professional workforces, the way they are creating their funding, the relationships they can provide with the governments, state agencies and any other institutions through their policies. In political life, it is rather seen that NGO's develop in such a way, widening their areas and closing up the action areas of

⁴⁵ Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu, Jun2-3, 2000, İstanbul, p.13

the state institutions, together with strengthening of grassroots democratisations and first hand and creative solutions of NGO's. In countries with weaker democratic practices the NGO's most of the time carry the roles related to both economic and social development and also democratisation. Though it is not possible for the NGO's to take the role of state agencies overall, they have the power of forcing the state to change certain policies and /or advising certain policies as solutions.

The role of NGO's should not be limited only to discussion of certain subjects and putting problems forth in certain areas with public hearing or visibility. Reviewing the already held practices the non-governmental organizations are now taking place or voicing the public opinions and trying to get results in the sense of political authorities.

A critical viewpoint for the NGO's is pointed out by Frank Furedi. Furedi criticises NGO's as creating a third line between the citizen and the state and thus undercutting or replacing a possible direct relationship. In this sense, the civil society in between the macro and the micro levels alienate the citizen and the state and take the benefit of being a mediator. Through creating a reliability mechanism in between, civil society and organisation within may undermine the relationship of the citizen and the state.

The characteristic of being an NGO should not be lost within the relationships of state, private sector and the related funding which may create dependency. Therefore to keep their genuine characteristics and to be active in societal projects, NGO's funding processes are crucial. Instead of fund taking; maybe a more preferable way would be opening of fund raising campaigns with

which a higher participation might be encouraged through communal participation processes as a policy advice.

2.3. A Critical Overview of the Development of Civil Society in Turkey

Binnaz Toprak⁴⁶ states that the development of civil society is very much bounded and affected by state tradition of the country on all means such as laicism, to human rights, from freedom of thought to civil rights. Looking at Turkey's case within the historical overview, we see that as a pretty young country with many different historical loads of state traditions, Turkey has issues on many areas, which in turn affects the development of civil society by out bringing the needs and areas that action was needed to be taken on.

Turkey has a different civil society tradition from other Muslim countries, yet it is not really possible to associate it with the general Western tradition. To grasp an understanding of Turkish civil society, it is necessary to take the examination from Ottoman times, which is the common practice. The first civil society movement is considered as Tanzimat actions by many sources. Tanzimat Edict of 1839 is the first declaration of civil rights by the Ottoman Empire. It was the guaranteeing of civil rights and also property right for non-Muslims, stating the equity in between Muslim and non-Muslims.⁴⁷ The Constitution Declaration follows Tanzimat Period in 1876, which for the first time had the substance

⁴⁶ Toprak, Binnaz, "Civil Society in Turkey", in Norton, A.R., Brill E.J., (1996) (edt), *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Leiden, New York, Köln

⁴⁷ Ibid.

of civil of society over the state, absolute monarch. A group of intellectuals, the Young Turks was on the stage with claims of more freedom. Although the first Constitutional Period did not last for a long time, it was restored by the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

Kahraman and Aras⁴⁸ claims that in Turkey, since the Ottoman Empire times, civil society could not develop as well as it could and to full functionality for the autonomy was limited by the state or the governments (which is a common case in Middle East). To phrase it differently, Turkish state could not provide a decent and sufficient background for the civil society to build up, where interests could be expressed; involvement could take place away from the state autonomy. Şerif Mardin⁴⁹ claims that in the Ottoman society the citizens were in a direct relationship with the supreme authority missing the link of civil society, which brought on more difficulties on the development of democratic relations in the modern sense. The deficiency of Turkish civil society to develop in the Republican period also continues. In the period up to 1980, Turkish state's dominancy is worded as "*primal, sovereign and most powerful actor*" in political, economic and cultural spheres, as well as in social life"⁵⁰ and this is interpreted as the weakness in civic sphere because of being subject to such dominancy.

Given this background, the reforms or the reform attempts in Turkish politics, starting with the Tanzimat Edict, they always

⁴⁸ Karaman, L. and Bülent Aras, "*The Crisis of Civil Society in Turkey*", Journal of Economic and Social Research, Vol. II, No. 2, Jul. 2000, pp. 39-58

⁴⁹ (Mardin, 1969: 279).

⁵⁰ Dağı, İ. "*Transformation of Turkish Politics and the European Union: Dimensions of Human Rights and Democratization*"
<http://www.policy.hu/dagi/leftmenu/articles.htm>

sought a certain level of unification with the state, which in turn paved the way to create an elitist political society in the Turkish culture.

This period brought a booming of different associations and chambers and even political parties. The development of organizations lasted until 1923, even during the World War I years, under occupation of Allied forces. With 1923, one party rule was in issue and associational activities were paused until 1946, the transition to pluralist politics back again. (partly as a precondition for UN Membership) After 1946 Turkey has experienced several coup d'états, (1960, 1971, 1980) which seriously affected the way Turkish politics and daily social life could develop. With a very short look, we can say that after 1946 the one party regime changed and in 1950 elections Democrat Party gained a high percentage of votes representing different interest poles. As we follow the period from 1950 onwards, we see three serious interventions of the army to keep either the balance of the society or to suppress going to extremes of any kind. Though different each intervention might be interpreted in many different ways we may say that they all paused the ongoing political life and changed the direction of it through different leads. With 1950, the popularity of DP was brought burden much more than would be expected from the pluralist system. Given the clientalist tradition of Turkish politics, the Democrat Party, the system was easily used for pro DP with the advantage of being majority and the electoral victories eventually brought intolerance and opposition.

The enormous amount of votes from the rural areas, together with the parliamentary opposition of two parties (CHP and DP), lead to

polarization, which ended with 1960 coup.⁵¹ Following the coup, a new constitution was in progress, which brought forward the freedom of expression and rights. The 1961 constitution, aimed to answer some of the lacks or insufficiencies in the system, and restore some institutional mechanisms, with a focus on independent judiciary and opening space for expression of thought and individual freedoms. With the multi-party politics, Turkish civil society gained momentum, which accelerated with the 1960 constitutions, opening the way for greater levels of freedom, together with a legal framework. This constitution together with the viewpoint of the 1960 coup, made it seen as a more democratic intervention than a military coup imposing strict and closed regimes.

This led to a massive growth in all kinds of associational activities, which unfortunately led to a very deep polarization in different fronts and eventually turned into conflict between left and right and against the system and government. In 1971 a diplomatic note was given by the army, followed by the 1980 coup, which is considered as the severest of them all. In 1971 there was a minor intervention, which is not labelled as a coup d'état in some sources. It was basically a response to increasing polarization of the Left, and political violence between groups. The rising conflict in between 1960 coup and 1980, was ended with the suppression regime of 1980. 1980 regime took away the freedoms given by the 1960 constitution, and replaced it with the 1981 constitution. The new constitution brought dramatic changes in the liberties. Following the coup, the government and the parliament was dissolved, and all political activities were banned. The military

⁵¹ Toprak, Binnaz, "Civil Society in Turkey", in Norton, A.R., Brill E.J., (1996) (edt), *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Leiden, New York, Köln

regime increased pressure over unions, parties and politicians and following one year after the coup, all political parties were closed down.⁵²

The 1980 coup was a major one affecting all spheres for it was very sharp cut down for the restless political movements of the last two decades. The hopeful picture from the freedom of the 1971 has changed its place to many independent forces autonomous for themselves. In Toprak's words "*The country seemed to be ruled by forces of 'civil society', which was civil only in terms of its autonomy from the state.*"⁵³ Relief from the subservient political practices turned into an arena of highly politicised society, with many different organizations representing different views on the same subjects. In the image of state and judiciary weakening, the 1980 coup has laid stance for organized social forces, against street fights and parliamentary and political chaos. After the coup all existing parties were closed down. With the 1982 constitution, the borders were drawn strictly and many rights given with the 1960 constitution were taken away back. All kinds of civil associations were limited in their activities and prevented from growth and development and the state was empowered against civil society, if there had left any existing. The society of many organizations with many different viewpoints from different clusters became the silent and tacit society with harsh repressions. In 1983, Turkey was back on civilian rule.

⁵² Dağı, İ. "Transformation of Turkish Politics and the European Union: Dimensions of Human Rights and Democratization"
<http://www.policy.hu/dagi/leftmenu/articles.htm>

⁵³ Toprak, Binnaz, "Civil Society in Turkey", in Norton, A.R., Brill E.J., (1996) (edt), *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Leiden, New York, Köln

Looking to the history of Laws of Associations in Turkey, we see that the first one was adapted in 1909, followed by the civil code in 1923 adapted from Switzerland. Burhan Şenatalar claims⁵⁴ that these were the most free associational codes, for in 1938, a very anti-democratic law conduct was adapted followed by even worsening in 1972 after the military intervention and going much worse with the 1983 constitution.

To build the NGO- state relationship into a positive and effective basis, certain aspects should be considered such as overcoming the authoritarian and centralist state tradition and the concession that has been created by this tradition. Orhan Silier, in NGO's in Turkey Symposium⁵⁵ states that this state tradition together with 1983 constitution and some other laws action applications should be overcome together with some cultural changes and giving more place to freedom of thought, organization and meetings. As the chairman of the organization institution of the symposium, Silier states that Turkey should be headed to a way in which the decision-making structures should be designed for NGO's as more open by the state, to ensure a way of more open and free participation in all stages of decision making and in return acknowledging⁵⁶. The participants of this symposium specifically state that it is especially important to adapt the changes in the globalizing world through powering and supporting the state functions through empowering of NGO's. We see that the NGO's are organised in a wide variety of areas such as from education to women or from environment to technology policies.

⁵⁴ Dissertations of 7th NGO Symposium on "European Union, State and the NGO's" June 2-3, 2000, İstanbul

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

In 1980's, Turkey has started to adapt neo-liberal policies, restructuring the state in the direction of market economy⁵⁷, which was accompanied by downsizing of state functions as well. Keyder⁵⁸ states that as a result of this economic transformation the entrepreneur started to be less dependent on policies and bureaucratic decisions. The transformation of Turkish economics showed the same trend as the global one and this also lead to cultural transformations as well.

The rise of neo-liberal economics together with the political and cultural conflicts contributed to a stronger civil society. The rise of neoliberalism did not only create an economical environment that is very critical of state functions but also brought in the entrepreneurship, individualism as new discourses.⁵⁹ This enhanced the strengthening of civil society endorsing the lessening of dominant state and its functions.

The changes in the macro level also resulted changes in the meso and micro levels, such as the development of a more multicultural environment following the 1980's. The relief form the dominant or maybe oppressive state, and the spread of individualistic ideologies paved the way for many people to express and defend their identities such as marginal groups, feminists, gays and lesbians

⁵⁷ Akçay, A. A. 1997. "Southeastern Question and Some Unintentional but Inevitable Effects on Turkish Society" *Orient*, no: 38, pp. 276-288.

⁵⁸ Keyder, Ç. 2004. "The Turkish Bell Jar" *New Left Review*, no: 28, pp. 64-85.

⁵⁹ Keyman F and B. Koyuncu, "Globalization, Alternative Modernities ad dthe Political Economy of Turkey" *Review of International Economy*, 12:1, Februaary 2005, 105-128.

and so forth.⁶⁰ These developments also caused booming in associational life with an increasing number of NGO's representing these groups.

Together with this booming, some other events has also been a catalyser for Turkish civil society and organisations. The first step is the UN Habitat Meeting in Istanbul in 1996, which resulted an increased level of consciousness and an increase in the number of NGO's. The second is the earthquakes of 1999 in the Marmara (İzmit) Region and Kaynaşlı, which as a result of such drastic events increased the civic initiative, and the mobilisation of resources with an increased affinity on volunteerism and ability to organize. The international cooperation of NGO's from abroad following the earthquakes, and realising that the state may and most probably will be inadequate during such a big incidents strongly influenced the growth of NGO's my means of number and capacity during the early 2000's.

⁶⁰ Akçay, A. A. 1997. "Southeastern Question and Some Unintentional but Inevitable Effects on Turkish Society" *Orient*, no: 38, pp. 276-288.

3. Turkey EU Relations: EU Accession Process and the Importance of Funding

3.1 The Chronology of Turkey-EU Relations

In his speech given at Helsinki University, Olli Rehn, mentioned that Turkey-EU relations date back to the actual formation of European Community itself and in the very first Agreement, Ankara Treaty the clear prospect of Turkey becoming a member was clearly stated.⁶¹ Looking back, Turkey's relationship with the EU dates back to 1959, when the first application was made to European Economic Community, EEC 4 years after the Ankara Agreement in 1963, which came in to force on December 1, 1964, aimed the full membership of Turkey. This treaty was foreseeing Turkey to go through a 5 years of preparation stage, which was going to be followed by a transition stage for becoming a member. The aim was integration through economic and trade matters, as Turkey was going to become a member of Customs' Union. The Article 28 of the Agreements reads:

"As soon as the operation of this Agreement has advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance of Turkey of the obligations arising out of the Treaty establishing the Community, the Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the Community"⁶²

It was celebrated with joy for it was associated as starting to reach opening a way to Turkey's westernisation projects, which was a

⁶¹<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/06/747&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

⁶² <http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/regulation/trade/turkey.htm>

long one since the Tanzimat Era. The process was stated as reaching the ultimate end in the early republic era and was aimed as state objective.

Therefore, the relationship of EU and Turkey has started with the promise of full integration only if certain criterion is fulfilled and was supported very positively with the statement of then Commission President, Walter Hallstein, as "Turkey is a part of Europe"⁶³. We cannot say such a positive beginning could save its nature as with the political events of 1960's and 1970's in Turkey. Looking back all these stages took very much longer than expected, as Turkey being able to qualify for Customs' Union framework in 1996.

In 1970's although the road to fulfil criterion was more clear together with the complicated political environment of Turkey, the deadlock in the decision making bodies of two parties, and the international economic crisis followed by OPEC's oil embargo slowed down the development of relations between Turkey and EU. Following the military coup in 1980, the relations were frozen until the political environment stuttered to turn to normality, with the multiparty elections in 1983.

Turkey applied for full membership in 1987, for which the Union completed its opinion in 1989, and stated, as *"it would be inappropriate for the Community - which is itself undergoing major changes while the whole of Europe is in a state of flux - to become involved in new accession negotiations at this stage."*⁶⁴ It

⁶³ www.whi-berlin.de/documents/whi-paper0406.pdf

⁶⁴ <http://www.deltur.ec.europa.eu/english/opinion.html>

continued that *"furthermore, the political and economic situation in Turkey leads the Commission to believe that it would not be useful to open accession negotiations with Turkey straight away"*.⁶⁵ This statement, expressing that neither Turkey nor EC was ready for Turkey's membership, pointed towards only to Customs' Union as foreseen in Ankara Agreement. The agreement was signed on 1995, March 6, which again raised the hope on the Turkish side for a further integration.

However in 1997, in Agenda 2000, Turkey's name was not pronounced as to be transferred to the state of being a candidate country among the applicant countries in the enlargement process. Also in Luxembourg Summit in December 1997, Turkey was excluded from the enlargement process. However the importance of the relationship in this time period should not be under evaluated. It is for sure that the economic sphere together with the interest of Turkish economic and political elites' interest in the Union had an important effect in Turkish democracy and in many political arenas.

In 1999, with the Helsinki Summit in December, Turkey's position was finally promoted from being an applicant country to a candidate country, being officially included in the enlargement process. In November 2000, the European Union adopted the Accession Partnership Document for Turkey's membership and Turkey submitted its first National Programme to the EU in March 2001.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

It is argued that post-Helsinki process has changed Turkey's efforts in the sense of making serious reforms in order to adapt to *Acquis*. It was clear that certain reforms should be done in order to catch the train of Europe, as heard in many public discussions. The reforms were needed to re-structure several social, economical and political areas.⁶⁶ Since 1999, several packages for harmonisation process were passed as a result of these restructuring efforts including some major ones such as abolition of death penalty in 2002.

In November 2002, Justice and Development Party⁶⁷ (JDP) which is known as an Islamist party has come to power with majority in Parliament. The significance of this actually went in a different way than one could briefly guess, for the party stated EU membership as one of their priorities. As quoted from Tanıcı⁶⁸, Tayyip Erdoğan as the leader of JDP and the prime minister of Turkey, has affirmed that meeting Copenhagen Political criteria is not only a obligation for Turkey in the EU membership process, but an objective to reach for Turkey's modernisation in any case.

In 2002, during the Copenhagen Summit, the Union decided to review Turkey's candidacy. In Summit of December 2004 the decision was taken to open accession negotiations with Turkey in October 2005 and consequently, the accession negotiations officially started on October 3, 2005. Following, the examination of the *Acquis Communautaire* began in June 2006; with the unresolved issues of Cyprus ports and airports, freedom of

⁶⁶Dagi, I. 'Democratic Transition in Turkey: The Impact of European Diplomacy', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1996, pp. 124-141.

⁶⁷ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi in Turkish

⁶⁸ Tanıcı,S. 'Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey: Islamist Welfare Party's Pro-EU Turn', *Party Politics* 9 (2003): 463-483.

expression and minority rights. (e.g. cases of freedom of expression from the Article of 301, Turkish Penal Code)

Due to these unresolved issues, in specific lack of progress on Cyprus issue, the partial suspension of membership negotiations were stated as of November 29, 2006. On December 11, 2006, eight in thirty-five in the negotiation headlines have been suspended.⁶⁹ Now as it is expressed, the negotiations are uttered as open-ended and expected to last for at least 10-15 years. As of January 2007, Germany takes over the rotating presidency of EU. In the near future it may be discussed that Turkey's EU membership will be discussed not only along the lines of Turkey's harmonization with the *Acquis* but also with the latest enlargement process of Bulgaria and Romania's membership.

3.2. Perceptions of Turkey- EU Relations: The place of Europeanisation in Turkey's Politics

During the Ottoman Empire, the look to Europe from these lands had been remaining as an outsider, which changed with the weakening of Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and European ideas were started to be used as reform or modernisation projects. Also in the economical sphere, the trade between Europe and Ottoman Empire gained a considerable importance.

Turkish Republic is often seen as developing with the Kemalist modernisation projects since its establishment in 1923. The core of modernisation was associated with being westernised and

69 <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/eu-turkey-relations/article-129678>

compliance to Western standards whether in living conditions or in politics. To point out the strong orientation towards west starting with the establishment of Republic in Turkish politics, Kubicek⁷⁰ quotes from Ziya Gökalp, the important nationalist of the early Republic Era, as "*There is only one road to salvation...to adapt ourselves to Western civilization completely.*"

Taken this as a focus, many reforms and changes have been done to reach a more modern, which is associated with being more westernised society and a more westernised state. The reforms were encompassing all parts of societal life, from the alphabet to dress code, from educational system to academic initiatives. Sociologically this period also brought a division in the minds for it was hard to leave the traditional ways and to adapt to so forth modern such quickly. Turkish elites quickly adapted the West as the reference point the modernisation process and yearning for being European has become the aim, not only in the sense of development but also in the political and economic institutions. Starting with the early years of Turkish Republic, the state has associated an ideology of Westernisation from top to bottom.⁷¹

On the institutional side, other than accession attempts to EU, there are many examples of Europeanisation, such becoming the member of council of Europe in 1949, being a very active NATO member since 1952, defending Europe's borders in the East and South. Olli Rehn, claims that Turkey has been the part of Europe project since its beginning, not only with her engagement in such

⁷⁰ Kubicek, P. "*Turkey's Place in the New Europe*" Perceptions, Autumn 2004

⁷¹ This process as from top to bottom may be seen as creating tensions in the means of identity conflicts and compliance to norms that are delivered from top and may be in contradiction with the traditions.

institutional moves, but also in her commitment with the internal reforms and all, and adds:

“Against such background, the endless controversies on the precise geographical location of Turkey, and whether the Bosphorus should be seen as a border of Europe, are frankly of little weight. There is no doubt that Turkey is part of Europe and has been part of our European political project from the beginning.”⁷²

With the Helsinki Summit in 1999, the relations took a different conditioning, with more intense relations together with the change in the policy-making elites and public at large. It can be claimed that since 1999, with the primary focus on extending relations the inducement to comply with EU has been more intense. With the incentives from EU, Turkey has made progress in developing the country’s economy, the nature of the democratic regime and foreign policy behaviour, which can be deemed as an accelerating process of domestic reforms through dialogue and cooperation. The Commission reports state that Turkey’s efforts to meet the criterion and related reforms have been accelerated since 1999 and Turkey still tries to meet the Copenhagen Criterion, especially in the areas of democracy, the rule of law and human rights, which altogether may be labelled as modern European standards.

Between 2002 and 2004, Turkey experienced an exceptional number of democratic reforms especially in areas of human rights, protection of minority rights, rule of law aiming to make a progress

⁷²<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/06/747&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

in terms of consolidating democracy.⁷³ This period was also change agent for the Euro-sceptic segments of the society who do not directly oppose to EU, but against the implementation of Copenhagen criterion for reforms such as protecting minority rights for they believe that those reforms would undermine the building blocks of Turkish nation state.

With the parliamentary elections in November 2002, JDP, the Justice and Development Party came into power and have set up the start of a different stage in Turkey- EU relations.⁷⁴ Although the expectation varied with the new rule of an Islamist party, JDP showed a different pathway from many expectations regarding the EU relations, acting as an active pro of EU membership, stating their commitment for EU membership on every occasion.⁷⁵

The focus on Turkish' ability to meet Copenhagen Criterion, has been the new challenge for Turkey and probably also for many segments of the society as it would bring about questioning of their Turkish identity how it may fit the European scheme. The Turkish westernisation ideal was now to face Turkish state structure by means of changing it in so many ways and offering different segments of society the freedom of expression that has been lost since the 1960's. The westernisation that has started with the

⁷³ Öniş, Z; "*Turkish Modernisation and Challenges for the New Europe*"; Journal of International Affairs special issue on Turkey-European Union Relations; Autumn 2004 Volume IX Number 3

⁷⁴ Keyman, F. "New Path Emerges" Journal of Democracy, 14, 2, 2003, pp. 95-108

⁷⁵ Öniş, Z; "*Turkish Modernisation and Challenges for the New Europe*"; Journal of International Affairs special issue on Turkey-European Union Relations; Autumn 2004 Volume IX Number 3

Republic, which most of the time associated with Kemalist ideology, started to change to a wide spread grassroots model.⁷⁶

Turkey's image identification with Europe has brought challenges for both sides' identity. Though many take this challenge from the siege of Vienna in 1683, today this controversy is associated with Turkey being a predominantly Muslim country and its ability to match the European tradition. Turkey in the EU enlargement process poses a challenge with its huge population, different cultural characteristics, delicate economy and fragile geostrategical location. Valerie Giscard d'Estaing in 2002 even said that "Turkey's membership would spell the end of the European Union".⁷⁷

In October 2004, it was stated that Turkey's progress in meeting the Copenhagen Criterion was sufficient to start the accession negotiations, and this clearly eliminated the prospect claiming the non-compliance of Turkey with the political criterion which used to be a major obstacle to Turkey's EU membership. However it is important to keep in mind that the European Union clearly takes into consideration the sustainability of these reforms. If there is a fallback in the political reforms, the Union may suspense the accession process and the negotiations may stop completely or partially. During last year very important constitutional reform packages have been adapted which has become the catalyst for political change mainly to liberal democracy. It is also evident that Turkey's integration would be a different one from the other Member States up to now and may require additional reforms on

⁷⁶ <http://www.policy.hu/dagi/leftmenu/articles.htm>

⁷⁷ Müftüler-Baç, M. "Turkey's Accession to the European Union: Institutional and Security Challenge"s Perceptions, Autumn 2004

the side of EU as well. ⁷⁸ Today Turkey is in the phase of complying with the accession criteria. As the challenging and controversial relationship between Turkey and EU show, Turkey does not intend to give up the membership ambition or to agree only for with some kind of privileged partnership or membership, nor will accept the answer of being too crowded or too different for the integration process. It may be said that the major building blocks of the Union are, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, secularism, market economy, security and solidarity. EU as a unit tries to achieve and sustain these building blocks⁷⁹ and with Turkey's integration processes, the aim is to integrate another political unit to these concepts, which of course requires an alteration for both sides.

The history of Turkey with European Union has been a controversial and unstable one. These characteristics seem to be lasting as long as the international transformation is lasting, not only with Turkey's position in Europe but also with its role and position in the regional and global arena.

3.3. EU and Political Assistance

Diamond⁸⁰ argues that there are three ways of political assistance for development. These are, election monitoring and assistance, constitution of political institutions and civil society assistance. He argues that the most stable form of such assistance is through civil society. In this form, the outside actors may influence through

⁷⁸ Müftüleri-Bağ, M. "Turkey's Accession to the European Union: Institutional and Security Challenge"s Perceptions, Autumn 2004

⁷⁹ de Montbrial, Thierry "Debating the Borders of Europe," International Herald Tribune, 21 May 2004.

⁸⁰ Larry D, "Promoting Democracy in the 1990's: Actor, Instruments and Issues" Paper presented in Nobel Symposium in Upsala, August 27-30, 1994

individuals, groups and small institutions and therefore may help through the formation of democratic culture and some political reforms.

The transfer of this assistance is also important. Sometimes it can be a transfer from government to government; in which the management of the aid is mostly in the hands of related ministry. Another way is to transfer through NGO's, that may develop and exhibit a project on the issue in the country or to transfer the aid to NGO's in the donor's country that can then transfer such aid to other country's NGO's. Of course this second form is most possible if there are considerable resemblances/ similarities by means of culture for that would pave the way to common activities or easier common grounds to build up joint projects.

Since 1960 Turkey is continuing the journey to European integration and the journey gained impetus with 1999 Helsinki Summit, in which the candidacy stage has started. Looking at the civil society axis, we do not see very much NGO's specialized in this area. In the history of Turkey-EU relations, the first NGO to be specifically working on the area was Economic Development Foundation (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı) Founded in the 1960's this foundation was to bring the subject into discussion of public with a big meeting in Hilton Hotel.⁸¹ These meetings brought the discussion to the level of general public discussion, instead of only being in the agenda of state and related agencies.

⁸¹ Dissertations of 7th NGO Symposium on "European Union, State and the NGO's" June 2-3, 2000, İstanbul,

Looking at the EU image in many media channels, we can see that most of the time EU is associated with human rights actions or democratisation processes. Actually the so hoped integration process does include much more than this such as education, environment, cultural studies etc. And it is not only a project only limited to the political side, but also a project with the aim of creating a difference in daily practices. The relationship majorly functions in instrumental terms and is expected to create a unifying role also in the Turkish society in bringing the different parts together, or ensuring a higher integration of smaller groups.

It is an important point since very much of the integration process is also crucial at the grassroots level. In Turkey the general image is as the state taking over the integration process in the higher politics, and not reflecting it to the daily life practices. This integration, which is not going to be composed of only one step, is needed to be through reforms, changes and many studies, to incorporate into the common values of the Union. This actually requires efforts of civil society, which may be seen as a gap in Turkey. It may be questioned that how much the expectations of the society is reflected to the state institutions and the parliament, and how this could be increased. The existence and functioning of NGO's gain importance in this sense though may not be reflected directly for probably all the complex seeming terms and processes do not really mean much to people's daily lives. The process is seen much as a formal one between state institutions. This is meaning that the integration process very much left out the Turkish public opinion. As the democratic system is supposed to enable NGO's to work rather freely, effective working systems of NGO's may show that the democratic processes are functioning well. Re-thinking the role of NGO's in this manner would enlighten

the possible role and place of NGO's in the context of Turkey's integration to European Union and how can they can become power foci. Therefore we can say that even not working directly in the area of integration with the European Union, an NGO might be helpful to express some societal needs and calls to EU and also reflect EU's concerns and priorities back to the related parts of the society through the efforts of NGO's.

Some scholars say that Turkey's perception of the EU process is still very much emotional rather than rational which finds body in the sayings of "they like us" " they won't let us in, they do not like us"⁸² However the interpretation of all the ongoing processes would be more meaningful through a historical understanding.

European Union most of the time prefers projects which may create their own sustainability. This may either be ensuring system with the project to keep what is being done as permanent in the project area or creating a mechanism which take other funds together with EU funds to support the projects or lengthen the project with other funding resources.⁸³ These other resources may be support from government or private sector or funding form other umbrella organisations to keep the needed support on the project once its established.

Looking at the EU side of the relationship, we may say that there is a need for a broader view for most of the time rather than all the processes with our perception of how EU sees us. It is also

⁸² Kubicek, P. "The European Union and Grassroots Democratization in Turkey", Turkish Studies Vol6., No.3, 361-177, September 2005

⁸³ Yazgan, Nergis DHKD Dış İlişkiler Koordiantoru, Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu, Jun2-3, 2000, İstanbul (p 135)

important to remember that Europe is also reshaping each and every day with changes in the *Acquis* and institutions. European Union is still enlarging and there are many projects that are going on before taking the last and solid shape, if it is going to happen.

For some, EU membership processes are seen as the biggest and most extensive chance of change and formation since 1923, that is the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

Through the candidacy processes of certain countries, we see that there are no general/all encompassing rules.⁸⁴ Each country is valued by its own conditions and therefore different regulations could be expected, though there are always certain basic standards. Copenhagen Criterion is the state of these basics, which symbolises the common values in this area.

Now accession to Europe has become the long will of masses, even though many people are not even sure about what the terms mean. Turkey has been locked up to the process of full membership and thus might be missing some other important elements, such as not being able to utilize all the possible funding or programmes. Then again it is also important as Orhan Silier mentions in the closing speech of NGO's in Turkey's Civil Society Symposium, NGO's should not see EU as a source of funding, and always keep in mind that there are certain other ways of fund raising. He points out that the core important point of funds is not the money utilised but the mechanisms and governance processes learned through the usage of that fund.

⁸⁴ Dissertations of 7th NGO Symposium on "European Union, State and the NGO's" June 2-3, 2000, İstanbul,

3.4. European Union's Financial Assistance

As per Turkey's candidate country status was accepted together with Helsinki Summit in 1999, there had been certain changes in the area of financial aids and assistance as well as many other areas such as political reforms and alike. With the candidacy, the pre-accession strategies for Turkey are designed for supporting the reform processes through financial assistance and other forms of cooperation. Regardingly, EU Council adapted an accession partnership in March 2001. In December 17, 2001; European Union has accepted legal frameworks for financial assistance of Turkey in the pre-accession stage. The regulation announced the annual level of pre-accession financial assistance as €177 million.⁸⁵

The financial assistance is programmed around the *National Programme for the Adaption of the Acquis* (NPAA). The National Programme deals with almost all subdivisions of accession from economic criteria to political criterion, which of course covers the responsibilities and obligations to adapt the Copenhagen Criteria. As each candidate country, NPAA arrays a country's priorities with a timetable for its integration to EU. It also indicates the resources needed to be allocated for its action programmes and sets out strategy maps, negotiation focuses and programmes for accession.⁸⁶

The general framework in this period has been the structural reforms. The aim of Accession Partnership is to assist Turkey through their efforts of meeting the accession criteria. In this

⁸⁵<http://www.deltur.ec.europa.eu/default.asp?lang=1&pId=4&fId=7&prnId=3&hnd=1&ord=2&docId=558&fop=0>

⁸⁶ <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/g-katilimoncesik.html>

framework Turkey also established certain institutional mechanisms for the coordination of financial aid, in order to select projects in compliance with priorities and in order to monitor preparations and implementation thereof. In Turkey this has been established under *National Assistance Coordination* with the *Secretariat General for EU Affairs*. The financial assistance coming from EU is assembled under the *National Fund* which is being directed by the *Central Finance and Contracts Unit* for grant, tendering and finance processes.⁸⁷

To avoid delay and problems in the financial aid procedures, European Union has set up a decentralized system as in other candidate countries. The management responsibility of the selected projects was transferred to Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey from the headquarters in Brussels. In 2003, the management responsibility of projects started to be transferred to local authorities such as Secretariat General for EU Affairs, Turkey and the Central Finance and Contracts Unit in Turkey.

3.4.1. Why EU is Giving Funds

Going back to Rome Treaty, the establishing treaty of European Economic Community (EEC), signed in 1957, the goal was stated as

by establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated

⁸⁷ http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/fiche_projet/document/2002-000.586.03.02%20local%20public%20administration.pdf

*raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it.*⁸⁸

In accordance with this statement, and to ensure that all sectors of the economy of all European regions may benefit from these, EU itself provides support to development of structural policies and reforms, regarding its periphery regions. EU provides financial aid to acceding countries, candidate countries and potential countries for membership in the areas of social, economic, political and institutional reforms.⁸⁹ Such a broad spectrum, of course includes a wide range of issues from human rights to civil society, from agriculture to information technologies or telecommunications sector.

Every year EU provides funds over 7 billion euros⁹⁰ in the form of external aid. The purpose is to meet the challenge of improving living conditions all over the world, and strengthening EU's position as a reliable global partner.

The EuropeAid Co-operation Office has managed the whole aid process since January 1, 2001. The cooperation office has the mission of implementing the external aid instruments of the Union effectively and correctly.

Through the enlargement process and bilateral relations, EU considers to foster peace, prosperity and stability. With regard to Turkey it is stated that, there is "*an unparalleled opportunity to*

⁸⁸<http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/default.asp?lang=1&pId=3&fId=10&prnId=1&hnd=0&ord=0&docId=511&fop=0>

⁸⁹ Neill, N., (2003) *The Government and Politics of European Union*, Duke University Press, USA

⁹⁰ www.eucentre.org

encourage Turkey's development, towards an open society with fundamental freedoms and building a bridge to the Muslim world. A more 'European' Turkey is in our interest, given the country's significance as an anchor of stability in a troubled region."⁹¹

It is also in the direct interest of EU with the enlargement process for it has changed many countries through this process politically and economically. The claim is that, the enlargement process together with the pre-accession and accession assistance has brought direct improvements for EU as the EU is formatting the world around in compliance with the stated *Acquis Communautaire*. These improvements or in other words, incentives might be viewed as a tool for increasing EU's weight in the world politics and economics, and making the Union a more reliable and strong partner in the international arena.

Dağı⁹² discusses that looking back to last 15 years Turkey EU relations were shaped around *sine qua non* values of EU, such as human rights, democracy and economical stability. EU as a community needs to ensure, the stability of its values in candidate countries, to ensure its own and the future processes. Therefore the change created with the EU and the candidacy process is not unique to Turkey but valid for other candidate countries as well for stability and permanency as per EU's standpoint.

On November 29, 2006. The EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn, had a press conference on accession negotiations with Turkey. He stated that Europe and Turkey are in mutual need of a

⁹¹<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/413&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=ennt>

⁹² Dağı, İ., (2005) "Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye: Nedenler ve Sonuçlar Üzerine," Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Türkiye, Ed. Erdinç Yazıcı, Çelik-İş Yayınları, Ankara, s.45-72

strong partnership, both politically and economically. He mentioned that a more stable Turkey in the region is of great importance and it is the reason why the partnership has more strategic significance each day even under the shed of slowing negotiations.⁹³ These statements show that the importance of Turkey as a partner has been valid in the past and will continue to be valuable in coming decades. This is critical in analysing the funds that have been and will be allocated to Turkey on the basis of various partnership schemes. While financial assistance to government programmes are running in the form of Twinning projects, the assistance focusing on promotion of EU – Turkey civil society dialogue are provided through grant schemes. Most of the EU funds used by the civil society sector and NGO's in Turkey were provided so far within the framework of MEDA and PHARE programmes. Therefore these two funding programmes will be explained deeper in the following sections within the framework of the thesis.

3.4.2. Investments; Institution Building and Programmes of EU

With the priorities of Accession Partnership, the financial assistance programme aims to accompany and back up Turkey for full EU membership. The Pre-Accession Partnership covers in detail the priorities for accession preparations, in particular implementation of the EU law, and forms the basis for pre-accession assistance from Community funds. The EU pre-accession assistance is in areas of institution building, investment to strengthen the regulatory infrastructure needed to ensure compliance with the *Acquis*, investment in economic and social cohesion and the promotion of

⁹³ http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_6539_en.htm

the civil society dialogue. The assistance was mainly shaped around *institution building, investment and supporting Turkey's participation in EU programmes*.⁹⁴

Institution building is the form of assistance to guide Turkey for implementation of the *Acquis*, which would be a preparation for adaptation of EU policies. This area mainly aims alterations regarding the public authorities at central, regional and local level for economic and social cohesion and related infrastructure⁹⁵. For institution building assistance is also given to organisations critical in the stage of accession such as employers' federations, and trade unions, as well as professional organisations such as chambers of commerce and agriculture or NGO's, for reaching further consolidation on the related negotiation chapters.

Investments target the areas for strengthening regulatory infrastructures that need to be developed for adoption and implementation of the *Acquis*. As an extension of institution building this should be done by a clear and open support from the government. A second branch of investment programs includes actions for further economic and social cohesion in the pre-accession area. These investments specifically target the regional disparities between Turkish regions as well as the gap between Turkey's national income and the EU average national income.⁹⁶

European Union also assisted Turkey for *participation in Union programmes*. Some of these programmes are, 6th framework, SME

⁹⁴ <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/english/e-mali-view-new.html>

⁹⁵ Buzan, B.; T. Diez (1999) "The European Union and Turkey", *Survival*, Vol 41, pp 41-57

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

development programmes and education programmes such as Leonardo or Socrates. These programmes offer Turkey opportunities to increase familiarity with EU processes and institutions. Further, participation in these programmes enable Turkish organisations to set up links and networks with organisations and institutions in the EU, which may turn into partnership in their future studies.⁹⁷

The list of Union programmes in which Turkey can participate in may be found as Appendix A.

3.4.3. MEDA (The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership)

Prior to Accession Partnership, Turkey was one of the countries covered under MEDA programme (The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), which has been the primary tool of assistance. The programme offered technical and financial support measures to assist the social and economic structures in the Mediterranean regions including counties of Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority.⁹⁸

The programme has two phases as MEDA I covering the period between 1995-1999 and MEDA II covering the period between 2000-2006

MEDA I was developed through Barcelona Declaration, 1995, issued following regional integration of Mediterranean Region policy. The core headings supported by this programme are;

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Gilleps, R., eds. (1997) *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Political and Economic Perspectives*, Verso, London

economic transition, socio-economic development and democratisation and strengthening of civil society.⁹⁹ Through this programme some financial resources were opened to Mediterranean countries with a package of 320 million euros of loans and 1,8 billion euros of European Investment Bank loans.¹⁰⁰ Through MEDA programme certain regional and national programmes were developed with the aid of long-term credit mechanisms. The share earmarked for Turkey through this programme was 376 million euros for 55 projects.¹⁰¹ MEDA II programme has been active since 2000. Again the aim is to fortify the pre-accession strategies with economic reforms and structural adjustment policies. The main areas to be supported by MEDA II programmes are; SME's, *Acquis Communautaire*, regional policies and engineering.

Until 2002 Turkey has received provision under the MEDA programme through two different regulations, one to support Customs' Union and second to support economic and social development. For the measures to strengthen Customs Union, for the period of 2000-2002, € 15 million was allocated and for the measures to strengthen economic and social development, € 135 million was allocated for the same time period.¹⁰²

For the period of 2000-2006 the total amount allocated to Turkey under MEDA II Programme was increased up to 890 million Euros,

⁹⁹ http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/ and *Euro-Mediterranean Partnership*, European Commission, Brussels, 1997

¹⁰⁰ <http://abofisi.metu.edu.tr/meda.htm>

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² *ibid.*

for which all the grants were decided to be managed by the European Commission. Turkey was also given the possibility to benefit from European Investment Bank's loans, up to an amount of 6.245 billion Euros, again within the scope of MEDA. All together, Turkey was forecasted to benefit a total amount of 210 billion Euros in the six-year time period. ¹⁰³

3.4.4. PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies)

There are three instruments of European Union for candidate countries in the pre-accession stage namely, PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD. These three programmes are planned to assist the candidate countries in their preparations for the European Union. Within the framework of this thesis only PHARE will be analysed thoroughly since the funding process under this study is fall within the framework of this programme. ¹⁰⁴

Before going into details of PHARE, a general look to two other programmes is as follows:

- ISPA (Pre-accession Instrument for Structural Policies) This programme covers familiarisation of the candidate countries under the areas of environment issues, environmental standards and transportation. The priority areas are drinking

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ The funding of case studies fall under the programme of PHARE and MEDA, which in detail will be explained in the following sections of case studies.

water, trans-European transport networks, and air and water pollution.¹⁰⁵

- SAPARD (Special Accession Program for Agriculture and Rural Development) The aim of this programme is dealing with the structural problems in the agriculture areas and ensuring harmonisation through Common Agricultural Policy in the candidate countries.¹⁰⁶

PHARE is originally, the abbreviation for *Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies*¹⁰⁷ which started in 1989. PHARE programme's aim is stated as financial aid to enable candidate countries for institutional structuring and enhancing social and economic harmony including regional development programmes. In 1994, PHARE has become a major financial instrument for pre-accession of Central and Eastern European Countries, which are, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.¹⁰⁸ In these initial stages the programme was focusing around know-how, technical assistance and humanitarian aid. The major focus changed as progress had been achieved, and the programme was realigned to target more investment aid and infrastructure issues.

The programme changed its content and scope in time, as its re-direction with Agenda 2000, to the area of enlargement particularly concentrating on capacity building for increasing familiarity with

¹⁰⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/funds/ispa/ispa_en.htm

¹⁰⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/financial_assistance/sapard_en.htm

¹⁰⁷ Pologne et hongrie: Assistance pour la Restructuration économique

¹⁰⁸ Multi-Beneficiary Programme Highlights, EC-PHARE Programme, European Commission, 1999, Brussels

and implementing the *Acquis*, and second on building infrastructure in compliance with Community standards through mobilising investments in all areas.¹⁰⁹ In 2002, in addition to the original 10 countries of CEE, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey also started to receive pre-accession assistance directed to either financing activities on priority of PHARE for accession of Cyprus and Malta or to furnish an accession-based financial assistance for Turkey. The assistance programme for these three countries amounted a total of 168 million euros in 2002¹¹⁰

For Turkey in December 2001, the Council Decision¹¹¹ (2001/235/EC) marked the participation to community programmes and adoption of the PHARE framework in the financial assistance based on accession strategies with the implementation of policies and procedures. As the general implementation, The National Programme for the Adoption of the *Acquis* is taken into consideration to prepare the country for membership to the Union.

For all projects financed within the framework of PHARE, the co-financing approach is implemented either by contributions from the public sector of that country or with other complementary international funding. To be included in a community programme as such, every country has to apply and pay an annual fee with a memorandum signature of understanding.

¹⁰⁹ Nielsen, Soren, P.; (2000) "*PHARE-Reform Programme: A 1999 Report:Final Evaluation*", European Commission, Brussels

¹¹⁰http://eurlex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=503DC0497

¹¹¹ <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/english/apwithturkey.pdf>

3.4.5 Process of Using EU Funds and Fund Allocation

EU funds are released for every candidate country within the framework of NPAA with the decision of European Union and country government authorities. In Turkey, Secretariat General for EU Affairs (EUSG)¹¹² leads the meetings on the side of the government. The types of projects to be supported in the coming year are decided around September with the final decision of the European Commission. These decisions are subject to review and approval of EU member states

While deciding on the programmes there are certain criterion taken into consideration for to be accompanied with the form of EU aid. . These are¹¹³:

- *To contribute pre-accession strategies' implementation processes*
- *To be within the framework of NPAA*
- *To contribute to harmonisation of the county with EU legislation.*

Subsequent to the selection of projects and the allocation of funds, *call for proposal's* are published each year, which are commonly announced by the following two websites for Turkey.

- The official website of the Europeaid
- The official website of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey

¹¹² ABGS: Avrupa Birliđi Genel Sekreterliđi

¹¹³ <http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/faq.php?lng=en&action=artikel&category=003&id=7>

The funding process of the projects is of non-commercial nature, as mentioned above; they are given either to promote certain EU legislation or strengthening certain functioning bodies of the country.

3.4.6. Benefiting from EU Projects and Funds

Submission of projects should be done in accordance with the announcements made by the Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey. Otherwise, it is not possible to make an application for funding of a project, which is not in compliance with the annual priority programme

When there is a call for proposal, the applicant projects are evaluated against the criteria that are announced on that call. These criteria may include organization's expertise in the given area, the relevance of the project for the envisaged sector, the relevance of the projects and the possible end results for harmonisation process etc. With the proposal call, the project priorities, target audience relevant to the project, documents needed for application and if needed pre- completion of certain tasks, such as business plans are announced. After the completion of the evaluation process, the projects that are found eligible are announced and the financing contracts for the funding process is signed by both parties.

3.4.7. EU Funds Used in Turkey

As the regular implementation, funds allocated to Turkey are programmed within the framework of NPAA and accession partnership. The priorities of NPAA aim to deal with reforms to adapt the so called Copenhagen criteria which is fulfilling the social and economic criteria for further adaptation for the requirements and commitment of EU membership. Therefore these areas, which are under the scope of EU financial assistance, vary for all segments of the society from supporting NGO's to economy or specific issues such as reproductive health or fisheries.¹¹⁴

The pre-accession assistance programme for Turkey focuses on institution building and investment support. In the institution building, the areas included cover the topics for Turkey's participation in the EU policies and implementation of the *Acquis Communautaire*.¹¹⁵ In this framework, assistance may be given to public authorities, representative organizations such as employers' federations, trades unions, and chambers of commerce and agriculture, that may be critical in wide spreading the harmony to *Acquis*, or NGO's with the capacity of supporting and practicing initiatives for consolidation of democratic practices, and in general social cohesion.

In the investment area, EU supports investments for the regulatory infrastructure for further implementation of *Acquis*, meaning the investments needed for strengthening compliance. For investments

¹¹⁴<http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/default.asp?pId=4&lang=0&prnId=1&fId=6&ord=0&docId=361&fop=1>

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

in the regulatory infrastructure, an open government strategy is needed for support. Another type of investment is directed towards the economic and social cohesion, taking into account issues such as regional and economical disparities, within Turkey and also between Turkey and EU. Within this framework, cross-border cooperation is strongly encouraged.

The comprehensive list of funds allocated to the specific programmes by EU with a breakdown according to years may be found as the Appendix B. A featured analysis of these funds with regard to subject areas, years and the granted amount is done below with the figures taken from the official site of European Commission Delegation to Turkey.¹¹⁶

Through this table we may see that the subject areas and the total spending vary throughout years. However when we look at the general picture we see that, there are certain subject areas that have been gaining funding since 2001. As a general framework these areas may be listed as; development of civil society, specific vocational areas, regional development, creating an active labour force, development of human rights and judiciary issues in line with Acquis. Going into detail, we see that civil society development was among the priorities and was among the first area funded in 2001, with the '*Civil Society Development Programme*', with a budget of 8,00,000 euros. Following other civil society development programmes were, '*Rethinking Human Rights and Civil Society In Turkey - A Historical Account With Photographs*', minor project with a 526,364 euros of funding, '*Strengthening Freedom of Association*' in 2005 with 2,520,000 euros of funding which is a larger amount than many other funding as may be compared in Appendix C. The

¹¹⁶ www.deltur.cec.eu.int

latest programme in this area in 2006 is worth mentioning because it is also related the funding process of EU. The programme is *'Strengthening civil society in the pre-accession process: NGO Grant Facility'* with 10,500,00 euros of funding, which is outstanding.

On the area of funding on specific vocational areas and vocational training we see a variety of programmes over the years. Some examples may be; *'Environmental Standards in Textile Sector'* in 2001 with 2,128,700 euros of funding. In the 2002; *'Shoemaking Training Institution Project'* with a 3,182,00 euros of funding, *'Vocational Training in the Clothing Sector in Turkey'* programme with 2,435,750 euros of funding, *'Strengthening the Vocational and Educational System in Turkey'* is with considerably high funding which is an amount of 58,190,000 euros. In 2002 we also see that the highest funding is to *'Support to Basic Education'* programme with 100.000.000 euros. Also in 2003, the programme of *'Modernisation of Vocational and Technical Education'* is given 18,500,00 euros. In the following years, we see the balance is shifted more to specific areas of regional development and also to areas that are priority with TAEIX and harmonisation processes.

Looking at the area of entrepreneurship and SME's there are a many programmes. In 2002 the first programme is *'GAP Regional Development Programme'* (which also covers GAP-GİDEM Project) with 47,000,000 euros of funding. Also we see *'EU On-Line Information Network: KOBİNET'* (1,078,000 euros), *'Supporting Women Entrepreneurs'* (1,306,400 euros), *'Small Enterprise Loan Programme'* (20,000,000 euros). In 2003 the programmes in this area are; *'Pilot Project to Setup a Network of Business and Innovation Centers (BICS) in Turkey'* (4,733,100 euros), *'Active*

Labour Market Strategy' with 50,000,000 euros funding (within this project one of the case organisations, KAGİDER has received two funds). In 2006, there is also a second programme on women entrepreneurship with 4,800,00 euros of funding which shows the continuing importance of the area.

To summarise, it may be argued that among many funds and programmes which may be seen in detail in Appendix C; there are subject areas, which may be traced with a continuous support. These, which among them are; entrepreneurship and SME's, education, vocational and basic training, regional development; might be read as the priority areas of European Union in programming the funds for Turkey within the NPAA.

3.4.8. Future Funds: IPA

From January 2007, The European Union will utilise a new financial tool called the Instrument of Pre-Accession. (IPA) This tool will replace the previous financial aid tools such as PHARE, CARDS(EU funding programme for Western Balkan countries), ISPA and SAPARD.¹¹⁷ IPA brings all these previous instruments under one whole programme aiming to set up a more clear pre-accession framework with increased assistance according to the specific needs of the country. Therefore, it is claimed that IPA will be a more flexible programme in this sense. The areas that will be covered under IPA are; transition assistance and institution building; cross-border cooperation; regional development; human resources development; promotion of EU-Turkey civil society dialogue and rural development. The major goal of the programme is reinforcement of the administrative capacities.

¹¹⁷ <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50020.htm>

For IPA, candidate and potential candidate countries will be eligible for funding. It is stated that with this programme, Turkey together with other Balkan countries will benefit of 11.5 billion euros over the next seven years. The forecasted amounts of funding for IPA for the next three years may be found below:

Table 2: Pre-Accession Assistance 2007-2009 ¹¹⁸

Pre-acc. Assistance envelopes, in € Million	2007	2008	2009
<i>Croatia</i>	138.5	146.0	151.2
<i>Former Yugoslav Rep. of Macedonia</i>	58.5	70.2	81.8
<i>Turkey</i>	497.2	538.7	566.4
<i>Albania</i>	61.0	70.7	81.2
<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	62.1	74.8	89.1
<i>Montenegro</i>	31.4	32.6	33.3
<i>Serbia</i>	186.7	190.9	194.8
<i>Kosovo</i>	63.3	64.7	66.1

Source: European Union official website: www.europe.eu.int

¹¹⁸<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/410&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

4. CASE STUDIES

As an initial step I have reviewed the literature covering civil society, evolution of civil society, grassroots organizations, globalisation and formation of civil society organizations in Europe and in Turkey. As the second step, I have reviewed the evolution of the Turkey-EU Relations, the specific area of financial assistance and finally examined the EU funds used in Turkey. Now I am going to look at how the financial assistance provided by the EU is affecting Turkish NGO's. For my thesis I have analysed three organisations, which have used EU funding and implemented projects within the EU frameworks. My main aim was to find out the impact of EU funding on these organizations, how they have established the relationship and the developments during the implementation phase. My main point of view was trying to lay off what has changed in these organisations with regard to their relationship with EU and through the implementation of their projects. As mentioned in the methodology section before, the effects and the changes will be analysed in three levels to capture a comprehensive look.

EU states that social partners and NGO's have the critical role in the harmonisation processes especially in areas of labour law, health and safety at work, gender equality and non-discrimination.¹¹⁹ Therefore the role of NGO's in these areas is especially important in the sense that they will be the agents of change to harmonise with the EU legislation and standards. As to follow the side of civil society organizations; the study is narrowed down to investigate the subject through case studies. As I pointed

¹¹⁹ Rumford C., (2002), *The European Union: A Political Sociology*, Blackwell, Malden

our before; the organisations chosen are on the areas of dealing with entrepreneurship, women and education.

My reference in choosing these subjects is the importance given to these areas by EU in the accession process. These areas as will be discussed in detail are mentioned among ones that can be a precondition of the Europeanisation process to a more liberal economy and a more democratic political culture. A common culture aspired for an integrated European identity is set as the aim and obviously the institutional changes merely would not be enough for this. The applications should find its place visibly in Turkish society and the democratic and legal structure.

The EU accession process gives special importance to women rights and equality between men and women. There had been increasing number of projects and studies since 1980 in this area and these have been accelerated with the EU accession, the political environment was created that was in line with the women's movement which could be utilised in a positive way.

Gündüz¹²⁰ points out that EU has mentioned the significance of women in certain areas such as European Economic and Social Committee pointing out the importance of political criteria with especially the respect for human rights, democracy and freedom of expression and free media and concern on women's rights. Quoting from EESC noting as Turkey with serious defects and weaknesses in implementation, certainly on equal job qualifications, respect to equal remuneration for the same job and access to certain types of

¹²⁰ Gündüz, Z. (2004) The Women's Movement in Turkey: From Tanzimat towards European Union Membership, Perceptions, Autumn 2004

employment. Gündüz also gives place to European Union Delegate in Ankara, Hansjörg Kretschmer, underlining the *"importance of gender equality for political and economic development"* and the *EU watches the reform process in Turkey and provides huge amounts of funding for projects in the field of human rights and civil society,*¹²¹ Especially in Turkey gender issues are carefully watched and seen as a very important step of EU accession. The effects covered under macro level is analysed within this perspective.

I have chosen three different organisations all of which have different characteristics in order to see how the EU process affected different types of organizations. What I was searching by means of effect and change is; any change or transformation of the organisation as a result of its inclusion within an EU framework, any kind of monetary, structural, capacity, personnel changes regarding the organisation, any change regarding the organisation's relations with other state, private or civil organisations and so forth covering all that is falling under a projects' implementation and operative processes. I will also try to analyse if there are any changes regarding the organisations' mission and objectives.

The organisations that have been chosen have unique characteristics within their operation area and enable a comparative view of their operation with regard to using EU funds. The first case study is KAGİDER-Women Entrepreneur Association of Turkey¹²². KAGİDER is not a classical NGO in the sense that it is

¹²¹ http://www.esc.eu.int/sections/enlargement/documents/ces965-2004_ac_en.pdf

¹²² Kadın Girişimcileri Destekleme Derneği

composed of women in the business with a certain level of income. For some circles the organisation is viewed as the women version of TUSİAD and as the representative of the private sector within the civil society. In this manner KAGİDER is worth looking at for as it is unique in being an NGO with such social capital and also an implementer of three EU projects since 2002. KAGİDER had its projects and methods that they were working on, but they found the chance to extend the scope of these activities with the aid of EU funding. Also with their last project have entered a completely new area, lobbying, which they did not really set as among the mission of the organisation. These characteristics make KAGİDER worth analysing in order to see for seeing the pre-post effects of EU funding and how this shaped their organisation.

My second case, AÇEV-The Mother and Child Education Foundation,¹²³ is known among civil society circles as one of the oldest and most institutionalised NGO's. AÇEV had been operative in its area for 13 years and has found the chance of applying for many projects. With participating in EU projects, they have enlarged their scope or found the chance to implement their programmes more extensively. They also found the opportunity to open up into new areas they have not been active before and combining these with AÇEV's already existing programmes. AÇEV is unique in the sense that we can see how these projects developed in such a grounded organisation. Changes in such organisations may be more painful than the new ones, and looking at this case would be important to observe the processes of adapting and learning. In this manner, it would be peculiar to observe for there is the chance of comparing.

¹²³ Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı

The third organisation I have studied is GAP-GİDEM,¹²⁴ Southeast Anatolian Project Entrepreneurship Support Centers, which is a series of project bodies completely funded by EU and implemented with UNDP and GAP administration cooperation. In this sense the organisation is different from a classical NGO sense by its structure. The relevance of this case is that it has been completely funded by EU and has a different point of view from other organisation in this manner for they have been composed with the EU viewpoint in the sense defining priorities, methods and operative processes. This completely effected GİDEM's structure and enables one to see how an NGO agency may be formed in this process and with what characteristics. GİDEM is important in this sense, for it is the unique example in Turkey.

4.1. KAGİDER- Women Entrepreneur's Associations of Turkey

4.1.1. A General Look at KADİGER and its role as a women foundation

KAGİDER, Women Entrepreneur's Associations of Turkey was chartered in September 2002 as a non-profit and non-governmental organization, by 37 members. It has grown fast and is now widely known as the women version of TUSİAD, Turkish Businessmen Association.

KAGİDER states its vision as *"to create women entrepreneurs who are effective in shaping the business world of the future."*

¹²⁴ GAP-GİDEM: Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi Projesi Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri Southeast Anatolian Project Entrepreneurship Support Centers

With regard to this goal, to contribute to social and economic progress of Turkey the mission statement is as follows:¹²⁵

- To increase the number of women entrepreneurs who generate added value,
- To strengthen existing women entrepreneurs,
- To integrate Turkish women entrepreneurs to global community;

The administrative structure is with a board of directors composed of 9 associate and 9 assistant members and a team of 5 office workers to organize the activities and the projects including the secretary general as the general coordinator and mediator between the members and board of directors and the actual working process. As KAGİDER started to have EU projects they additionally hire personnel for project coordination.

Today KAGİDER has 142 members from various sectors from textile to communication, to human resources, to mining. Even though KAGİDER is a non-governmental organisation, it requires certain qualifications such as being an owner or associate partner of an enterprise, to be working for at least two years and to have at least 5 workers employed and proved by Social Security Agency. Also there is an entrance and membership fee in KAGİDER which is announced as 1.000 euro for entrance and annual 500 euro fee for membership in their website.¹²⁶

To organize the working processes, KAGİDER has operative committees in respective areas. These committees are:¹²⁷

¹²⁵KAGİDER Publicity Brochure, 2006

¹²⁶<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=16&sintLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=21&strHitCountParam=2|16|0|262|693>

¹²⁷<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=16&sintLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=20&strHitCountParam=2|16|0|262|671>

1-EU Relations Committee focusing on lobbying in the pre-accession process with regard to women's social, cultural and economical development. They also organize relations with agencies regarding EU in Turkey and in Brussels and participate in meetings and seminars.

2- Foreign Relations Committee works for developing relations with related institutions and agencies whether be NGO's or government agencies abroad and aim to place KAGİDER in platforms where they can operate.

3-Entrepreneur Development Committee with the role of supporting, managing and coordinating the influencing of women entrepreneurship and their empowerment.

4-Communication Committee publicising KAGİDER's visibility both nationally and internationally through media relations and ensure that KAGİDER' is placed rightly with the appropriate image.

5-Women's Fund Committee aiming to raise funds from different resources such as persons, groups or communities on the arena. They channel the funding to women NGO's working for the use of reaching gender equality and women's social, economic and political empowerment

6-Member Relations Committee aiming to earn new members and manage the collection and payment of membership fees. They also work for developing relationship between members through organizing various meetings such as Breakfast gatherings.

KAGİDER is also a member of many international organizations in their area such as World Women Entrepreneurs Association, European Women Lobby, Mediterranean Business Women

Association, and Balkan Regional Coalition of Women Business Associations.

Main Programmes of KAGİDER

KAGİDER started with implementing a women entrepreneur programme and aimed to train and support 5 entrepreneur women each year and to bring them into business life. With this aim to start their way KADİGER also marched on with entrepreneur awareness seminars.

A difference of KAGİDER from other two case studies of this thesis is that they do not really go into Anatolia in to the fields, but rather operate with the candidates who can reach KAGİDER. They do not have an effort to create demand for their programmes either.

A basic look at women entrepreneurs development programmes of KAGİDER is as follows:¹²⁸

- *Kagimer* aims to support women candidates to start-up small enterprises.
- *Women's Fund* aiming to financially support women NGO's with the management of the related committee of KAGİDER. Up today, they funded 13 NGO projects worth 175.00euros in total.
- *Women's Way to Europe* is an ongoing EU project of KAGİDER which has been developed to establish international working groups for further sharing of experiences and learning from other member countries for

¹²⁸ The EU projects of KAGİDER will be analysed in detail in the following section.

best practices for reaching a higher gender equality in Turkey.

- *Lobbying activities* through media, meetings and conferences not only with NGO's but with also with government agencies and public ad private sector. In all these lobbying activities KAGİDER also states that they have measured the role of representing Turkish women for themselves.

Until today, with the completed activities, KADİGER has reached more than 4000 women in Turkey in 20 different provinces either through entrepreneurship trainings, or mentoring or incubation supports. With the opportunity that many members are owners or associates of private companies, KAGİDER also created the opportunity of internship programmes for women from Southeast region of Turkey.

4.1.2 A brief look at EU's approach to Gender equality and women entrepreneurship

A brief look at how EU states the viewpoints on gender equality and women entrepreneurship would be of assistance to understand the importance of these subject areas in the pre accession stage of Turkey.

As amended by the Amsterdam Treaty EU aims to eliminate gender disparities and promote equality in line with Articles 2 and 3, and in harmony with Article 137 and 141 which points out the equality between women and men in matters of employment and occupation. The related sections of Articles 137 and 141 are as follows:

Article 137 (ex Article 118)

1. With a view to achieving the objectives of Article 136, the Community shall support and complement the activities of the Member States in the following fields:

- improvement in particular of the working environment to protect workers' health and safety;*
- working conditions;*
- the information and consultation of workers;*
- the integration of persons excluded from the labour market, without prejudice to Article 150;*
- equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work.*

2. To this end, the Council may adopt, by means of directives, minimum requirements for gradual implementation, having regard to the conditions and technical rules obtaining in each of the Member States. Such directives shall avoid imposing administrative, financial and legal constraints in a way which would hold back the creation and development of small and medium-sized undertakings.

The Council shall act in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 251 after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.¹²⁹

Article 141

3. The Council, acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 251, and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, shall adopt measures to ensure the application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, including the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value.

¹²⁹

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/gender_equality/index_en.html

*4. With a view to ensuring full equality in practice between men and women in working life, the principle of equal treatment shall not prevent any Member State from maintaining or adopting measures providing for specific advantages in order to make it easier for the under-represented sex to pursue a vocational activity or to prevent or compensate for disadvantages in professional careers.*¹³⁰

In Acquis Communautaire, the participation of women in labour force, and elimination of inequalities in this area is emphasised strongly. Especially among the area of protecting women labour rights and gender equalities, there are policies aiming equality within the framework of European Employment Strategy¹³¹ Within this strategy four bases are mentioned as *employment, entrepreneurship, adaptability and equal opportunities*. Within these four bases it is aimed to overcome any discrimination that could be face in the business life of women.

4.1.3. EU Projects of KAGİDER

KAGİDER has participated in two EU projects, which two of them are completed as of now and the third one is ongoing. The detailed information about the projects and their structures are given below with reference to the interview with the Secretary General of KAGİDER and the information disseminated in their website.

1- Water Drop Project

This project is the first experience of KAGİDER as a EU project and now has been executed between January 2005 and February 2006.

¹³⁰ The European Union Employment Strategy: Investing in People: Investing in More and Better Jobs, Office for Official Publication of European Commission

¹³¹ *ibid.*

The project is within the framework of Europe Active Labour Force¹³². The project has been processed in different provinces and as the end result, 24 entrepreneur candidates had established human resources and consultancy companies in the provinces of Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Adana, Denizli, Gaziantep and Kayseri. As the structure of the project they had compulsory service agreement and through this the entrepreneur candidates trained 1000 people form target groups with the seminars of "Career and Occupation Consultancy" and " Entrepreneurship"

The importance of this project of KAGİDER is, they started to get to know women entrepreneurs' in Anatolia, and the women entrepreneurs' in Anatolia started to get familiar with KAGİDER.

It is mentioned that KAGİDER has spent much more than they have stated in the project budget. In my interview it was stated that although KAGİDER knew that the project framework and the proposals were very extensive and hard to achieve with that budget, as the organisation they wanted to succeed the highest possible dream for the project and at the end they could in all areas of the proposal.

2-KAGİMER- Women Entrepreneur Business Development Centres

Again this project was within the framework of Europe Active Labour Force¹³³. With this project a full time business development centre was established in Istanbul. In this centre, the women entrepreneurs were aimed to utilize the business expertise and network of KAGİDER members' experiences on the

¹³² Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2003, # 13

¹³³ Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2003, # 13

business and increase their level of success in their own companies. Within the project framework, 60 entrepreneur candidates were trained with an inclusion of job plan analysis and a selected five had taken into mentoring and incubation service to establish their companies. A highlight about the project is that with the funding from EU, KAGİDER found the chance to realize a project model, the incubation they have been planning afore.

3-Women's Way to Europe Project

After their second project KAGİDER started to follow the EU funding processes, though it was not among their foremost missions. Women's way to Europe Project aims to form a platform bringing together representatives of European Commission, European States, Women's NGO's, Turkish Government and relevant government institutions to discuss gender equality issues in Turkey and is still ongoing at the moment. The project is under the programme of Civil Society Dialogue: Europe Information Bridges Programme.¹³⁴

A major difference of this project from above two is that, KAGİDER intensified working with international partners and has been entering into an arena, lobbying, which is not really their own expertise

KAGİDER aimed to organize visits to European States to learn their experience and works with the below mentioned partners to share experiences and best practices. KAGİDER's project partners are as follows:¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2006, # 27

¹³⁵ KAGİDER Board of Directors' Annual Reports, 2002-2005

- *Bulgaria: IAPBWB (International Association of Professional and Business Women in Bulgaria)*
- *Spain: AFAEMME (Association of Organizations Mediterranean Business Women)*
- *Romania: ADAF (The Association for Women Entrepreneurship Development) and Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania*

As KAGİDER's mission does not really include lobbying activities, this project is quite different from their usual activities. The budgeting considerations rise here again, and it may be seen in KADİGER spending from its own budget for project coordinator in the organisation.

A very important outcome of the project, which was actually a starting step, is *Women's Way to Europe Conference*. The conference was organized in May 2006 aiming to bring different groups such as officials European Commission, the European Parliament, Turkish authorities, and women's NGOs from Turkey and Europe. The major headlines of discussion was fore put as the existing situation of Turkey with regard to gender equalities and EU accession requirements regarding the issues and action that are needed to be taken to meet these requirements.

As mentioned above in this conference many people from different state civil and private organization came together and the difference this conference could created is although the subject talked there may be classical on the arena, with the conference the scope of audience was much wider and had a variety, therefore it was possible to reach many at once. Ms. Küçükoğlu pointed out that with this project, KAGİDER had extended its importance and

reputation among the women organizations for they had the role of intermediary.

In my personal observation also another important aspect was bringing together Ms. Nimet Çubukçu (the minister responsible from women issues) with women's organizations for until that time there was a known tension in between the communication of the organisation with the minister. The basis of the tension was women organisations' argument that the ministry did not included the NGO representatives in the decision making processes although they know the field better than many state agencies.

The conference lessened this tension and made it easier to communicate . Following the conference Nimet Çubukçu invited many women organisations, and enabled and environment for experience sharing.

Ms. Küçükoğlu also pointed out that one day before the conference they organized a big meeting of women entrepreneur federations, and the participants also participated in the conference as well. Later, they observed that for example Business Women Association of Adana invited some academicians they had met at the conference which was a brand new step for such a local organisation. It is obvious that KAGİDER is going through a process with this project and also pulls other organizations as well, which enable them to create more awareness in their cities where KAGİDER does not usually operate in.

Looking at the level analysis, it may be argued that, the projects of KAGİDER are targeting economic development and consciousness rising on the area of women entrepreneurship. Looking at the

macro level, we see that especially with the Women's Way to Europe Project, the target is country wide, trying to bound different interest groups, state and government officials together. Also by being majorly a lobbying activity, the project is important in relations of Turkey and EU at the macro level. Looking at the Water Drop and KAGİMER projects; both are under the Europe Active Labour Force Programme funding, aiming to increase the quality and quantity of active labour force in Turkey. Targeting a nation wide outcome, these projects are mostly intent to meso level effects. To create the meso level effect, (the development of women entrepreneurship in Turkey) the micro level elements are of importance that in this case. Therefore the success is also measured by the outcomes on the micro level, that is the number of women entrepreneurs that are serviced, or could be included into the projects to complete their own business plans.

4.1.4 The Impact of EU funding on KAGİDER

I have conducted an interview with Secretary General of KAGİDER, Ms. Bâde Küçükoğlu in KAGİDER office. The interview was semi structured and started with information taking on the foundation itself, their projects and further with my questions on certain areas of working with EU. In this section I will analyse the experiences of KAGİDER with reference to their projects under the EU framework.

Starting with the KAGİMER project, it is implied that actually KADİGER already had the job plan training and incubation models as application ideas before the implementation of EU project, but with the EU funding the project could take place more widespread and most importantly they could find the chance to more

widespread know for they used the publicity budget. Ms. Küçükoğlu stated that they had received much more application than they ever did before the EU project. Although the end result was not that much different numerically, (for they limited the capacity as they used to) the difference was visible through the number of applications to be evaluated in the first stage.

Ms. Küçükoğlu indicated that with the EU project they found the chance to try out their ideas and now they are trying to find extra sponsors for further sustainability of the project. She also mentioned that they learned the importance of publicity and will give more importance to it.

As with the example of KAGİMER project, with implementing EU projects, KAGİDER learned that they can stretch out their capacity and search for new ways to even increase the number of their training programmes. They are now working with new and different partners such as Garanti Bank. This may be analysed as an effect of the EU project on the organisation itself and its capacity, which is a micro level variable. With development of this capacity, KAGİDER found the chance to further develop on as in the example of Garanti Bank cooperation.

In cooperation with Garanti Bank, KAGİDER developed a Women Entrepreneur Support Package in which an entrepreneur candidate may use various credits under the bank's guidance such as cash credits, workplace credits, SME projects credits and can also utilise from services such as personal pension and job place insurance. The KAGİDER line of the project covers training the women utilising this package on the entrepreneurship areas and further choosing

the most successful candidates to give them mentoring and in the future incubation services as in KAGİMER project.

KAGİDER also has build up connection with KOSGEB, (state agency of Small and Medium Industry Development Organization under Ministry of Industry and Trade) may utilize from the trainer pool of KOSGEB which enable them to increase the number of training they are giving each year. Ms. Küçükoğlu stated that normally they were completing 2 training programmes per year, but now with KOSGEB they already had planned 4 trainings for the first quarter of 2007. Planning this many training brings together the problem of how to find participants. As I asked this question in the interview, I saw that KAGİDER would use the visibility methods they had experienced deeper in the EU projects also with the support of their members. An example to these methods include giving ad to HR newspapers. These activities show that the relations with other organisations stretch the capacity of KAGİDER creating a two-way effect between the internal processes of the organization and the inter-organisational level. As mentioned in the methodology section, the micro factor may connect to upper levels and in the meso level, may affect different variables. It may be argued that, these trigger each other, creating the need to cooperate with other organisations or utilising external aids to disperse the intended effects.

I asked the question of budgeting problems in EU projects. It is easy to say that KAGİDER has experienced similar problems as other NGO's e.g. AÇEV as will be analysed in the following section. They had exceeded the budget for they could not foresee the expenses and also how some parts of the projects would proceed as well. For example, for the field trips they planned the trip with

the participation of two people, but as the demand came from ministry, they had to take 10 people to trip which was an enormous cost for the budget and they had to cover it from the organisations own budget. Ms. Küçükoğlu also implied that they had asked for budget revisions from EU for they could to put all the details of Women's Way to Europe Conference. This is a very typical example of the problems NGO's face in their EU projects due to entering new intervention areas and not being able to foresee the actual process of the project from the time the project is proposed.

My further quest was, how they really feel like at the end of these projects, what have changed for them for doing these projects and would they really go into all this again. Ms. Küçükoğlu stated that KAGİDER's accounting could never catch the equation in project writing and spending. Although this a big defect, and they have hard time in some other points such as the framework of project guidelines constraining the projects, they are willing to go into new projects and develop their experience even deeper and wider.

Ms. Küçükoğlu stated that with the experience they learned from the former projects and with the international cooperation experience they have been gaining from their latest project Women's Way to Europe, they are now eager to process new EU projects and now looking for appropriate partnership to enter into new fields regarding women entrepreneurship, training and technical support. They are meeting with different consortiums, and now looking more professionally for healthy project execution.

I also asked KAGİDER's view on the capability of Turkish NGO to propose projects to EU given the capacity with regard to hardness

of EU project guidelines and technical difficulties. Through budget revision KAGİDER also have learned the EU mentality, which items they would accept or which items would be denied in a project, which supports their experience on the area. It is once again agreed that the technical requites of EU projects even challenges an organisation such as KAGİDER which in comparison with other organisation has quite a budget of it own and capacity to answer the considerations of EU project proposals. Ms. Küçükoğlu stated that they went over the budget around 10-20%, which has to be completed from KAGİDER's own budget. Given the examples of getting over the budget, in the case of KADİGER it is also obvious that they would like to have certain activities in a way that is perceived as prestigious such as extending the project items like increasing the number of participants in an abroad trip and thus exceed the project budget.

In the partnership and budget considerations, it may be seen experience in one project, or in one area may diffuse to the organisations characteristics in general, creating a wider, general upshot; in other words, a micro organisational experience may lead to a meso level change. This is reflected to KAGİDER as expertising more on budget issues and having the chance to be more selective in partnerships; an outcome in the inter-organisational level.

Another thing changed with EU projects are, EU seems as the catalyser for KAGİDER in the sense of creating the courage and enabling the funding to go into some projects they have been planning. Ms. Küçükoğlu mentioned that they find the courage for action with the EU project, and after they start they aim to finish the project regardless of the challenges.

From the environment Ms. Küçükoğlu told regarding their relationships with other women organizations, it may be indicated that KAGİDER'S relations with other women organisations changed with regard to their EU experience. As KAGİDER has been valuated the role of intermediary with Women's Way to Europe Project, aiming to bring different groups together, they have played an important role at the national level, and from there in the international level, cooperating with international partners and EU. This may be pointed out as an indirect outcome of being a EU project implementer. She mentioned that many organisations now come to KAGİDER and asked for project partnerships and cooperation with regard to their experience on the areas. As EU projects and funding become popular in Turkey, many entrepreneur and organisation be small or big started to enquire for KAGİDER's guidance. Probably one of the most important points is that KAGİDER is not seen as the other by women organisation in general.

With the EU projects KAGİDER also utilised the visibility, which had not only been temporary for the project period, but also enabled the knowing of KAGİDER in the public, which is important for a young organisation.

I questioned what has changed for KAGİDER in the organisational sense and what they have learned. Ms. Küçükoğlu mentioned that they gained experience in technical cooperation. Also as an organisation they more reputable now nationally and internationally because they have completed two EU projects and are now proceeding on the third one. These two points gives them the chance to be more selective.

Another positive value KAGİDER has gained with EU projects is that now they can easily reach other international organisations projects proposal such as World Bank, UNDP and OECD for they have the credibility of experiencing EU projects and completing them successfully.

Ms. Küçükoğlu pointed out that; they for sure gained experience in completing a project cycle by all means, which may be useful for them not only in EU project but also other project funding and designing their own projects. Overall we can say that KAGİDER not only has changed in the organisational sense but also as means of in their relationship with the public, state and other NGO's in their fields, generating effects on the meso and macro levels.

4.2. AÇEV –Mother and Child Education Foundation

4.2.1. A General Look at AÇEV and its role as a women and education foundation

AÇEV is the abbreviation for Mother and Child Education Foundation (Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı) founded in 1993 by Ayşen Özyeğin (founding president) with a building support from academic circles in the line with their studies. (Namely, Prof.Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı and Prof. Dr. Sevda Bekman) With quotation from AÇEV website, here is the founding story:

Between 1982-1986, Prof. Dr. Sevda Bekman, Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı and Prof. Dr. Diane Sunar conducted a research project in order to assess the situation of early childhood education in Turkey. After uncovering a vast and critical need in this area, they set out to develop an alternative, home-based

*preschool education program entitled the Mother Child Education Program and started its pilot implementations soon after. After evaluations of the program, it was discovered that both mothers and children were benefiting significantly. As a result, it was decided that this program should be implemented more widely. In 1993, AÇEV was founded in order to increase the implementation of this program and to make a significant contribution to the area of ECD in Turkey.*¹³⁶

AÇEV defines two major areas of expertise, which are adult and early childhood education. And as thus, defines three major lines to frame their mission. These are;

- *equal opportunity in education for all,*
- *learning is a lifelong process that must begin in early childhood*
- *the child as well as his/her immediate caregivers must be educated and supported.*¹³⁷

Basic activities of AÇEV are defined around the goals to

- *increase public awareness about the importance of early childhood education,*
- *increase implementation of its training programs in order to reach more beneficiaries,*
- *focus on research and development of new projects, methods and models,*
- *increase collaboration with both local and international NGO's, the state and the private sector*

Given these, the actual programmes of AÇEV are developing certain training programmes for the mothers, father and the children, preparing the families for early childhood education, provision of literacy training for women, supporting existing pre-school activities, strengthening the relationship between school and the family. AÇEV does not only concentrate on training of the child but also the parents as the parents are seen as in need of a real

¹³⁶ www.acev.org

¹³⁷ AÇEV Publicity Brochure

support to contribute to their child's development. Through all these steps AÇEV's approach is to act with non-formal education models for those who do not or did not have access to formal education.

Through being a bridge between both the state and the grassroots, AÇEV demonstrated a successful example. Finding the need areas, AÇEV directs the programmes to be developed. For example, as the basic goal of AÇEV is to support preschool education, given the low figures of schooling (21% of ages between 4-6) AÇEV strongly supports mandatory education on the area through organizing programmes for the children, their families and as well for the institution.

AÇEV as one of the oldest and institutionalised NGOs of Turkey proves its success on the area by its ability to implement some of these programmes to state agencies. For example, one of their basic programmes the Mother-Child education programme, is handed over to Apprenticeship and Non-formal Education General Directorate under the Ministry of National Education. The programme is also implemented within the framework of Social Services and Child Protection Agency of the Prime Ministry. These of programme implementation, which is a handover of the education programme to state agencies for further spread is a successful example.

AÇEV does not only evaluate the needs, but also uses continuous evaluations and developments for those programmes. Also as AÇEV is now one of the oldest and institutionalised NGOs in Turkey and especially in its own area, they can now easily cooperate with state agencies, other NGO's and can spread its programmes easily by

providing and getting all kinds of support. These cooperation with other agencies, AÇEV's inherited support from academia, enables them to respond to changing needs and conditions, which is a great characteristic of an NGO to keep them active and livelier than any state agency.

With these, the basic beneficiaries that AÇEV has reached at the end of 2006 are; 400,000 mothers, father and children through training programmes in all 81 provinces.

4.2.2 A brief look at EU's approach to Preschool Education, Gender and Public Health

A brief look at how the EU states the viewpoints on AÇEV's expertise areas may be beneficial before moving on to next part in analysing AÇEV's EU projects.

In 2000, the European Parliament decision on 2001 European Year of Languages ¹³⁸ points the importance of *preschool education* in the life long learning process encouraged for member and candidate countries. In Article 2 of the decision, as one of the objectives of the European Year of Languages the importance is stated as;

to encourage the lifelong learning of languages, where appropriate, starting at preschool and primary school age and related skills involving the use of languages for specific purposes, particularly in a professional context by all persons residing in the Member States, whatever their age,

¹³⁸ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000D1934:EN:NOT>

*background, social situation or previous educational experiences and achievements.*¹³⁹

The second area will be sexual health/reproductive health issue within the whole framework of gender. It is stated that in the last years EU brings together gender equality strategies and public health policies together. As gender concerns are highlighted in the overall EU mission, which are mentioned in Articles 2 of EU Treaty as¹⁴⁰:

*The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and an economic and monetary union and by implementing common policies or activities referred to in Articles 3 and 4, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women, sustainable and non-inflationary growth, a high degree of competitiveness and convergence of economic performance, a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, the raising of the standard of living and quality of life, and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among Member States.*¹⁴¹

Also in Article 3, it is stated as; *"in all the activities referred to in this Article, the Community shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between men and women."*¹⁴²

Regarding the public health agenda it is stated that women and men receive equal consideration. The Article 152 of Maastricht Treaty states that human health should be contained in all policies

¹³⁹ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000D1934:EN:NOT>

¹⁴⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/gender_equality/index_en.html

¹⁴¹ http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002E/htm/C_2002325EN.003301.html

¹⁴² http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002E/htm/C_2002325EN.003301.html

and states 'improving public health, preventing human illness and obviating sources of danger to human health'¹⁴³ As gender inequalities also effect their use of health services and the quality of service they may be receiving, it is not only sufficient to mention gender inequalities but also take into consideration how gender discrimination may also affect their health and related services that should be taken regardingly. In this manner, of possible implications gender inequalities with regard to sexual/reproductive health gains importance.

4.2.3. EU projects of AÇEV

Looking at some highlight throughout AÇEV's history we see that, starting with the early childhood programme, they progressed on developing programmes supporting their main mission. Some of these programmes are such as the Adult Literacy Programme which started to be implemented in 1995 and Father Support Programme which began in 1998. AÇEV's programmes are targeting to reach individuals and thus create an effect on family level, which would be reflected to the community, and at the end country level, routing form micro to macro levels, through accumulation. Throughout the timeline, we see that AÇEV had a lot of international projects and partners and shared know-how with foreign partners to implement the models abroad as well.

In 1999 AÇEV was declared as "The UNESCO Early Childhood Cooperating Centre for Central Asia" and in November 2006 AÇEV was awarded with the International Literacy Award by UNESCO. These highlights show that AÇEV has a quite good international

¹⁴³ <http://www.eurohealth.ie/gender/section3.htm>

experience and proved its programmes in the international arena with good references.

As one of the case studied of this thesis, by these characteristics and with its long history AÇEV is quite different from the two other case studies. In GİDEM and KAGİDER cases, it is also relevant and open to see what has changed with the EU funds and how the organizations were effected through our experience and learning process. In AÇEV's case, it is also relevant to see a difference by means of pre-post evaluations and gives us the chance to see what has changed with other projects and what has changed with EU.

With 2005, AÇEV started the implementation of its EU projects journey within the contexts of gender equality, and sexual reproduction with the project proposals of Reproductive Health Program and the Integrating the Gender Issue into Development Cooperation Program of the Turkish Ministry of Health. The projects AÇEV was approved for funding are; "Empowering Low-Resource Families: A Training Model on Sexual Health/Reproductive Health and Parent Education," "Sexual Health-Reproductive Health and Women's Rights Literacy Project," and "Integrating Gender into Development Cooperation."

Short descriptions of these projects are as follows: ¹⁴⁴

1-Empowering Limited-Resource Families: Sexual Health/Reproductive Health and the Parent Education Model

AÇEV designed this project with the projection of increasing awareness on sexual health/reproductive health (SHRH) in families.

¹⁴⁴ AÇEV Annual Report 2005 and brochure of Attaining Gender Equality in Education and Social Participation Project.

The project is granted under the programme of Reproductive Health in Turkey. ¹⁴⁵ The project design was not a brand new one, but one supported with the two main programmes for AÇEV, which are Mother Support Program and the Father Support Program. The project was to last for two years and now coming to an end as of 2007.

The content of the project included the training of both parents in the SHRH subjects. The project foresaw a target of 6,000, but also tried to spread its effect with the inclusion of a peer-training programme. This programme projected conveyance of knowledge from first target group to two of their peers which would lead to 12,000 more parents reached. This method is of importance because it provides the transmission and spread of knowledge at the micro levels, which in return creates an effect on the community level, meso level. This helps the development on the subject area degree, in this case SHRH awareness.

The project was designed for three cities, Istanbul, Adana and Bursa. Among these Bursa and Adana were not the provinces AÇEV was very active in, but should were projected as to be easily acted given the framework. AÇEV started building of the project in these cities, with the methods they been using in the already existing training programmes. By the method AÇEV trained selected teacher with the "train the trainer programme" and later the trainers were to spread SHRH with a 13-week training course for mother and fathers. These training courses included information about effective parenting, child-rearing, intra-family communication, and democratic decision making methods in the family which are subjects covered by AÇEV's usual training

¹⁴⁵ Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2003, # 5

programmes. Furthermore these programmes also include, pre and post natal care services, how to ensure access to these, family planning and its discussion in the family, how sexually transmitted diseases can be prevented, awareness raising regarding breast and uterine cancer and aim to increase men's awareness regarding their responsibilities on sexual health.

2- Literacy Project for Sexual Health/Reproductive Health and Our Rights

The project is also granted under the programme of Reproductive Health in Turkey ¹⁴⁶ In this project AÇEV also build up the basis with regard to its existing programmes on adult literacy. AÇEV has been active in adult literacy education for nine years, and with this project started to be active in Adana, Erzurum and Van as well. The aim of the project is donate the illiterate women both young and old with the skills of literacy and raise their consciousness on issues pertaining to sexual health/reproductive health, family health, gender inequalities, and women's rights to sufficiently benefit from any related services. With these training programmes and increased awareness, it is expected that the women will be equipped with knowledge to make more conscious decisions regarding their life, and health issues of their families, and thus may reach to services easier. In this manner, it is expected to reach approximately 4,400 women. Also AÇEV aims to widen the effects through community meetings and communications activities and support the participants not only in sole literacy, but also a range of subjects to support them in their personal development and thus increase their life quality. This programme is in close connection with AÇEV's main mission of training the caregivers of the children and perception of all kinds of training as a life long process. Developing the literature

¹⁴⁶ Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2003, # 5

capacity of a mother, not only gives the opportunity to read and write but also created functional effects, such as women's self expression in hospitals of other related agencies, women being able to travel by themselves or being able to pay their own bills. The change of a family member, thus affects the family structure, further effects the training of the child, and also the community with a increased literacy of women. As the aim of the funding is to increase awareness on SHRH, it is also ensured through this process. The person level effects the community (meso)level and also contributes to the future macro factors, through child education. Also looking at the large number of participants reached in many different cities, it can be said that this project has created a considerable influence on the level of adult literacy.

3- Attaining Gender Equality in Education and Social Participation

The above mentioned EU projects of AÇEV has the characteristic of being within the framework of Sexual Health of Turkey and AÇEV as the only implementer. This project has a major difference from the above two for AÇEV is in partnership with two other associations and the context of this project is within the framework of gender. The project is funded under Integration of Gender Issues in Development Cooperation Gender Equality in Development Cooperation, which is programme directed from Brussels. The aim of the project is creating a centre-based model for the elimination of gender inequalities in four provinces, which are Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, Mardin and İstanbul. The project is running in collaboration with the Association to Support and Train Women Candidates¹⁴⁷ (KA.DER) and Educational Reform Initiative (ERI) with the project it is aimed to reach approximately 7,000

¹⁴⁷ Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği

women. The projects include the parent training seminars together with information-sharing meetings and other activities to increase awareness.

The three signatories of the project aim to raise consciousness on the importance of girls' education and assemble for the elimination of gender inequalities and to increase the participation of women in activities outside the domestic sphere. Within the structure all three partners have different roles defined. These roles are roughly as follows; AÇEV is the project coordinator and runs the training programmes and implementations; KA.DER is the civic education provider and support AÇEV on issues of gender; ERI conducts policy making, network formation and also provides evaluation and monitoring activities.

The target group is not only illiterate women or women who have daughters in the schooling age, but also community representatives such as local authorities, journalists, non-governmental organizations, national policy makers, and media members. Also a section of "civic education" is designed especially for women who have recently acquired literacy skills and may use these skills in taking a larger part in the decision making structures of their lives be the decision making in the family or taking part in local NGO's or vote in local elections.

All the training programmes and communication activities are designed specifically for *"the socio-economic, cultural, logistical and life-style limitations and special needs of the low-income women living in the targeted areas."*¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ AÇEV 2005 Workshop Reports on *Attaining Gender Equality in Education and Social Participation*

This project is different from above two projects of AÇEV in the sense that it is conducted with three partners. This changes the influence level of the project because it creates an inter-organisational level. Other than AÇEV, two more civil society organisations are included in the project and moreover the local authorities, and media is also contained actively. These features are the characteristics at the macro level. As the above two projects, this project also aims to intervene to the micro level, to the women specifically and thus create an effect on the community meso level. Although the difference of this project is, there is also direct meso level interference with the media and government agency channels. The elimination of gender inequalities is first targeted on the meso level, aiming a turn effect on the micro level.

4.2.4 The Impact of EU funding on AÇEV

In order to assess the impact of the EU funding on AÇEV's organization and structure, I have conducted interviews with foundation's General Manager Derya Akalın and Projects Manager Hilal Kuşçul. The interview took place in AÇEV foundation. Although the interview was semi-structured, the will and direction of the interviewees' were taken into consideration. Following the interview, the follow-up questions were communicated through e-mail and also figures were taken in order to achieve a comprehensive analysis.

As AÇEV is an institutionalised NGO, it is easier to follow up the changes that have happened and is occurring with different projects or programmes that are participated. The follow and pre

post analysis is easier because the officials exactly know what they had and what has changed for them with the EU projects and they have the figures to follow. Therefore I started my interview by directly asking the question " What has changed for you with the EU projects, how these affected you your works and field studies and AÇEV as an institution?"

Derya Akalın could easily point out major points of change for AÇEV with the EU projects or in more general what has changed for AÇEV throughout the relation they have started with EU. The major points of change vary from the institutional processes to capacity in the field and to the some areas AÇEV entered with these projects. To cover up all these in relation with the general framework, I believe it would be useful, to tackle these by subject areas, investigate all that falls in the circle in the manner of the changes and the so felt effects of EU. Here are the areas AÇEV has felt the change in its relationship with EU through the EU projects.

AÇEV has found the chance of new intervention areas by means of the EU projects they participated in. These intervention areas, such as sexual health/ reproductive health, were not completely strange to AÇEV but were quite different from their main expertise area. Through the EU projects, AÇEV found the chance to go deep into SHRH issues which is actually an area they would like to develop in line with their stated goal of training of the mother extensively to ensure a healthy preschool training of the child.

These new intervention areas also effected and changed the content of training programmes, which will be a permanent affect on the organisation. These include new intervention ways such as peer education and different communication strategies in sexual

and reproductive health areas. Again the changes or effects under this heading was nothing AÇEV was completely away from, but they had new trials or they had put certain methods into sue more extensively. These methods include, *peer education* in which trained adults were to train their peers and in return would create a more widespread effect of the project; *active surveillance groups*, for schooling of the children, to affect the politics of sending children to school and reporting them; *organizing conferences* in these areas in which related officers find the chance to share with each other and represent their ideas to state officials such as from Ministry of Education; *training through films* was again a method AÇEV has tried but with these projects and funding was sued extensively and even more deeply by means of content, *field trips* to health institutions to increase the intimacy of programme participants with the health institutions they can utilise; for the first time they had developed a *website* for a project, the gender project to increase its visibility; and an intensive use of *community meetings* especially in SHRH projects.

Through these change effects it can be seen that the projects has created not only minor or temporary changes in the organisation, but had effects on the organisational level. The new intervention systems such as training through films may be valuated as micro effects created through the meso level organisational change. In return these micro level changes generated meso level effects such as the increasing usage of health institutions by the target groups.

During the interview, Hilal Kuşçul also mentioned that the part of effecting politics of schooling is like pyramid. They started with the surveillance groups, and proceed with a larger workshop, which are followed by conferences in which beneficiaries, actor and

stakeholder may come together to share and direct these knowledge and best practices into scientific research to result in a solid offer of policy change. Again Ms. Kuşçul has mentioned that with aid of funding they could now easily organize national conferences and the funding in all areas makes it easier to reach the target. She also pointed out that in their projects they exceeded the numerical target of the people they can reach, in one SHRH project by 120%.

In the future to develop a means of new method, they aim to collect and organize all the best practices that can come out of the conferences, such best practices, methods that can be permanent for girl children's schooling and share these with a broader mass.

With the EU projects and the framework that was drawn by the project guidelines, AÇEV has entered new field areas such as Erzurum, Bursa, Adana, Van, and Mardin. They were not completely new in some these locations, but by means of being this deep and widespread they experienced it with EU funding. In the interview Ms. Akalın said the project funding even changed their situation in Istanbul, the city they are majorly operating by means of spreading, dissemination and solidarity. Therefore it may be claimed that the spread is a change at the subject area level as well as at the country level, stretching to the meso and macro levels.

My question regarding the issue was how they projected their future in these cities, will they be able to operate permanently with their own training programmes after the funding is over or do they want to stay in these cities. They mentioned that they want to stay in Adana, Bursa, and Diyarbakır and they also have enough project

infrastructures in Erzurum and Van and can go back to these two cities any time, a new project comes up for they have established connections etc. My question went on with if the factor determining their stay in a city is regarding the conditions of the city or the connections they could have established to stay there. Ms. Akalın mentioned that, the actual factor determining their future operation in a city was the readiness of the city for AÇEV's operative processes and AÇEV's ability to absorb the additional costs to stay in that city. Ms Akalın mentioned that with the new geographical locations, AÇEV needed more external funds to function, and now as these external funds, (EU funds in this case) are over, they could not find new funds and/or resources and cannot continue on their own.¹⁴⁹

Ms. Akalın also mentioned that they went into new geographical locations, which were hard and challenging. As AÇEV, they saw that they cannot proceed in all of them so choose to leave two of cities, Van and Erzurum out and concentrate on the other cities to enlarge their operation and widespread their training programmes. As their operative processes and their capacity, it seems like AÇEV could evaluate how they can go deeper in a city with the EU projects, therefore they learned the challenges and the ways to proceed as well.

With the EU project many new operative processes seem to come into AÇEV's daily operations. These new processes range from new and more disciplined monetary processes to new communication ways to reporting systems which all was challenging. In the interview it was mentioned that all these processes were started

¹⁴⁹ This point is a difference from KAGİDER because KAGİDER was able to find and utilise external funds for the continuation of the project.

with EU projects' guidelines and was very painful to learn through. Ms. Akalın mentioned that from time to time these processes were contradictory to their own set processes, and this challenged them hardly as an organisation, but they could fully adapt them and be back on the track.

Because AÇEV was already doing many projects and operating by itself already, my question was how these affected their own operative processes and did they change to see if they could feel the EU effect. Ms. Akalın answered my question with details that they actually changed through EU and through the efforts to operate with the EU project guidelines. Ms. Akalın listed the changes they lived in their operative processes as, being more documentary, using more documentation, being even more transparent in the processes, being more diplomatic and using methods of budgeting and reporting as they learned from EU. Though it was confessed that they found three-monthly reporting challenging in the beginning, they saw that they could actually utilise this and be more effective through, so they started using it in their own projects as well. The EU framework had seriously shaped the operational processes of AÇEV. It is the reflection of the large institutional framework to the single organisational capacity, a downward reflection from the macro to the meso level.

Expansion of end effects is also a gain with the EU projects. Taking into consideration new working methods, and new trials with the EU projects, it is also in line with working with new partners for it also changed the scale of the projects and the target they could reach. The effects of working with new partner will be analysed in the section below, but very briefly it should be mentioned that working with strong partners such as Educational Reform Initiative

(ERI), had positive effects and transfer of experience for each organization has different approaches and different styles.

In the interview, it was mentioned that going into projects this detailed and wide changed the results, for they had put higher targets and also could do much more with the funding. The interviewees' also mentioned that this also affected their mission in the manner of going even deeper in their project locations.

Although AÇEV has used their own trainings and style they have been using in their EU projects, with these projects they admit they that as the organisation they found the courage to spread and go deeper, by targeting more individuals. This could also numerically reach more people. They mentioned that without the EU funding, maybe they would be able to open two courses in a province, but with the projects they had the ability to open 60 courses and reach considerably a much wider target.

Through EU projects AÇEV has learned to work with new and different partners, which had effects on both sides. Actually for an organization such as AÇEV, working with partners is not a new thing for they had been in cooperation with many national and international partners before. Some of these are; implementation of AÇEV's programmes in Holland through cooperation with Avarroes Foundation in Holland, implementation of father training seminars in cooperation with Eğitim-Sen, cooperation with Bahrain Children foundation to adapt and implement AÇEV programmes in Bahrain, developing functional literacy programme in southeast region of Turkey in cooperation with Open Society Institute.

What was different in EU projects for AÇEV was they had worked with partners they were not familiar with and in cases with partners

which were more radical than AÇEV, such as KA.DER. KA.DER deals directly with politics and integration of women to all kinds of political representation KA.DER is seen as more radical than AÇEV because of their action areas and the ways they deal for reaching their objectives.. In our interview Ms. Akalın implied that working with a partners more radical than them was very hard at the beginning but they had to stay there together and learn from each other's experience and viewpoints. AÇEV learned to be more radical, and KA-DER learned to get closer to AÇEV's conservativeness. This also brought new working styles, as a result of inter-organisational interaction.

It is also obvious that there is a difference with only cooperating or going into new projects with other organizations and signing a project as three partners. Being signatories brings much more responsibility, and in case the organization does not take the risk of withdrawing from the project, they have to stay there in cooperation and have to get along somehow. I believe this had been one of the most noteworthy experiences AÇEV had to go through with their EU projects. Ms. Akalın brought up that they had mission conflicts and they had to convince their partners for certain ways and methods. They even came to the point of withdrawing from the projects, but because it was a big project and prestigious they persuaded themselves to stay and complete the project whatever it takes.

In relation with AÇEV's new operation methods and new geographic locations, AÇEV has also developed structural capacity. With entering new geographic locations AÇEV has found the chance to see how quick and effective they can build up structurally in a new province. These include establishment of regional or province

offices (from hiring a place to finding with all the equipment needed), building up field team, finding trainer candidates and reaching local civil and state agencies regarding their projects. These enabled AÇEV to see their competence on capacity building and experience the procedures and entering a city by means of operations. This gave AÇEV the chance of spreading and dispersion of activities even though it is temporary most of the time.

Ms. Akalın also mentioned that these EU projects' experience not only developed AÇEV's capacity building but also had positive effects on the city both on stakeholders and beneficiaries for now they have the experience of cooperating or working in a EU project. Ms. Akalın claimed that, now after AÇEV's operation there in cities such as Van and Erzurum, if another organization goes there for an EU project, most of the related stakeholders would be ready for it, be familiar with the terminologies and the methods and will be able to identify areas that they can work or include themselves or their organizations.

Given these major areas AÇEV has felt the change with EU projects and working with EU guidelines, it is also important to identify how AÇEV situated themselves in this process, how they felt informally and how they see their organization in comparison with the others.

In our interview AÇEV officials stated that although they had done many different things they had the ambition to do all at once which actually challenged them even harder during the project implementations. They say that they forced themselves both in headquarters and in field offices because among the NGO's, there were certain "city legends" regarding the funding process of EU. These were like, EU would withdraw all the funding money if even

small things were done outside the project guidelines or project proposal, or if they were late in implementing some parts.

Ms. Akalın said although these were like urban legends, in the beginning it was frightening as nobody really knew how an EU project processed. So they tried to keep up with their proposals to every inch which was tough and also very demanding on the organization. As a critique, she also mentioned that EU did not really take interest in the operative processes of the organizations during the implementation of the projects.

Also EU was not really flexible in the means of monetary issues and there had been many times thinking that if they were not such a big NGO, they would have to eventually withdraw from the project. Given this, it is worth mentioning that not only AÇEV but also other NGO's had problems with using the funding money and had to give some from their own budget to continue with the project. Asking questions related the issue, I found out that for both SHRH projects AÇEV had lost almost 10% of their budget and had to recover it from the organizations' own budget. (for two project which makes an approximate amount of 30.000€ lost) They answered my questions as these issues come up because of EU projects' being a new experience and EU not being flexible on the changing need of NGO's. As AÇEV they also mentioned that they could find a way to overcome this, and to fix this in future projects because the guidelines of EU is too rigid and also need too much projection to implement these projects. Ms. Kuşçul has mentioned that it was almost impossible to implement the projects, which were projected two years ago. As I knew from other organisations as well, AÇEV also told me that there were many organizations who chose the way to put in from their own budget for the sake of continuing their

projects for it was very hard to apply a project forecasted for such a long time.

As the closing of the interview I also asked about AÇEV's viewpoint on how these EU projects were really open to all NGO's especially to grassroots' as it has been specifically mentioned. The thing catching my attention was if the EU project guidelines and the budget considerations were even so challenging for an institutionalised organization such as AÇEV how would small organizations work under these constraints and were they really eligible for being an EU project implementer as claimed. In my point of view, many small organizations may not be countable as eligible for even only to read EU project guidelines and having the capacity of personnel for that level of English is hard. Ms. Akalın said that this was completely the actual situation among many small grassroots and even some larger big city organizations. It comes to the point of "survival of the fittest" for only those with certain capacity may apply to these projects, let aside implementing it for 2-3 years.

With regard to my questions, one last remark indicated was that although there had been certain training programmes and private organizations for EU project proposal writing, the challenge of understanding the project guidelines or any other documentaries were still a big obstruction for NGO's in general. This is a point thought provoking to analyse the real accessibility of EU projects in Turkey.

4.3. GAP-GİDEM Project

4.3.1. A General Look at GAP-GİDEM Project with connection to Mardin example

My third case study will be GAP-GİDEM project, which is quite different from other case studies. The first major difference is that GAP-GİDEMs are not foundations by themselves but are project bodies and offices in which United Nations Development Programme works and implements together with GAP (Southeast Anatolian Project) Administrations. The abbreviation GİDEM stands for Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri, which is Entrepreneur Support Centres. A very general definition for GİDEM services is, support of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in terms of technical, training and skill know-how's.

GAP-GİDEM project serves with four offices in the GAP region in the cities of Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Urfa. In each office three or four consultants are employed for the basic services and as training or other needs occur, short-term experts are employed for the services. My case study will be the Mardin office and I will analyse how they contributed to Mardin and Mardin's socio-economic life through the services they provided. I will also further question how we may see the final effect of EU or the results of interaction with EU in with this case in their operation area, Mardin.

The GAP-GİDEM project aims at reducing regional disparities. The project under study is actually the second phase of the ongoing project, in effect since 2002 and differentiates seriously from the first phase especially with the financial structure.

The officials of GAP Administration and the administrators of GİDEM strongly claim that the first and second phases of the project seriously differs from each other and should not be seen as a follow up, though the major borders are same for both. The first phase was a sub-project of "Strengthening of integrated regional development in GAP region and reducing socio-economic disparities" programme executed with the coordination of GAP and UNDP, between September 1997 and March 2002. The second phase of the project, GAP-GİDEM officially started in May 2002, following the agreement between European Commission and the UNDP. The project is financed by European Union within the MEDA programme. (Euro- Mediterranean Partnership) The grant programme is GAP Regional Development Programme¹⁵⁰ starting in May 2002 and with duration of 60 months.¹⁵¹ This aspect is what distinguishes the two phases of the project from each other. Within the framework of this thesis, to search for possible effects of EU funds, it will only be relevant to examine the second phase. The relationship with EU is over European Commission Turkey Delegation, which does not only assist the funding process but further enables the coordination with other similar projects.

As quoted in their web page the vision of GİDEM is *"to increase the competitiveness of the GAP Region in national and international markets"* with the mission *"to improve the managerial, operational and administrative capacities of micro, small and medium sized enterprises in the Region, through provision of business development services (training, information and consultancy"*¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Appendix C-List of Financial Aid Programmes to Turkey-Year 2002, # 10

¹⁵² www.gidem.org

As stated, the major services of GİDEM's are business development services, which they put in four major categories as consultancy, training, information and projects (opportunity windows). The first branch, consultancy services are given to entrepreneurs or investors who aim to develop their business or to set up a new business as a Small Medium Sized Enterprises (SME's) The consultancy services are the most general service given by GİDEM's and as deduced from the interviews, the consultancy services are shaped as the requests and the administrators of the offices are using their technical skills and know-how's to further provide information to the entrepreneurs or investors.

The second main branch of GİDEM services are trainings. The training subjects are decided as with the requests coming to GİDEM offices regarding the different needs of the businesses and the peculiarities of the city as well as GİDEM specialists' and local trade and business union representatives' opinions. These subjects are defined as the need areas and trainings are structured either with the tutorship of GİDEM office specialists or with short term experts contracted for the relevant project. Looking at the basic categories of the trainings, four main areas are defined.¹⁵³ These are;

a-Trade and investment trainings, in which subjects such as state initiatives and aids, Middle East market, incentives, and trade opportunities are covered.

b- Quality and standards trainings which aim to guide for high quality productions within the highly competitive national and international markets.

¹⁵³ http://www.gidem.org/_Gidem/website/gozlem2.aspx?sayfaNo=124

c- *Business management trainings* which cover areas such as finance, supply chain management, leadership, and management techniques.

d- *Sectoral trainings* which are designed as the characteristics of each sector and aim to support the SME's in their areas whether be directing for the latest developments or trends or be technical skills trainings.

The third branch or services is information services. GAP-GİDEM offices serve as the information consultancy centres in a wide range of subjects. Some of these are;

- a- Legislation and regulations information with which the changes in the regulations and laws regarding the business and investment polices are followed and acknowledged to entrepreneurs and investors
- b- Financial resources covering all state and private sector credits and other financial tools are given as information services.
- c- Sectoral information in many business sectors that are operating or have the possibility to operate in the region, in which the GİDEM staff has gained expertise during different project implementations.
- d- Other information, different than the areas listed above, which cover many different subjects from quality assurance to international trade.

The fourth branch of GİDEM services is projects shaped as opportunity windows. The main aim of the opportunity windows is produce model areas in certain sectors regarding the local needs

analysis of the city or the area and mobilising the capital both in social and monetary terms to create opportunities to sectors. These projects intend to generate new models of economic development and to strengthen cooperation between local and international stakeholders. Some examples are development of *telkari* silver crafts and development of wine sector in Mardin, and some other examples from other project cities are; development of women entrepreneurship in Diyarbakır, textile-training centres in Adıyaman and development of agriculture based industries in Adıyaman and Urfa.

Within the outline of this fourth branch, two other outstanding projects are especially worth mentioning. The first one is the internationalisation programme which aims to strengthen export capacities of SME's in the region, which is a very important compliance with what EU wants to achieve with the fortifications of SME's. The second one is the activation of inert investments in Mardin, which enabled capacity development for Mardin in business manners.

All four services aim creating advanced cooperation in local business environment together within the scope of the national and international markets with the final aspiration of socio-economic development. All these support focuses on improving performance both in managerial and technical terms and adoption of certain improvement facilities by the SME's through time limited and market bounded consultancy and strategic advisory services.

Among these services, it may be beneficial to list the future planned activities of Mardin GİDEM. These are, wine and silver processing as the most two important local sectors, giving

feasibility services to all entrepreneurs, creating opportunities to reactivate inert investments, and trying to formulate the development strategy of Mardin as a province in the local, national and international markets with cooperation of all related government and private agencies.

In the level analysis the GİDEM project may be analysed with its effects at all three levels. By directly contacting the entrepreneur or the entrepreneur candidate and helping through training programmes of information services, they do create an effect on the micro level. Through creating market relations with regard to certain product areas or within certain geographic locations, they do create an effect on the meso level. Also GİDEM's do have sectoral projects such as silver or wine sector and these can also be analysed as the meso level within the market. Looking at the macro level, it can be claimed that through creating an effect on the region's economy and the market relations of the region with other countries in compliance with the EU norms on the products, the GİDEM's do also influence change at this level.

4.3.2. A Brief Look at EU's Approach to Small Medium Sized Enterprises

Looking back to the industrial policy of European Union, we see that during the 1990's EU (then EC) started to express concerns about the industrial policies. Some challenges such as globalisation, rise of cost and need to diffuse technology and development of human capital started to get into agenda of the Community as it is in the general global picture. With the Maastricht Treaty, article 130, the EC Industrial Policy was

defined with setting out the four areas in which the Community and the member states may take action.¹⁵⁴

It is especially significant to point out that the Commission has adapted "Industrial Policy in an Enlarged Europe" on December 2002. This communication specially took the challenges in the global economy and how the conditions may be changed to increase competitiveness into account.¹⁵⁵ Three key factors took special attention which are knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurship. With the light of these three factors, it was stated that Europe should become more innovative through constant improvement of products and services and an environment to stimulate all these may best develop with the development of entrepreneurial capacity. The protection and development of innovation and entrepreneurship brings us to small and medium sized enterprises and their place in EU.

With the volume of business and employment, SME's act as a backbone to European economy. SME's are major source of employment and through entrepreneurship they create an economic dynamism. Their quality of being highly receptive to environmental changes of all kinds, having a structure far way from the bureaucratic burden is very important. EU set objectives of progress through SME's and implemented "think small first" attitude in European Charter for Small Enterprises, which was approved by the EU leaders at the Feira European Council

¹⁵⁴ Lejeune, I., and W. van Denberghe, (2004) The Enlargement of EU: A Guide for Entrepreneurs

¹⁵⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/enterprise_policy/industry/index_en.htm

(Lisbon) in June 2000.¹⁵⁶ A short extract to emphasize the core of the charter is as follows:

The European Council welcomes the recently adopted European Charter for Small Enterprises, and underlines the importance of small firms and entrepreneurs for growth, competitiveness and employment in the Union. It requests its full implementation as part of the comprehensive framework for enterprise policy under preparation¹⁵⁷

The charter points out 10 main areas that action should be taken on for small and medium sized enterprises. A short summary of these is as follows:

1. Education and training for developing entrepreneur attitude, to transform ideas to business and to integrate these at the level of secondary education.
2. Cheaper and fast start up for any kind of business to ensure competitiveness with lower costs.
3. Better legislation and regulation for exempting SME's from certain regulations and laws with the aim of reducing burden for means of business and finance through fiscal and similar regulations.
4. Ensuring availability of skills with on the job and technical trainings.
5. Improving online access for ensuring easy and cheaper online communication
6. Creating a better business environment in the internal market

¹⁵⁶ http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm

¹⁵⁷

http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enterprise/enterprise_policy/charter/index.htm

7. Modification of taxation with means of success rewards, start-up supports and assistance in creation and succession of enterprises.
8. Strengthening technological capacity of SME's for more effective developments.
9. Utilisation of e-business models and best examples through application in relevant SME's creating better access and implementation for growth.
10. Developing stronger, more efficient representation of small and medium enterprises' interests at Union and at national level.

With these action areas and the overall approach, EU aims to improve environment for small businesses and flourishing of entrepreneurship.

EU encourages both member states and candidate countries in the development of SME's. Looking back to the 10 points listed above, we may say that the EU funding for GİDEM offices in the Southeast region of Turkey work for the achievement of these objectives in an environment, which did not provide enough opportunity for the SMEs to prosper. The major challenges faced by the SME's are globalisation and the rapidly changing ways of doing business, trying to keep up the performance to catch up with the agenda with high levels of domestic and international competition. In general, entrepreneurship and SME's are developing slowly in the candidate countries. Amongst the causes of this situation are; the lack of managerial, organisational and technological know-how, complicated access to finance, inadequate supporting institutions and problems to integrate in production networks.

Given all these, it may be argued that GİDEM offices provide a sustainable business environment for SME's in the region, in which they can succeed.

Looking back to EU, we may say that with the European Charter for Small Enterprises, the aim of creating a European industrial base turns the direction to development of SME's not only in member states but also in the enlargement process. With the pre-accession funds and directive attempts, EU aims to channel business communities, within the framework for the Charter, through projects pointing towards a mentality change together with the above listed technical changes to provide a favourable environment for SME development and growth. GİDEM projects fall in this framework together with the structures of government alterations such as reducing fiscal barriers.

For EU a major challenge is creating a similar entrepreneurial culture and vision regarding SME's in candidate countries. Beyond accession negotiations and implementation of the *Acquis Communautaire*, the candidate countries need to create the nourishable business environment for SME's both in terms of regulations and creating entrepreneurial attitude. The most important element is to teach certain needs for entrepreneurship and business skills that would be needed. Therefore the training and information provision is very crucial. (as in the example of GİDEM, training and information provision is the most important service tool).

In spite of these challenges, in the candidate countries and enlargement process; possibility of new market opportunities and achieving innovation through SME's will be the basis for desired

productivity and growth. The focus is on sustainable growth and improved quality in the competitive process through giving SME's the opportunity to access to capital, technology, technical skills, relevant training; for the access of the enterprise to the market.

As an example to this, GİDEM provides many people some unique opportunities to develop the SME's in the region and enable their access to markets with an ensured level of quality. In this manner of compliance with EU Industrial Policy regarding SME's, GİDEM does not only provide feasibility studies and information services but also search for identification of local business partner, create meetings and forums for all related business environments be local or in the larger scale.

4.3.3 Analysis of project results with relevance to EU –The Impact of Funding

I have conducted a series of interview's with Mardin GİDEM's office coordinator, Mr. Neşet Karaca, in order to understand the actual structure in Mardin and how the beneficiaries of GİDEM project is perceiving a project financed by EU and the impact created in the city through this.

In my interview I started with questioning the difference of GİDEM office from other development projects in the region. The answer actually gave me the reasons that could be encountered as the typical strengths of NGO's, and was no surprise for the strong bondage of the civil system. Mr. Karaca listed these reasons as being very mobile in the region, having a pool of

expertise from different backgrounds and having technical knowledge which enables them to answer any quest timely, being in the region and collecting data very quickly and accurately. These characteristics enable GİDEM to be very sensitive and responsive to the changes in the city reflecting any change or need both within the city and in the relations of the SME's with markets or business partners outside the city. This is a good example in the sense that the conducts and the sensitivity at the micro level do mount up, and in result in a city-wide effect.

My second question was how this responsiveness would help a point that EU wants to reach through this funding. As though it is a leading question, my point was to reveal the point of view a NGO perceives itself in the manner of functionality in this funding process. I believe the answer is not only his point of view but was also valid for other GİDEM offices and employees. He told me that the point EU wants to reach with these funding starts at the very general level with the aim of overcoming the feudal structure of the Turkish civil society. He explained that many civil society organisations were being managed by almost feudal manners, with the same administrator for years, their boards not changing, and etc. With these organisations, mostly rooted in Istanbul and Ankara, the structure or the way Turkish civil society organized would always stay stagnant, not being able to create a big change or give the chance to other smaller organisation and or regional controversies to be in the agenda. Mr. Karaca implies that the foremost change EU created with giving these funds (and GİDEM created as major fund receiver) was overcoming this challenge by creating active organizations in

regions other than Ankara and Istanbul and therefore empowering the already existing organizations or creating new ones. This may be reviewed as macro-level change for it includes the general NGO structure and effect that is aimed to be created at the country level by an inter-states organisation. This change goal at the macro level, may be followed down to the micro level, to the changes in the systems and procedures of one single NGO.

The funds of EU gave them the opportunity of capacity building, and defining development goals specific to their regions and working on them. These organizations also developed within themselves by means of management and organization for they had to learn reporting systems, being organized and having the must of transparency in all their functions. Transparency is a very important issue for it enabled the breakdown of the so mentioned feudal system in these organisations. With this capacity building there is this option that, the names of the NGO executive heads will not be more important and shadow the name of the NGO and their works. (As in the examples of Türkan Saylan's name being very strong in the agenda, even stronger than the foundation and their projects she is directing)

Mr. Karaca mentioned that EU does not only look at the end results of a programme they are funding but they are monitoring all the project process in all phases. This is a major change that is created by the EU effect in Turkish civil society. By the monitoring process all the NGO's had to organize all the steps they are taking in a project and report them mannerly. This is a radical change created through the monitoring, an operative

process. With this it is expected the micro changes within organisations may create a general culture of civil society or NGO management to change the general criteria's and thus result in a permanent meso level effect.

Another important effect is that the EU also gave capacity to create management processes within these NGO's and help them to structure it through different project guidelines. The NGO's also had the opportunity to create more fundraising, and even the opportunity to go abroad to create awareness on their subjects or communicate with EU. This also has created a vision and opening at the macro level for the NGO's under cover.

Obviously the biggest effect is giving the small NGO's capacity or ability to act on the subjects not brought forward by the 'big' NGO's. Further, EU funds enable NGO's to work in first hand in the region which is quicker and easier panacea for the problems of the region. These are some obvious results but also rise up the question of equality. I asked Mr. Karaca if he thought that this process was really an even and equal one to reach these EU funds, even the application to these funds noticeably needs a certain level of awareness and technical skills which most of these mentioned small or regional NGO's lack of, such a technical expertise of English language levels, appropriate trainings for writing an EU project within the given guidelines. Thinking of the project application and project writing process, does EU really give a chance to small organisations/grassroots organisations to express or show themselves?

With my question Mr. Karaca mentioned that EU provides the opportunity of EU Information centres and some other information resources to the grand public. These information centres both disseminate information and guide the applicants through trainings and technical experts. My sceptics were if really this information provided was useful. It is claimed that the activities EU organizes for each project proposal calls, provide enough information. These are some trainings of project management, mobile help desks in the related areas and some other region based supports. Although these support cover many areas that may be needs, it still remain a question if some are more equal than the other by means of access to resources and capacity to even interact with these support functions.

After questioning the effect of EU and the funds in general, my second focus was on what was being done in Mardin and the region, to what extent these were with the aid of EU. Mr. Karaca's statement was that there is an enormous difference between the first and the second phase of the project by means of figures; there is no real option of directly comparing the figures for there are no statistics kept from the first phase, but we can say that both the number and the focus themes covered are much larger. Thus, the EU funding since 2002 created a major change.

Following, my questions were centred on what GİDEM did to change Mardin and provide a smoother transformation in the pre-accession stage. Mr. Karaca entailed that each and every country and each sub section or region within an entity has different stages and paces of pre accession. Therefore it is not easy to directly compare one city with the other, as it is very obvious in comparisons at the country level. Still, comparing the difference of

Mardin especially within the framework this project with such a wide effect, he said that Mardin is the city which utilises EU funds most among the Southeast provinces of Turkey. Also be big or small, Mardin has the biggest number of projects in this area. Questioning further, what effect was created with these, I saw that with single examples of entrepreneurs and cases, these projects has created an awesome awareness rise in Mardin both in professionalism of project management and EU visibility. Many residents saw that EU is not a union of countries that can never be joined by Turkey, and in principle EU was showing its presence in many countries with the aims of development and regional advancement. The efforts of GİDEM offices also were with the lines of explaining that they are providing infrastructure services, and aiming the progress and growth of small and medium sized enterprises.

The efforts of GİDEM office surely created a visibility of EU, which is an important article in all EU funded projects. So what did GİDEM do, and EU gained points in Mardin? With the words of Mr. Karaca, GİDEM office enabled the approach of citizens to EU officials and institutional EU framework, creating a bridge between the micro and macro levels. . As the EU bureaucrats came to Mardin personally, stayed in the hotels, ate in the restaurants and the citizens found the chance to see them face to face and communicate personally, their attitudes changed for EU. The communication that was through GİDEM offices or institutional manners at the beginning changed to the type of communication of Mardin citizens personally, take initiatives with EU officials. Many people in project development or entrepreneurs started to directly ask for appointment from EU officials and went to Ankara. They did not only understand of EU more from the first hand, but learnt that

there was the possibility of governance, which enabled a more balanced and outward development.

The presence of EU officials also changed the attitude of government officials in Mardin, which is an indirect but very important effect. Mr. Karaca mentions that the classical bureaucratic approach of government institutions changed radically to open door approach. With this change in the government officials now welcome the citizens more carefully and started to act proactive for finding the most effective solution soonest. As discussed afore in the characteristics of civil society and NGO's section, the characteristic of NGO's to respond quickly and effectively challenges the government institutions and creates a feeling of competition which pushes government to change in the desired manners.

5. CONCLUSION

Turkey's EU journey has most of the time been compared to catching a train. In the general public opinion, it is very usual to hear that the country has to "catch the train", "is now missing the train", or "is using a final chance to catch the train" and phrases similar to these. The resemblance may be discussed, however given the long history of Turkey-EU relations it is obvious that Turkey had times little or more close to EU within the framework of its diplomatic relations, its governmental approach to the issue and her stand.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Turkey-EU relations may be analysed as a continuation of Turkey's westernisation projects starting with the establishment of the Republic or may even be dated back to Tanzimat Edict. The prospect of Turkish development and advancement by means of social, economic and cultural areas has been associated with the concept of being westernised. In this sense, many reforms have been done to reach this aim starting with the early Republican reforms such as alphabet change, dress reforms, civil code and alike. Taking West as the point of reference and the efforts of trying to reach the *level of contemporary civilisations*, has entered a new stage with 1964 Ankara Agreement which may be marked as the official starting of attempts to become a *member of Europe*. Through out the years as many things changed in Turkish civil life as summarised in Chapter 2, the prospect to become the member of EU little or less changed, losing or gaining importance and annotated in different ways with the changing politics and governments. Regardless of the scope and scale of these efforts, there has always been attempt for further integration to European values and systems. As EU membership

has become a long yearned will, there are many reforms that could be analysed under this subject. Taking into consideration the place of Europeanisation in Turkish politics, the alterations in the post-Helsinki period is under the study of this thesis.

In order to become a full member of EU, many prerequisites were laid down, and the EU conditionality has been a driving force for many structural and institutional reforms. Since 1999, with the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate country in the Helsinki summit, several harmonisation packages started to be processed with the aim of the re-structuring. As mentioned in Chapter 3, EU as community tries to ensure the stability, especially the stability in the priority areas such as democracy and human rights or SME development, with these restructuring reforms, in the candidate countries.

EU gives the funds to operations in the priority areas determined for the pre-accession stage. Within this framework, the financial aid given to Turkey as a candidate country has been examined with further quest on the funding given to non-governmental organisations. The executions of certain policies were implemented through his partnership with civil society with the aim of developing both the civil society operation areas and their end effects, reaching a wider target. In this manner, the relations between EU and Turkey as macro level had effects on civil society, and their expertise areas, in the meso level and also had effects on the systems and processes of the NGO's and the people they have been directly contacting at the micro level.

The effects of these funds on the non-governmental organisations and their processes are examined with three case studies. Three

organizations, KAGİDER, AÇEV and GAP-GİDEM, which participated in different EU funded programmes, have been studied. Each organization has participated in different projects, but their common denominator is that their expertise areas, women, education, and entrepreneurship. These areas are among the priority areas stated by EU and explained in detail with the relevant legal framework in Chapter 4, following the general introduction of each organisation.

I have analysed the end effects of the EU funded projects and the changes caused through these projects on the three chosen NGO's. For the cases of AÇEV and KAGİDER, a more clear vision of change can be captured for it is easy to track the changes during the pre and post of funding processes. For the case of GİDEM, because EU directly funds the project, it is relevant to track down what unexpected change has been created outside the regular project programme. For practicality purposes, a breakdown of these effects will be provided by articles, giving the specific outcomes for relevant cases underneath to capture the influences of EU funding on Turkish civil society. I have analysed these effects under 8 headlines which also matches the öicro-meso and macro level analysis.

1.New intervention areas: In each case, we may see entrance of the NGO's to new intervention areas together with the EU funding. For example, although it was not their area of expertise, KAGİDER has entered the area of lobbying with their project of Women's Way to Europe. In the case of AÇEV, sexual health / reproductive health issues were not completely outside of their sphere, but also were not their major expertise area. They had to opportunity to develop in this are integrating their regular programmes. These changes in

the subject levels, together with inclusion of new intervention areas are the changes in the meso level because they are directly reflected in the organisation itself. The overall study of the NGO is effected, therefore creating a medium level effect through EU funding.

In the case of GİDEM, the issue of visibility has become an intervention area, overarching the regular visibility goals. With the visibility of EU created by GAP-GİDEM, and GİDEM officers being there as correspondence, the viewpoint of local people to EU has changed from being a union of countries that Turkey has to play along with, to a structure that could be communicated for further cooperation possibilities. Again, with GİDEM the new intervention area is at the meso level because it is valid for the organisation itself, and its overall perception in the community. Also we may that because the attitude of local people towards EU has changed with these visibility changes, there are reflections on the macro level

2.New intervention systems: With the projects these NGO's have participated in, they found the chance of implementing some new intervention systems that they could not find before. A highlight from KAGİDER is that they had the chance of realizing the incubation project model in the KAGİMER project. The incubation model was theoretically on the table before, but with the EU funding they found the chance to perform it. Also with the same project, KAGİDER started to use widespread publicity to increase to increase the interest and participation in the project. In the Women's Way to Europe, we see that KAGİDER started using conferences and different communication meetings as tool, which they did not before. KAGİDER had the chance to apply the

incubation project with its first project which is reflection of EU funding on micro level both by means of the target reached and the also by the effect created only at the organisational level. On the other with Women's Way to Europe Project, the new intervention system is first at the country level and than at the international level through partnership and relations with EU. Therefore the effects are at the macro level.

In the case of AÇEV, they have developed many different methods with the implementation of EU projects. These are, peer education model, active surveillance groups, different training methods, organization of conferences, field trips, community meetings and developing a specific website for a project. The intervention systems created changes at the organisational level, as change in the methods and process and thus reflected at the meso level.

In the case of GİDEM, it is mentioned that the relationship of GİDEM as being an agency affiliated with EU has changed systems in the relations of government officials and entrepreneur candidates, also created the opportunity of learning fund-raising and financial management with higher awareness on the issues. The consciousness raising on EU issues and the created changes in the state agencies at the local level are the meso level changes created by EU funding in GİDEM project.

3. New geographical locations: All three cases have lived through spreading more geographically with using EU funding. KAGİDER has entered cities, which they have never been before starting with the KAGİMER project. Following, with the Water Drop Project, they also monitored the companies established through this programme in many different cities, which they have not operated before.

KAGİDER did not have the aim of going into Anatolia cities as the filed, but this has changed with the EU projects. In the case of AÇEV, they have entered new fields such as Erzurum, Bursa, Adana, Van, and Mardin, which they did not had previous experience. This was a new opening for them. Adding more, AÇEV implies that they even broadened their operation in Istanbul, which is a change created by EU funding in their major operation area. In the case of GİDEM, as the project started to settle down in Mardin, they have broadened their functionality areas to neighbour cities such as Şırnak and Batman and tired to develop certain services in those cities as well.

Looking at the level analysis, we see that all three organisations were effected at the meso level, because they could not grasp a total countrywide expansion, and could only develop in the priority areas mentioned in the projects or the cities that are close to their operation areas.

4. New operative processes: With the new projects the NGO's started to undergo, they also had to create or implement new operative processes to catch the framework for the projects or comply with the standards. With the EU projects, KAGİDER started to experience to get aligned to strict projects frameworks and planning. Also throughout the partnership they started to have within this framework, such as KOSGEB's allocation of trainers, they had to widen their operative processes and with this increased capacity, they actually had the obligation to change their regular processes by means of extending and completing a project cycle. For AÇEV, the new process range for all kinds of administrative ones such as monetary systems, documentation systems, more transparency in their administrative processes, communications

and reporting systems. This has changed a lot in their daily operation and required adaptation of the personnel and the organisation. In the case of GİDEM, it was mentioned that EU's regular monitoring all throughout the project phases, has changed the understanding in civil society organisation and in other private or public organisations as well that are in cooperation with EU. This brought the necessity of controlling and checking all processes, and reporting them regularly. Another novelty was NGOs' opportunity to create awareness and communicate with EU with the courage that is the result of familiarity with the EU officials.

The effects of EU funding on new operative processes is quite much similar in all three cases, reflected as many changes and adaptation at the organisational admissions and processes. All organisations had to re-build their budgeting and untiring systems and sometimes had to develop in new ones in order to comply with EU standards. Only at GİDEM, a macro level effect as a result of new operative processes, that is increased communication and interaction with EU and EU officials.

5. Expansion of end effects: Expansion of end effects is probably among the great effects of EU funding on Turkish civil society. Working with more money, in a more structured way and many times with different partners bring the opportunity of expanding the scale of end effects. KAGİDER had experienced this in Water Drop Project by reaching a higher number of participants and including them in a compulsory service agreement, which extended the number, reached. Also with all the EU projects KAGİDER increased visibility and this has brought an increased familiarity with other women's organisations and KAGİDER. Following the conferences of KAGİDER within the framework of Women's Way to

Europe Project; it has been followed up that Business Women Association of Adana started to organize similar meetings. This may be counted as a second circle of expansion of end effects. For AÇEV, working with different and strong partners such as Educational Reform Initiative, had very positive effects. The partnership brought widening of the effects with melding the different approaches of two organisations for their target groups. AÇEV also mentioned that with the funding they could use, in their operation areas, they found the chance to go deeper and wider in the numerical sense. For each three case, it has been mentioned that with the funding they were able to target a more greater audience, and do much in numerical terms, such as opening more course, giving service to more people etc.

Analysing the expansion of end effects of the projects, it should be taken into consideration that these effects are not the direct ones for the organisations, but for other organisations and people they have been connected and as result has been effected of their EU projects. Therefore the second circle of effect is analysed here. Looking at the KAGİDER case, we see that other organisations have also been effected by. These effects are at the organisational, micro, level, developing new capacities or new communication systems. In the case of AÇEV, the interaction between the organisation both changed certain matter within the organisations themselves, that is the micro level and also had increased the scope of the target reached that is at the meso level.

6. Experience of working with new and different partners: This effect could also be seen in all three cases. For the case of KAGİDER, although they had international partners before, with the project of Women's Way To Europe, they had intensified their

endeavours. Also KAGİDER started to build up a connection with KOSGEB, which changed their working styles through increasing the numbers of training that will be given by KAGİDER and thus increasing their capacity. AÇEV has learned to work with new and different partners. Although they had many partners and cooperation before, through signing a project as three organisations in Gender Project, the relationship in between became obligatory and thus brought the necessity to resolve all the problems, to harmonise in their working styles and in their targets. They had to understand each other perspectives', which was additional and hardly earned value for the organisations. For GİDEM the nature of cooperation with different partners most of the time includes the cross border partners for trade issues. In this networking, GİDEM office and the entrepreneurs they are giving service have the opportunity to reach many different organisation for developing their capacity further.

The experience of working with new and different partners can be analysed in two levels; first at the national level as a meso level effect, and second at the international level as a macro level effect. Working with different partners did not only, had effects on the relations of an NGO but it s internal processes as result of the interaction. This can be read as among the micro level changes created by the effects of EU funding.

7. Developing structural capacity: With the Women's Way to Europe Project, through the conference they had organized, KAGİDER has developed it s capacity as being an intermediary between different groups such as women associations and government officials. As they could bring a responsible minister and the NGO's together, this has increase their perception as a

good communicator. In KAGİMER Project, they stretched out their capacity with opening more training programmes and increasing their capacity. Again within the arena of trainings, KAGİDER had built up ties with KOSGEB, which enabled them to utilise form their trainers', pool and thus increase the number of trainings. As a result, most of the structural capacity developed in either in the national or international level, consistent with project goals.

In the case of AÇEV, with the new geographical locations they have entered, they had to build up field offices. This meant many things from procurement, to finding compatible personnel, to getting know the local areas and the government officials as well. These forced AÇEV to increase their competencies, and experience a whole new city operation developing structural capacity. The end effects of is seen at the relations with the local government officials and in the field areas, therefore will be classified as the changes within a subject area, a meso level end effect.

For GİDEM, EU funding gave the chance of reaching specific development goals with developing the composition of the agency. With the financial support, they could go in deeper and at the same time develop by means of management, reporting systems, and increased transparency. As GİDEM offices are totally funded and constructed with EU funding, the structural capacity development is mostly visible within the organisation, therefore is reflected as micro effects.

8. Mission With the participation in EU funded projects; there have been minor changes in the mission of AÇEV and KAGİDER. It may be questionable if these are permanent or just temporary changes with the execution of the projects. However, the officials of both

organisations stated that the new areas they have entered with these projects reflected in their overall process as a lasting effect for they chose to include those areas. In the case of KAGİDER, they have included lobbying activities in their agendas, and programmes. In the case of AÇEV, a specific example would be putting up a new mission of going into deeper in the cities they have experienced with EU funded projects. Although their mission was staying within the borders that were determined before, as they saw that they have the possibility to go deeper and grow more. Therefore, AÇEV has set up the mission of extending their programmes in new cities and including the experience of new intervention areas for developing their programmes. AÇEV now starts to include sexual health/reproductive health issues in their programmes. Regarding the changes in the mission, we see that the EU projects had permanently effected the organisations; they have either expanded their intervention areas or included brand new subjects on their agendas. These might be analysed micro level changes for they are effective in the organisation itself and also meso, because it effects to overall intervention areas and correspondences of these organisations.

Given these positive developments one hand we should also take into consideration the other side of the medallion. Some of these developments may seem positive but it should always be questioned if these effects are just for the time period of the project or has infused into the organisation and its operation.

Also it is questionable if the organisations just try to comply with the procedures or do they really internalise change. In the analysis above it can be marked that all three organization had noteworthy effects on expansion of end effects and developing structural

capacity. It is indisputable that the organisations expand their already existing activities, sometimes go into new ones and with the force of greater finance, they did reach more people than they usually do. This has extended their target, enabling them to reach an additional group, which is in the case of AÇEV, 30 times more in some cases.

When we look at the picture, it is undeniable that participation in EU funded projects puts the NGO in a whole new process with the project rules and norms, most of time through processes that the organisation did not encounter before. To stay in the project and to be able to complete the project they do need to develop certain competencies such as budget preparations, financial operations, reporting and monitoring. For example in the case of AÇEV, they had to perform three monthly reports, which they were not used to, as they learned the process, they saw that they could use this as well in their projects and adapted it to their regular operative processes. In the area of new intervention systems, all organization experienced new ones and later on, adapted those to their operations. With all these new systems and methods the NGO's evolved in the organisational sense with the EU processes. Another positive impact was, as the NGO's are participating with EU cooperation, their reputation and reliability increased in affirmatively.

On the other hand, we should question if all these effects may be permanent, in the sense of executing the principles after the funding is over. It is questionable if these newly experienced processes or areas are really inherited by the organisations. It is mentioned in the section of *new geographical locations* that for example AÇEV could not build a capacity to stay in all the new

geographical location they entered due to financial and capacity problems. Another example would be incubation projects for KAGİDER, for although they started doing this with the EU funding, following the end of the project they could not continue it and found the solution in searching other partners and financial supports.

With the EU projects many NGO's as well my case studies had experienced the obligation to increase transparency in their operative and decision-making processes. It is questionable if this transparency could be achieved in their internal processes as well. Mr. Karaca mentioned in the interview, there are many NGO's managed with the logic of feudality, meaning stagnant administrators and tyranny of managers. The democratisation process that is meant to be created by NGO's could not be valid for their internal processes such as increasing the level of participation among members. .

It is also discussable if EU funding is really offered to all organisations, and if all the NGO's have the equal chance of accessing these funds. As discussed in previous chapters, the NGO's under quest has expressed many difficulties they lived with the EU processes. In my interviews, I have been told that the first difficulty was being unfamiliar to the issue for this was a quite new process for Turkey and no one really knew what exactly to do, and what consequences may come with wrong actions. Even looking at the application process, it was a mystery for NGO's to complete it, even to understand the standard forms and application processes. The application processes required a certain level of technical expertise on the area, such as a certain level of English

compatibility and knowledge for the project writing process in the organisations. Taking all these considerations in the project application process, it is disputable if EU really gives chance to small/grassroots organisations. It might be said that the micro level factor, that is the characteristics of small NGO's, are not taken into consideration, while aiming a macro level all encompassing effect.

Not only in the initial stages, but also in the execution stages of the projects we see that organisations known as most institutionalised in their area had lived many problems. A major one of these were meeting the budget, and ability to foresee the expenses in the project writing phase and complying with it. Both AÇEV and KAGİDER put forth that they had exceeded the budget or in some cases could not use of the items in the budget and experience difficulties of executing a project after a time it was written. Both organisations stated that if they were not such big organisation, having access to financial resources, they would have experienced major difficulties and may be obliged to return the funding back.

In this manner EU is criticized for not being flexible enough and not disseminating enough information on the issue to raise consciousness among NGO's using these funds. Although it is argued that EU Information Centres act as information resources, and guide the applicants through technical experts and training, these centres are mostly located in the big cities. Again we should take into consideration the level of accessibility of these centres by the small city organisations and whether the information provided

is enough for an organisation to reach the level of expertise to be a EU project participant.

To sum up, we see that in the EU funding processes some organisation are *more equal than the others*, as to quote from George Orwell's famous novel of Animal Farm. Although the saying seems like the funds are open to all organisations, we see that it is not even possible for some organisations to even apply for these funds. In the level of grassroots organisations, they do not have enough expertise or capacity to apply and use these funds, and even if they get the project funding, it is very likely for them to live through problems and in some case major ones such as paying back all the project funding. In this manner, civil society organisations still lack the enough capacity and should be provided more knowledge and opportunities for the usage of these funds.

Turkey's effort for becoming a member of EU, has been lasting since Ankara Agreement and with the post Helsinki process, prospects to become a full member has gained importance. The role of NGO's in this process is very important since they are the agents of spreading or strengthening the priority areas such as women rights, democratic participations, primacy of law etc. Though the funding given by EU, they have been the bridges to connect the individual levels with organisational, and or state levels of the candidacy process. These effects have been analysed in micro, (effects on the organisation or specific levels), meso (effects on the subject area level) and macro (effects on societal or international level). EU triggered many changes and reforms in Turkey and NGO's have been the leading agents of these in many cases. The real success of these reforms for sure would come with an NGO approach that is internalising the harmonisation process.

The reforms should not be approached with a viewpoint of completing homework and putting a check on the list. The reforms and changes done should be realised with a viewpoint to internalise the processes.

Looking at both sides of the relationship, not only Turkey is changing in this relationship but EU is also evolving and reshaping within itself and changing in order to harmonise with the Turkish structure. In this mutual relationship, the efforts should be regardless of the candidacy prerequisite, valuating the funding within the right framework to contribute to development projects of Turkey.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Profile Table for the Case Studies of Non-Governmental Organisations

THE ORGANIZATION	Kadin Girşimcileri Destekleme Derneđi (Women Entrepreneurs Foundation)	Anne Çocuk Eđitim Vakfı (Mother-Child Education Foundation)	GAP-Girişimci Destekleme Merkezleri (GAP Entrepreneur Support Centres)
ABBREVIATION	KAGİDER	AÇEV	GAP-GİDEM
YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	2002	1993	2002
LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS	İstanbul	Istanbul	Main project coordination unit in Ankara
LOCATION OF FIELD OFFICES	None	Diyarbakır, Adana, Ankara, İzmir	Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Urfa
MAIN EXPERTISE AREA	Women entrepreneurship	Pre school education, parental education, support, adult literacy	Entrepreneurship development Technical and skills trainings and support
EU –FUNDED PROJECTS	1-Water Drop Project (Funded Under the programme of Europe Active Labour Force) 2- Women Entrepreneur Business Development Centres (Funded Under the programme of Europe Active Labour Force) 3- Women’s Way to Europe Project (Funded under the programme of Civil Society Dialogue: European Union Bridges)	1-Empowering Limited-Resource Families: Sexual Health/Reproductive Health and the Parent Education Model (Funded Under the programme of Sexual Health/Reproductive Health in Turkey) 2-Literacy Project for Sexual Health/Reproductive Health and Our Rights (Funded Under the programme of Sexual Health/Reproductive Health in Turkey) 3- Attaining Gender Equality in Education and Social Participation (Funded Under the programme of Integration of Gender Issues in Development Cooperation Gender Equality in Development Cooperation) (Directly from Brussels)	The project is established totally with EU funding under MEDA II Programme- GAP Regional Development Programme.

APPENDIX B: Union Programmes In Which Turkish Organizations Can Participate:

1. In the area of research:
 - Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)
2. In the area of health:
 - New Public Health Programme (2001-2006)
 - European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction
3. In the area of Employment and Social Affairs:
 - Combating Discrimination – EQUAL (2001-2006)
 - Gender Equality (2001-2005)
 - Combating Social Exclusion (2001-2005)
 - Incentive Measures in Employment
4. In the area of Technical Cooperation:
 - IDA II- Administrative Cooperation Programme
5. In the area of Education:
 - Leonardo Da Vinci – In-service Training (2000-2006)
 - Socrates – Education (2000-2006)
 - Youth – Activities for Young People (2000-2006)
6. In the area of Environment:
 - European Environment Agency
7. In the area of Entrepreneurship:
 - Multi-annual programme for Enterprise and Entrepreneurship (2001-2003)
8. In the area of Information Society:

- E-content – Support to Digital Content and Linguistic Diversity in the European Information Society (2001-2005)

9. In the area of Customs:

- Customs 2007

APPENDIX C: European Union Funds According To Years

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Civil Society Development Program	2001	01.05.2001	36 Months	8,000,000 €	Forecast
2	Jean Monnet Scholarship Program for Post Graduate	2001	01.05.2001	72 Months	10,000,000 €	Open
3	Marmara Earthquake Rehabilitation Program	2001	01.05.2001	36 Months	28,000,000 €	Closed
4	Upgrading the Juvenile Justice System in Turkey	2001	01.08.2001	36 Months	956,250 €	Open
5	Environmental Standards in Textile Sector	2001	01.11.2001	36 Months	2,128,700 €	Closed
6	Sanliurfa Drinking Water Supply	2001	01.11.2001	72 Months	21,300,000 €	Closed
Total Budget 2001:					70,384,950 €	

2002						
Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Extension of SME Finance Facility to Turkey	2002	01.02.2002	84 Months	25,326,000 €	Closed
2	Development of the Asylum System in Turkey	2002	01.03.2002	18 Months	987,739 €	Closed
3	Establishment of European-Turkish Business Development Centers	2002	01.03.2002	48 Months	18,635,000 €	Open
4	Support for the Creation of an Industrial Zone for Small Subcontractors in the Automobile Sector	2002	01.03.2002	24 Months	2,117,500 €	Closed
5	Cancer Screening and Education Centers	2002	01.04.2002	24 Months	3,179,040 €	Closed
6	Effective Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights	2002	01.04.2002	30 Months	2,289,450 €	Closed
7	Shoemaking Training Institution Project	2002	01.04.2002	48 Months	3,182,000 €	Closed
8	Vocational Training in the Clothing Sector in Turkey	2002	01.04.2002	36 Months	2,435,750 €	Closed
9	EU On-line Information Network: KOBINET	2002	01.05.2002	30 Months	1,078,000 €	Open
10	GAP Regional Development Program	2002	01.05.2002	60 Months	47,000,000 €	Open
11	Supporting Women Entrepreneurs	2002	01.06.2002	24 Months	1,306,400 €	Open
12	Small Enterprises Loan Program	2002	01.07.2002	36 Months	20,000,000 €	Closed
13	Support to the Quality Infrastructure in Turkey	2002	01.07.2002	60 Months	13,087,800 €	Open
14	Support for Food Inspection Services	2002	01.08.2002	36 Months	699,000 €	Open
15	Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey	2002	01.09.2002	60 Months	58,190,000 €	Open
16	Support to Basic Education	2002	09.09.2002	72 Months	100,000,000 €	Forecast
17	Support to the Turkish Authorities in Charge of Legislative Alignment to the Acquis in the Veterinary Sector	2002	01.10.2002	36 Months	17,111,000 €	Open
18	Support to Turkey's Alignment to the EU Acquis in the Phytosanitary Sector	2002	01.10.2002	36 Months	5,378,000 €	Closed
19	Educational Project for Social Establishment and Professional Organizations on Turkey's EU Membership, Its Effects, Its Obligations and Its Benefits	2002	01.12.2002	18 Months	25,000 €	Open

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
20	Extension of TAIEX to Turkey	2002	01.12.2002	12 Months	4,000,000 €	Closed
21	Turkish Democracy, Human Rights and Civic Participation Network	2002	01.12.2002	36 Months	750,000 €	Closed
Total Budget 2002:					326,777,679 €	

2003						
Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Europe Horizons Information Program	2003	01.01.2003	12 Months	903,000 €	Closed
2	Migration Management in Turkey	2003	01.01.2003	18 Months	927,565 €	Closed
3	Mosaic Program (Cultural Activities)	2003	01.01.2003	12 Months	250,000 €	Closed
4	Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts – Istanbul	2003	01.01.2003	48 Months	7,000,000 €	Open
5	Reproductive Health in Turkey	2003	01.01.2003	48 Months	60.000.000 €	Open
6	Support Activities to Strengthen the European Integration Process	2003	01.01.2003	24 Months	4,000,000 €	Closed
7	Pilot Project to Setup a Network of Business and Innovation Centers (BICS) in Turkey	2003	01.02.2003	48 Months	4,733,100 €	Forecast
8	Upgrading the Statistical System of Turkey (USST)	2003	01.02.2003	36 Months	18.504.000 €	Closed
9	Capacity Building in the Field of Environment for Turkey	2003	01.04.2003	24 Months	17,300,000 €	Closed
10	Support Instruments for Academic Institutions for the Implementation of European Integration Projects	2003	01.04.2003	12 Months	5,100,000 €	Closed
11	Modernization of Vocational and Technical Education	2003	01.07.2003	42 Months	18,500,000 €	Open
12	Upgrading the Physical Infrastructure Regarding Conformity Assessment and Market Surveillance in Turkey-Automotive	2003	01.08.2003	18 Months	3,000,000 €	Closed
13	Active Labour Market Strategy	2003	01.10.2003	29 Months	50,000,000 €	Closed
14	Establishment of a National Drugs Monitoring Center(REITOX Focal Point) and Development and Implementation of a National Drugs Strategy	2003	01.10.2003	24 Months	1,400,000 €	Closed

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
15	Judicial Modernization and Penal Reform Program	2003	01.10.2003	36 Months	11,000,000 €	Open
16	Strengthening the Fight Against Organized Crimes	2003	01.10.2003	24 Months	1,615,000 €	Closed
17	Support for the Development of an Action Plan to Implement Turkey's Integrated Border Management	2003	01.10.2003	12 Months	685,000 €	Closed
18	Reinforcement Of Institutional Capacity Of the Turkish State Aid Monitoring and Supervisory Authority (SAMSA)	2003	01.11.2003	24 Months	1,000,000 €	Closed
19	Strengthening the Fight Against Money Laundering	2003	01.11.2003	24 Months	9,250,000 €	Closed
20	Customs Modernization Project	2003	01.12.2003	24 Months	6,875,000 €	Open
21	European Initiative For Democracy and Human Rights	2003	01.12.2003	18 Months	515,000 €	Open
22	Support the Enhancement of Safety of Maritime Transport in Turkey	2003	01.12.2003	24 Months	2,716,000 €	Closed
23	Support to the Turkish Conformity Assessment Bodies and the Ministry of Industry and Trade in the Implementation of Some New Approach Directives	2003	01.12.2003	24 Months	7,000,000 €	Open
Total Budget 2003:					232,273,665 €	

2004						
Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Fisheries Sector - Legal and Institutional Alignment to the EU Acquis	2004	01.01.2004	30 Months	6,602,761 €	Open
2	Improvement of Statement Taking Methods and Statement Taking Rooms in Turkey	2004	01.01.2004	24 Months	2,276,500 €	Open
3	Institutional Strengthening of the Energy Market Regulatory Authority (EMRA)	2004	01.01.2004	24 Months	1,121,000 €	Open
4	Strengthening the Audit Capacity of the Turkish Court of Accounts	2004	01.01.2004	20 Months	1,350,000 €	Open
5	Turkish Rail Sector Re-structuring and Strengthening	2004	01.01.2004	24 Months	4,741,000 €	Open
6	Upgrading Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) in Turkey	2004	01.01.2004	24 Months	8,160,000 €	Closed
7	Improvement of Energy Efficiency in Turkey	2004	01.02.2004	21 Months	1,250,000 €	Open
8	Improving Co-operation Between the NGO's and the Public Sector and Strengthening the NGOs' Democratic Participation Level	2004	01.02.2004	24 Months	2,000,000 €	Closed
9	Regional Development in Samsun (Amasya, Çorum, Samsun and Tokat), Kastamonu (Çankırı, Kastamonu and Sinop) and Erzurum (Erzurum, Erzincan and Bayburt) NUTS II Regions	2004	01.02.2004	21 Months	52,330,000 €	Open
10	Alignment of the Turkish Public Internal Financial Control System with International Standards and EU's Practices	2004	02.02.2004	18 Months	3,000,000 €	Forecast
11	Assistance to the Petroleum Pipeline Corporation (BOTAS) on Gas Transmission and Transit	2004	01.03.2004	24 Months	1,800,000 €	Closed

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
12	Support for the Development of an Action Plan to Implement Turkey's Asylum and Migration Strategy	2004	08.03.2004	12 Months	536,117 €	Closed
13	Complementary Technical Studies for the Synchronization of the Turkish Power System with the UCTE Power System	2004	15.03.2004	15 Months	1,500,000 €	Open
14	Fashion and Textile Cluster	2004	01.04.2004	24 Months	4,000,000 €	Closed
15	Reinforcement of Institutional Capacity of the General Directorate of Insurance (GDI) and the Insurance Supervisory Board (ISB)	2004	01.04.2004	24 Months	3,100,000 €	Closed
16	Setting Up A Well-Equipped Investment Promotion Agency To Fulfil Promotion Functions	2004	01.04.2004	21 Months	3,901,200 €	Closed
17	Strengthening the Accountability, Efficiency and the Effectiveness of the Turkish National Police	2004	01.04.2004	24 Months	2,580,500 €	Open
18	Strengthening the Public Procurement System In Turkey	2004	01.04.2004	18 Months	1,820,000 €	Closed
19	Development of Human Rights, Democracy and Citizenship Education	2004	01.05.2004	24 Months	5,050,000 €	Closed
20	Institution Building of the Telecommunications Authority	2004	01.05.2004	19 Months	2,340,000 €	Open
21	Strengthening the Struggle Against Money Laundering, Financial Sources of Crime and the Financing of Terrorism	2004	01.05.2004	24 Months	2,334,000 €	Open
22	Support To Turkey In The Field Of Air Quality, Chemicals, Waste Management	2004	01.05.2004	24 Months	5.800.000 €	Forecast
23	Upgrading the Physical Infrastructure In the Telecommunications Sector Regarding Market Surveillance	2004	01.05.2004	14 Months	4,770,000 €	Open
24	Strengthening Institutions In the Fight Against Trafficking In Human Beings	2004	01.06.2004	18 Months	1,200,000 €	Closed
25	Visa Policy and Practice	2004	01.06.2004	12 Months	1,919,000 €	Forecast

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
26	Rethinking Human Rights and Civil Society In Turkey - A Historical Account With Photographs	2004	01.08.2004	26 Months	526,364 €	Closed
27	Joint Small Project Fund Between Bulgaria and Turkey	2004	01.10.2004	18 Months	500,000 €	Closed
28	Eastern Anatolia Development Program	2004	01.12.2004	36 Months	45,000,000 €	Open
29	Strengthening the Police Forensic Capacity	2004	01.12.2004	24 Months	6,436,000 €	Open
30	Support to the State Planning Organization General Directorate for Regional Development and Structural Adjustment for Strengthening Institutional and Administrative Capacity	2004	24.12.2004	18 Months	800,000 €	Open
31	Transportation Infrastructure Needs Assessment (TINA)	2004	30.12.2004	12 Months	920,000 €	Open
					Total Budget 2004:	179,664,442 €

2005						
Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Tax Administration Capacity Building 2004	2005	01.01.2005	24 Months	6.175.000 €	Open
2	Restoration of Ekmekcizade Caravanserai in Edirne - Turkey Starting	2005	01.03.2005	12 Months	3,335,000 €	Forecast
3	Strengthening Turkey's Capacity In Moving To Full Alignment, Enforcement And Implementation Of Consumer Protection	2005	01.03.2005	0 Months	3,271,000	Open
4	Further Development of the Capacity at the Capital Markets Board of Turkey (CMB)	2005	15.03.2005	24 Months	2,450,000 €	Forecast
5	Strengthening the Audit Capacity of the Board of Treasury Controllers with Respect to Pre-accession Funds	2005	18.03.2005	12 Months	920,000 €	Forecast
6	Assistance to the Turkish Road Transport Sector	2005	31.03.2005	24 Months	5.550,000 €	Open
7	Energy Sector-Technical Assistance for Ensuring the Compliance of the Frequency Performance of Turkish Power System with UCTE Criteria	2005	21.04.2005	26 Months	2,500,000 €	Open
8	Support In The Field Of Intellectual Property Rights, Focusing On The Fight Against Piracy	2005	25.05.2005	20 Months	2,743,000,000 €	Forecast
9	Enhancement of the Professionalism of the Turkish Gendarmerie in its Law Enforcement Activities	2005	01.06.2005	24 Months	2,120,000 €	Forecast
10	Strengthening Freedom of Association	2005	01.06.2005	24 Months	2,520,000 €	Forecast
11	Strengthening Social Dialogue for Innovation and Change in Turkey	2005	01.06.2005	24 Months	4,290,000 €	Forecast
12	Development of a Training System for Border Police	2005	01.08.2005	18 Months	1,840,000 €	Forecast
13	Support to the Implementation of Human Rights Reforms Project	2005	01.09.2005	12 Months	5,461,000 €	Forecast
Total Budget 2005:					2,783,432,000 €	

2006						
Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
1	Developing Organic Agriculture And Legal Alignment To The EU	2006	15.02.2006	30 Months	1,260,000 €	Forecast
2	Development of a Clustering Policy	2006	15.02.2006	0 Months	-	Forecast
3	Çanakkale Regional Solid Waste Management Project	2006	19.02.2006	0 Months	11,900,000 €	Forecast
4	Kuşadası Regional Solid Waste Management Project	2006	19.02.2006	0 Months	13,800,000 €	Forecast
5	Equipment for the Arbitration Committees for Consumer Problems of the Ministry of Industry and Trade in Turkey	2006	20.02.2006	0 Months	-	Forecast
6	Supply of IT, Enforcement, Scanning, Laboratory and Archive Equipment for Modernization of Turkish Customs Administration	2006	20.02.2006	0 Months	-	Closed
7	Technical Assistance for Establishment of Risk Based Control Mechanism and trainings on risk based control mechanism and relevant enforcement measures	2006	20.02.2006	0 Months	-	Forecast
8	Supply of Laboratory Equipment for Ministry of Health Provincial Laboratories and Refik Saydam Hygiene Center	2006	23.02.2006	0 Months	-	Forecast
9	Technical Assistance for the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs for the design of a functioning Integrated Administration and Control System (IACS) and a Land Parcel Identification System (LPIS) in Turkey	2006	02.03.2006	8 Months	1,075,000,00 €	Open
10	Technical Assistance for Market Surveillance Support on Fertilizers (MARA Fertilizers Project), Location - TURKEY	2006	21.03.2006	0 Months	1,000,000 €	Forecast
11	Awareness Campaign on Accreditation	2006	22.03.2006	0 Months	400,000 €	Forecast
12	International Symposium on Conformity Assessment and Technical Assistance to the Conformity Assessment Board	2006	22.03.2006	0 Months	275,000 €	Forecast
13	Strengthening Freedom of Association for Further Development of Civil Society	2006	22.03.2006	0 Months	2,520,000 €	Open
14	Technical Assistance for Cancer-Free Life: Period 1, in Turkey	2006	23.03.2006	12 Months	2,500,000 €	Forecast
15	Small Enterprises Loan Program, 2nd Phase (SELP II)	2006	31.03.2006	84 Months	65,800,000 €	Forecast

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
16	Support Activities to Strengthen the European Integration Process	2006	06.04.2006	0 Months	7,000,000 €	Open
17	Technical Assistance to Prepare Regional Solid Waste Management Projects	2006	13.04.2006	12 Months	2,800,000 €	Forecast
18	Ağrı, Malatya, Konya, Kayseri Nuts Ii Regional Development Programme	2006	18.04.2006	0 Months	90,000,000 €	Open
19	Support to the Establishment of Courts of Appeal in Turkey (Construction	2006	19.04.2006	0 Months	30,000,000 €	Open
20	Modernization Of Turkish Customs Administration	2006	28.04.2006	0 Months	28,500,000 €	Open
21	Preparation for the implementation of Common Agriculture Policy	2006	28.04.2006	24 Months	2,075,000 €	Open
22	Cleaning and Limited Catering Services for the Offices of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey	2006	01.05.2006	12 Months	65,880 €	Open
23	Establishing New Border Inspection Posts (BIPs)	2006	04.05.2006	24 Months	13,250,000 €	Forecast
24	Control of rabies disease in Turkey	2006	27.05.2006	36 Months	11,884,500 €	Open
25	Restructuring And Strengthening Of The Food Safety And Control System In Turkey	2006	31.05.2006	24 Months	4,200,000 €	Open
26	Upgrading Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) in Turkey-Phase 2	2006	31.05.2006	24 Months	2,250,000 €	Open
27	Civil Society Dialogue: Europe Information Bridges Programme	2006	01.06.2006	12 Months	1,400,000 €	Open
28	Continuation of the Jean Monnet Scholarship Program	2006	02.06.2006	29 Months	820.000 €	Forecast
29	Technical Assistance for Programming and Management of Regional Development Programs and Support to the Establishment and Functioning of RDAs	2006	07.06.2006	24 Months	19,500,000 €	Forecast
30	Better Access to Justice in Turkey	2006	13.06.2006	24 Months	4,400,000 €	Open
31	Support to Cultural Rights	2006	15.06.2006	24 Months	2,500,000 €	Open

Nr.	Project Title	Year	Starting Date	Duration	Budget	Status
32	Strengthening civil society in the pre-accession process: NGO Grant Facility	2006	11.07.2006	24 Months	10,500,000 €	Open
33	Fashion and Textile Cluster (FTC) - Phase II	2006	18.07.2006	18 Months	9,000,000 €	Forecast
34	Improvement of Maritime Safety in Ports and Coastal Areas in Turkey	2006	19.07.2006	20 Months	1,590,000 €	Forecast
35	Technical Assistance For The Improvement Of Access Regime In The Turkish Telecommunications Market	2006	19.07.2006	9 Months	1,200,000 €	Forecast
36	Nevşehir Wastewater Treatment Plant Project	2006	19.08.2006	36 Months	8,800,000 €	Open
37	Tokat Wastewater Treatment Plant Project	2006	19.08.2006	36 Months	13,600,000 €	Open
38	Supporting Women Entrepreneurship	2006	08.09.2006	24 Months	4,800,000 €	Forecast
39	Establishment of National Food Reference Laboratory	2006	11.09.2006	24 Months	6,400,000 €	Forecast
40	Increasing Public Awareness on Energy Efficiency in Building	2006	12.09.2006	24 Months	1,070,000 €	Open
41	Information and Communications Support Program	2006	15.09.2006	48 Months	2,600,000 €	Forecast
42	Upgrading the Statistical System of Turkey – Phase II	2006	04.10.2006	24 Months	11,200,000 €	Open
Total Budget 2006:					492,746,000 €	