

**Contribution of Europeanization
Process to Turkey;
“Analyzing the Civil Society”**

Abstract

The crucial role that civil society could play in promoting democratization resulted in the active support of civil society organizations (CSOs) in states in a transition stage toward democracy. The EU is an active actor which provides financial and legal support for the development of strong civil society institutions and transforming the states. As the EU- Turkey relations have been improving since 1990s and the prospect of Turkey's EU membership became increasingly realistic, EU interest in Turkish civil society rose. The lack of a vibrant civil society in Turkey was viewed as one of the main reasons for Turkey's weak democratic consolidation. In this study, the past and present of Turkish civil society and the Europeanization process will be explored, and the role of the EU in influencing developments by political conditionality will be assessed and the role of civil society in internalization of Europeanization and social learning will also be considered. Finally, the applicability of EU conditionality and social learning models in studying the EU impact on Turkish civil society and thus, on democracy will be attempted.

Key Words: Europeanization, Social Learning, Civil Society, Conditionality, Turkey.

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List of Abbreviations

AKP	Justice and Development Party
CCP	Civil Society Platform
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CYDD	Association of Support for Contemporary Life
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
IHH	Foundation for Human Rights and Freedom and Humanitarian Relief
IKV	Economic Development Foundation
MAZLUMDER	Association of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People
MUSIAD	Independent Industrial and Businessmen's Association
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPAA	National Program for Adoption of Acquis
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
TIHV	Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
TUSIAD	Turkish Industrialist` and Businessmen` Association
WEU	Western European Union

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Turkey began ``modernization`` process of its own economic, political and social structures since the beginning of the 19th century, which has also been accepted as the starting point of the modern Republic of Turkey formed in 1923. However, theoretical background of that modernization process has been based on Westernization concept, conditioned by ``the will to (Western) civilization``(S. Aydin, F. Keyman, 2004; 5), introduced by an elite class named as ``Kemalists``. Thus, the Kemalist elite accepted the universal validity of Western modernity as the way of building a modern Turkey and then the Westernization concept has become an immutable state ideology in Turkey. In the words of Atatürk: `` *The civilization in which Turkey's new generation needs to be shaped, both in substance and form, is European civilization. That is because there exist only one civilization and that is European civilization. The leading civilization is this. It is one that carries to power and tames nature. All nations of the world are obliged to draw on European civilization in order to survive and be respected*`` (Y. Al Sharif, S. Salha, 2009; 8). However, this trend has followed by successive Turkish governments; those have sought their administrative, political, economic and social institutions along Western lines.

Since, the Turkey accepted the westernization as a state ideology, where have done various attempts in order to get closer to the West, especially post-World War Two period offered Turkey a golden opportunity to cement its process of westernization. For instance, Turkey joined the NATO in 1952, Baghdad Pact in 1955, the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1959 and also Turkey saw Europe as central to its interests and applied for membership in the European Common Market in 1959, as well as it has become member of the Council of Europe, Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and an associate member of the Western European Union (WEU). Also during the Cold War, Turkey was part of the Western alliance, defending freedom, democracy and human rights. In this respect, Turkey has played a vital role in the defense of the European continent.

On the other hand, until 1999 EU Helsinki Summit, Turkey has not done any concrete achievement in order to reach a Western kind of democracy, freedom and human rights. At that Helsinki Summit, the Europeanization process of Turkey has started, the EU Heads of State and Government declared “*Turkey a candidate to join the EU on the basis of the same criteria as applied to other candidates*” (Helsinki Presidency Conclusion 1999). From that day on, a comprehensive reform process started in Turkey to fulfill the EU’s Copenhagen political criteria which is a precondition to start accession negotiations with the Union.

Furthermore, the November 2002 national elections which has brought about the possibility of political stability as the winner of the election that is the Justice and Development Party (AKP), formed a single party majority government, this has also provided a very crucial rise to reform process. In 17 December 2004, Turkey’s constant attempts to initiate political and legal reforms especially in the areas of human rights, and to demonstrate a strong political will to upgrade and deepen the levels of its parliamentary democracy were found successful enough by the European Council to announce that Turkey met its political criteria, and consequently the full accession negotiation have started on October 3rd, 2005. Today, the EU-related reforms are the main motor force for country’s domestic stability and development in international arena. That is, a so-called Europeanization process is present everywhere in the country. As a relatively new and popular way of looking at domestic transformation, the concept of Europeanization is generally used to describe “the penetration of the European dimension in national arenas of politics and policy” (Radaelli, 2000; 3).

1.2 Research Questions and Purpose

Turkey has recently accomplished a democratic reform process a historic nature in a wide range of areas from human rights to civilian-military relations by the important contribution of Europeanization process. In other words, its political conditionality power and normative influence of EU over Turkey which have given rise to the democratic reform process. Here, the political conditionality power of EU

is acting as a reward in exchange of democratic reforms, those are, and conditions must be completed for promised future membership. However, to the extent that Copenhagen political criteria involve, is not simply to ensure the existence of an institutionally working formal democracy, but also, and more importantly, to initiate a reform process aiming at the ``consolidation`` of democracy in state-society/individual relations in a way that ``democracy becomes the only game in town``(Ozbudun, 2000; 4-5), constitutionally, attitudinally and behaviorally. Put differently, the democracy is not only as a political regime based on free and recursive elections (a formal democracy) but also as a type of state-society/individual relations based on the primacy of the language of rights and freedoms (a consolidated democracy) is necessary for a country to be democratic. However, in order to reach a consolidated democracy, a strong civil society has crucial importance in internalization of European norms, values and social learning and also to put pressure on governments and political elites for further European reforms.

Since, strengthening the civil society is one of the contributions of all Europeanization process to Turkey and its importance to reach a consolidated democracy, makes very interesting to investigate. By keeping in mind those above conditions in Turkey, my purpose is to take one variable among those contributions on Turkey which is civil society. In this sense, my aim in this thesis is firstly to examine the EU conditionality and its norm diffusion power over Turkey and secondly to explore the domestic developments on civil society imposed by EU conditionality and to investigate its impact on consolidation of democracy and on social learning which is necessary for compatibility successful norm diffusion in domestic contexts. And thirdly to examine the implementation of civil society reforms arising from this externally driven transformation process, by interviewing with civil society officials in Turkey. In addition, since the Turkey has different cultural, religious and historical background, this case study would help to other applicant countries which have the same domestic context like Turkey.

To do this my research questions in this thesis are;

1.How Europeanization process as conditionality influenced the democratic reforms in Turkey?

2.What is the importance of civil society in Europeanization and democratization?

3.Has Europeanization positively or negatively affected the civil society in Turkey?

1.3 Research Methods and Materials

This thesis uses the case study as method with its broad capability in generating understanding for evaluating complex conditions in a specific context and its generalizability capacity to other contexts. However, case study is an empirical inquiry comes to understand a single case and its activity within important circumstances and also, the case study is a detailed examination of an aspect of historical case in order to develop or test that historical explanation and then that would be generalizable to other cases (Simons, 2009;6). Hence, since Turkey as a unique case this has totally different social, cultural, traditional, historical and religious background among other member and candidate states. This different position of Turkey provides us here to use the conceptual validity advantage of case study. The case study allows researcher to achieve high levels of conceptual validity, to identify and measure the indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts the researcher intends to study, therefore in the conceptual validity advantage researcher tries to apply “contextualized comparison” because there are many variables in social sciences and are difficult to measure all of them, for instance, a concept that is democratic in one cultural context might be undemocratic in another, thus the “contextual comparison which seeks to address the issue of equivalence by searching for analytical equivalent phenomenon across different context” (George and Andrew, 2005).

Furthermore, the Turkey is a deviant case with its different domestic conditions, therefore, since the common theoretical path of this thesis is EU’s conditionality in shaping domestic structures of Turkey, this will let us to see whether this theoretical framework is applicable to other contexts like Turkey, so if it has successfully been achieved even partly in Turkey, then that increases the probability of success in more stable domestic structures unlike Turkey. Therefore, examining the EU’s

conditionality and normative power give rise to possibility of using another strength of case study as a method, which is theory testing advantage.

1.3.1 Main Hypotheses and Variables

EU conditionality entails obligations to be adopted by candidate states, obligations which transform the target state in accordance with EU standards. Among those conditions the strengthening of civil society has a crucial importance and urgency. The development of civil society is a measure of the internalization of Europeanization and social learning. It also puts pressure on the government for further reforms in its capacity of “mediating factor”. In addition, these duties of civil society are very important for closing the gap of resonance and norm legitimacy between the EU and the target state, which is also the main argument of the Social Learning Model: “the likelihood of compliance increases with the legitimacy and resonance of the norms and identification of the target state with the EU” (Schimmelfenning, 2005:7). Hence, civil society acts as a norm entrepreneur at the domestic level both by trying to influence governments to adopt for the new norms via social learning and by performing various activities to inform the public about Europeanization as a motor of change. In this sense the general hypothesis becomes: EU conditionality contributes to the strengthening of the civil society in the applicant state and therefore to the diffusion of European norms.

The theoretical interest of this thesis, namely the impact of Europeanization on Turkish democracy, has been thus translated into the concrete variables of norm diffusion and civil society strength. In other words, Europeanization has been defined for the purpose of this research to norm diffusion through the mechanisms of conditionality and social learning whereas civil society has been used as a measure of democracy.

More concretely, the independent variable of conditionality is operationalized through the set of policy recommendations and obligations, diplomatic interactions and other policy measures targeting the state of democracy in Turkey. The dependent variable, civil society strength, is operationalized in terms of the number of CSOs, their intensity of influence on state policies and intensity of their public and legal

presence. Furthermore, the connection between the dependent and independent variables is investigated also through a measure of the perceptions of the Turkish CSOs in regards to the effect of the EU conditionality policy.

The limitations of the proposed deductive case study relate to the low degree of generalizability (it is not easy to expand the conclusions of this paper outside the case of Turkey, as it presents a very particular set of characteristic hard to find elsewhere). Moreover, it is to be acknowledged that civil society strength is only one of the measures of democracy and that by focusing only on one such measures democracy is not captured in all its complexity. The same can be said about the approximation of Europeanization as norm diffusion.

1.3.2 Case Selection

The hypothesis of this research will be tested in the empirical case of present-day Turkey. Turkey is a very appropriate case study for this matter as it has been the object of EU conditionality for a long time. Moreover, the EU highlighted democracy issues as being one of the key areas of further progress in order for the Turkish EU membership to become reality. Therefore testing the influence of the EU over the Turkish civil society is a good approximation of the broad influence of the Europeanization process over Turkish democracy in general. It also allows for the prediction of future trends: if the hypothesis is confirmed, then it is correct to anticipate that a continuation of the conditionality policy will result into the further strengthening of Turkish civil society, which in turn will improve the performance of the Turkish democracy.

1.3.3 Data Collection

In order to measure the level of contribution of Europeanization process to civil society as the dependent variable, I will use the analysis of official documents such as, Progress Reports, National Program for Adoption of Acquis (NPAA) for Turkey and also, official documents, speeches, press releases, journals, newspapers will held

to support our case. Furthermore, Freedom House's statistics can give quantitative knowledge to this research; it will consist of statistics from 2002 to 2010.

However, in order to understand better, semi-standardized interviews will hold with expert officials from civil society organizations called (MUSIAD, TIHV, MAZLUMDER, and IHH). Among the existing CSOs in Turkey today, these five organizations are the most active, experienced (old), famous and have most members. In this respect they are most appropriate since they are oldest, therefore could observe the developments of CSOs by Europeanization process in Turkey. However, three of them are interested in different sides of human rights issues, which has been the most known problem in Turkey and crucial concept for consolidated democracy.

Semi- standardized interview developed by Scheele and Groeben (Flick, 2006; 155), in which the aim is to reconstruct the subjective theory, which refers to fact that the interviewees have a complex stock of knowledge about the topic under study. That knowledge explicit and immediate and which the interviewee can express spontaneously in answering an open question (Flick, 2006; 156). In this sense, the open-ended and hypotheses-directed questions serve the purpose of making the interviewee's implicit knowledge more explicit, and those questions should sent some time before the interview for preparing the responses. Thus, taking the concrete information about the negative or positive influence of Europeanization on civil society will provide us empirical material to test our hypotheses.

2 Theoretical Parts

2.1 Europeanization

Europeanization recently has become a hot topic in multiple formats and across a range of disciplinary context (Harmsen and Wilson 2000; 13) and also has gained widespread attention amongst scholars as a newly fashionable term to denote a variety of changes within European politics and international relations. That is the term has been used as structural change, variously affecting actors, institution, ideas and interests. In maximalist sense, the structural change indicates exhibiting similar attributes to those that predominate in the system, namely identified with Europe. However, in minimalist sense, Europeanization involves a response to the policies of the EU. Significantly this includes broadly existing member states and candidate states (Featherstone, 2003: 3). Furthermore, the Europeanization has also used as a process of transformation of local, regional, national and international structures and relations, which is also include the practices involved in being and becoming more European in all areas (Harmsen and Wilson 2000; 24).

Yet, no common definition has been agreed on Europeanization. Therefore Robert Harmsen and Thomas Wilson (2000; 14) have identified eight different usages of the term Europeanization, however, while some of those definitions have used in order to explore its internal effects, namely on member states to construct identities to keep Europe unified in continent, the other definitions have used to present the EU as an international norm exporting organization to the more geographically peripheral and less developed potential candidate states to democratize and pull them European standards. Thus, the Europeanization process is not restricted to the EU member states only, but also has taken place in non-members like Norway and potential member states such as West Balkan Countries and Turkey. Put differently, keeping the Europeanization process as limited merely to the EU's member states may be misleading since Europeanization can also be exported to the candidate countries (Papadimitriou, 2005;5). Even candidate states and potential candidates have been benefiting from the EU's transformative power through diffusion of ideas, rules,

values and norms and have been substantially affected by the Europeanization process on their way to Brussels. (Borzal and Risse, 2008).

2.1.1 Different types of Europeanization

The concept of Europeanization has different usages in literatures and academic works. Therefore, the term has been applied in many broad categories; some has used that in maximalist sense and the others in minimalist sense. However, the maximalist approaches, -those are not directly related with the impact of the EU structures-, mention particularly on the exportation of European authority and social norms: imperial control, institutional organizations and practices, social and cultural beliefs, values and behaviors to other places (Featherstone, 2003:5). That is, the terms has used by the historians to describe the export of cultural norms, patterns, political organization and governance beyond European territory (Kohout 1999). In addition, Featherstone also adds another category to maximalist approach, which is, Europeanization as a matter of cultural diffusion, that is, the term sees the Europeanization as increasing transnationalism; which is, the diffusion of cultural norms, ideas, identities, and the patterns of behavior outside the Europe (2003:6).

However, the minimalist approaches are in nature more connected to the functioning of the EU. In this interpretation, the Europeanization has seen as domestic transformative tool, in which Europeanization is mostly associated with domestic adaptation to the pressures emanating from EU membership and candidacy, and also refers to how actors and institutions have been affected. For instance, the term has used to demonstrate how public administrative institutions at the center have adopted to the obligations of EU membership (Benoit, 1997; Wessels, 1998). Also it has been applied to a transformation in the roles of civil society, namely non-governmental actors; such as trade unions, universities and legal systems, which is crucial for strong democracy (Turner 1996, Dineen 1992, Levitsky 1994).

At the end of the day, we can say that the concept of Europeanization has specifically been using as a norm for analyzing Union regulations and the adaptation

pressure exerted on the candidate countries and current member countries, particularly in the form of mainly ``political conditionality`` (Bafoil, 2009: 1).

2.1.2 Europeanization in Candidate States; Conditionality

In order to see the successes or failures of the Europeanization, the best way is to analyze the influence of EU's adjustment requirements on candidate states rather than on member states and what kind of strategies the EU uses to influence candidate countries. This trend has started with the Central and Eastern European (CEECs) intention to join the EU after the regime changes of 1989, those countries have had very different domestic context, which were heritage of communist administration, and hence this suggested that it makes indeed sense to study the impact of the EU in candidate countries in terms of Europeanization (Sedelmeier, 2006:4).

However, most definitions of Europeanization in literature about the candidate countries are primarily concerned with analyzing of EU's impact on the domestic level in the candidates. Furthermore, in order to see how the EU exercises such influence on candidate states, the examining the adjustment pressures which EU generates on candidate countries has crucial importance. A significant strategy of the EU to influence candidate countries is the use of "conditionality", which is the use of conditional positive incentives (ultimately EU membership) as reward for states who adopt certain rules. It is a kind of external governance, aims the transferring of given EU norms and their adaptation by non- member states, namely, it is an institutionalization of EU rules at domestic level which include the replacement of EU legislation into domestic law, restructuring the institutions according to EU rules and changing the political practices according to EU standards (Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier 2004; 663).

However, the external incentives have provided by the EU for target government to comply with its conditions, this is conditionality in which the EU sets its rules as conditions that target state have to fulfill in order to receive the EU rewards, thus when the government complies with the conditions then rewards paid by the EU and withholds the reward if it fails to comply (2004;663). Furthermore, the

external governance of the EU exerts two contexts to stabilize the target state. First is *Democratic conditionality* concerns with the political principles of the EU as the norm of human rights and liberal democracy, those are the pre-accession principles, the starting of accession negotiations are conditional to those political principles. The second one is *Acquis conditionality* concerns with the rules of *acquis communautaire*, which is the concrete preparation of the target state for membership and major external incentive for rule transfer and which goes line with Copenhagen Criteria (2004; 669).

Moreover, the EU also uses persuasion and socialization of elites as strategies to affect the domestic change (Sedelmeier 2006:9). Another method is primarily focuses on the domestic level, and looks for factors to mediate the EU's influence (Brusis 2005, Schimmelfennig 2005, Vachudova 2005). In addition to those above, the conditionality can affect the target government either through intergovernmental channel or societal channel. Through the intergovernmental channel, the EU directly influences governments and policy makers by conditionality in candidate countries. In the societal channel where the EU's influence is indirect, in which the EU provides independent incentives. It tries to achieve this by strengthening domestic actors such as CSOs by legal protection which then brings to affect their governments and gives the EU bargaining power across opponents.

Turning to the enlargement to the Central and Eastern European countries in 2004 and Turkey's accession negotiations in 2005, were the most all-encompassing and the most visible Europeanization project so far. Those adjustment pressures has also used in this enlargement phase that is the adaptation to the exigencies of political and economic models of the West by conditionality. While today the enlargement to the CEECs and Turkey are the dominant discourse in the EU, the Europeanization in some of those countries have been slow, this is because the inability and problem of governments and also domestic challenges to adopt and implement the EU related reforms. However, the EU's impact on democratization as a lively debate over the Europeanization of Turkey has still successfully been continuing, and it can not be ignored.

2.2 Social Learning Model

Within the framework of this thesis, I will also apply Schimmelfenning's (2006) approach of social-learning model, which takes its roots from constructivist theory based on "logic of appropriateness", in which among the alternatives courses of action, actors choose the most appropriate or legitimate one, called also normative rationality (March and Olsen 1998). A state adopts EU rules if it is persuaded of the appropriateness of the EU rules (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2004; 668). The main argument of this theory is that "the likelihood of compliance increase with the legitimacy and resonance of the norms and the identification of the target state with the EU" (Schimmelfenning, 2005:7). In this logic, in order to achieve the diffusion of norms and values, where should be "cultural match" between international norms and domestic practices which will be key in determining the degree of diffusion. In other words, if the norms and values of EU have some resonance with pre-existing norms, values and practices in target country, then actors becomes more open to social learning and persuasion (Checkel, 1999;85-86).

On the other hand, if there is an incompatibility between EU norms and values and target country, the active participation of civil society becomes important as it sets in motion a process of societal Europeanization and internalization of those norms and values. It is clear that the EU's transformative mechanism will not be effective in promoting sustainable compliance without efforts of domestic actors to work in coordination with EU and, the consensus among political, economic and social elites and the citizens as to the necessity of EU- guided democratization (Schimmelfenning, 2008; 918, Vachudova, 2006; 34 , Anastakis and Bechev, 2003;11). Here, civil society acts as "norm entrepreneurs" in domestic system, and try to influence the governments to obtain necessary places for social learning and bridge between those actors. Therefore, since Turkey has a different cultural, historical and religious background, the civil societies as change agents become crucial mediating factor in domestic transformation.

2.3 Democracy and its consolidation by Civil Society

Contemporary democracy studies have two approaches in describing the democracy; one is maximalist and the other is minimalist explanation. Maximalist perspective describes the democracy as including all aspects of society and also mentions on social democracy while minimalist perspective view democracy as a political sphere characterized by procedural and institutional arrangements (Boussard, 2003; 26). However, the maximalist approach has not only referring to political institutions but also to actual possibilities for people to participate in the political process, thus it has been widely using democracy studies because of its broad comprehension. In the light of maximalist definition of democracy, the consolidation of democracy has crucial importance in order to get full participation of people in policy process. The consolidation is related with the end of the democratization process resulting in the free and open elections, the end of uncertainty period and the implementation of a minimum quality of substantive democracy. However, a democracy has become consolidated when it fulfills the democratic criteria like; rule of law, a clear separation of powers, a vibrant civil society independent from state, a democratic constitution, full respect of human rights and freedom of media and political association, however those are also norms which EU uses as conditional at its external relations with third parties. (Haerpfer, 2009:314).

On the other hand, Ronald A. Dahl brought another conception of democracy through five necessary criteria for democratic process, and this conception puts the civil society in an important place. He describes civil society as a tool for consolidating democracy, and he imposes the *enlightened understanding* concept to explain his definition of democracy, in which access to information and pluralism of ideas are recognizes as important for people to shape their own opinions to back democratization. To support this criteria Dahl pays attention to three institutions, these are needed to fully implementation of enlightened concept; *freedom of expression, alternative information, and association autonomy*. In the *freedom of expression*; the citizens will have right to express themselves and criticize anyone from government or any other institution, without the danger of punishment or political consequences. *Alternative information*; citizens have right to seek out

alternative sources of information and *association autonomy*; is about to achieve various rights, including to form relatively independent associations or organization, consisting of independent political parties and interest groups (1989; 221). Put differently, these criteria makes easy to formulation and protection of civil society, which then also helps to consolidate democracy.

Furthermore, Lary Diamond provides an overview of the role of civil society in building democracy, by saying that what civil society is? According to him, civil society is “the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by legal order or set of shared rules”. In this society citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express interests, passions and ideas, make demands on state, and hold state officials accountable (1994;5). However, civil society need protection of an institutionalized legal order to guard their autonomy and freedom of action, in this sense, Dahl’s three institutions provide legal protection to civil societies, which is also a part of consolidating democracy. As a result, the civil society has been taken as one of the most accurate indicators of the existence of substantive, participatory democracy.

3 Transformations

3.1 Relations between Turkey and EU

The history of contemporary Turkey is characterized by change, namely “transformation”, which is a transformation from an oriental Islamic empire to a secular national state. This transformation known as Westernization, introduced by Kemalist elites and it gained momentum with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. However, the main goal was to move Turkey from being a medieval Islamic theocracy to becoming a modern capitalist Western democracy. Eventually, the scope of Westernization was broadened to include economic, social and cultural changes, which brought about a secular democracy to Turkey.

Today, the Westernization project is taking the form of Europeanization that is the reform of domestic structures, institutions and policies to meet the requirements of political dynamics, administrative mechanisms and logical framework of European integration. In other words, Turkey has been trying to adopt the European political, economic, cultural paradigm including civil society as important aspect of the overall transformation process..

3.1.1 Chronology of EU – Turkey Relations

Commencement of accession negotiations with Turkey goes back to the early years of the EU. Turkey expressed an interest in institutionalizing its relations and becoming an associate member of the EU (it was European Economic Community at that time-EEC) in the late 1950s. In 1959 Turkey applied for associate membership and in 1963 it signed an association agreement that intended to build the way for full membership known as Ankara agreement. It went into effect in 1964 and mentioned that when the relations of Turkey with the EU have “advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance by Turkey of the obligations of the EC Treaty, shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the European Community” (Association Agreement, 1963). In 1971 additional protocol was signed between Turkey and the EU, which aimed further strengthening and broadening of their economic and political relation, in which the rules for Turkey’s prospective customs union with the EEC were outlined. But the association agreement did not achieve its

objective and failed to prepare Turkey for membership, the reason was the domestic political developments where coup by memorandum took place in 1971. Additionally there emerged radical nationalist views both in left and right sides and those viewed the EEC as capitalist and imperialist organization, hence the Turkey and EU relations were hampered.

However, following the Mediterranean enlargements of the EU in 1980s, Turkey applied for full membership in 1987 but the situation was much less favorable for Turkey inside the Community because of the 1980 coup and its political and economic residuals. Therefore the response was not positive, by saying that “it would be inappropriate for the Community to become involved in new accession negotiations and it would not be useful to open accession negotiations with Turkey” (Commission Report, 1989). Despite the rejections of Turkey’s applications in 1989 and 1970s, the improvement of EEC and Turkey relations was still continuing. After the collapse of Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the EU deepening and widening began accelerating. In 1995 the fourth EU enlargement took place. At that time a custom union agreement between Turkey and EU was signed and became effective in 1996. Furthermore, in 1997 while the European Council in Luxemburg decided for a new commencement of accession negotiations with six countries, the Turkey again was excluded from that one.

However, a turning point came two years later at Helsinki European Council where it was decided that “Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the same basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States” (Helsinki European Council, 1999). At Helsinki, a decision was also made for the establishment of an accession partnership with Turkey, which would serve as a roadmap to accession. The accession partnership was adopted in 2001 and defined the principles, priorities, conditions and short and medium term objectives for Turkey’s integration with the EU. The starts of EU – Turkey accession negotiation would depend on Turkey’s compliance with the Copenhagen Criteria, and several political reform packages were proposed to bring that about and in EU Copenhagen Summit in December 2002 decided to defer the decisions on the commencement of the EU and Turkey accession negotiations until the EU Summit of December 2004. However Turkey continued its political liberalization and democratic reforms until that time

and in October 2004 the positive “Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey’s Progress Towards Accession, concluded that Turkey fulfils the political criteria and recommends that accession negotiations be opened” (Regular Report, 2004). Finally Turkey was rewarded in Brussels European Council on December 17, 2004, deciding on opening of accession negotiations on 3 October 2005. Today Turkey continues its reforms in accordance with Copenhagen Criteria, in which development of civil society is one important parameter.

3.2 Progress of Civil Society Organizations via EU Related Reforms

3.2.1 Development of Civil Society in Constitution

Civil society has been taken as one of the most accurate indicators of the existence of a substantive, participatory democracy. A high degree of citizen participation in civil society associations is positively correlated with flourishing liberal democratic system. But in order to have a strong civil society -which will have influence on state authority-, there should be a legal framework in which civil society activities protected.

In Turkey the legal framework for associational activity displays a hybrid structure, trapped between authoritarian and democratic principles (Ozsunay, 2000; 6-20). Due to the political and social affairs throughout the years, the shape and content of this framework altered. For instance, Civil Law No. 1926 foresaw a relatively democratic and liberal framework for associational activity. Law no, 2512, issued in 1938, restricted the previous law and altered the law according to more authoritarian principles. After the end of World War Two, in 1946, with the enactment of Law no. 4919, the legal framework reached its peak with the additional support of 1961 Constitution, and the numbers of associations climbed from 205 to 41,000 (Ozsunay, 2000;22). However after the 1971, the framework changed to the authoritarian setting once again. Law no. 2908, which was passed after the 1980 coup, 1982 constitution imposed even further restrictions on the basic freedoms and brought dramatic limitations of the operating space of civil society. As a result, the civil society

conditions in Turkey were terrible in those years but in 1990s onwards, the situations has started to change by the EU conditionality.

3.2.2 Impact of the European Union on CSOs` Activities

In Turkey, civil society movements have been growing since the 1990s, in terms of having qualitative and quantitative importance for making Turkish society more liberal and democratic than before. Especially during the 1990s civil society's role as contributor to democratic consolidation appeared on the agenda of both decision makers and in academia with a special focus on EU candidacy. The EU issued an Accession Partnership Program in 2000, which identified its priorities, objectives and conditions for Turkey's full membership. Accordingly, in 2001, the Turkish government launched the National Program, which states the aim of full protection of individual rights and freedoms, the freedom of thought and expression, the freedom of association and peaceful assembly, and the enlargement of the space of civil society in Turkey. At that time, more than 100 civil society organizations, with power provided by the Economic Development Foundation (IKV), established a campaign for agenda-setting, which tried to both direct and monitor governmental activity on harmonization issues. This well-organized movement contributed to political determination for possible full membership to the EU and, accordingly pushed the government to pass necessary laws.

CSOs also started to monitor the reforms in the areas of judiciary; it has always been criticized by CSOs because of its lack of independence from executive. In 1990s, with the help of EU membership agenda, civil society started to demand reform for judicial system. They also criticized the dual structure of judiciary (civil and military) and demanded check of military courts by higher civilian courts. Furthermore, "a wide range of CSOs from municipalities to trade unions commented on the new reform draft in 2001 and explained their demands on new law, the demands presented during the meetings of Economic Social Council, a supportive institution advising the government" (Toros, 2007;18). Those above developments in civil society and their increasing role in influencing and checking the state authorities

in Turkey are a demonstration of more democratic environment what could not even think about in previous years.

In 1997 the TUSIAD's (the Turkish Businessmen's and Industrialist Association) report on democratization was also trying to create awareness about Europeanization and contribute to the social learning, by saying that; *"not only TUSIAD, but all Turkish citizens and all institutions representing the civil society are obliged to strive towards the improvement and assimilation of democracy in this country. Our future depends on it. Turkey's future does not lie in isolating itself from the world; on the contrary, it should keep step with global developments. Barriers between the world and democracy are being raised one by one. Henceforward, economic and political relations cannot evolve independently of democracy and human rights"* (TUSIAD Report 1997).

Furthermore, CSOs in Turkey also started to provide educational services. For instance, a campaign was launched by Association of Support for Contemporary Life in 2004 (CYDD), which was stressing on the importance of human rights. In this campaign, the CYDD aims to provide basic knowledge of human rights and democracy to 8,000 citizens living in six different districts of Istanbul. As of 2006, they had reached 2000 citizens and had provided essential information about citizens, patient, social and worker rights (Aktas, 2005). Additionally, the Economic Development Foundation's (IKV) projects also contributed to the social learning process in Turkey, for instance; Seminars on EU Accession Negotiations 2003-2004 held in 27 big cities those represented all the regions in Turkey, which aimed to inform the people about the contributions of EU and what is the role of citizens in this process? (IKV Project, 2003).

Additionally, the AKP government, which came to power in November 2002, has been relatively most receptive to NGOs. When NGO delegations were invited for the first time by the government to discuss a series of political issues arising from Turkey's EU candidacy, the government made a move of major symbolic importance (Goksel- Gunes, 2005; 63). The degree of change in the relations between the state and civil society under the impact of improving EU-Turkey relations was clearly displayed. Unsal points out that; *"it is really good to know that someone asks our*

opinions and view us as legitimate actor on policy making and reform agenda” (Author Interview, see AppendixB). After the meeting the NGOs remained disappointed by the outcome of their meeting with government, as their views did not seem much on the government decisions. Nonetheless, a crucial first step was accomplished; the Turkish civil society was accepted by the government as a legitimate social actor, which was to be consulted when government decides in the field of their expertise.

To sum up, in Turkey the post-Helsinki era witnessed the rise of the intense internal pressure from business interest NGOs, liberal civil society organizations, universities and the media on the government for launching reforms and communication with civil society by the government, has been furthered.

3.2.3 Reform Process and EU Progress Reports

The EU’s annual progress reports work as a framework for evaluating the progress made in the country and guidelines for the EU’s use of political conditionality; in this sense these reports are crucial and objective instruments in order to empirically see the progress on civil society as a result of conditionality in Turkey.

Political conditions after 1999 Helsinki and the 2002 Copenhagen European Council decisions were more favorable for freedom of association reforms. A first step was made with the amendment of Article 33 of the Turkish Constitution on October 3, (2001), which guaranteed the freedom of association. General rules and restrictions on the right to form associations were altered. The right to form an association was broadened, but restrictions “to the extent that the duties of civil servants so require” were retained (Regular Report, 2001).

Much more comprehensive amendments were made to the Law on Association under the second “reform package” of March 2002. Articles 7, 11 and 12, which restricted relations with international associations, were removed. The freedom to establish and join associations was elaborated, while the grounds for banning an

association were reduced (Regular Report, 2002). On the other hand, the state control over NGO relations with international organizations maintained. In this respect, Dag says that; *“in the previous years, the transportation of humanitarian aid staffs to the abroad was almost impossible; the state or state controlled institutions were monopoly, but with the legal changes which has made in the mid of 2000s, the international activities and relations of the CSOs eased”*(Author Interview, see AppendixB). Further reform of the Law on Association was undertaken under the third reform package of August 2002. Limitations on civil servant’s right to establish association were lifted, as was the possibility of a ban on association activities for civil defense purposes (2002; 35). A new body in charge of associations was created within the Ministry of the Interior, as opposed to the Directorate General of Security (2002; 35). Furthermore, “ TUSIAD published several papers on political reforms in Turkey, and in 2002 June the Civil Society Platform which is made up of 175 civil society organizations issued a notice urging politicians to commit themselves and take brave steps on the way to EU membership” (2002;36).

More reforms were enacted under the fourth reform package of January 2003 after the election of the AKP government in November 2002. Associations were allowed to use any language in their nonofficial correspondence, while legal persons were also allowed to become members of association. Restrictions on making announcements or distributing publications were eased, while the obligation to forward copies of these documents to the relevant authorities prior to distribution was removed (Regular Report, 2003; 32). Under the seventh reform package of July 2003, restrictions on the establishment of associations by people convicted of certain crimes or former members of an association or political party closed down by a court decision were eased. Higher education students could establish associations related not only to education and recreation but also art, culture and science. Following the provisions of the third reform package, a Department of Associations was established in August 2003 within the Ministry of Interior (2003; 32).

New Law on Associations was adopted in July 2004 (Regular Report, 2004; 17). It dealt with many of the shortcomings of the previous legislation (Aydin S., Keyman F. 2004; 29-30). The new law lifted all restrictions on student associations and allowed for the establishment of temporary and informal platforms or networks

for all CSOs. Governors were now required to issue warnings prior to taking legal action against associations, while security forces were no longer allowed to enter an association's premises without a court order. The Progress Report in (2005; 27) also mentions on new Law on Association and its contribution by saying that; "the Law is important in reducing the possibility for state interference in the activities of associations and has already begun to bring a number of benefits for associations, thus facilitating the further development of civil society in Turkey". Dag mentioned that; *"However, again in the previous years, the official state institutions had a resistance and mistrust against association and foundations kind of organizations but this understanding has totally changed with legal and practical adjustments and became more libertarian. For instance, now when we go to the associations department of the police, we are facing more respectable treatment"* (Author Interview, see AppendixB). But it also emphasized that there is still something which needs to be done for development of civil society.

However, more positive approach continued in (2006; 17) Progress Report; "CSOs have become relatively more vocal and better organized, especially since the adoption of the new Law on Association. There is an increasing variety of organizations in Turkey including approximately 80 000 registered associations, and several hundred unions and chambers". Furthermore, "CSOs have been able to take a more active role in shaping and addressing social, economic and political causes, this has been triggered by recent reforms and has been observed over the last few years" (Progress Report 2007; 16)

In February 2008 a new Law on foundations was enacted. It relaxed the conditions for establishing a foundation and eased the regulatory framework for activities, also eased the receiving funds from abroad and co-operating with foreign foundations. However, it has provided tax incentives and previous ban on foreigners establishing foundations in Turkey has been replaced by the principle of reciprocity. Dag; *"another innovation has been on humanitarian aid staffs which we intend to import from international humanitarian associations. This was almost impossible before the reform process but thanks to the new application, now we can import the humanitarian aid staffs without tariffs"* (Author Interview, see AppendixB). As

regard civil society organizations, governmental bodies regularly consult NGOs. (Progress Report, 2008; 18-19).

And lastly in 2009 Progress Report, it was stated that, the Council of State annulled a circular restricting university professors` right of association and also legal framework on associations is broadly in line with European standards. However, considerable progress needs to be made as regards its implementation. The report resulted that, there is a growing awareness in public institutions and in the public at large about the crucial role played by CSOs, including in the accession process, but the legal framework for collection of donations and tax exemptions for NGOs needs to be strengthened, in line with EU good practice, to improve NGOs` financial sustainability (2009; 20-21).

3.2.4 Freedom House

Turkey has made obvious progress in terms of civil society from 2002 onwards, it has also as mentioned in Regular Reports prepared by EU. As Freedom House rating shows that, there has been made various reforms as well, in terms of political rights and civil liberties which have increased the Turkey`s scores. Especially, after the EU accession partnership agreements started by 1999, Turkey adopted itself to the EU related reforms and this changed Turkey`s ratings to the three both on Political Rights and Civil Liberties in 2005. But reform has been partly slowed since 2005. Ozer says that: *“Furthermore, torture and bad treatment applications to us significantly reduced with EU accession process between 2000 -2005. However, after the 2005 there emerged a negative atmosphere in Turkey”* (Author Interview, see AppendixB). This is due to the Turkey`s unstable domestic political condition.

Year	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Status
2002	4	5	Partly Free
2003	3	4	Partly Free
2004	3	4	Partly Free
2005	3	3	Partly Free
2006	3	3	Partly Free
2007	3	3	Partly Free
2008	3	3	Partly Free
2009	3	3	Partly Free
2010	3	3	Partly Free

However, most of the Freedom House annual reports on civil society in Turkey were positive with little exceptions. Especially, the new Law on Associations has been in force since 2004, both contributed to the Turkey’s score on civil society and gave rise to quality and quantity of civil societies. Reports in 2005 emphasized on the increasing role of civil society in Turkish politics, and also stated that “the regulation of activities and membership of NGOs have relaxed with recent reforms, also employees have the right to join trade unions and cannot discriminate against for doing so” (Freedom House, 2005). Furthermore, all the Freedom House reports from 2006 onwards mentions the role of 2004 law on association in increasing the active role of civil society on the Turkish political scene. On the other hand they focused on the 2005 implementing legislation as deficiency which allows the state to restrict groups that might oppose its interests.

Countries at Crossroads 2007 Turkey Report

Civic Engagement	Freedom of Association
4.33	4.20

Source: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/ccr/ChartsCCR2007.pdf>

Note: Scores are based on a scale of 0 to 7, with 0 representing weakest and 7 representing strongest performance; a score of 5.00 represents the basic standards of domestic governance.

Additionally, Freedom House “Turkey in Transition” report in 2008 has mentioned the increasing impact of NGOs in Turkey and also emphasized the EU integration process of Turkey in having significant impact on multiple front,

including funding opportunities, capability/skill, and the reduction of legislative restrictions, as well as increased influence in decision-making spheres. “In order to comply with the Copenhagen Criteria, Turkey has made a substantial amount of progress since 2002 with regard to the legal environment in which Turkish civil society functions” (Freedom House report, 2008;14). According to the report, “the notion of corporate social responsibility is becoming more popular in the Turkey and benefiting civil society, which has crucial importance in order to have consolidated democracy” (2008;15).

On the other hand, the current government’s selective behaviors criticized by report in 2008. “A small circle around the prime minister is largely able to decide which NGOs will be included in the decision-making processes. In many cases, NGOs complain that the process is not working as envisioned. On contrary, there are also exceptions to this claim as well, the example is NGOs being included in the efforts to combat violence against women” (2008; 16).

As a result, while those deficiencies stay there, there has been made big democratic efforts in order to catch up the EU standards on civil society issue, and which also reflected to the Freedom House reports.

4 Analyses

4.1 Analyzing the Measures of Europeanization in Turkey

4.1.1 Conditionality

In theory chapter we have presented the Europeanization as structural change which affects actors, institutions, ideas and interests, and this definition has divided into two approaches; one is maximalist and the other is minimalist. The maximalist approach defines the Europeanization as exhibiting similar attributes to those that predominate in the system, in the European system. Since Turkey's state ideology has been constructed on "westernization" concept from early 1920s onwards, therefore maximalist approach is applicable to Turkey. Put differently, the European idea is a constitutive part of Turkey's political identity since the beginning of 20th century. However, the minimalist definition views the Europeanization as a domestic transformative tool which has done by conditionality that emanates from candidacy and is conditional to the ultimately EU membership as reward. Thus, since Turkey is a candidate state which has been attempting to implement the Copenhagen Criteria from 1999 post-Helsinki era onwards.

In 2002 EU Copenhagen Summit, the EU has provided an external incentive where the political reform package was put on the table as *Democratic conditionality*. The aim was to create a framework including norms of human rights and liberal democracy and also to establish institutional ties such as associations. The EU said that; if Turkey fulfills these criteria until 2004, the accession negotiation will start as a reward of this process (Copenhagen Summit, 2002). Therefore the commencement of accession negotiations was conditional to implement reform package. Accordingly, Turkey successfully implemented the reform package thus accession negotiations has initiated by the EU as reward for Turkey in 2005. It has proved that if the Turkey comply the criteria, rewards will be given immediately. Thereafter, the reliability of rewards has motivated Turkey to make substantive reforms and this can be seen as positive result of conditionality.

Moreover, the *Acquis conditionality* for concrete membership has been continuing with ups and downs to get membership reward in accordance with Copenhagen Criteria since 2005. Likewise, reforms by conditionality also transformed the public in a more positive about the EU, because one of the most crucial and exciting developments of the post-Helsinki era was the emergence of domestic actors outside the government. These actors were interest groups, big business community TUSIAD, other CSOs, media and universities: that is they act as internal pressure and support the EU reform process. Similarly, the European Commission's annual reports exerted considerable pressure toward the amendment of the Constitution and the drafting of the new Law on Association in 2004. This pressure attempt of the EU can be interpreted as indirect affect of conditionality; it has also been called as "societal channel" in which empowerment of domestic actors strengthens the bargaining power of conditionality. Subsequently, the new Law on Association has facilitated the work of the local NGOs, liberal intellectuals, business capital, and reformist bureaucrats for reform process in Turkey. Consequently, the institutional ties has formed both to bridge state/society-individual relations and to put pressure on government for continuing democratic reforms. As an illustration, the Economic Development Foundation's (IKV) campaign in 2001 for agenda setting in order to monitor and push the governmental activity on harmonization with the EU, and the Civil Society Platform's (CCP) notice with 175 CSOs for politicians to take brave steps on the way to EU membership, can be given. In this sense Kurt mentioned that: *"Thus, especially after the legal reforms which removed the restrictions on international activities of associations, we have formed MUSIAD federations and representations in Europe, to follow and to make intervention on the EU process"* (Author Interview, see Appendix B).

As a result, the EU's adaptation pressure exerted on Turkey in the form of political conditionality facilitated and intensified the presence of CSOs and which also internalized the Europeanization and provides social learning in accordance with EU standards.

4.1.2 Civil Society as Mediating Factor in Social Learning

Checkel says that; if the norms and values of the EU have some resonance with pre-existing norms, values and practices in target country, then actors becomes more open to social learning and persuasion, likewise there needs to be identification of target state itself with the EU (1999). In essence, the identification and resonance are the key concepts of the social learning model here. As we mentioned previously, the Turkey's state ideology based on westernization concept, in which the idea of Europe has become the main aim since 1950s, the western values are accepted as appropriate, which we have seen even in governmental discourses, such as; *“Accession to the EU is one of the biggest project which stands in front of Turkey. This is also the concrete ideal of formation of Turkish Republic. Turkey as democratic, secular and constitutional state, the EU will be a ladder in order to reach universal standards and contemporary norms. We have strictly focused on full membership of EU we do not accept any other alternative without EU”* (Erdogan, 2008). Accordingly, this illustrates that Turkey identifies itself with Europe and successful reforms made willingly by Turkey since 1999. Hence, as social learning model suggested that persuasion becomes easier rather than coercion in Turkey. Consequently, it is crucial to have internal willingness to comply the EU related reforms together with bargaining about conditions and rewards as a result of conditionality.

On the other hand when it comes to the domestic values, norms and practices, there have been observed some misfit between Turkey and EU, this is because of the religious difference and traditional practices. Therefore this has lowered the resonance with pre-existing domestic norms and values with the EU. In this point, active participation of civil society becomes important anchor to inform the citizens about the EU's norms and values. Particularly, the TUSIAD's report on democratization in 1997, and educational service of CYDD on the importance of human rights (citizens, social, worker rights) in six different district of Istanbul with 10.000 citizens, and also IKV seminars on EU's contributions to Turkey 2003-2004 in 27 big cities of Turkey, has provided very important contribution to the social learning and internalization of European norms and values. Hence the resonance of norms and values with EU has been achieved. Similarly, since the beginning of reform process in Turkey, the citizens have benefited much more and have been aware of their rights and freedoms, what also positively changed thoughts of skeptical Turkish citizens about the EU.

4.1.3 Consolidation of Democracy and Civil Society Nexus

As mentioned previously the Copenhagen Criteria does not merely impose to candidates to ensure the existence of an institutionally working formal democracy, but to initiate a reform process aiming at the consolidation of democracy in state-society/individual relations. In this sense, as suggested in Haerpfer's definition, a democracy has become consolidated when it guarantee; rule of law, a clear separation of power, a vibrant civil society, a democratic constitution and full protection of human rights (2009). Accordingly, the aim here is to provide a place to get full participation of people in policy making process and this can only be possible when civil society is actively functions in a state. For this purpose the CSOs become a linkage between state and society, as it acts collectively in a public sphere to express interests, passions and ideas, make demands on state and hold state officials accountable. For this reason, important influential functions of civil society include representation of interests and placement of issues on the agenda of the state (Boussard 2003: 80).

Furthermore, Turkey has demonstrated a strong political will to initialize a set of legal and constitutional changes to upgrade its democracy, which has done in accordance with Copenhagen Criteria. In this process civil society is one of the most beneficiaries of reforms, their presence has intensified in public and they actively participated in the reform process. This can also be seen in regular reports and in freedom house scores. Similarly, the civil society has been accepted as a legitimate actor by the state officials and when necessary they are consulted. For instance, nowadays, in order to alter some of the articles of the Turkish constitution have been within the voting in parliament. While preparing this on new constitution package, the AKP government officials has consulted with various civil society organizations and listened their claims on new package. On contrary, some of CSOs displayed negative view on that package, for this reason we don't surely know whether their claims are included in new Law package or not. Nevertheless, it can be perceived as a good development when we compare it with pre-Helsinki process of Turkey.

Generally speaking, the state is a superior actor with its capacity of process societal claims. Similarly, state is also an enabler of civil society as it provides financial supports, political-legal framework and state protection, thus, the Robert Dahl's conception of *enlightened understanding* with its three criteria for democratic process fits here. Dahl's institutional framework of *freedom of expression, alternative information, and association autonomy* provide protection to the civil society therefore necessary to consolidate democracy (1989). The Copenhagen Criteria is also consisting of those concepts as conditional to the candidates for full membership. In this respect, Turkey has enacted the new Law of Association in 2004 and law on Foundations in 2008 to provide legal protection to CSOs in accordance with accession partnership agreement and which then influenced positively the Turkey's scores in Freedom House rankings that rose from 5 to 3 on civil liberties in 2005. Moreover, the new Laws have been suddenly reflected to civil society activities as they published reports, gave lectures, made various seminars and press releases.

As a conclusion, Ahmet Icdugu says that, "With the increased credibility of EU membership perspective visibility and activities of CSOs in political agenda have increased through putting pressure on government for launching and/or continuing democratic reforms. In this sense it can be said that Europeanization process has provided a positive anchor and external pressure role for the emergence of these societal actors for further democratization" (2005; 3).

4.2 Conclusion

The usefulness of EU conditionality and Social Learning models as explanatory tools for the EU impact on Turkish civil society and democracy is clearly manifested. On the other hand, it is difficult to prove a direct causality between merely the EU conditionality and the reforms made by Turkey because the conditionality is only appropriate in the creation of formal democratic institutions, which impose a legal framework, namely "formal democracy". On contrary, what the EU claims to be "consolidated democracy" is only possible when the target state achieve state/society-individual relations which refers to internalization of Europeanization as suggested by the social-learning model. According to the model, the whole state starting with state bureaucracy to civil society organizations should accept Europeanization project as

appropriate and legitimate like Turkey's "westernization project". Thus, the mixture of conditionality and social-learning models rather than separately are proper to explaining the transformation of CSOs in accordance with the EU standards.

As Turkey's score (3 in both political rights and civil liberties in Freedom House) shows that Turkey is semi-consolidated democracy, which means that Turkey has to do many things in order to reach consolidated democracy. Nevertheless, the process of liberalizing the Turkey's political culture, which was launched with the series of reform packages aiming to make Turkey meet the Copenhagen Criteria created a dynamic situation. The emergence of a more effective civil society and social legitimation of its role has been achieved. Improvements in the constitutional protection of the freedom of association and new more liberal Laws on Associations were decisions corresponding not only to Copenhagen Criteria, but also to the demands of Turkish society for democracy (Regular Report, 1999;13).

Today, the CSOs' progress is in a good way to internalizing the Europeanization and social learning, so democracy. However, the central problem has been overly concentration of CSOs in big cities. They should also reach to the citizens in villages and towns in coordinating way to educate them about their rights and the ways to claim for the same via CSOs. Therefore, this is necessary for the active participation of the majority of ordinary citizens to the Europeanization process. Put it differently, it is of utmost importance for a country to explain to the all citizens that Europeanization cannot be successfully realized without the active participation of each and every citizen in the process, because it is something that affect the entire community. As a result increasing presence and participation of CSOs in these areas will tremendously intensify which is a necessary precondition for full participatory democracy.

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6. Appendices

6.1 Appendix A- Freedom House Guidelines and Ratings

Freedom House provided guidelines for ratings and a checklist of questions covering seven categories: electoral process; civil society; independent media; national democratic governance; local democratic governance; judicial framework and independence (formerly constitutional, legislative, and judicial framework); and corruption. This can be summarized under two broad categories: political rights and civil liberties. The political rights and civil liberties categories contain numerical ratings between 1 and 7 for each country. For reading its democracy scorecard, it offers the guide.

Democracy Score	Regime Type
1-2	Consolidated democracy
3	Semi-consolidated democracy
4	Transitional government or hybrid type
5	Semi-consolidated authoritarian regime
6-7	Consolidated authoritarian regime

The ratings reflect the consensus of Freedom House. The democracy score is an average of ratings for political rights and civil liberties scores where ratings are based on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 7 the lowest. The Democracy Score in an average of ratings for the categories tracked in a given year.

6.2 Appendix B- List of Interviewees and Interview Guide

List Of Interviewees

- 1. Ahmet Faruk Unsal, General Chairman**, Association of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People (MAZLUMDER), Istanbul, (Mail Interview, 25 April 2010)
- 2. Evren Ozer, Officer of Center of Documentation**, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV), Ankara, (Mail Interview, 27 April 2010)
- 3. Ahmet Emin Dag, Member of Broad Directors**, The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedom and Humanitarian Relief (IHH), Istanbul, (Mail Interview, 12 May 2010)
- 4. Hakan Kurt, Economic Research Coordinator**, Independent Industrial and Businessman's Association (MUSIAD), Istanbul, (Mail Interview, 14 May 2010)

Questions:

In which way have your activities has been influenced by the Europeanization process? And do you perceive this to be positive or negative?

Answers:

Interviewee 1, Ahmet Faruk Unsal;

Turkey has made many reforms with the commencement of negotiation process and those reforms positively contributed to the social life and our activities. Especially, it has contributed and given a crucial rise to the areas of freedom of expression and human rights, and this positively affected our works. Now, we as a human rights association has been very much benefited from those legal reforms, for instance, now it is more easy to defend any victim/s and also easy to reach positive solution and also it is really good to know that someone asks our opinions on policy making and reform agenda. However, nowadays the reforms are slowing down and this disturbing.

But, unfortunately the ECHR's decision on the headscarf which was not view the Turkey's official applications inconsistent to the secularism and human rights, caused disappointment both on us and public. Also, EU's salient stance about Gaza attacks created a negative opinion in public. So as civil society organizations we always support the EU related reforms but those human rights violations and EU's stance across them disappointed us, we expected active and preventive actions from EU which we see it as a norm exporter.

Interviewee 2, Evren Ozer;

When Turkey's EU membership process has launched, there were also big amount of violence in Turkey and this situation of Turkey coincided with membership process. The unknown crimes, deaths under custodies and renditions which we intensively witnessed, seriously lowered by the impact of EU related reforms. Furthermore, torture and bad treatment applications to us significantly reduced with EU accession process between 2000 -2005. Therefore, I can say that our individual activities very much benefited from this transformation, now we are freer to express ourselves, and also we can contact with other international associations which both provide us material support and guide us how to struggle legally with human rights violations in Turkey. However, after the 2005 there emerged a negative atmosphere in Turkey, this is because, a new law enacted about the powers of the law enforcements, according to this, their powers and working areas has broadened and which sometimes caused misuses and as a result number of torture cases observed, so this new law needs to reshaped.

As I said before, we see the developments to prevent torture by the EU process as crucial steps but the negative situation especially after the 2005 is worrying to us. There needs to be done something more on implementation of those reforms.

Interviewee 3, Ahmet Emin Dag;

I should say that our activities affected positively from the EU process. Because when we compare with previous years, whereas in the general meaning the civil society works have met an independence environment, the relief associations like us have had much more functional applications with the Europeanization process. For example, in the previous years, the transportation of humanitarian aid staffs to the abroad was almost impossible; the state or state controlled institutions were monopoly, but with the legal changes which has made in the mid of 2000s, the international activities and relations of the CSOs eased. However, again in the previous years, the official state institutions had a resistance and mistrust against association and foundations kind of organizations, but, this understanding has totally changed with legal and practical adjustments and became more libertarian. Now, when we go to the associations department of the police, we are facing more respectable treatment.

Another innovation has been on humanitarian aid staffs which we intend to import from international humanitarian associations. This was almost impossible before the reform process but thanks to the new application, now we can import the humanitarian aid staffs without tariffs.

Interviewee 4, Hakan Kurt;

We have seen the EU accession process as a development process, which will increase the quality, effectiveness and flexibility of our nation and state. The commencement of accession negotiations in 2005 has brought a new revision and transformation excitement on all the sides of public, because they have benefited much from this process, like us. In this respect, we have aimed to inform the

people and the state bureaucracy about the gains of this process, and facilitate it, which is also a result of the EU related reforms. Before the EU process it was not possible for us to give recommendations to state, but now, they sometimes consult us before initiate a process, which is about business in particular and political reforms in general.

Furthermore, the EU process has increased our effectiveness as a legislative actor. For instance, as MUSIAD we have formed an EU commission and EU coordination departments in order to follow, analyze and investigate the success and failures of the process by determining the deficiencies and legal gaps which prevent the Turkey to go further. And also we have made researches on the meaning and impact of the EU process especially to SMEs (Small and Medium sized Entrepreneurships), which constitute the general structure of our organization. Thus, by publishing the periodic reports and journals to public and particularly to state officials, we share our opinions and try to make the process easier.

However, the Foreign Relations Commission of our organization has contacted with multiple European states, to investigate their relations with business society and impact of them on policy making and also signed association agreements to work in coordination with them. Therefore, especially after the legal reforms which removed the restrictions on international activities of associations, we have formed MUSIAD federations and representations in Europe, to follow and to make intervention the EU process.

As a result, I can say that, the EU process has influenced our activities positively by increasing our effectiveness as a legislative actor. In addition, more liberalization of economy by this process has also facilitated the SMEs working conditions and removed the challenges in start up process.

