

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN TURKEY: A CRITICAL
EVALUATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY-DEMOCRACY RELATIONSHIP IN THE
CONTEXT OF TURKEY-EU RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN TURKEY: A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF CIVIL-SOCIETY-DEMOCRACY RELATIONSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY-EU RELATIONS

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This thesis tries to analyze the role of civil society within the process of democratization in Turkey with special reference to the impact of civil society policies of the EU on the internal operating styles of civil society organizations in Turkey. In this respect, a critical evaluation of the said issue was tried to be put forward in the sense that the extensive discussions on the concept of civil society were examined and gathered with the observations and empirical evidence gained on the subject in order to reach an answer on the very nature of civil society-democracy relationship. In doing this, the purpose was to uncover the reasons behind the recent popularization of the concept as an indispensable precondition of democracy and to question whether certain circumstances exist under which the term may rather harm than enable the process of democratization. Within this framework, the consideration of the civil society policies of the EU implemented in Turkey was seen as all the more necessary because of the fact that the process of Turkey's EU membership has major implications for not only the process of democratization in Turkey, but also on the development of civil society as a significant part of this process.

In accordance with the purpose of the study, in order to understand the extent of democratic capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey and the impact of the EU in that sense, a field research was conducted in Ankara, Turkey with the participation of 46 CSOs active mostly in the fields of women, children, disabled, human rights and environment. Through the field research, the main purpose was to understand the dynamics of the internal operating styles of those organizations, their views concerning the relations between CSOs as well as between the CSOs and the state on the one hand, to measure the extent to which their participation to civil society programs of the EU influence their intra-organizational structures on the other.

According to the results of the field research, over the experience of 46 participant organizations, an analysis of the extent to which the EU-implemented civil society programs serve for the building of democratic capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey was tried to be made.

Keywords: Capacity Building, Civil Society Organizations, Civil Society Development Program, Democratization, European Union

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE SİVİL TOPLUM VE DEMOKRATİKLEŞME: TÜRKİYE-AB İLİŞKİLERİ BAĞLAMINDA SİVİL TOPLUM-DEMOKRASİ İLİŞKİSİNİN ELEŞTİREL BİR DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

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Bu çalışma, sivil toplumun Türkiye’de demokratikleşme sürecindeki rolünü, Avrupa Birliği’nin sivil toplum politikalarının Türkiye’deki sivil toplum kuruluşlarının iç işleyişleri üzerindeki etkilerine vurgu yaparak anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, sivil toplum kavramı üzerine yapılmış geniş tartışmaların incelenmesi ve bu incelemenin çalışmanın konusuna ilişkin edinilen gözlemler ve ampirik verilerle birleştirilmesi suretiyle, sivil toplum-demokrasi ilişkisinin eleştirel bir değerlendirmesi ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Sivil toplum kavramının yakın zamanda demokrasinin vazgeçilmez bir ön koşulu olarak popülerleşmesinin arkasındaki nedenleri ortaya çıkarma ve söz konusu kavramın demokratikleşme sürecini desteklemekten çok zarara uğratabileği belli koşulların varlığını sorgulama temel amaç olarak benimsenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, hem Türkiye’deki demokratikleşme süreci hem de bu sürecin önemli bir parçası olarak Türkiye’de sivil toplumun geliştirilmesi üzerindeki ana etkilerinden dolayı, Avrupa Birliği’nin Türkiye’de uygulanmakta olan sivil toplum politikalarının ele alınması son derece zaruri görülmüştür.

Çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda, Türkiye’deki sivil toplum kuruluşlarının demokratik kapasitelerinin kapsamının ve bu anlamda Avrupa Birliği sivil toplum politikalarının etkilerinin anlaşılması amacıyla, Ankara’da, çoğunlukla kadın, çocuk, engelliler, insan hakları ve çevre alanlarında çalışma yapan 46 sivil toplum kuruluşunun katılımı ile bir saha çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Saha çalışması vasıtası ile bir yandan katılımcı kuruluşların iç işleyişlerine ilişkin dinamikler, devletle ve diğer sivil toplum kuruluşları ile olan ilişkileri, diğer yandan ise Avrupa Birliği’nin Türkiye’de sivil topluma yönelik olarak uygulamakta olduğu programlara katılımlarının örgütsel yapıları üzerinde ne gibi etkilere yol açtığı anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Gerçekleştirilen saha çalışmasının sonuçları doğrultusunda, katılımcı 46 kuruluşun deneyimleri üzerinden, Avrupa Birliği’nin Türkiye’de sivil topluma yönelik olarak uyguladığı programların ne ölçüde Türkiye’deki sivil toplum kuruluşlarının demokratik kapasitelerinin geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunduğuna ilişkin bir analiz yapılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Birliği, Demokratikleşme, Kapasite Geliştirme, Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Programı, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBOs	: Community-based Organizations
CONECCS	: Consultation, The European Commission, Civil Society
CSDC	: Civil Society Development Center
CSDP	: Civil Society Development Program
CSOs	: Civil Society Organizations
DISK	: Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
EEC	: European Economic Community
EIDHR	: The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
ESC	: The Economic and Social Committee
EU	: The European Union
KADER	: The Association for Supporting & Educating Women Candidates
NGOs	: Non-governmental Organizations
TEU	: Treaty on European Union
TOSAV	: Foundation for Research of Societal Problems
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Context of the Study

The concept of civil society, which is frequently used in today's political science terminology, has acquired its contemporary meaning as a consequence of a series of discussions within the history of Western Political Thought as well as the social and economic transformations experienced within Western Society. Today, we are witnessing a variety of uses and meanings of the concept in social and political milieu and it seems that the only consensus among the intellectuals with regard to the meaning of civil society is the ambiguity of the concept, which arises, largely, from its changing meaning over time.

The concept of civil society was reinvented in Eastern Europe and Latin America in the 1980s with the emergence of the opposition movements against the despotic, totalitarian and non-democratic regimes in these regions. The concept then found its way into the policy language of Europe and North America also, where there has been a process of rediscovery of the home-grown, but long forgotten concept of civil society. Subsequently, the term has traveled to almost all corners of the globe, through intellectual exchange, activist discourse and the official policies of development donors and politicians.¹ In this way, while civil society has become central to democratic theory, the sphere it corresponds to is, to a large extent, acknowledged to be referring to active citizenship, to growing self-organization outside formal political circles, and expanded space in which

¹ Glasius, Marlies, Lewis, David and Seckinelgin, Hakan, "Exploring Civil Society Internationally" in Marlies Glasius, David Lewis and Hakan Seckinelgin (ed.), *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*, London & New York: Routledge, 2004, p.3.

individual citizens can influence the conditions in which they live both directly through self-organization and through political pressure².

Under these new circumstances, while an extensive revival of civil society within democratic theory has been experienced, it becomes especially its organizational forms, which the concept of civil society is mostly identified with in the context of contemporary discussions on civil society-democracy relationship. Hence, the glorification of a model of civil society that is principally based on the constitution or support of certain organizational forms, such as NGOs (Non-governmental organizations), voluntary associations, etc., has become a tendency that can be observed throughout the world today. In that sense, by the 1990s, civil society organizations (CSOs) were started to be launched as one of the most prominent advocates of democracy at the national, regional and global level with a great emphasis on their autonomous, voluntary and democratic characteristics.

Nevertheless, such extreme popularization of CSOs as the leading figures of democratization has given rise to the emergence of not only positive, but also negative attributes to the role of civil society as well as its organizational forms within the political democratization processes. In that sense, it is drawn attention to the drawbacks of taking civil society-democracy relationship as given and the possibility that the term may rather harm than enable the process of democratization under certain circumstances. Within this framework, the critical thinkers of civil society emphasize that although the concept's origins date back to Greek political philosophy and that there is no reconciled meaning of the term at present, it becomes an indispensable condition of democracy in the hands of the contemporary liberal thinkers. Furthermore, the fact that it is especially the organizational view of the term, which is glorified with great enthusiasm within its contemporary revival, has transformed the concept into a considerably quantitative category of the process of democratization and result in the fact the

² Kaldor, Mary, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003, p.8.

sphere of civil society becomes reduced to the sum of NGOs, voluntary associations, foundations, etc. However, such stance leads to nothing, but disregarding of the fact that the democratic character that is supposed to be inherent within CSOs, to a great extent, depends on the extent to which they are democratic and participatory with regard to their own intra-organizational structures and decision-making procedures. Moreover, reduction of the sphere of civil society to the sum of organizations active within this field also results in the overlooking of some significant parameters of civil society-democracy relationship such as the dynamics of communication and dialogue between civil groups as well as their interactions with their target audience and with the society at large. In this regard, there is no doubt that failing to examine the extent to which the actors of civil society respond to the needs of their target audience as well as the particular factors that limit their capacity to create common platforms for themselves to engage in partnerships and to enhance the communication and dialogue between themselves would lead to an incomplete analysis of civil society-democracy relationship.

The concept of civil society has been intensively debated also in Turkey since 1980s. As the process of Turkey's EU membership was accelerated by 1999, when Turkey was declared to be a candidate country, the concept of civil society started to take a much wider place in the agendas of academic and intellectual circles as well as in the media. The European Union gives considerable significance to the development of civil society within the framework of its human rights and democratization policy, as it views civil society as playing a valuable role in helping advance democracy, disciplining state, ensuring that citizens' interests are taken seriously and fostering greater civic and political participation³. In this respect, the EU not only encourages a coherent approach for the representation of civil society organizations at the European level, but also encourages the development of civil society in the candidate countries as part of

³ Carothers, Thomas, "Think Again: Civil Society", *Foreign Policy Magazine*, Winter 1999-2000 edition, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/civsoc.htm>

their preparation for membership. It starts and supports various programs with the purpose of increasing the capacity of civil society organizations in candidate countries and ensuring that they play an active role in the process of democratization. In this context, civil society appears to be an essential part of the EU-related democratization process in Turkey and especially by the beginning of the candidacy process, several civil society-oriented programs have been commenced by the EU in Turkey in order to support the projects and activities of civil society organizations as well as for building their capacity in democratic terms.

Within this framework, what this study directly deals with is the impact of EU-implemented programs, aimed at enhancing the capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey, on the internal operating styles of those organizations and their role within the process of democratization in Turkey. In examining this issue, the study particularly focuses on the intra-organizational practices of civil society organizations, their relations with the state and other actors of civil society and their experiences regarding their participation to either the capacity building/project management training programs or the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey. In this respect, what the study particularly tries to understand is whether the civil society policies of the EU has led to any transformations in the internal operating styles of civil society organizations in Turkey and respond to their principal needs in terms of enhancement of their capacity for deepening and consolidation of democracy.

In this context, what is meant by making a “critical” evaluation of civil society-democracy relationship is to analyze the literature on the subject by supporting it with observations, experience and reasoning and weighing of evidence in order to discern what information is reliable and what information is less credible. In other words, instead of taking the acquired information for granted, what is seen as important here is to analyze the information considering both its merits and its shortcomings. In this respect, the stance of the thesis can be said to be shaped

around the argument that the significance of a civil society based democratization model for Turkey cannot be underestimated, but in examining this process, rather than exalting the civil society organizations excessively or denying them unjustly, it is necessary that, within their own specific conditions, the extent to which they have the capacity to promote democratization in Turkey should be investigated. In this regard, rather than unconditionally accepting the civil society organizations as the indispensable means of democratization, the starting point should be to ask, “To what extent are the civil society organizations themselves democratic?”, “How far their own customs and practices are democratic?”, “Do they have the capacity to transform themselves and to influence the process of democratic transformation in Turkey?” and more importantly “Do the EU-implemented civil society programs really serve for the building of democratic capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey?”

1.2. The Methodology of the Study

In order to answer the main research questions as well as to test the extent of democratic capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey and the impact of the EU in that sense, the internal operating styles of 46 civil society organizations in Ankara were investigated with special reference to their relations with the EU. In this respect, between February-May 2006, series of interviews were conducted with the administrators and members/volunteers of 46 CSOs active in Ankara, Turkey, which have previously taken part in the civil society programs of the EU, either by taking funds for their projects or participating in the capacity-building/project management training programs. However, it is significant to emphasize that most of the observations used to support the findings of the field research date back to the beginning of the year 2005.

Through the field research, the main purpose was to understand the dynamics of the internal operating styles of those organizations, their views concerning the relations between CSOs as well as between the CSOs and the state on the one

hand, to measure the extent to which their participation to civil society programs of the EU influence their intra-organizational structures on the other. For the conduct of the field research, mainly, survey technique was used, which was supported by participant observations and deep interviews.

While determining the sample, since a nation-wide research exceeds the capabilities of this study, the boundaries of the sample was limited to Ankara, in which the bulk of the CSO population in Turkey is concentrated. The sole determining criterion shared by all the participant organizations was that, within the framework of the EU-implemented civil society programs in Turkey, they either took funds for financing their projects or participated in the capacity-building/project management training programs. In accordance with the general framework of the study, the organizations, which took funds, were chosen from the ones that have participated in the Civil Society Development Program, MEDA Program or the Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights and the ones that have involved in the training programs were the participants of capacity building/project management training programs of CSDP. Furthermore, most of the participants were chosen from associations, while the rest is composed of foundations, trade unions, non-profit organizations and citizen initiatives. The chambers of commerce and industry as well as the professional chambers were excluded from the study because of the fact that their participation does not depend on voluntarism.

Within this framework, the field research was able to contact 46 CSOs active mostly in the fields of women, children, disabled, human rights and environment. In addition to these, the other fields, in which the participant organizations are active, were generally the social sciences, tourism, history, science and technology, culture and arts, education and communication. In fact, in order to increase representativeness, it was aimed to work with a broader sample, but due to the nature of the research as well as the problems specific to some of the contacted organizations themselves, the number of participants was kept at 46.

The limitation derived from the nature of the research is that in order to measure the EU-effect, the participants should be involved in one of the determined civil society programs of the EU implemented in Turkey. Therefore, in the beginning of the field research, firstly, the CSOs in Ankara, which met this criterion, that is to say, the maximum number of CSOs that could be contacted were specified. Afterwards, the problems derived from the contacted organizations themselves further narrowed the sample, such as the reluctance of some of the CSO administrators to participate in the study as well as the difficulties with regard to allocating time for meeting.

In implementing the survey technique, 4 different questionnaire forms were used for four different types of participants, which are the administrators of the organizations participated in grant programs, members of the organizations participated in grant programs, administrators of the organizations participated in training programs and members of the organizations participated in training programs. Thus, the questionnaire forms mainly differ from each other according to the type of the program participated by the organization on the one hand, the respondent's status within his/her organization on the other. The questionnaires can be said to be composed of two main sections. For the administrators' questionnaire form, the first section aims to put forth the physical as well as the financial portrait of the organization, its membership structure and the perceptions regarding the relations with the state and other CSOs. As for the second section, it is mainly aimed to measure whether the organization's involvement in the civil society programs of the EU has led to any transformations within its intra-organizational structure or any major effects, negative or positive, are in question. Furthermore, the extent to which those programs respond to the needs of CSOs in Turkey in terms of contributing to their capacity to promote democratization is also a major issue that the second section aims to understand. For the members' questionnaires, the first section completely aims to measure the level of participation of members in the decision making mechanisms of the organization and their perceptions regarding in-house democracy and participation. As for the

second section, it aims to understand how the members evaluate their organizations' participation in the civil society programs of the EU and their conclusions about the extent to which participating in those programs contribute to the strengthening of democracy and participation within the organization.

With regard to the questions existing in all of the four questionnaire forms, four main question formats were used, namely, the yes/no questions, multiple choice questions, open ended questions that require the comments of the respondents on a particular issue and the questions that include measures of agreement with a given statement. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that not all the multiple choice questions are mutually exclusive, but the respondents were allowed to select as many of the choices as they felt appropriate.

Regarding all the limitations and the general framework of the study explained above, there is no doubt that this field research in no way portraits the whole picture of the civil society or the civil society organizations in Turkey. In other words, it does not have any claim to serve for such a purpose. Rather, the position here is only to try to understand the internal dynamics of the field of civil society in Turkey with special reference to the impact of EU in this regard, over the experiences of 46 CSOs active in Ankara. Thus, the conclusions drawn from the experiences of 46 CSOs interviewed for the field research cannot be considered as having a complete representativeness in terms of reflecting the characteristics of the field of civil society in Turkey. In this respect, the main reason behind the selection of Ankara as the area for conducting the field research is firstly the problem of accessibility, as extending the borders of the field research exceeds the capacity of the study especially in terms of time and finance. Secondly, the fact that Ankara hosts a considerable number of the CSOs active in Turkey also makes it an appropriate location for the implementation of the field research. Furthermore, the fact that Ankara is the capital city of Turkey makes it a convenient place in terms of observing Turkey-EU relations and the reflections of those relations on the development of civil society in Turkey. It is significant to

emphasize that as the participation to civil society programs of the EU is the main criterion in determining the sample, in this respect, Ankara offers the opportunity to reach a greater number of CSOs that comply with the said criterion because of the fact that the CSOs in Ankara have more chance to access the information regarding those programs vis a vis the CSOs located in other cities.

1.3. The Organization of the Study

As mentioned, this study aims to critically analyze the internal operating styles of civil society organizations in Turkey, with special reference to the impact of civil society-oriented programs of the EU on the intra-organizational structures of those organizations. Within this framework, the next chapter discusses the conceptual history of the term civil society by focusing on the transformations and changes that the concept underwent and how it was analyzed and interpreted by various different perspectives throughout different stages of history until it has acquired its contemporary meaning. In this regard, starting from the Aristotle's concept of *politike koinonia*, the approaches of the social contract thinkers Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau as well as the enlightenment thinkers Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith are examined. The conceptions of Hegel, Marx and Gramsci as well as the contemporary debates on the concept also constitute major parts of the second chapter.

Chapter 3 examines the civil society politics of the EU by taking into consideration how the EU defines the concept of civil society as well as encourages the representation of the civil society organizations at the European level. As the danger of over-glorification of civil society in terms of democratization is a current issue, the critical evaluation of the potential dangers of civil society engagement at the EU level is also discussed. In this respect, possible negative consequences of the participation of civil society in the multi-level system are taken into consideration. In addition, the policies implemented by

the EU for the promotion of civil society development in third countries constitute the final section of the third chapter.

Chapter 4 discusses the relationship between civil society and democratization in Turkey from a critical perspective in the context of Turkey-EU relations. In this respect, starting with the problem of definition of the concept, how different thinkers approach the issue of who is to be counted as a civil society organization in Turkey is examined as well as the extent to which those approaches are consistent with or differ from the EU-definition of the concept is put forward. Furthermore, the critical evaluations of the role of civil society organizations within the process of democratization in Turkey is mentioned in detail, by taking into consideration the dynamics regarding their intra-organizational practices as well as how they position themselves vis a vis the state and other actors of civil society. The final section of the fourth chapter is constituted by the policies of the EU for supporting the development of civil society and democratization in Turkey. In this respect, alongside with the background of Turkey-EU relations in the context of civil society and democratization, the particular programs implemented by the EU for the enhancement of the capacity of civil society in Turkey are discussed.

As for Chapter 5, it is allocated for the evaluation of the field research conducted in Ankara with 46 participant organizations. In this respect, firstly, the methodology and the scope of the field study are explained in detail and the limitations that were confronted during the implementation process are interpreted. Concerning the evaluations derived from the field research, the financial portrait and the membership profile of the sample as well as the relations with the state and other civil society organizations are discussed by taking into consideration the point of views of both the administrators and members/volunteers participated in the study. In addition, the internal operating styles of the participant organizations are examined mainly by depending on the interviews conducted with members/ volunteers with the principal purpose of

understanding the extent to which they are active within the decision-making procedures of their respective organizations as well as learning their opinions regarding in-house democracy and participation. The evaluations regarding the impact of EU-implemented civil society programs in Turkey on the internal dynamics of participant organizations as well as the explanation of their needs and expectations in general also constitute the major sections the fifth chapter.

Finally, in the conclusion part, which is the sixth chapter, alongside with the overall evaluation of the field research in the light of the general conceptual framework of the thesis, some proposals are also tried to be put forward in terms of the solution of the problems of civil society organizations, experienced within the framework of their role in promoting democratization in Turkey.

CHAPTER II

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRACY: THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, “Civil Society” started to occupy the Social Sciences literature as the key concept of an “ideal” social and political organization. Within this period, the democratization wave, which is named by Huntington as the “third wave”, led to the revival of civil society within the democratic theory. Thanks to the dramatic changes occurred in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989, the concept was not only started to be identified with a sphere that is autonomous from the state, but also acknowledged as a counterbalance to the state as one of the main agents of democratization. Thereby, in the course of the wave of political change, civil society was attributed a central role in promoting democracy within the framework of some normative elements, such as pluralism, participation, voluntarism, autonomy, etc.

Before it has acquired its contemporary meaning, the concept of civil society had passed through a long conceptual history within which it was tried to be understood and analyzed from various different perspectives, each of which was influenced, to a great extent, from the historical conditions of the society in which they were born. In this regard, although the first attributions to civil society-democracy relationship were seen in early nineteenth century in the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, namely *Democracy in America*, until the second half of the twentieth century, civil society was predominantly analyzed with regard to its position vis a vis the state or political society. In that sense, the representatives of the social contract tradition in 17th century as well as the 18th and 19th century Enlightenment thinkers not only constituted the conceptual foundations of civil society, but also laid the groundwork for the modern conception of the term appeared in twentieth century.

2.1. The Origins of the Concept of Civil Society

Although the contemporary term “civil society” has its origins in the early modern period that is 17th and 18th centuries, the term, in fact, appeared earlier. Similar to all Western political concepts, it can be traced back to Greek political philosophy. It was first seen in the studies of Aristotle who used the concept as *politike koinonia*, which corresponds to “political community” or “political society”. The term was translated into Latin as *societas civilis*, which was used as equal to the political society, that is to say, identical with the state. Hence, it is not possible to talk about a state-society differentiation in Aristotelian concept.

Politike koinonia was defined by Aristotle as a public ethical-political community of free and equal citizens under a legally defined system of rules⁴. However, the law itself was seen here as the expression of an *ethos*, a common set of norms and values defining not only political procedures, but also a substantive form of life based on a developed catalogue of preferred virtues and forms of interaction⁵. Although there is a duality between the *polis* (city) and the *oikos* (household) in Aristotle’s conception, this does not point to an opposition between the two. This is because the *oikos*, which represents the private life of individuals, constitutes nothing, but the natural background of the *polis*. In this regard, civil society, which is accepted as the political society that encircles the whole city, is remote from defining a space that is either separate from or counter to the state⁶.

The Aristotelian identification of state and society followed a similar path until Hegel, including the social contract thinkers Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. The

⁴ Cohen, Jean L., Arato, Andrew, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992, p.84.

⁵ *ibid.*, p.84. (see Riedel, Manfred, “Gesellschaft, bürgerliche”, in O. Brunner, W. Conze and R. Koselleck (ed.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Vol.2, Stuttgart: Klett, 1975)

⁶ Erdoğan Tosun, Gülgün, *Demokratikleşme Perspektifinden Devlet-Sivil Toplum İlişkisi*, İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım Ltd. Şti., 2001, p.30-31.

renaissance of the concept in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was inextricably linked to theories of individual rights and the idea of social contract⁷. Within the social contract tradition, civil society was generally defined in contrast to the state of nature. In other words, civil society is understood as a society where individuals come together to make a social contract in order to end the state of nature, whose outcome was expressed as the rule of law and the existence of a state, which is also subject to law. However, despite their common reliance on the early notions of natural law and the idea of social contract, what differentiate the contractual thinkers from each other are basically their distinct views of the nature of relationship between state and civil society.

In Thomas Hobbes's theory, the social contract creates a state, not society and the fusion of society is accomplished only by the power of the state⁸. In other words, only an absolute authority could keep the worst impulses of humankind in check, which indicates the confrontational and aggressive nature of the individual in his understanding. Within this framework, civil society was characterized by Hobbes as a social order, which is designed by the state, in opposition to an order designed by the natural law. The state in Hobbesian model is the antithesis of the state of nature (which means war in Hobbesian theory), appeared as *societas naturalis* constituted by the hypothetically free and equal individuals. However, different from the Aristotelian concept, while the *societas civilis* in the Aristotelian model is still a natural society, the same *societas civilis* in Hobbesian model is an instituted or artificial society⁹. Such a difference can also be explained by the fact that while the ancient concept relied on a notion of moralized law rooted in *ethos*, in the Hobbesian model, what is mentioned is a positive law

⁷ Kaldor, Mary, "Civil Society and Accountability", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol.4 No.1, 2003, p.6.

⁸ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.87.

⁹ Bobbio, Norberto, *Democracy and Dictatorship: The Nature and Limits of State Power*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, p.35.

limited to enactment or command and it is this emphasis on the positive law, which makes the *societas civilis* an instituted society.

The principal difference of Locke's theory from Hobbes is his different understanding of the state of nature. According to him, war is not an inevitable characteristic of the state of nature, like Hobbes had described, but it is a state of freedom and equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal. The state of nature, according to Locke, has a law of nature to govern it, based on reason, which teaches all mankind that they are all equal and independent and no one ought to harm another's life, health, liberty or possessions. In this regard, the conclusion of the social contract, in Locke's theory, does not mean to put an end to war, but the consolidation of the already existing harmony between the independent individuals living in nature.

Where-ever therefore any number of men are so united into one society, as to quit every one his executive power of the law of nature, and to resign it to the public, there and there only is a political or civil society. And this is done, where-ever any number of men, in the state of nature, enter into society to make one people, one body politic, under one supreme government; ... And this puts men out of a state of nature into that of a common-wealth,...¹⁰

As he explained in his *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, Locke specified the product of the social contract as "political or civil society" where men agree to incorporate and act as one body in order to provide the society with a legislative power, as the public good requires. Hence, by using the concepts political and civil society interchangeably, Locke seems to continue on the path of the ancient understanding in which there is no state-society differentiation. However, despite surrendering some of their freedom when entering civil society and submitting to the government, men, according to Locke, could not submit themselves to

¹⁰ Locke, John, *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*, 1690, Chapter VII, Section 89, <http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtr07.htm>

absolute government or to enslavement, because men's natural freedom was a moral right¹¹. In this regard, Locke does clearly seek to differentiate between government and society by distinguishing between surrendering power to society and to the government, as he advocates that freedom and the rule of law should be defended against the government, if it is in the form of an absolute monarchy or acts contrary to its trust. In that sense, Locke can be said to provide important conceptual preparation for the modern redefinition of civil society, as the Enlightenment notion of "society as contrasted with the state" had its origins, to a great extent, in his works.

In Locke's scenario of the state of nature, everyone equally has the right to get use of the means that the nature serves. Thus, it is something like a common property. However, Locke also claims that each human being has the right to own the things on which he has labored. This means that there is private property also in the state of nature and it is the better protection of the right to private property which was put forward by Locke as one of the principal reasons for transition to civil or political society. Within this framework, Locke states that as there are no judges in the state of nature, who have been determined by the parties, in case of a dispute, private judgment of every particular member of the society is in question. Besides, there is also no common and objective system of punishment which would guide for the solutions. Hence, according to Locke, transition to civil or political society takes place in order to have a common established law, as settlement of standing rules, which would be same for all parties, would provide for the better protection of individual properties equally for everyone. In this regard, it can be said that there is a basic similarity between Hobbes and Locke at the theoretical level, as both put the desire of security (security of life and property) at the foundation of their reasoning for transition to civil society.

¹¹ Pedlowski, Marcos Antonio, *An Emerging Partnership in Regional Economic Development: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Local State and the World Bank. A case Study of Planaflo, Rondonia, Brazil*, Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Department of Environmental Design and Planning, Blacksburg, Virginia, April 07, 1997, p.15.

Rousseau also used the concepts of civil and political society interchangeably, but different from the other contractual thinkers, he employed a critical approach towards civil society. In his *Discourse Upon The Origin and the Foundation of The Inequality Among Mankind*, he claimed that the equality among men in the state of nature disappeared where the property was introduced. In this respect, Rousseau explains the procedure within which the “strong-weak” differentiation appeared between individuals as a result of the different natural conditions they were exposed to and how this procedure was transformed into a “rich-poor” differentiation with the rise of private property. Within this framework, Rousseau viewed the formation of civil society as depending on the appearance of the idea of property, which in turn paved the way for growing inequality among mankind.

The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself as saying *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody."¹².

According to Rousseau, “the new-born state of society”, which is a consequence of the rise of private property, damaged the equality and peace in the state of nature and gave rise to a horrible state of war between the first occupier and the strongest. In this regard, he differs from Hobbes in the sense that, for him, the state of nature is not a state of war, as whenever men get into a state of war, yet they are out of naturality. Furthermore, saying that the right of property is only a convention of human institution, Rousseau views private property as not a right deducible from the law of nature, like liberty and equality.

¹² Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *Discourse Upon The Origin and the Foundation of The Inequality Among Mankind*, 1754, Part II, Section I, http://www.constitution.org/jjt/ineq_04.htm

Nevertheless, despite problematizing the concept of inequality in relation to the right to property in his work on the discourse of inequality, Rousseau put forward the solution in his later work *Social Contract*.

"The problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before." This is the fundamental problem of which the *Social Contract* provides the solution¹³.

In *Social Contract*, Rousseau explained that the passage from the state of nature to the civil state was accomplished through the conclusion of the social contract by which the actions of men were given morality, which they formerly lacked. In this way, man would consult to his reason before listening to his inclinations, which would make him an intelligent being instead of a stupid, unimaginative animal.

Like Locke, Rousseau also advocated that the state of war could come to an end only by the legalization of private property, that is to say, by the conclusion of the social contract. While he did not view property as a natural right in his previous work, he considers private property as a citizen right in *Social Contract*. The concept of citizen is significant in Rousseau's conception of civil society. For him, each individual puts his personality and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will and each member is received as an indivisible part of the whole. Hence, a moral and collective body is created, whose members differ from the human beings in the state of nature, by becoming "citizens". In this way, on the condition that the possession is taken by labor and cultivation, the right to property of the first occupier, which in the state of nature is so weak, claims the respect of every man in civil society.

¹³ Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *Social Contract*, 1762, Book I, Part VI, Section 4, http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon_01.htm#006

It can be said that, the Enlightenment thought basically drew attention to the growth of a sphere of social life that was in fact independent from the political society and founded upon the emergent bourgeois world of commerce, exchange and commodity production. In addition, in the sphere of civil society, the individual appeared for the first time as an independent owner of private property (whether that property be capital, land, money, personal possession, labor power or one's own person) and the existence of masters and slaves, lords and bondsmen, the privileged and the dependent was deemed incompatible with its principle¹⁴. In this regard, private property appeared here as the material form in which individual rights, universal equality and respect for others are realized. However, paradoxically, this new notion of an independent social life often coexisted with the more traditional identification of civil and political society with the state. Starting with the late eighteenth century, especially with the contributions of Hegel and the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, the concept of civil society entered into a new phase of development with regard to its meaning.

2.2 The Concept of Civil Society in Hegel, Marx and Gramsci

The distinction between civil society and the state, that is to say the shift from civil society defined in contrast to the state of nature to civil society defined in contrast to the state, is associated with rise of what Charles Tilly calls the “national state” in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries¹⁵. This was the period when centralization of state power grew and various public institutions were established clearly separated from the private interests of the rulers. Hence, the proliferation of organized groups and pluralization of the society started to influence and undermine the traditional identification of civil society with the

¹⁴ Fine, Robert, “Civil Society, Enlightenment and Critique” in (ed.) Robert Fine and Shirin Rai, *Civil Society: Democratic Perspectives*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997, p.15.

¹⁵ Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, op. cit., p.18.

state. Furthermore, with the rise of commerce and trade, economic relations became a central part of the discussions on the concept of civil society.

Although not explicit, the notion of a sphere of society distinct from the state, with forms and dynamics of its own, can be seen in the works of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers. The development of commercial society in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries created the problem of maintaining order in a society with its own spontaneous and “natural” dynamics. In a period of transition from the political order of feudal hierarchy, the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers debated how these social processes themselves, with limited interventions from the state, may give rise to an ordered society¹⁶. Furthermore, besides the traditional identification of civil society with the state or political society, a new component was added to this identification by the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, who came to understand the essential feature of civil or “civilized” society, not in its political organization, but in the organization of material civilization. Here, a new identification was already being prepared: that of civil and economic society, reversing the old Aristotelian exclusion of the economic from *politike koinonia*¹⁷.

Inspired by the outstanding effects of the new industrial age, the Scottish Enlightenment thinker Adam Ferguson was concerned that commercial society brought with it developments that could lead to the destruction of moral basis of personality and of public spirit. In this regard, he considered the market sphere as representing a serious threat to civic virtue, which arose out of the increasing thirst for private wealth, which turned people away from “affairs of state”, while

¹⁶ Varty, John, “Civic or Commercial? Adam Ferguson’s Concept of Civil Society”, in (ed.) Robert Fine and Shirin Rai, *Civil Society: Democratic Perspectives*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997, p.31-32.

¹⁷ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.90.

also escalating the state's role in upholding security¹⁸. In this way, according to Ferguson, the market can lead to an atomized society which gives rise to corruption and finally political despotism¹⁹. Within this framework, Ferguson advocated that the market must be self-regulating, that is free from state interference, while it should also be reined in and not allowed to colonize civil society. In this respect, he identified associationalism as an important resolution for the rising tension between individualism and community life, but what should be emphasized is that associationalism was not defined by Ferguson as an activity outside of the state. According to him, in order to have a civil society, men needed to take an active interest in the government of their polity, instead of simply accumulating wealth and diverting themselves. Hence, the dividing line for Ferguson was not between civil society and state, but between civil society on the one hand and despotism and savage living on the other.

In parallel fashion with Ferguson, another significant Scottish Enlightenment thinker Adam Smith also drew attention to the impact of rise of commerce on the development of civil society. However, rather than a stress on the corrupting character of commercial society, Smith's emphasis was more on a reconstruction of morality through new forms of moralization and individualization. In this regard, Smith states that:

Commercial society and ethics do not merely lead to the corruption of people's moral sentiments, through the conflict of virtue with self-interest, but also to punctuality, increase of industry, fairness in exchanges, employment of the means of persuasion and mutual interest²⁰.

¹⁸Baker, Gideon, *Civil Society and Democratic Theory: Alternative Voices*, London: Routledge, 2002, p.4.

¹⁹ Varty, op. cit., p.37.

²⁰ Smith, Adam, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (ed.) D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 55-56.

Smith explains his approach through the concept of “division of labor”, which he sees as the basic factor that resolves the conflict between self-interest and virtue. He characterized the commercial society in terms of a modern division of labor, which implies systematic exchanges and commodity production, but also a particular form of social cooperation, moral perceptions of just exchanges and “moderation” of individuals’ egoism²¹. In this regard, he considered the relations of interdependence as based on mutual self-interest rather than fellow feeling, patriotism or love. Within this framework, he argued that civil society, in contrast to the traditional forms of society, is a “society of strangers”, which is, what Ioannidou calls, a “negative” constitution of society on the basis of the rationality of the division of labor. In that sense, the liberal individualism of social contract theories was contrasted to the individualization that takes place under the complex form of division of labor²².

Strongly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, Hegel was the first philosopher to begin to develop a recognizably modern notion of civil society in his *Philosophy of Right*, written in 1821. Although Hegel articulated the same tension between individual autonomy and community as the philosophers of Scottish Enlightenment, he did this without a reference to an ethical unity from without. Instead, Hegel sought to resolve the contradictions that existed in civil society as a result of its particularity by reference to the universal state. It is only at this point, then, that the idea of civil society is first concerned with the proper relation between the state and the civil society as separate spheres²³.

Hegel linked civil society to the emergence of capitalism and modernity and equated it with the term *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, which was used by him to mean

²¹Ioannidou, Anastasia, “The Politics of the Division of Labor: Smith and Hegel on Civil Society” in (ed.) Robert Fine and Shirin Rai, *Civil Society: Democratic Perspectives*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997, p.53.

²² *ibid.*, p.52-53.

²³ Baker, *op. cit.*, p.5.

both bourgeois society and civil society. He defined civil society as a realm of difference, intermediate between the family and the state, although its construction followed in point of time the construction of the state²⁴. In his *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel explained civil society within the framework of an ethical system, which is, for him, the conception of freedom that objectifies itself by passing through the form of its elements, namely, the family, which is the direct or natural ethical spirit, the civil society, which is an association of members or independent individuals in a formal universality and finally the state which is needed for the maintenance of the universal²⁵. Hegel explains the passage from family to civil society by the dissolution of the unity of the family and the confrontation of independent individuals outside the family realm. In civil society, the concrete person, who as particular is an end to himself, is a totality of wants and a mixture of necessity and caprice²⁶. However, this is only Hegel's starting point, that is to say, the system of needs is the first level of civil society, in which the subsistence and happiness of every individual is a possibility, whose realization is conditioned by the objective system of wants by which the individual is satisfied not only through his work but also through the product of the satisfaction of all others. By the administration of justice, which is the second level of civil society, legal compensation is rendered for injury done to property or person. Finally, police and corporation comes on the scene in Hegel's theory as the third level of civil society, firstly, for the security of the person and property by the removal of all fortuitous hindrances and, secondly, for the security of the individual's subsistence and happiness, as well as for the recognition and actualization of his well-being²⁷. In this regard, Hegel states that the conflicting interests of the individuals call for a regulation standing above them, which is the police control and provision. In that sense, the police can be said to represent the

²⁴ Hegel, G.W.F., *Philosophy of Right*, (trans.) S.W Dyde, Kitchener: Batoche Books Limited, 2001, p.154.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.132.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.154.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.183-184.

penetration of the state into civil society. As for the corporation, its primary functions in Hegel's theory are socialization and education. In other words, the corporation, for Hegel, helps to overcome the gap civil society produces between bourgeois and citizen by educating individuals to internalize the common good and develop civic virtue²⁸. In that sense, the expectation is that the solidarity provided by corporation would provide for the substitution of egoistic concerns by the collective ones and, in this way, the corporation becomes a means for social integration through civil society. In other words, while the ethical unity preserved by the family is lost at the level of the social needs, it is reconstructed at the level of the corporation. However, at that point, Hegel puts forwards his problem of how to move from particular to general (from "social needs" through "corporation"), given modern individuality.

Much of Hegel's discussion on civil society emphasizes the disintegration of the supposedly natural form of ethical life represented by the family in a world of egotism and alienation. Nevertheless, when he speaks of the ethical roots of the state, he speaks of the family and the corporation, the latter "planted in civil society"²⁹. In that sense, a two-sided understanding of Hegel's conception of civil society is in question; on the one hand, civil society can be interpreted only as the realm of alienation and social integration is have to be conceived exclusively on the levels of family and state, while on the other, civil society can be interpreted exclusively in terms of the forms of social integration by which the negative aspects of bourgeois civil society that Hegel was one of the first to point out in detail would be lost from view³⁰. In this respect, according to Cohen and Arato, the richness and power of Hegel's social theory lies precisely in his avoiding both a transcendent critique of civil society and an apology for bourgeois society.

²⁸ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.107.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.95.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.96.

Hegel's emphasis on the role of the state as the guarantor and supervisor of civil society appears, especially, at the level of the social needs. In this respect, since civil society implies a realm of arbitrariness, in which the individual interests, needs and wills face each other, for Hegel, it is deprived of the ability to solve these internal disputes and therefore, if not controlled and regulated politically by the state, it could not stay as "civil"³¹. Thereby, civil society is both included and transcended by the state. In that sense, Hegel perceives civil society as a dimension of the modern state and whilst the state stands out of the civil society, at the same time, the civil society takes its place as a moment in the formation process of the state³². This situation provides the civil society with a suitable condition for being both transcended and preserved.

It can be said that Hegel followed the Scottish Enlightenment tradition, as he attempted to unite a conception of ancient ethos with one of the modern freedom of the individual³³. However, it should also be stressed that, he differentiated from the Scottish philosophers by considering civil society as a sphere of contradictions which could be resolved in the higher institution of the state, which embodied the highest ethical ideas of society³⁴. Furthermore, especially contrary to the conception of Adam Smith, who identified civil society with economic interactions through the mechanism of the market, Hegel recognizes that civil society can neither restrict itself to economic relations nor permit them to have free sway. In this regard, his conclusion is that so long as the economy is left to its own logic of inter-dependent self-determinations, there is nothing to prevent economic relations from resulting in crises, overproduction, unemployment and an amassing of riches by the growing poverty of others.

³¹ Keane, John, "Despotism and Democracy", in John Keane (ed.), *Civil Society and State*, London: Verso, 1988, p.52.

³² Tosun, op. cit., p.40.

³³ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.91.

³⁴ Shaw, Martin, "Civil Society" in Lester Kurtz (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, San Diego: Academic Press, 1999, p.270.

The Hegelian concept of *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft* was later taken up by Marx and Engels who emphasized the role of economy in their conception of civil society. Marx stressed the negative aspects of civil society, its atomistic and dehumanizing features; but in doing so, he managed to deepen the analysis of the economic dimensions of the *system of needs* and went far beyond Hegel in analyzing the social consequences of capitalist development³⁵. Marx principally relates the concept of civil society to the relations of production. He considers the social-economic transformations in 17th and 18th centuries as leading to the emergence of a field of economic activity, which is not controlled or checked politically. Within this context, he views civil society as the social movement of the bourgeois class, which led to the emergence of capitalism.

The word “civil society” (*bürgerliche gesellschaft*) emerged in the eighteenth century when property relations had already extricated themselves from the ancient and medieval communal society. Civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organization evolving directly out of production and commerce, which in all ages forms the basis of the State and of the rest of the idealistic superstructure, has, however, always been designated by the same name³⁶.

Unlike Hegel, Marx and Engels argued that state is subordinate to civil society, that is to say, they saw the state as an instrument or the apparatus in the hands of the dominant classes³⁷. According to Marx, who questioned the supremacy and universality of the state in Hegelian understanding, the state is not a power which can remove the contradictions in civil society or guarantee collective interest, while it is not an institution which can ensure “reason”, either³⁸. Hence, for him,

³⁵ Cohen and Arato, op. cit., p.117.

³⁶ Marx, K., Engels, F., *German Ideology*, (ed.) J. C. Arthur, London: Lawrance and Wishart, 1996, p.57.

³⁷ Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, op. cit., p.20.

³⁸ Tosun, op. cit., p.41.

the state is not a manifestation of reason, as Hegel had described, but the reinforcement and reproduction of particular interests, which are determined historically by certain modes of production. In this respect, Marx views the state not as an entity that eliminates the state of nature, but an institution which provides for its continuation and preservation. Furthermore, in Marx' conception, civil society is not a realm of contradiction between individuals, but between classes, that is to say, between bourgeois and proletariat. Accordingly, the divide between the property owner classes (bourgeois) and those who do not have property (proletariat) is the basic defining character of civil society.

Marx follows Hegel in his understanding of civil society as bourgeois capitalist society, but differs from him in viewing civil society as the field of conflicts between competing private interests, and far from being reconciled in the state, according to Marx, these conflicts would take the form of class struggles in which the state itself would be overthrown³⁹. Furthermore, contrary to Hegelian understanding, according to Marx and Engels, it is not the state, which controls and supervises civil society, but it is the civil society which regulates and conditions the state. In this regard, they took a totally different position than Hegel on the issue of the state-society relationship, as state appears, in Marx and Engels, solely as a reflection of civil society, not as an entity which transcends it. As it is seen, Marx attributed a considerably negative meaning to civil society, which was later criticized by Cohen who argued in his *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory* that Marx had become unsuccessful in realizing the positive and progressive dimensions of civil society, such as pluralism or autonomy, because of his reductionist and completely negative view of the term.

In twentieth century, the content of the concept has been further narrowed to forms of social interaction that are distinct from both the state and the market. As

³⁹ Shaw, op. cit., p.270.

one of the followers of the Marxist theory, the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci contributed much to the revival of the concept of civil society in early 20th century. However, although a follower of Marx, Gramsci generated his own conception of civil society directly from Hegel. Unlike Marx, he did not turn to the system of needs, but to the doctrine of corporations for his inspiration. In this respect, his interpretation of Hegel is, at the same time, an implicit critique of that of Marx and Engels⁴⁰. Nevertheless, different from both Hegel and Marx, Gramsci excluded the economy from his conception of civil society, which constitutes a solid ground for the modern conception of the term. Accordingly, Gramsci recognized the new forms of plurality and association specific to modern civil society in modern churches, unions, cultural institutions, clubs, neighborhood associations and especially political parties⁴¹. In this regard, he strongly criticized the economic reductionism in Marx' conception of civil society, which, according to him, led to the protection of bourgeois society by the forms of culture and association even when the economy is in crises and the power of the state has crumbled.

Contrary to Marx, Gramsci does not view history as the story of economic development, but of ideological and cultural struggles. Within this framework, he views civil society as an intermediary field standing between the state and the economy, where hegemony is exercised and continuous class struggles take place for domination. In this respect, Gramsci put forward a hegemonic theory of civil society, which is, for him, indicates a realm where a dominant group (bourgeois class) imposes its hegemony through a powerful set of norms and institutions, based on the consent of the subordinate groups (working class). In other words, it is the cultural institutions and associations, such as churches, unions, clubs, through which the hegemony of the dominant group as well as the consent of the subordinates are sustained. However, Gramsci also emphasized that civil society,

⁴⁰ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.142.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.143.

at the same time, may also act as a sphere where the subordinate groups have the chance to organize in opposition to the dominant group and create an alternative (counter) hegemony. Hence, civil society, in Gramscian theory, not only implies the consolidation of a system of domination through the organization of consent, but also implies the weakening and even eventual abolition of domination.

Nevertheless, while considering civil society as standing between the state and the economy, Gramsci's conception is presented in a notoriously confusing terminology. Civil society is variously defined as the counterpart of the state (which is said to be either identical with political society or its main organizational form), as a part of the state along with and counterposed to political society, and as identical with the state⁴².

In the first definition, there is a distinction between the civil and political society (state), in which the hegemony and consent is included within civil society, while the coercion and domination is placed under political society. The appeal to this distinction is especially seen in Gramsci's approach towards what he saw as a decisive problem: the failure of revolution in the West and its (supposed) success in the East (Russia).

In the East the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the State trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The State was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks: more or less numerous from the State to the next, it goes without saying- but this precisely necessitated an accurate reconnaissance of each individual country⁴³.

⁴² Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.144-145.

⁴³ Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, p.238.

Gramsci argues that whereas in the East, where civil society is weak, revolution might have succeeded through a direct violent assault on the state (as in Russia in 1917), in the West, where civil society is strong, this would not be possible. This is because, according to him, the institutions of civil society formed the “outer earthworks” of the state, through which the ruling classes maintained their domination in society. For this reason, it is necessary to transform civil society, indeed to create an alternative hegemony of the subordinate classes, before it would be possible to challenge state power. In that sense, Gramsci can be said to be the first to articulate the idea that civil society, in a moment of counter-hegemony, could actually be resistant to state power⁴⁴.

Perry Anderson, who is one of the successors of Gramsci, criticizes this understanding in the sense that it is not civil society alone that wields cultural legitimacy; the state does as well, in particular through its educational and legal institutions (mentioned by Gramsci) and its parliamentary structures (omitted by Gramsci but strongly stressed by Anderson)⁴⁵. According to Anderson, parliaments do not rely on consent produced by cultural, social and economic institutions, but generate their own. In this respect, the building of counter-hegemony in civil society would fail as the ideological reproduction of the existing system is not only exercised within civil society, but also exercised by the parliament, within the sphere of the state.

According to Anderson, Gramsci developed the secondary usage, in which civil society is absorbed in the state, because of the difficulties with his primary one. In the secondary definition of Gramsci, both hegemony and coercion are taken as the functions of both civil society and the state. However, what Anderson criticizes in this model is the inclusion of coercion within civil society, as, for him, if coercion is implied within civil society then there would be no rule of law. Furthermore, according to Anderson, the difficulties of this conception, which threatens the

⁴⁴ Baker, *op. cit.*, p.6.

⁴⁵ Cohen, Arato, *op. cit.*, p.161.

definition of the modern state as the monopolist of legitimate violence, supposedly led Gramsci to include civil society in the state or even identify the two spheres with one another, which is the third definition used by him. In this third conception, there is no distinct sphere as civil society and the distinction between the state and society is cancelled out, which rendered the whole doctrine of state-society differentiation irrelevant. Anderson' own solution is to maintain the separation of civil society and state, but to insist that, while the institutions of civil society produce only cultural hegemony and consent, the structures of the state, because of the all-important role of parliamentary institutions, produce consent as well as coercion. By this conceptual move, Anderson in effect overcomes the bad option between state and civil society in the main version of Gramsci's arguments and the complete absence of differentiation in his secondary and third versions⁴⁶.

It can be said that, the outstanding aspect of Gramsci's analysis is the fact that he divorced the concept of civil society from both the state and the market. In that sense, his eventual thought is that once there had been the revolution and society had entered the phase of communism, distinctions between the state, the economy and civil society would wither away, just like distinctions between self-interest and communal-interest, but in the meantime civil society could be used to work towards the revolution⁴⁷.

2.3. The Contemporary Debates: Critical Approaches towards Civil Society

As it has been explored till now, civil society is an old idea, which has its roots in ancient Greece. However, after emerging in Enlightenment Europe and later influencing important nineteenth and twentieth century thinkers, such as Hegel

⁴⁶ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.161-162.

⁴⁷ Glasius, Marlies, "Civil Society", *FATHOM: The Source for Online Learning*, 2002, <http://www.fathom.com/feature/122536/>

and Gramsci, it largely fell into disuse. Within the period from the 2nd World War through the 1980s, the installation throughout Western Europe in broadly similar forms of Keynesian Welfare State had major implications for civil society, as the state took on the main responsibility for discharging a wider range of functions, in pursuit of “third generation” social rights to employment and social provision. Within the framework of the state-led welfare systems, in which social democratic governments played a leading role, associations were accepted as participants in the system, but in a subordinate capacity, operating within the framework of state direction⁴⁸. However, by the 1980s, the institutional and ideological crises within the state socialist model as well as the globalizing world economy strengthened the views that the state-based strategies constitute an inefficient and crude mechanism, which falls short in keeping up with the changing economic conditions. In this respect, the weakening of the economic foundations of the statist project also laid the groundwork for the global re-emergence of the concept of civil society in contemporary period.

The new emphasis within civil society theory in late twentieth century appeared first with the re-emergence of the concept in communist Central and Eastern Europe. Democratic opposition movements in this region (especially in Poland) used the idea of civil society in theorizing their struggle to create a protected societal sphere separate from the official sphere of the all-embracing party-state⁴⁹. Later, the term also became widespread in the world to define the opposition movements in Latin America against the authoritarian state despotism. Furthermore, not only in the Third World, but the term became very fashionable also in the West, such as Western Europe and North America, as a way of revitalizing democracy. Within this framework, civil society became a reference point in the academic and political discussions on “transition to democracy”. In this respect, the French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, despite his infrequent

⁴⁸ Deakin, Nicholas, *In Search of Civil Society*, New York: Palgrave, 2001, p.100.

⁴⁹ Baker, op. cit., p.6.

use of the term itself, has recently emerged in academic consciousness as a key civil society theorist. This is at least in part because of the compatibility of his observations with those arising from the Central-Eastern European opposition movements; that is, he was the first, in *Democracy in America*, to articulate the need for strong, independent associations, ‘*corps intermédiaires*’ as he terms them, to stand between the individual and the state⁵⁰. For Tocqueville, a civil society, which is self-organized, pluralist and independent from the state, is an indispensable condition for democracy. In this respect, he advocates that if the unification of civil society and state is encouraged, the democratic revolution is endangered and for him, the state power, which is under no societal check, is always dangerous, unfavorable and an invitation to despotism⁵¹.

Within this context, since the end of the Cold War, there appeared a global ubiquity to the concept of civil society among researchers and activists, and a widespread assumption among many policymakers in different parts of the world of its global relevance to strengthening development and democracy⁵². In this respect, it has been the organizational view of civil society, exemplified by de Tocqueville, which has been most enthusiastically taken up by agencies within development policy discourse in the aftermath of 1989. Especially since the early 1990s, the “good government” agenda has deployed the concept of civil society within the wider initiatives of supporting the emergence of more competitive market economies, building better managed states with the capacity to provide more responsive services and just laws, and improving democratic institutions and deepening political participation⁵³. Hence, support for the emergence and

⁵⁰ Baker, op. cit., p.6.

⁵¹ Keane, John, *Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum: Avrupa Sosyalizminin Açmazları, Toplumsal ve Siyasal İktidarın Denetlenmesi Sorunu ve Demokrasi Beklentileri Üzerine*, İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1994, p.82.

⁵² Lewis, David, “Civil Society in Non-Western Contexts: Reflections on the ‘Usefulness’ of a Concept”, London School of Economics and Political Science, Civil Society Working Paper 13, October 2001, p.1.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.3.

strengthening of civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or voluntary organizations, which are the organizational forms of civil society, has formed a central part of this agenda and the said actors have been acknowledged as the primary agents of democratization and development. However, while a dramatic increase in these organizations' numbers and a large-scale growth in their activities have been experienced since the early 1990s, on the other hand, there appeared a warm debate on their functions and missions. On the one side of this debate, there is a complete submission and belief in the meaning and effectiveness of civil society. Within this framework, an extraordinary significance is attributed to civil society and civil society organizations, as it is advocated that the citizens can become the subjects, not the objects of political action, only through CSOs. On the other hand, the other side of the debate carries the tendency to rewrite a critical history of the idea of civil society because of the ambiguity possessed by the concept as well as its nature that differentiates according to time and space⁵⁴.

The liberal thought on the topic basically draws attention to the strength of citizens' organizations as a check on state power and the importance of their role in influencing policy within the process of democratization. In this respect, the contemporary theorist Ernest Gellner states that;

The simplest, immediate and intuitively obvious definition which also has a certain amount of merit is: civil society is that set of diverse nongovernmental institutions, which is strong enough to counterbalance the state, and, whilst not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interest, can nevertheless prevent the state from dominating and atomizing the rest of the society⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Erdoğan Tosun, Gülgün, "Sivil Toplum Örgütleri İçinde Katılım ve Örgüt İçi Demokrasi", *Birikim*, No.130, 2000, p.52.

⁵⁵ Gellner, Ernest, "The Importance of Being Modular" in John A. Hall (ed.), *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, p.32.

In parallel fashion, Larry Diamond conceives civil society as;

the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bounded by a legal order or set of shared rules. It is distinct from society in general in that involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable⁵⁶.

With this essentially liberal focus, it is apparent that the contemporary revival of civil society is basically premised upon the notion of a separation of spheres with civil society programming the state in society's interests. Thus, either in the form of a liberal counterweight to state power, or as a "lifeworld", in Habermasian sense, outside of the state for the generation of a critical public sphere, such notion appears to be the dominant paradigm for understanding civil society today. Yet, it should be significantly emphasized that the civil society we find within liberal democracy is broadly the civil society of our normative ideal-type. Nevertheless, such stance should cause alarm, given how effectively critique is marginalized when real and ideal are conflated, resulting in their being no place from which to argue outside the dominant paradigm⁵⁷. It is all the more necessary, therefore, to turn our attention directly towards the civil society-democracy relationship, which necessitates the exploration of a significant concern, "democracy within civil society".

Considering the fact that the recent revival of the notion of civil society has come up by being identified with the democratic opposition movements in Central-Eastern Europe against the state's authority, it is natural that the contemporary conception of the term is based on the autonomous structure of civil society and

⁵⁶ Diamond, Larry, "Rethinking Civil Society Toward Democratic Consolidation", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.5 No.3, 1994, p.5.

⁵⁷ Baker, op. cit., p.10.

its organizations as well as their supervisory role on the state. However, this stance does not give an idea about neither the internal operating styles of these organizations, nor the external consequences of their activities. In that sense, critics of the extraordinary popularization of civil society within the democratic theory since the 1990s argue that a clearly normative agenda has been created that civil society is inherently “good”, “ democratic”, “pluralist” and “non-violent”. Within this framework, the common core of the critical approaches is that the struggles over the public interest are not between civil society on the one hand and the state on the other, but within the civil society itself. In this respect, while it is acknowledged that civil society has a valuable role in helping advance democracy, particular attention is drawn to the risks that the concept may rather harm than enable the process of democratization if it is instrumentalized by specific interests and becomes unable to run the democratic processes within its own internal dynamics. For this reason, in search for a more in depth analysis of civil society-democracy relationship, it becomes essential to question the extent to which the civil society organizations are themselves democratic, to what extent they have the vision to feed democratization and whether they have the power to produce and spread democratic values within society.

The critical approaches put forward on the subject of civil society and democratization can be considered on three different levels:

- The internal dynamics of civil society
- The communication and interaction between the civil society organizations
- The relations between civil society and state⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ The categorization here is created by being inspired by Gülgün Erdoğan Tosun’s approach to civil society. She suggests that a study on civil society can be undertaken on three different, but inter-related levels, namely; the organization and interaction within the field of civil society, the communication and interaction between the CSOs and the state-civil society relationship. Departing from this design, she tries to examine the participation and democracy within the CSOs and she considers the problem of democratization mainly on the third level. While the three levels of analysis she proposed constitutes a framework for the study of civil society in general, the categorization here is created with the sole purpose of understanding different parameters of civil society-democracy relationship. (Tosun (2000), op. cit., p.52-60.)

In fact, although all the three levels are substantially interpenetrated in examining the civil society-democracy relationship, it is primarily the characteristics of the first level that determines the operating styles of the other two levels. In other words, if what is discussed would be the parameters of a democratic civil society, the internal dynamics of the civil society itself would stand at the basis of this discussion. For this reason, it is appropriate to start examining the critical approaches towards civil society with the first level.

2.3.1. The Internal Dynamics of Civil Society

Today, one of the most significant problems with regard to civil society-democracy relationship is the fact that the organizations active in civil society appear unsuccessful in running the processes of participation and democracy within themselves, while they are launched as one of the most prominent advocates of democracy at the national, regional and international level. In fact, the democratic character that is expected to be inherent within civil society, to a great extent, relates to its internal structure and operating styles and how they perform politics. In this respect, the predominant character of the critical approaches towards civil society is to try to reveal some overlooked dimensions of the civil society-democracy relationship, which is mostly accepted as given without questioning. For this reason, it becomes necessary to explore the activities, methods and purposes of the groups active within civil society realm.

Although its origins date back to Aristotle and no compromise has been reached on its definition so far, the concept of civil society, today, appears as an indispensable component of democratization in the hands of the contemporary liberal thinkers. Beckman draws attention to this point by reminding that the recent popularization of civil society distinctly belongs to the contemporary period, which creates a conception that invades an analytical sphere possessing

various interrelated alternative perspectives, now forgotten or marginalized⁵⁹. In that sense, as one of the critics of liberal understanding of civil society, the main concern of Beckman is firstly to remove the concept from the liberal agenda. He thinks that the way the concept of civil society is introduced to the liberal political agenda is problematic in the sense that the effectiveness of the concept is diminished in theoretical and analytical terms. Such style, according to Beckman, not only leads to a conception of state-society relationship that prevents the comprehension of the ways the state and society mutually construct each other, but also, tends to underestimate the existence of “various” civil societies, their inward contradictions and the fact that they are not the inevitable supporters of democratization in liberal sense⁶⁰.

Beckman basically criticizes the unconditional acceptance of civil society as an indispensable precondition of democracy and argues that such tendency prevents us from analyzing the various different political and ideological orientations existing within the societal groups themselves. He argues that we should approach these groups’ potential to support democratization with caution and be open minded with regard to their contradictory and unsteady natures. In other words, we should be aware of the fact that, at different times, these groups may support the democratic project, stay indifferent towards it or act against it. Therefore, according to him, for the democratization-related civil society debate to be meaningful, it is the agents of civil society and their internal operating styles, which needs to be examined.

In fact, the background of the perspective, which perceives civil society as the main motor of democratization project that is identified with capitalism, was already present since 19th century. The citizens’ organizations, which were seen

⁵⁹ Beckman, Björn, “Demokratikleşmeyi Açıklamak: Sivil Toplum Kavramı Üzerine Notlar” in (ed.) Elisabeth Özdalga, Sunne Persson, *Sivil Toplum, Demokrasi ve İslam Dünyası*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p.9.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.2.

by Tocqueville as the most effective weapons against state despotism, were already seen as the candidates for being the main actors of the desired transition⁶¹. Hence, civil society takes its place at the center of the sociopolitical debates not only as a concrete category, but also as a collective actor that can be easily identified. However, in this way, with the identification of civil society with civil society organizations, the debates over the term started to carry a more quantitative character. This situation created the tendency to consider the quantitative characters of civic organizations as sufficient, while understanding the democratic transition capacity of a given society. In other words, the quantitative data such as, the number of citizens' organizations or the number of members they have, are accepted as the indication of the extent to which that society is "civil" or the level of the chances for running democracy in that country⁶². Thereby, as a concrete and given category, civil society becomes reduced to the sum of citizens' organizations, associations, foundations, clubs, etc. and a normative link is created between the "quality" and "quantity" of civil society organizations. In this way, the increase in the number of CSOs becomes automatically accepted as a positive factor in terms of democratization and it is considerably overlooked that, rather than their quantitative features, it is the purposes behind the establishment of CSOs as well as the characteristics of their customs and practices which needs to be questioned in order to understand the extent of their democratic contributions.

It is considerably significant that before taking the civil society-democracy relationship for granted, the risk for civil society to be instrumentalized by different interests or ideologies should be taken into consideration. Within the contemporary context, such risk is emphasized in the sense that, while being located within the democratization perspective, civil society is gradually being

⁶¹ Bayraktar, S. Ulaş, "Hangi Sivil Toplum, Nasıl Bir Demokrasi? 1990'ların Türkiye'sinde Sivil Toplum(lar)", *Sivil Toplum*, No.9, 2005, p.11.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.11.

transformed into an instrument, used for masking the process of economic liberalization⁶³. In this respect, the instrumentalization project exploits the weakest and most sensitive side of civil society, which is finance. The association of civil society with democratization as a quantitative, concrete and measurable category leads to the fact that providing material support for CSOs becomes the basic strategy of various international organizations or major fund donors which declare themselves as the supporters of political democratization processes. However, the acceleration of the flow of international funds, especially oriented through the CSOs in developing countries, leads to major implications on these organizations at both the national and international level. Within the international context, the recognition of CSOs as the supporters of democratization and development bring forth some new problems in the sense that the bureaucracy and new structures of administration, resulting from the flow of funds, gradually remove some basic characteristics of CSOs, such as participation, horizontal organization, low bureaucracy, etc. In that sense, the CSOs are faced with the risks to become organizations dominated by vertical, hierarchical, patronage relationships, while dangerously proliferating in number in order to benefit from the public funds or international sources. Hence, it should be seriously taken into consideration that such course of events carries the danger to weaken the CSOs' civil and autonomous character and transform them into some kind of "fund hunters", as the new instruments of neo-liberalism.

Civil society organizations' taking place within the cooperation politics of the governments or international organizations, in fact, constitutes the basis of a dual situation⁶⁴. On the one hand, the funds that can be used by CSOs increase depending on the integrity of the determined targets, while they become included

⁶³ Bayraktar, op. cit., p.13.

⁶⁴ "Sivil Toplum Örgütleri (STÖ) Neo-liberal projenin Araçları mı, Yoksa Halk Dayanışmasının Alternatif Taban Örgütleri mi?" (Başyazı), (der.) L'Harmattan, *Sivil Toplum Örgütleri: Neo-liberalizmin Araçları mı, Halka daylı Alternatifler mi?*, (çev.) Işık Ergüden, Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi, 2001, s.33-34.

in the general perspective of international cooperation on the other. Yet, the overall purpose of the international cooperation at present is nothing but to strengthen the market economy, that is to say, the capitalist system and serving for the explicit imperialist policies of some nations. In that sense, the problem of finance, which is a sensitive issue for CSOs, makes them dependent on governments, subject to their interests and integrated to the neo-liberal perspective in general.

It is inevitable that, in order to continue its existence and attain its ends, every CSO should be able to finance itself, as the continuity of the organization is also one of the major targets of a CSO. However, what is problematic in terms of civil society-democracy relationship is to disregard the fact that the financial sources used by CSOs for the implementation of their activities do not contribute to democratization on every account. The contradictions between the purposes and the objective consequences of the activities of CSOs are, to a great extent, derived from this problem. Thus, particular attention should be drawn to the possibility that the fund-based state-civil society relations may easily transform CSOs into profit-seeking interest groups, which are ready to become the extensions of the state on behalf of taking funds from state, thus, contributing to the reproduction of the existing social and political system, rather than criticizing it. In this way, it becomes considerably controversial, the extent to which a civil society, which is predominantly in search for public or international funds, is “civil”⁶⁵.

In fact, the transformation of civil society as an effective instrument in the hands of the advocates of economic liberalism brings us back to the Gramscian theory, which views civil society as a realm where the hegemony of the dominant ideology is produced and disseminated through some private institutions, such as churches, schools, unions, clubs, etc. In that sense, by interpreting the concept as a sphere where the cultural and political hegemony of the state is exercised,

⁶⁵ Erdoğan Tosun, Gülgün, “Birleştirici Demokrasi Devlet-Sivil Toplum İlişkisinin Yeniden Yapılandırılması İçin Bir Analiz Aracı Olabilir mi?”, *Sivil Toplum*, No.1, 2003, p.40.

Gramsci also contributes much to his follower Althusser's theory of "Ideological State Apparatuses", which explores the ways in which a state exerts control over its subjects in order to reproduce its productive power. Within this framework, Gramsci's approach, which views civil society as an instrument that is used for naturalizing the political hegemony, inevitably, calls our attention towards the possibility how the neo-liberal ideology may tend to instrumentalize civil society for its own economic and political interests. In this way, while civil society is launched as the main motor of democratization, its organizational forms are, in fact, appear as the best actors to fill in the vacuum that arises as a result of the diminished functions of the state under the neo-liberal project. Thereby, civil society may easily be instrumentalized by the actors dominating the institutions of the state and the dominant ideology may be easily popularized via the hands of the civil groups. Hence, since civil society is indicated as the main representative of "public good" and "societal trust", the reproduction of the dominant ideology through the societal organizations, rather than the state, would remove it from being an official expression that is remote from and over the society, and thus contribute to its persistence or even consolidation.

Another significant problem is the fact that the sources, which are mobilized with the purpose of strengthening civil society, cannot be reached widely by its actors except for certain groups. To a great extent, those sources appeal mostly to the specific local intellectual groups, who are well-educated, have a good command of at least one foreign language, especially English, have knowledge about the aims and priority targets of the international fund donors and especially familiar with their terminology and the application procedures for the sources⁶⁶. In other words, it has been more and more observed that there is rise of a sector, which becomes professional in designing, preparing and presenting projects for the sake of benefiting from the international funds, and reduces the concept of civil society to such activities. In this way, the CSOs become faced with the danger to create a class that considerably slides into a new kind of elitism, which is characterized as

⁶⁶ Bayraktar, op. cit., p.12.

substantially internationalized, speaking English, designing projects, looking for funds, etc. Within this framework, the most important activity of various civil society development programs, which are financed by similar sources especially in developing countries, usually appears to be organizing training programs, conferences, seminars relating to how to prepare and present projects in order to benefit from civil society-oriented international funds. Considering the fact that expansion of civic consciousness to a wide societal base is strongly emphasized within the contemporary discussions on the contribution of civil society to democratization, it appears considerably difficult to expect from such elitist movements to serve for such kind of a purpose. In that sense, it would not be so much possible to talk about the existence of a civil society movement, which acts in accordance with the meaning that is attributed to it.

The examination of the internal dynamics of civil society is significant in terms of specifying the contradictions between its external actions and the functions that are attributed to it in the context of democratization. In this respect, the way the CSOs conceive and execute their external role is seen as inseparable from their composition and constitution and their credibility is viewed as depending to some extent at least on providing a convincing representation in their own actions of democratic values. Hence, it should not be overlooked that the civil initiatives arise within the society may not always possess a “civil” mentality and that it is the extent to which the democratic values are internalized by the civil organizations, rather than their sole existence, which would ensure democratization.

2.3.2. The Communication and Dialogue between Civil Society Organizations

The pluralist character that is attributed to civil society constitutes one of the main components of the contemporary conception of the term. In other words, another factor that determines the democratic character of civil society is the extent to which it allows pluralism within itself. In that sense, pluralism enables the

coexistence of different beliefs, opinions and positions within one single social structure. In this regard, Ergüden defines civil society as the operational field of societal relations, that is to say the field of interaction between societal groups, which do not have the same level of effectiveness in economic, social, cultural or political terms, thus have inevitably different objective and subjective organizational capacity and thereby have conflicting as well as harmonious mutual relationships⁶⁷. By this approach, significant attention is drawn to the communication between different groups active within the field of civil society, while the possibility for the organization of different opinions, needs or interests within the same context is emphasized. On the one hand, such pluralism excludes the possibility of a single-dimensional societal design, while it contributes to the construction of a democratic societal project on the other. Diamond also emphasizes this point by stating that the possibility for communication and compromise between the groups in civil society depends on the acceptance of pluralism within this sphere. He argues that pluralism within civil society facilitates the continuity of the existence of its actors and encourages them to negotiate and cooperate with each other⁶⁸.

It cannot be underestimated that pluralism within civil society contributes to promotion of democracy, but, at the same time, it should not be overlooked that such reasoning is viable as long as civil society has the power to absorb the coexistence of a wide variety of differences within itself, without allowing for one or more viewpoints to establish hegemony over the others. This is because a civil society, which is incapable of institutionalizing the democratic cooperation processes between its own internal pluralist structures, appears remote from promising in terms of democratic consolidation. Under such conditions, despotism

⁶⁷ quoted in Yıldız, Özkan, “Sivil Toplum, Demokrasi ve Çoğulculuk”, *Sivil Toplum*, No.5, 2004, p.88.

⁶⁸ Diamond, op. cit., p.12.

would be carried to the civil society realm, which is defined as a sphere of freedom and autonomy, by the civil society groups themselves⁶⁹.

The fulfillment of the missions that are attributed to civil society such as, holding a wide societal base, closely interpenetrating with social problems and acting concurrently with the society as a whole, is quite often obstructed by the nonexistence of a common ground on which different groups, that consider themselves as the representatives of “public good”, can be in continuous dialogue. This can be, to a great extent, linked to weaknesses regarding the internal institutionalization of the civil society itself and the overlooking of the fact that civil society is a whole, which is more than the sum of its parts. In other words, the appearance of competing interests between CSOs, mostly deriving from the project or fund-centered movements, as well as the inability to form a common notion of “public benefit”, at least between the CSOs working for similar aims, have much to do with the existence of a weak collective consciousness and an idea of unity within civil society. In this way, as it has been mentioned before, civil society is reduced to a predominantly quantitative category and what is referred within the discussions on democratization becomes the quantity of CSOs, rather than the quality of coordination and dialogue between them. Bora defines this weakness as the inability to constitute a collective societal project by bringing together the fragmentary initiatives and to put an alternative form of politics as against the established one⁷⁰. In that sense, what is expected from civil society is not to consume or reflect the resident political culture, but to produce its own that would reflect the public interest as a whole, rather than the individual interests of the independent units acting within this sphere.

There is no doubt that the conception of “public good” may change from one civil society group to another. However, it seems that the problem gets stuck on how

⁶⁹ Tosun (2001), op. cit., p.150.

⁷⁰ Bora, Tanıl, “Sivil İnisiyatifler ve Siyaseti Yeniden Kurmak”, *Birikim*, No.130, 2000, p.31.

such wealth of ideas would be governed. In other words, what is promising in terms of democratization is the usage of pluralism within civil society in order to create a platform of discussion between equals, for the sake of compromising, at least, on lowest common denominators within the framework of a collective civil movement. Otherwise, civil society would become an arena of contestation rather than pluralism and would be remote from displaying a collective alternative position as against the established status quo.

2.3.3. The Relationship between Civil Society and State

The third and final dimension of the civil society-democracy relationship is the relationship between civil society and state. In the context of democratization, what is mostly criticized about the contemporary conception of state-civil society relationship is the neo-liberal view that directly declares the state as the “scapegoat” for democratic weaknesses and champions civil society as an alternative actor for the execution of politics. For this reason, the critics of neo-liberal understanding of state-civil society relationship draw attention to the importance of how civil society is positioned itself vis a vis the state and politics, rather than a sole focus on the repressive or abrasive nature of the state as against the civil society.

It is not so much possible to think of civil society as distinct from the social and political culture in which it operates, given the fact that the institutions of a given society, to a large extent, are products of that society’s specific social and political conditions. For this reason, the democratic character of civil society is closely related to the extent to which democratic tradition exists within the society in which it emerged. In that sense, it should be particularly emphasized that only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society and only a democratic civil society can ensure the continuity of a democratic state. Hence, the dominance or weakness of democratic elements at the level of the political institutionalization of the state would, to a great extent, affect the institutionalization form of civil

society⁷¹. Likewise, the success of democratic regulations within the political sphere largely depends on the extent to which the democratic patterns of behavior are institutionalized within the organizations of civil society. Hence, removing civil society and state from the context of a dynamic, mutually constructive relationship or perceiving civil society as either completely apart from or against the state or as a part of it would be of no benefit in terms of supporting political democratization processes.

It can be said that, at the basis of the conception that puts civil society as an alternative to the state, lies the rise of a lack of confidence, on the part of the public, towards the arbitrary practices of the state, which had a complete dominance over the public sphere during Communist regime. In that sense, it is natural that the new social actors, the civil society organizations, which found themselves a place within the public sphere, gave voice to such discontent on the part of the public and criticized the existing political system⁷². However, what is seen as detrimental in terms of democratization is the expression of those criticisms in a manner that questions the existence of the state or views it as an unnecessary institution and thus, transformation of state-civil society relationship into some kind of a contestation or competition. In that sense, it is emphasized that attempting to undertake the functions of the state or politics by using the problems in governing as an excuse, would lead to nothing but deepen the democratic problems. In other words, it is put forward that, contrary to what is claimed, advocating for transfer of certain decision making processes completely to civil society or attempting to take political constitutions out of legitimate representation would not bring more democracy⁷³.

⁷¹ Tosun (2001), op. cit., p.152-153.

⁷² Bayraktar, op. cit., p.13.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.13.

Habermas, one of the most influentials of the New Left theorists, draws attention to this point as he argues that civil society, given the complexity of modern decision-making and the need to protect certain levels of efficiency, cannot govern, but can only “influence” or “sensitize” the state through democratic will formation. As he puts it:

the public opinion that is worked up via democratic procedures into communicative power (in civil society) cannot “rule” of itself, but can only point the use of administrative power in specific directions...⁷⁴

In parallel fashion, the Post-Marxist theorists Cohen and Arato emphasized that the political role of civil society is not directly related to the control or conquest of power, but to the generation of influence through life of democratic associations and unconstrained discussion in the cultural public sphere. Within this framework, they also stress that, under liberal democracies, it would be a mistake to see civil society in opposition to economy and state, as they refer to mediating spheres through which civil society can gain influence over political-administrative and economic processes. Hence, an antagonistic relation of civil society, or its actors, to the economy or the state arises only when these mediations fail or when the institutions of economic or political society serve to insulate decision-making and decision-makers from the influence of social organizations, initiatives, and forms of public discussion⁷⁵.

As one of the critics of neo-liberal understanding, Young also argues that we should be aware of the tendencies that put civil society as an alternative to state and state-constituted services and functions. She argues that while civil society can promote democracy, social justice and well-being, there are limits to what

⁷⁴ quoted in Baker, op. cit., p.8.

⁷⁵ Cohen, Arato, op. cit., p.ix-xi.

citizens can accomplish through institutions of civil society alone. According to her, while state power must always be subject to vigilant scrutiny by citizens alert to dangers of corruption and domination, democratic state institutions nevertheless have unique and important virtues for promoting social justice. In this regard, Young challenges the tendency to regard civil society as an alternative site for the performance of public-spirited, caring, and equalizing functions that have long been associated with governments⁷⁶.

The significance of Young's approach regards the extent to which the organizations, which are indicated as an alternative to the state, are able to access different segments of society. As mentioned before, the elitist tendencies within civil society, which weaken the fulfillment of CSOs' mission to address a wide societal base, result in the fact that those organizations are mostly composed of individuals who are well-educated and belong to middle-upper classes of the society. Therefore, wouldn't it be the fact that providing these organizations with major authorities within the decision making processes is going to increase the already existing inequalities, as against the interests of the lower classes? Furthermore, how effective is the inward democracy within the organizations, which define themselves as representing the social pluralism within their own structures? Therefore, isn't it so dangerous to perceive civil society and democracy as synonymous, given the fact that the criticized anti-democratic forms of administration are also observed within the civil society organizations themselves?⁷⁷ Hence, it should not be overlooked that the conception of civil society, which excludes the existing institutions of representative democracy, may give harm more than strength to democracy.

In addition to these, alongside with the indication of civil society as an alternative to the state, its transformation into an extension of the state by integrating to

⁷⁶ Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.180-181.

⁷⁷ Bayraktar, op.cit., p.14.

state's policies would also be equally harmful in terms of strengthening democracy. It is quite often observed that CSOs appear as ready to become the extensions of the state for the sake of access to funds, while some organized interest groups within civil society may also form cooperation with the state for profit-seeking or promoting the private interests of their members⁷⁸. Thereby, civil society would not only transform into an ideological tool in the hands of the state, but also become an actor that provides for the reproduction of the dominant ideology in the public sphere.

In brief, as long as a political will, which would ensure the effectiveness of democratic civil initiatives, is not combined with a civil society movement that has the willpower to redefine the politics, it would not be so much possible for the civil initiatives to promote democracy both within themselves and within the society as a whole⁷⁹. Therefore, what is essential for a real and effective democracy is a dynamic interaction between state and civil society as separated, institutionalized and mutually constructive structures.

⁷⁸ Tosun (2003), op. cit., p.39.

⁷⁹ Bora, op. cit., p.31.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL SOCIETY POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

With the contemporary revival of civil society in late 20th century, the concern about the concept became not only relevant to Central and Eastern Europe and the developing world, but also very much of interest to the European Union as well. Together with “accountability” and “transparency”, civil society has been a buzzword in the recent attempts of the EU institutions to shed their image of vast and remote bureaucracies.⁸⁰ By the 1990s, one standard criticism of the EU has become the “democratic deficit” within the system, which points to the complexity and distance of European decision making, a factor that is seen as contributing to growing disenchantment, on the part of the public, with EU politics. In this regard, the project of democratization at the EU level has led to a large number of different actors being represented at the European level, including civil society. Hence, the key towards establishing a reflexive, deliberative and participatory system is seen as lying not in reshaping of how the EU works, but rather in a modification of the present system by “pluralisation”, that is through the systematic opening up of the policy-making process to include previously neglected actors such as civil society.⁸¹

In this context, while civil society is regarded as a way out of EU’s democratic deficit, its participation in policy making is supposed to enhance the EU’s legitimacy. However, before exploring the details of the civil society politics of the EU, firstly, it is necessary to look at how EU defines civil society.

⁸⁰ Spichtinger, Daniel, “Civil Society Interaction with the Commission in EU Research Policy”, p.1, www.geocities.com/dspichtinger/cseu.html

⁸¹ Spichtinger, Daniel, *Civil Society and the EU: An Analysis Focusing on the Interactions between the Commission and Civil Society Organizations, with particular Emphasis on Research Policy*, M.A. Thesis, Department of European Studies and Modern Languages, University of Bath, 2002, p.9, www.geocities.com/dspichtinger/cseu.html

3.1. The EU Definition of Civil Society

Concerning the civil society politics of the EU, the maintenance of open, transparent and regular dialogue between European Institutions and civil society was strongly emphasized. However, the fact that no commonly accepted or legal definition of the term “civil society organization” exists at the European level considerably complicates who is to be counted as part of civil society.

One of the basic EU-level documents which try to address the question of an EU definition of civil society is The Economic and Social Committee (ECS) opinion on “The Role and Contribution of Civil Society Organizations in the Building of Europe” dated 1999. In its attempt to define civil society, ESC contends in this document that civil society is a collective term for all types of social action, by individuals or groups that do not emanate from the state and are not run by it.⁸² It is apparent from this definition that while civil society is strongly demarcated from the state, it is not considered as distinct from the economic sector. As for the civil society organizations, the ESC opinion paper holds that CSOs can be defined in abstract terms as the sum of all organizational structures whose members have objectives and responsibilities that are of general interest and who also act as mediators between the public authorities and citizens.⁸³ Within this framework, the CSOs include the following actors according to ESC:

- The so-called labor-market players, i.e. trade unions, employers federations (social partners);
- Organizations representing social and economic players, which are not social partners in the strict sense of the term;

⁸² European Economic and Social Committee, “The Role and Contribution of Civil Society Organizations in the Building of Europe”, *Official Journal of The European Communities*, OJ C 329, 17.11.1999, p.32 (5.1.), http://www.esc.eu.int/pages/en/acs/SCO/docs/ces851-1999_ac_en.PDF

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.33 (7.1.)

- NGOs (non-governmental organizations) which bring people together in a common cause, such as environmental organizations, human rights organizations, consumer associations, charitable organizations, educational and training organizations, etc.;
- CBOs (community-based organizations, i.e. organizations set up within society at grassroots level which pursue member-oriented objectives), e.g. youth organizations, family organizations and all organizations through which citizens participate in local and municipal life;
- Religious communities.⁸⁴

Given the fact that representatives of economic associations figure prominently in the make up of ESC, economic actors are taken by the ESC as the usual members of civil society. Later, the ESC definition of civil society as well as the actors that are included within this sphere is quoted both in the Commission's White Paper on Governance in 2001, which is the basic document that specifies the civil society politics of the EU, and the Consultation Document published by the Commission in 2002 for setting out the general principles and minimum standards for consultation of interested parties by the Commission. It is mentioned in the Consultation Document that the description of ESC brings together the principal structures of society outside of government and public administration, including economic actors not generally considered to be "third sector" or NGOs.⁸⁵ This is seen as having the benefit of being inclusive in terms of the recognition of the economic actors as part of the picture. Spichtinger interprets this situation with the fact that many EU interest groups are of economic nature and, consequently, a

⁸⁴ ESC (1999), op. cit., p.33-34 (8.1.)

⁸⁵ Commission of the European Communities, "Consultation Document: Towards a Reinforced Culture of Consultation and Dialogue – Proposal for General Principles and Minimum Standards for Consultation of Interested Parties by the Commission", COM (2002) 277 final, Brussels, 05.06.2002, p. 6, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2002/com2002_0277en01.pdf

strictly normative, non-inclusive definition would have excluded a large number of actors.⁸⁶

Indeed, the ESC definition is contested by alternative conceptions of civil society at the EU level. Although it is ostensibly based on the ESC definition, the Commission's civil society organizations database CONECCS puts forward a far more inclusive definition in the sense that the professional federations, specifically representing the interests of the individuals within a profession, the associations of public authorities and the organizations, not themselves political parties, but represent a specific party political perspective of Community policy or that have an interest in the party political dimension of the European Union are also accepted as civil society organizations.⁸⁷ Hence, while the ESC and the Commission both see civil society as an entity which strictly excludes the state, but, to a considerable extent, includes the economic actors and their associations, CONECCS definition is far more inclusive especially with regard to the actors from governmental sphere (associations of public authorities).

The non-existence of a consensus on the definition of civil society at the EU-level can be seen as detrimental in terms of putting forward a coherent approach to civil society, which would enhance the effectiveness of the policies. However, at the EU-level, maybe the difficulties of categorizing civil society too much should also be taken into consideration, given the fact that the very dynamic part of civil society cannot be captured by definitions. In other words, imposing strong criteria to establish dialogue with civil society organizations might lead to rigid organizations, which do not respond to changes in society.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Spichtinger (2002), p.16.

⁸⁷ Consultation, The European Commission, Civil Society (CONECCS), "Questions and Answers", http://europa.eu.int/comm/civil_society/coneccs/question.cfm?CL=en

⁸⁸ European Economic and Social Committee, "The Civil Society Organized at European Level: Proceedings of the First Convention", Brussels, 15-16 October 1999, p.51, http://www.esc.eu.int/pages/en/acs/SCO/docs/actes_sco_en.pdf

3.2. Civil Society at the EU level

Civil society at European level is a rather new phenomenon. Only with the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, more policy areas of direct impact on citizens were shifted to European level, generating the need for civil society to get engaged here.⁸⁹ The “Civil Dialogue” initiated by the Commission in the 1990s was a first attempt by the EU to give the institutions of society, not only governments and businesses, a voice at the policy-making tables in Brussels. With the adoption of the Commission’s Communication “An Open and Structured Dialogue between the Commission and Special Interest Groups” on 02.12.1992, the Commission’s line of conduct with regard to interest groups was officially expressed for the first time. However, in the Communication, the term “civil society” was not mentioned; rather, in mentioning the special interest groups, only a distinction was made between profit and non-profit interest groups. As the role of civil society has been increasingly acknowledged by the institutions of the EU, this is reflected in the documents related to Civil Dialogue, which have been mostly issued by the Commission in recent years and constitute important advances with regard to the specification and consolidation of the policies concerning civil society.

The possibilities to represent civil society interests differ from one EU institution to the other. Traditionally, the European Parliament is regarded as being most open to lobbying by non-profit civil society interests. The European Court of Justice is also subject to intense lobbying; within civil society, women’s groups and environmental groups have been fairly successful in this institution. The Council, by contrast, is generally regarded as being least open to lobbying; here, an indirect route, through member states, is often most successful.⁹⁰ Hence, a considerable amount of activities by civil society are generally directed at the

⁸⁹ Civil Society and the European Union, *European Peacebuilding Liaison Office*, 2005, <http://www.eplo.org/index.php?id=92#>

⁹⁰ Spichtinger (2002), op. cit., p.18-19.

Commission, as a great significance is attached by the Commission to the so-called “consultations” with CSOs. Civil society organizations and other interested parties are consulted through different tools, such as Green and White Papers, communications, consultation documents, advisory committees, expert groups and ad-hoc consultations. Consultation via the Internet is also a common practice.

In its Discussion Paper “The Commission and Non-governmental Organizations: Building a Stronger Partnership” dated 18 January 2000, the Commission has specified five main considerations, which the rationale behind the existing cooperation between the Commission and NGOs and the desire to strengthen and enhance it is based on; Fostering participatory democracy, representing the views of specific groups of citizens to the European institutions, contributing to policy making, contributing to project management and contributing to European integration.⁹¹ In this way, the Commission has not only emphasized the significance of civil society in representing the citizens of the EU as well as the voice of the marginalized groups, but also stressed its actors’ role in controlling and evaluating projects and the value of their expertise in their specialized area for better policy making.

It was basically the White Paper on Governance, issued by the Commission on 25.07.2001, by which an apparent and strong emphasis was put on civil society and its involvement within the policy making process for the achievement of a more democratic governance at the EU level. As the Commission puts it:

Civil society plays an important role in giving voice to the concerns of citizens and delivering services that meets people’s needs...The Union has encouraged the development of civil society in the applicant countries, as part of their preparation for membership... Civil society increasingly sees Europe as offering a good platform to

⁹¹ Commission of the European Communities, “The Commission and Non-Governmental Organizations: Building a Stronger Partnership”, COM (2000) 11 final, 18 January 2000, p.4-5, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/secretariat_general/sgc/ong/en/communication.pdf

change policy orientations and society. It is a chance to get citizens more actively involved in achieving the Union's objectives and to offer them a structured channel for feedback, criticism and protest.⁹²

In the White Paper, the Commission also put a strong emphasis on the role of ESC in developing a new relationship of mutual responsibility between the EU institutions and civil society. This was seen as particularly important as the ESC is regarded as being the institutionalized voice of civil society at the EU level as well as the only representative body of European civil society officially recognized by the Treaty on European Union (TEU). Nevertheless, in order for the ESC to properly fulfill this role, it is stressed the ESC's internal organization should be reconsidered as well.

In addition to these, with regard to the civil society itself, the Commission also underlined the principle "with better involvement comes greater responsibility", by which it is meant that civil society must itself follow the principles of good governance, including accountability and openness. In this respect, the Commission declared in its White Paper that it intended to establish a comprehensive online database with details of CSOs active at European level, which should act as a catalyst to improve the CSOs' internal organizations.⁹³ In line with this intention, within a year after the declaration of the White Paper on Governance, the CONECCS (Consultation, the European Commission, Civil Society) database was established with the objective to provide information on the committees and other frameworks of the Commission through which the CSOs are consulted in a formal and structured way. Through CONECCS, openness and accountability of the organizations seeking to contribute to EU policy development is questioned in the sense that interested parties that wish to submit

⁹² Commission of the European Communities, "European Governance - A White Paper", COM (2001) 428 final, Brussels, 25.07.2001, p.14-15, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.15.

comments on a policy proposal by the Commission are required to provide the Commission and the public at large with the information; which interests they represent, how inclusive that representation is and how accurately they reflect those interests.⁹⁴

Through the Report of Working Group on the consultation and participation of civil society in the European policy-shaping and rulemaking, a number of hearings were held with representatives of NGOs as well as with academics and representatives of Economic and Social Committee. Civil society organizations have voiced a variety of complaints regarding the consultation procedures. Firstly, all representatives of different civil society organizations involved stressed the need for the Commission to adopt a more systematic and coherent approach to its consultation processes. It was strongly stressed that the Commission should establish an overall framework by setting out principles and criteria to give structure to its consultation policy. In this respect, an overall Code of Conduct on consultation was seen as an urgent need, providing for specific criteria to define the organizations to be consulted, including transparent rules of representativeness. Furthermore, it was also argued that the existing formalized or structured consultation arrangements (i.e. advisory committees, expert groups or other consultation forums consisting of civil society representatives) should be made more transparent as well as properly evaluated. It was emphasized that these structures could be usefully simplified and that a multiplication of these kinds of forum should be avoided. Finally, some NGOs called upon the Commission to propose a legal base for a structured dialogue with the NGO community (in the form of an Article in the Treaties or a Council Regulation). It was made clear that such a legal base should be aimed at recognizing the role of NGOs in consultation with the Commission⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ Commission of the European Communities (05.06.2002), op. cit., p.11.

⁹⁵ Working Group Report on the White paper on European Governance (Group 2a), "Consultation and Participation of Civil Society", June 2001, p.12, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/governance/areas/group3/report_en.pdf

As a move towards a more transparent and structured consultation process, which is the primary issue of criticism by most of the CSOs, the Commission specified in the White Paper that a code of conduct for consultation should be set forth, which would identify responsibilities and improve accountability of all partners as well as enhance dialogue and contribute to the openness of organized civil society. In this respect, it was mentioned that:

Creating a culture of consultation cannot be achieved by legal rules, which would create excessive rigidity and risk slowing the adoption of particular policies. It should rather be underpinned by a code of conduct that sets minimum standards, focusing on what to consult on, when, whom and how to consult...These standards should improve the representativity of civil society organizations and structure their debate with the Institutions.⁹⁶

With its Communication “Consultation Document: Towards a Reinforced Culture of Consultation and Dialogue – Proposal for General Principles and Minimum Standards for Consultation of Interested Parties by the Commission” dated 05.06.2002, the Commission put forward a number of general principles that should govern its relations with interested parties and a set of minimum standards for the Commission’s consultation processes and invited all the interested parties to submit their comments on the proposed general principles and minimum standards. The proposed general principals and minimum standards of consultation are the followings:

- General Principles:

- **Participation:** The Commission is committed to follow an inclusive approach, that is to say consult as widely as possible, when developing and implementing EU policies.

⁹⁶ Commission of the European Communities (25.07.2001), op. cit., p.17.

- **Openness and Accountability:** Both the Consultation processes run by the Commission and the interested parties who are directly involved must be transparent to the general public.
- **Effectiveness:** Effective Consultation must be timely, based on mutual understanding and delivering what is needed.
- **Coherence:** While the Commission will include in its consultation processes mechanisms for feedback, evaluation and review, interest groups must also have mechanisms for monitoring the process, so that the conclusions of both are used to produce a better picture of how the arrangements are working and how they can be refined and extended.

- Minimum Standards:

- **Clear Content of the Consultation:** All communication in relation to the Consultation should be clear and concise and should include all necessary information to facilitate responses.
- **Publication:** Open public consultations should always be published on the Internet as well as through other communication tools, so that the Commission ensures adequate awareness-raising publicity.
- **Time Limits for Participation:** The Commission should always provide sufficient time for those participating in Commission consultations to prepare and submit their responses.
- **Acknowledgement and Feedback:** Results of open public consultation will be displayed on Internet, so that the acknowledgement of receipt of contributions is provided and the Commission will encourage practices to provide adequate feedback to responding parties and to the public at large.
- **Specific Elements for Focused Consultations:** In order to ensure equitable treatment, the commission should ensure an adequate coverage of the relevant parties in the focused consultation process.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Commission of the European Communities (05.06.2002), op. cit., p.10-15.

On 11.12.2002, the Commission issued the Communication “Towards a Reinforced Culture of Consultation and Dialogue: General Principles and Minimum Standards for Consultation of interested parties by the Commission” in order to publish the outcomes of the consultation process and thereby, clarified the scope of the general principles and minimum standards by making more detailed explanations in the light of the comments of the interested parties.

It is apparent that the overall policies of the EU on civil society since 1990s is principally based on the inclusion of civil society within the policy making procedure within the framework of the consultation system regulated by the Commission with certain principles and standards. In this respect, it can be said that, with regard to the inclusion of civil society within policy making process, what is adopted by the Commission as a guiding principle is to give interested parties a “voice”, but not a “vote”.⁹⁸ This was explained in the Commission’s Communication dated 11.12.2002 that first and foremost, the decision making process in the EU is legitimized by the elected representatives of the European peoples. The European Parliament also mentioned this in its Resolution on the White Paper on Governance:

Consultation of interested parties...can only ever supplement and never replace the procedures and decisions of legislative bodies, which possess democratic legitimacy; only the Council and Parliament, as co-legislators, can take responsible decisions on the context of legislative procedures...⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Commission of the European Communities, “Towards a reinforced Culture of Consultation and Dialogue: General principles and Minimum Standards for Consultation of Interested Parties by the Commission”, COM (2002) 704 final, Brussels, 11.12.2002, p.5-6, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/governance/docs/comm_standards_en.pdf

⁹⁹ European Parliament, “Report on the Commission White paper on Governance”, Final A5-0399/2001, 15 November 2001, p.10, <http://www.europarl.eu.int/omk/sipade3?PUBREF=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A5-2001-0399+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN&L=EN&LEVEL=2&NAV=S&LSTDOC=Y>

On the other hand, the challenge of ensuring an adequate and equitable treatment of participants in consultation processes was also emphasized by the Commission. In this respect, the Commission has underlined, in particular, its intention to reduce the risk of the policy-makers just listening to one side of the argument or of particular groups getting privileged access on the basis of sectoral interests or nationality. This means that the target groups of relevance for a particular consultation need to be identified on the basis of clear criteria¹⁰⁰. Hence, it is significant that among the general principles and minimum standards of consultation, the Commission puts a strong emphasis on the pursuance of an inclusive approach and an adequate coverage of all the relevant parties in the focused consultation process. However, although the Commission acknowledges that a proper balance of diverse interests is needed in consultation process, it should not be forgotten that only a well-monitored and enforced consultation codex will contribute significantly to the prevention of practices such as “preferential treatment of some interest organizations”.¹⁰¹ Hence, a proper balance should be adopted between the civil society participating in the policy making with its proposals and the Commission drawing the framework of this participation process by setting out certain principles and standards.

3.3. EU Enlargement and Participation of Civil Society

Enlargement is one of the EU’s most powerful policy tools. Its main purpose is to help the transformation of the countries involved, extending peace, stability, prosperity, democracy, human rights and the rule of all across Europe. Enlargement policy of the EU is defined by Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union, which states that any European State, which respects the EU’s fundamental democratic principles, may apply to become a member of the Union. The EU has set political and economic criteria for membership, as well as criteria

¹⁰⁰ Commission of the European Communities (11.12.2002), op. cit., p.5.

¹⁰¹ Spichtinger (2002), op. cit., p.24.

related to the obligations of membership and the administrative capacity to implement and enforce the EU's laws and policies.¹⁰²

Within its enlargement strategy, the EU gives important priority to the role of civil society for the promotion of democracy in the target country. It is especially with the initiation of the process of Eastern Enlargement, the significance attributed to the role of civil society becomes even more important, as the transformation of post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe into modern and well-functioning democracies appeared as a complicated task to be achieved by the EU within the framework of its enlargement strategy. In this respect, the Commission adopted its Communications Strategy for Enlargement in May 2000, which represents the third track in preparation for enlargement in addition to the two tracks, which are the pre-accession strategy (the reform process in the candidate countries) and the accession negotiations. The objective of the Communications Strategy was put forward as promoting dialogue among the people of Europe, in the member states and candidate countries, for the comprehension of the reasons for enlargement, as well as the benefits it will bring and the challenges it poses.¹⁰³ In other words, the Communications Strategy aims to explain to the public in current and future EU Member States the reasons for, and likely consequences of the largest and most ambitious enlargement of the European Union on May 01, 2004. Within the framework of the Communications Strategy, considerable significance is attributed to the role of civil society organizations in generating informed discussion on enlargement. In this respect, the Communications Strategy put forward the involvement of non-governmental organizations, religious and intellectual bodies, universities and teachers in secondary and higher education as a priority in addressing the importance of the role of civil society within the enlargement process. It is strongly emphasized in the Communications Strategy

¹⁰² Commission of the European Communities, "2005 Enlargement Strategy Paper", COM (2005) 561, Brussels, 09.11.2005, p.2, <http://www.abhaber.com/belgeler/Stratejibelgesi.pdf>

¹⁰³ Commission of the European Communities, "Communications Strategy for Enlargement", May 2000, p.1, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement_process/past_enlargements/communication_strategy/sec_737_2000_en.pdf

that as one of the opinion leaders in the member states and candidate countries, it is up to those actors, who are closest to the public, to develop and deliver detailed messages suited to their particular national, regional, local or sectoral setting.¹⁰⁴

The implementation of the Communications Strategy for enlargement in the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as in Cyprus, Malta and Turkey was then explained with the first comprehensive report “Explaining Enlargement”, which was published in March 2002 and outlined the progress made since the launch of the strategy in May 2000. Regarding the participation of civil society organizations, it was stated that the Communications Strategy and the activities of Delegations in general have been expanded to ensure that the regional and local actors and NGOs are aware of the implications of EU funding; that civil society understands the issues of importance related to accession and is closely involved in the debate.¹⁰⁵ In this respect, it was explained that the Delegations has been distributing information on the EU to a wide variety of bodies and associations in the public and private sectors and civil society, as well as a number of seminars and workshops are organized in which the Delegations have provided information to participants including NGOs. In addition, it was noted that specific programs were initiated in candidate countries in order to support civil society projects as well as a number of cultural activities were organized, which are used to highlight the links between the EU and candidate countries, including music, film and youth festivals, meetings between teachers, and debates on culture and modernization.¹⁰⁶

The Commission then transmitted to the European Council in Seville in June 2002 a further and a more concise report, outlining the way forward to the

¹⁰⁴ Commission of the European Communities (May 2000), op. cit., p.3.

¹⁰⁵ DG Enlargement Information Unit, “Explaining Enlargement: A Progress Report on the Communication Strategy for Enlargement”, March 2002, p.10, http://europa.eu.int/spain/temas/documentos/explaining_enlargement.pdf

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.17.

communications strategy. In this regard, the importance of developing and supporting networks of NGOs and other parts of civil society within and between countries was once more emphasized and the need for more work for the strengthening of dialogue with the key target groups was highlighted.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the Commission continues to publish monthly updates that summarize the activities carried out as part of the communications strategy. After the actualization of the Eastern Enlargement on May 01, 2004, with the purpose of explaining the continuous process of enlargement to the European citizens to enable them to come to terms with it, the Commission initiated the call for proposals on enlargement 2004 aimed at civil society and public sector bodies in the enlarged European Union. It was the first call to cover the 25 Member States of the Enlarged Union and open to the projects of civil society organizations and public sector bodies that are aimed at better educating the general public, young people, vulnerable groups, rural populations and enterprises about the impact of enlargement on their daily lives. In addition to the purpose of raising awareness relating to the implications and consequences of the accession to the European Union of ten new members in 2004, dissemination of information to general public relating to the issues that arise as a result of the accession negotiations in progress with Bulgaria and Romania, and the candidacies of Turkey and Croatia as well as the implications of enlargement for the external relations of the EU with other European and non-European countries were also set among the general objectives.¹⁰⁸

Finally, as a vital part of the Commission's communications strategy, the Civil Society Dialogue Initiative was launched in 2005, which aims to reinforce links between civil society in the EU and candidate countries in order to improve

¹⁰⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Explaining Europe's Enlargement", Report from the Commission to the Council, COM (2002) 281 final, Brussels, 05.06.2002, p.6, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/sevilla/com2002-281_en.pdf

¹⁰⁸ Commission of the European Communities, "Call for Proposals – Enlargement 2004 aimed at Civil Society and Public Sector Bodies in the European Union", 2004, p.2, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement_process/past_enlargements/communication_strategy/apesc_guidelines_en.pdf

mutual understanding, address concerns, and encourage a high quality debate in order to ensure a stronger awareness of the opportunities as well as the challenges of future accessions. Within this framework, it is noted that civil society should play the most important role in this dialogue, which should be facilitated by the EU. The long-term objective is declared to be the preparation of all citizens in the EU and in the candidate countries for future accession, which would help to bridge the information gap, achieve better mutual knowledge and bring citizens and different cultures, political and economic systems closer together. In this respect, it is indicated that the Civil Society Dialogue Initiative is mainly concerned with the accession processes of Turkey and Croatia and a strong emphasis is put on the need for a strong, deep and sustained dialogue between the societies of those candidate countries and in the EU Member States.

3.4. The European Constitution and Participation of Civil Society

The European Constitution is an important step in the construction of Europe. The rationale behind the establishment of a Constitution for Europe was mainly to cope with the challenges facing the European Union, especially those posed by enlargement and the changing global context. In view of a Europe of 25 Member States and 450 million inhabitants (and even more later on), the significance of a democratic, transparent and efficient Europe working to serve all Europeans becomes even more apparent.

It was at the European Council in December 2001 at Leaken, in Belgium, that the Heads of State or Government of the then 15 Member States of the European Union decided to convene a “European Convention” with the task of drawing up a text amending the existing European Treaties. It was agreed that there was a need for a wide debate on the future of Europe and one of the key questions was whether the Union needed a new Constitution, or basic set of rules, to equip it for the future. The European Convention began work on 28 February 2002 and it was asked to examine how to bring Europe closer to its citizens, how to ensure that the

Union can play a positive role on the international stage, and how the organization of the Union can be improved to ensure that it is as effective as possible.¹⁰⁹ All the Convention's sessions were open to the public and all the official documents were published, notably on the Internet. Numerous working groups were created and the Convention organized extensive consultations of organizations representing civil society (trade unions, employers' organizations, NGOs, academic circles, etc).¹¹⁰

After 16 months' intensive work, the European Convention in June-July 2003 approved by consensus a draft treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. This draft was then submitted to an Intergovernmental Conference composed of representatives of the governments of the present and future Member States. The Heads of State or Government reached an agreement on 18 June 2004 and the European Constitution was signed by the Heads of State or Government of the 25 Member States in Rome on 29 October 2004.¹¹¹

For the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe to enter into force, it was subject to ratification by all member states either through parliamentary method or the referendum method. The constitutional treaty opened a period of ratification to be finished by October 2006 and once the Treaty has been ratified and the ratification has been officially notified by all the signatory States, the Treaty can enter into force and become effective, in principle, according to the Treaty, on 01 November 2006. To date, 15 member states have already ratified the Treaty, either by parliamentary procedures or by referendum, 2 countries have expressed their rejection and the remaining member states either have their process on hold or they still have not decide the ratification procedure. However, the rejection of the

¹⁰⁹ The European Constitution: How was the European Constitution drawn up?, <http://www.europeanconstitution.ie/howis.asp>

¹¹⁰ A Constitution for Europe, Rome, 29.10.2004, p.2, http://europa.eu/constitution/download/brochure_160904_en.pdf

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

Treaty in France and Netherlands on May 29 and June 01 respectively made a considerably negative effect on the future of the Constitution and caused other countries to postpone or halt their ratification procedures. In the light of these results, the Member States agreed at the European Council on 16-17 June on a Declaration on the ratification of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe calling for a period of reflection during which a broad debate could take place. The deadline for ratifying the treaty was prolonged indefinitely, and decisions about further ratification of the Constitution were put on the hands of each member state, with the immediate consequence that most of the member states froze their ratification processes.¹¹²

From the very start of the Convention's work, the Convention Forum, managed by the Commission, has given European or national organizations an opportunity to make public their substantive contributions addressed to the Members of the Convention, thus presenting their point of view and their ideas on issues relating to the future of the European Union. This site was closed in July 2003 when the Convention's work ended. However, in order to give civil society organizations the opportunity to continue making their views known throughout the process of drawing up the European Constitution, Futurum (the Future of the European Union) was created, which is interinstitutional site dedicated to the debate on the future of the European Union.

In addition to presentation of comments on the future of the EU through Futurum, civil society organizations are also given the opportunity to contribute to the debate on the future of the Union through “partnership”. This involves an exchange of information and links on the Internet sites to allow wider access to the debate on the future of Europe. Interested organizations will have a link on the Futurum site giving everybody access to their work and documents:

¹¹² The European Union Constitution: Reflection Period, http://www.unizar.es/euroconstitucion/Treaties/Treaty_Const_Refl.htm

- The organization or network must belong to the academic, socio-economic or political spheres or to civil society.
- A specific page on the organization's Internet site must be devoted entirely to the debate on the future of Europe. All the documents produced by the organization will thus be available. The link will be directed to this specific page.
- Publications must be regular and related to the debate.
- The organization must install the link or the icon of the Futurum site on the page devoted to the debate so as to provide a two-way connection between the two sites.¹¹³

In addition, within the framework of European Parliament Public Hearings, the European Forum for the Civil Society on the Future of Europe was held on 24-25 April, 2006 with the participation of a wide range of Non-governmental Organizations to debate possible ways out of the impasse on the EU's constitutional arrangements. Within this period, although most of the participants agreed that the draft Constitution was a step towards a more transparent and democratic Union, the majority of NGOs criticized what they saw as a lack of public participation in the "period of reflection" and the inactivity of the EU institutions.¹¹⁴ In addition to the discussions on how to increase the public interest in the debate, a series of criticisms were also directed by the representatives of participant NGOs against the credibility of the EU within the process of constitutional arrangements in the sense that the decreasing public support for the European project was declared to be mainly derived from the gap between people's expectations and the results delivered by the EU. In this respect, it was highlighted that the draft Constitution is not sufficiently meeting the expectations of the citizens of the European Union in terms of coping with the new challenges

¹¹³ The Future of the European Union – Debate: Participation of Civil Society Organizations, http://europa.eu.int/constitution/futurum/civil_society_en.htm

¹¹⁴ European Parliament, "Civil Society Groups join Debate on EU's Future", *Press Service*, 25.04.2006, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/expert/infopress_page/001-7553-114-04-17-901-20060424IPR07540-24-04-2006-2006-false/default_en.htm

of globalization in both economic and political terms. It was emphasized that the EU institutions need to improve their capacity to inform the public of the advantages of being European citizens and a way to fill the gap between expectations and outcomes was to provide the EU with the capacity to intervene and deliver results, that is, to have true “own resources” and not depending on Member State’s contributions.¹¹⁵

3.5. Promotion of Civil Society Development in Third Countries

It is well-known that the basis for European Union action is to uphold the universality and indivisibility of human rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural. The protection of such rights, together with the promotion of pluralistic democracy and effective guarantees for the rule of law and the fight against poverty, are among the European Union’s essential objectives. The respect of these principles is not only required by the Member States, but also by the countries who apply for EU membership. This mechanism was further reinforced by the Treaty of Nice concluded in December 2000, which also extended the objective of promoting the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, from development co-operation to all forms of co-operation with third countries.

Regarding the promotion of human rights and democracy in third countries, the EU undertakes this issue mainly within the framework of its program “The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights” (EIDHR). Within the implementation of the Initiative, dialogue with civil society is seen by the EU as considerably significant as it is noted that civil society makes an important input into policy-making for all regions with which the EU has relations. In this respect, concerning the support to strengthen democratization, good governance and the rule of law, which is one of the priorities for the EIDHR program, it is mentioned that this practice should focus on working with civil society to promote greater

¹¹⁵ European Parliament (25.04.2006).

participation of people in decision-making at all levels, including an equal participation of men and women, and different identity groups (ethnicity, religion etc).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the initiation of specific programs in third countries to support the development of civil society is also mentioned as a significant part of the EIDHR. As the Commission puts it:

A flourishing civil society, able to draw on an independent and impartial legal system, plays a fundamental role in holding governments accountable and denouncing human rights abuses. Strengthening and empowering individuals and civil society, including through education, training and awareness raising, and enabling effective advocacy for all rights, including social, economic and cultural rights, are essential complements to our assistance programs with governments, particularly those involving good governance, institution-building, the rule of law and poverty reduction.¹¹⁷

Concerning the support provided for the development of civil society in third countries, it is primarily focused on direct support to civil society through NGOs. In this respect, the specific importance given to civil society is emphasized by maintaining that the EU may suspend cooperation with governments, but continue support to local populations through projects carried out by civil society organizations.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, alongside with working with governments through dialogue and cooperation programs, it is also stressed that promotion of internal reforms and respect for human rights in third countries can also be carried out through supporting and building the capacity of civil society in the country in question to demand change.

¹¹⁶ Commission of the European Communities, “The European Union’s Role in Promoting Human Rights and Democratization in Third Countries”, COM (2001) 252 final, Brussels, 08.05.2001, p.16, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0252en01.pdf

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.16.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.9.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY-EU RELATIONS

In parallel fashion with its rediscovery in the West in 1980s, the concept of “civil society” has also found its way into the policy language of Turkey with 1980s and become a representative of mobilization for democratic politics especially with the 1990s. In fact, before the military coup in 1980, Turkey had been passing through an effective period in terms of providing a proper environment for the activities of civil society organizations. However, after the military intervention on September 12, 1980, with the closing down of trade unions and students’ associations, a compulsory period of silence began for the civil society in Turkey. This situation continued until the second half of the 1980s, when the Turkish politics as well as the rulership started to become “relatively” civilized and the trade unions and associations were permitted to be active again.¹¹⁹

By the 1990s, as democratic ideals has taken deeper root and the military, despite its continuing pre-eminence in society, has become more respectful of these ideals, the idea of civil society has become much more nuanced in Turkey.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the impact of the concept’s global resurgence as well as the Turkish aspiration to become a member of the EU have brought about a certain change on the role that is attributed to civil society and its actors. Not only the number of CSOs has considerably increased in these years, but also they have started to become party to the political debates as well as manufacture public opinion and put forward political agendas and demands to make of the system. Hence, the

¹¹⁹ Bali, Rifat N., “Sivil Toplum Hareketinin İki Zaafı: İşadamları ve Elitizm”, *Birikim*, No.130, 2000, p.33.

¹²⁰ Seckinelgin, Hakan, “Contradictions of a Sociocultural Reflex: Civil Society in Turkey” in Marlies Glasius, David Lewis and Hakan Seckinelgin (ed.), *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*, London and Newyork: Routledge, 2004, p.173.

heart of the discussions on civil society has become predominantly constituted by the idea that, with the development of civil society, the democratic culture in Turkey would flourish, the authoritarian structure and mentality dominant at the state level would be mitigated and a considerable contribution would be made to the development of a democratic social structure similar to the models found in the West.

Nevertheless, alongside with the perception of civil society as the representative of democratization, Turkey also gets its share from the perspectives that question the democratic capacity of civil society organizations themselves, as the critical evaluations of civil society-democracy relationship has been finding more and more place for itself especially within academic discussions in Turkey. Moreover, with the inclusion of Turkey's EU perspective into the scene, different parameters have also been added onto the discussions on the extent to which the civil society in Turkey contributes democratization. This is because, while the significance of CSOs has considerably increased in terms of Turkey's integration to EU political criteria, the EU has also given effect to specific policies to be implemented in Turkey in order to support civil society and foster democratization, which would have major implications on the progress of civil society-democracy relationship in Turkey. However, before the examination of the EU effect, it would be more appropriate firstly to put forward the critical evaluations of the structure and internal organization of civil society in Turkey.

4.1. Civil Society in Turkey: The Critical Perspectives

In the context of democratization, what is emphasized by the critical approaches towards civil society in Turkey is generally the non-existence of an organized civil society sphere, which operates as an arena of collective social struggle for the promotion of democratic culture within society as well as within the political sphere. Under this general determination, the issues that are mostly debated include mainly the problems with acting autonomously from the state as well as

the elitist and hierarchical organizational structures observed within the groups acting within this field on the one hand, the non-existence of an idea of collectiveness and unity between them on the other. Besides, the complexity of the subject starts with the problem of definition.

4.1.1. The Problem of Definition

In fact, in the context of Turkey, the problem of definition with regard to the concept of “civil society” is, as in the case of EU, generally shaped around the problem to determine the scope of civil society organizations, that is, who is to be counted as a civil society organization.

In parallel with the EU’s approach, the overall consensus in Turkey with regard to the scope of CSOs is that they are non-state and non-profit seeking. However, different from the EU’s predominantly inclusive approach, it can be said that a more prudent atmosphere is dominant among the civil society intellectuals in Turkey with regard to the inclusion of trade unions, employers’ federations, the so-called social partners of the EU, or professional chambers within the civil society sphere. In this respect, certain links existing between those organizations and the state in the context of Turkey as well as the problems with the implementation of the principle of voluntarism within those organizations are put forward as the basic problems in terms of their acknowledgement as civil society actors. Hence, it can be said that it is principally the acknowledgement of associations and foundations as the main actors of civil society, which appears as the general consensus in Turkey on the scope of civil society organizations.

In mentioning the CSOs, Kuçuradi attributes a special importance to the principle of voluntarism with regard to both the establishment of and participation to those organizations. He views voluntarism as the basic constituting character of CSOs and in this respect asks whether we can call the professional chambers as voluntary organizations. He argues that although these organizations are

voluntarily established, the fact that their membership does not based on voluntarism, that is, the performance of a specific profession is dependent on membership to the respective professional chamber, makes them questionable in being regarded as CSOs.¹²¹

In parallel fashion, Tekeli also excludes the professional chambers from the sphere of civil society because of the fact that they are in the nature of public bodies, which are authorized or created by the state, as well as the fact that participation is put forward by those organizations as a compulsory condition for the performance of the profession in question. Furthermore, from the concept of civil society, he also argues for the exclusion of trade unions for struggling in the economic sector for the purpose of collective bargaining and the cooperatives for they have become organizations, which produce goods and services under market conditions.¹²²

Within her discussions on the in-house democracy within CSOs, Tosun also agrees with Tekeli on the exclusion of trade unions, cooperatives and professional chambers from the sphere of civil society and states that considering the nature of democratic civil society, such differentiation becomes necessary. In examining the civil society-democracy relationship, she even argues for the necessity of making a differentiation between membership-based foundations and capital and property-based foundations, which operate as business enterprises. In that sense, for her, only the associations are left as the actors, which have the potential to feed the public debates and within which we can observe practices of voluntary participation and democracy.¹²³

¹²¹ Kuçuradi, Ionna, “Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları: Kavramlar”, *Üç Sempozyum Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p.26.

¹²² Tekeli, İlhan, “Gelişen ve Saygınlığını Koruyabilen Bir Sivil Toplum Alanının Oluşma Koşulları Üzerine Düşünceler”, *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve Etik Sempozyumu*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2000, p.4-6.

¹²³ Tosun (2000), op. cit., p.55.

One of the significant documents that can be guiding in terms of understanding the scope of CSOs in Turkey is the one that has been prepared by the “NGO Support Team” established under the “Civil Society Development Program” implemented in Turkey with the support of European Commission. The Support Team makes a classification of CSOs in Turkey by considering the categorization of ESC and lists the associations, foundations, professional chambers, trade unions, cooperatives and citizen initiatives as the actors of civil society. However, in the document, in line with the tendency among the civil society intellectuals, principal importance is given to associations and foundations in terms of contribution to democratization in Turkey and for similar reasons, rather than the actors of civil society, the professional chambers, trade unions and cooperatives are mentioned as the actors which have major contributions to the development of civil society in Turkey.

Regarding the scope of CSOs in Turkey, although the principal emphasis is on the associations and foundations, still, the other actors mentioned here continue to be a major part of the discussions on civil society as well as acknowledged as the legitimate parts of the projects and programs implemented in Turkey for the development of civil society. Therefore, despite the existence of some points on which consensus is provided, similar to the Western world, it is observed that no strict boundaries are set in specifying the scope of CSOs in Turkey.

4.1.2. Democracy Promotion: Questioning Civil Society in Turkey

As it has been mentioned before, in parallel with the worldwide revitalization of the concept of “civil society” by late 1980s, a dramatic increase in the number of civil society organizations has also been observed in Turkey within the same period. However, when it is looked at the general picture of CSOs in Turkey, within the crowd of organizations, which have mostly appeared after 1980 and define themselves as the representatives of public good, the number of the ones, which have the capacity to fulfill the function of introducing different opinions

into negotiation procedures, is not so many.¹²⁴ In this respect, looking at the general statistical data regarding the structure of the civil society sphere in Turkey is guiding in the first instance.

In fact, collection of data on CSOs in Turkey is a recent issue. With the increasing interest towards civil society by 1990s, in May 1996, “Civil Society Organizations Information Center” was established, based on the common project of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey. The publication named *Önde Gelen STK’lar – Araştırma Raporu* (The Leading CSOs – Research Report), which was published within the framework of the said project, is an important work in terms of drawing the profile of CSOs in Turkey. According to this document, by February 1996, there are 61.587 associations in Turkey, which are registered to the database of CSOs Information Center and the estimated number of total CSOs in Turkey is approximately 100.000.¹²⁵

Table 1. Distribution of Type of CSOs according to Cities in Turkey

	İstanbul	Ankara	İzmir	Other	Turkey	%
Association	9.588	5.502	2.685	42.949	60.724	93.7
Foundation	860	493	132	936	2.421	3.7
Trade Union	89	85	4	32	210	0.3
Chamber	38	61	54	927	1.080	1.7
Cooperative	50	84	29	130	293	0.5
Citizen Initiative	32	8	8	13	61	0.1
Culture-Purposed Commercial Organization	13	2	4	0	19	0.0
Total	10.670	6.235	2.916	44.987	64.808	100

Source: Gönel, Aydın, *Önde Gelen STK’lar – Araştırma Raporu*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p.21.

¹²⁴ Tosun (2000), op. cit., p.55.

¹²⁵ Gönel, Aydın, *Önde Gelen STK’lar – Araştırma Raporu*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p.20-21.

As it is seen in Table 1, while the CSOs in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir constitute 31% of all CSOs in Turkey, the remaining 69% ranges among the other cities. Furthermore, it is İstanbul where the associations and foundations are mostly concentrated. It is observed that İstanbul, alone, hosts approximately 20% of all the associations and foundations in Turkey.

As a more up-to-date document, it is useful to mention the work named *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Rehberi* (Civil Society Organizations Guide), which has been published by the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey in 2005. The Guide contains detailed information on 3268 CSOs in Turkey and, in general, displays considerable similarities with the characteristics of the information dated 1998. Among the 3268 CSOs seen in the guide, the proportions of the organizations are; associations 58%, foundations 15%, trade unions 7%, professional chambers 11%, chambers of commerce and industry 5%, initiatives and platforms 3% and cooperatives 1%. Furthermore, while the CSOs in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir constitute 46% of the total, similar to the data dated 1998, İstanbul, alone, hosts 22% of all the organizations taking place in the guide.

What is remarkable within the statistical information mentioned is firstly the fact that the civil society movement in Turkey, to a great extent, appears to be locked in metropolises and falls short in displaying a nation-wide scope. Considering the results of the research on the leading CSOs again, when looked at the relationship between the level of socioeconomic development of cities and the population per CSO, it is seen that the higher the level of socioeconomic development, the lower the population per CSO, thus, the higher the level of organizational capacity.¹²⁶ The statistics indicate that this situation does not display a tendency to change from 1998 to 2005. Hence, at least for the time being, the collected statistical data on CSOs in Turkey does not indicate the existence of a civil society movement, which addresses a wide societal base and goes beyond being mostly the movement of middle-upper classes of the society in the urban context.

¹²⁶ Gönel, op. cit., p.23.

Secondly, the statistics also indicate that it is the associations, which have the highest proportion among the entire organizations listed as CSOs. At first sight, although this appears to be a positive picture in terms of civil society-democracy relationship, it is not so easy to associate most of those organizations with democratization. Considering their purposes, majority of those organizations is constituted by mutual relief associations based on religious, ethnic or communal bonds or charity organizations that seek to collect donation for building public institutions such as schools, worship places, etc. It is also mentioned in the research report on the leading CSOs that, within the distribution of organizations according to their purposes, the CSOs, which are concerned with building schools, mosques or organizing Qoran courses constitute a proportion of 65.3%, which is considerably high.¹²⁷ Hence, it becomes considerably questionable; to what extent groups that are predominantly based on exclusionary primordial ties or fund procurement for specific interests have the capacity to act as dissident groups with the spirit of civic consciousness and social responsibility, as a democratic civil society necessitates.

In the context of Turkey, the debates on civil society-democracy relationship are, to a large extent, interpenetrated with the debates on state-civil society relations. In this respect, what is mostly emphasized appears as the negative impact of the hegemony of the state on the development of democracy and civil society. However, it is put forward that within this approach, which is accurate, but incomplete, the societal dynamics are ignored; namely, while, on the one hand, the problem of “non-democratization” is derived from the tradition that depends on the permanence of the state and the official ideology, which is its advocator, on the other hand, it also grows out of society’s lack of power and capacity to resist and change the anti-democratic implementations.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Gönel, op. cit., p.21.

¹²⁸ Tosun (2001), op. cit., p.356-358.

In the context of Turkey, such lack of power and capacity, at the level of the society, to oppose anti-democratic practices is explained by the dynamics behind how the concept of civil society comes on the scene in Turkey. One of the basic characteristics of the Western civil society tradition appears to be its great persistence to establish its autonomy vis a vis the political power. Hence, while, in the West, civil society took shape in the context of struggles against the political power, in Turkey, it is the state itself, which had tried to install a civil society sphere in order to fill the gap between its pro-western ideals and the society. In that sense, the fact that civil society in Turkey does not have an autonomy, in the Western sense of the term, vis a vis the state, is said to be related to the fact that its main legal and institutional forms are designed by the state, in accordance with the state's needs and priorities.¹²⁹ The consequence is, according to Tekin, a "Turkish type civil society", which has congruent relations with the official organs and proves insufficient for checking the state's actions as well as forwarding the demands of the society to the official sphere.¹³⁰ In this respect, it is argued that civil society organizations are not the organic representatives of society, but the agencies of a Western model in Turkey.¹³¹

Within the framework of the debates on how civil society actors position themselves vis a vis the state, it is the employers' or entrepreneurs' associations as well as the professional chambers and chambers of commerce and industry, which mostly appear as the target of criticisms directed towards the capacity of civil society in Turkey to support democratization. At the basis of those criticisms lies the determination that those organizations display a standing that is mostly in a coherent partnership with the state and remote from adopting a critical position as against the resident political culture. In that sense, the object of criticisms mostly appear as the entrepreneurs' associations, which are named by many critics as the

¹²⁹ Tekin, Serdar, "Sivil Toplumun Devletiyle Bölünmez Bütünlüğü", *Birikim*, No.130, 2000, p.44.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.44.

¹³¹ Türkeş, A. Ömer, "STK'lar ya da Sanal Toplum Kuruluşları", *Birikim*, No.130, 2000, p.49.

“civil society of the capital” that is dependent on the state and serving for special economic interests.¹³² It is indicated that there are enduring organic, ideological and funding links between this group and the state, as they are in intimate relationships with the state and its organs for the incentives, credits and tenders they need to continue their vitality.¹³³

It is argued that it is not surprising to observe the entrepreneur community to enthusiastically claim to be the supporter of a version of democratization, which is centered on civil society and, to a great extent, reduced to capitalist development. By presenting themselves as civic actors, the entrepreneurs are viewed as trying to benefit from the esteem that civil society has acquired by 1990s. In that sense, the entrepreneurs’ associations are seen as engaging in an effort to increase their legitimacy over the rhetoric of defending the interests of not only their members, but of the whole society. Especially, with the fact that Turkey’s EU perspective becomes rather prominent; the economic dimensions of the membership process have become one of most significant matters that are closely monitored by the entrepreneur community. In this respect, the issues such as human rights, democratization, rule of law, which are given great importance by the EU, have also started to take a significant place within their agenda. Thereby, democratization has become not only a special matter of emphasis for the entrepreneurs’ associations, but also an effective factor on the commercial activities of their members. In fact, although this process has relatively decreased the entrepreneur groups’ dependency on the state, it is observed that the state-related interests of Turkish capital still constitute a great barrier for the entrepreneurs’ associations, as CSOs, to adopt, in objective terms, a critical position against the state. In other words, the criticisms and activities directed towards the state in the context of democratization are mostly kept within certain limits that would not constitute a threat to those interests. Hence, the limits of a

¹³² Bayraktar, op. cit., p.7.

¹³³ Bali, op. cit., p.34.

discourse of democratization, which is completely inspired by special economic interests, are seen as apparent.

Another determining factor concerning the state-civil society relations in Turkey is the process that paves the way for the CSOs to benefit from public funds. In fact, it is possible to encounter different viewpoints with regard to this issue. On the one hand, it is advocated that this process would lead to the instrumentalization of CSOs, limit their activities and result in the reproduction of official state ideology in the public sphere. Furthermore, state funding is also countered on ethic grounds that it would damage the CSOs' autonomy and claim to represent the society. On the other, contrary opinions mention the drawbacks of viewing the state and civil society in a total contestation and emphasize that economic supports by the state can contribute to better fulfillment of the functions of CSOs as well as facilitate the implementation of their projects. Especially with regard to project partnerships, development of partnership strategies between the state and CSOs is seen as useful in terms of the democratization of both the state and the society. Turning to state funding as a last resort appears to be the consensus on this issue.

Göle attributes great importance to the concept of autonomy and emphasizes the significance of the economic as well as ideological autonomy of civil society vis a vis the state in terms of the appearance of CSOs as influential actors within the process of determination of politics.¹³⁴ In this respect, the perspective, which views state funding as useful as long as it does not damage the autonomy of civil society, is found as too optimistic by the opponents of this conception within the framework of the dynamics of resident political culture in Turkey. Tosun argues that, within the societies, in which political patronage is widespread, like in Turkey, a funding link between the state and civil society carries the possibility to transform the civil society actors into new instruments of patronage for the sake of

¹³⁴ Göle, Nilüfer, "Yurtdışı İlişkilere Kuramsal Bir Bakış", *Üç Sempozyum Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p.115.

access to national resources. In this way, according to her, civil society would face the risk to become integrated to the network of patronage relationships, which is, in Turkey, observed more within the relations between the state and the market.¹³⁵

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, funding links between the CSOs and official authorities also lead to some problems within the internal structures of CSOs in terms of running the processes of participation and democracy within themselves. It has been mentioned that the bureaucracy resulting from the flow of funds, to a large extent, weaken some basic characteristics of CSOs, such as horizontal organization, low bureaucracy, etc. and gradually transform them into organizations dominated by vertical, hierarchical, patronage relationships. According to the results of a field research on the problem of in-house democracy conducted with 178 associations, it is seen that the participation of members in the decision-making procedure is considerably lower than that of the chair and the administrative board, respectively, 9,8% and 64,7%. Furthermore, the results concerning the participation of members within the process of organization of financial affairs appear as even more dramatic. In budgeting the amount of financial resources, which would be used in various activities and projects, it is observed that while the influence of the chair, the administrative board and the general assembly reaches approximately 90%, the participation of members in this process remains to be about 4%.¹³⁶ Within the framework of those data, it is put forward that a centralized administrative structure is dominant within associations and rather than a network of horizontal relations, a hierarchical decision-making procedure is observed, which considerably excludes the members. Furthermore, the fact that it is predominantly the chair and the administrative board, which represent the organizations before public as well as hold the initiatives to decide on the financial matters, the projects and the activities, indicates the dominance of a bureaucratic pyramid type structure within most of the associations.

¹³⁵ Tosun (2003), op. cit., p.41.

¹³⁶ Tosun (2000), op. cit., p.56.

Another remarkable finding is the fact that in coping with the confronted problems, the members rely on the chair and the administrative board more than themselves. In other words, in case of a problem, crisis or urgency, rather than mobilizing their own capacity of problem-solving, the members prefer to depend on the decisions of the chair and the administrative board.¹³⁷ This is a significant finding as it is an indication of the existence of a cultural problem in Turkey in the sense that an internalized authoritarian culture is dominant in every segment of society, including civil society, which marginalizes the expression of opponent views. Hence, in the context of democratization, what is expected from the actors of civil society is not to reproduce, but to criticize and question this culture.

Finally, it is necessary to say a few words with regard to the dialogue and communication between CSOs in Turkey. In this respect, the criticisms underline the fact that the organizations active within the field of civil society mostly work as “closed systems”, which leads to an inability to put forward a collective target and action plan, especially among the ones working within the same fields, for similar purposes. It is emphasized that such tendency is, to a great extent, related to one of the basic problems of almost all CSOs in Turkey, which is finance. In other words, it is the need for financial resources, which mostly constitutes a barrier to the creation of a common platform of dialogue and discussion among CSOs, as the competition for funds makes the field of civil society an arena of contestation rather than collaboration. In this way, the civil society sphere appears as the sum of various fragmentary initiatives, which act independently and prove insufficient for organizing the sphere that they commonly share.

It is worth mentioning some initiatives put forward for the solution of the problem of communication between CSOs in Turkey. One of the most comprehensive one among those initiatives is the *STK Sempozyumları Dizisi* (Symposium Series on CSOs), which has been conducted since 1994 and organized 17 symposiums until today, with the participation of a great many CSOs from various different areas of

¹³⁷ Tosun (2000), op. cit., p.58.

interest. It is significant to emphasize that the Symposium Series on CSOs becomes, to a great extent, an institutionalized initiative in terms of development of the capacity of CSOs in Turkey to act concurrently in solving their common problems. Specifically concerning the problem of communication, the Symposium Series also pioneer for the establishment of a Support and Communication Center for CSOs in Turkey, which is designed to operate not only for the reinforcement of dialogue between the organizations, but also for setting common solutions for their financial problems.

In addition to these, for the strengthening of collective consciousness and idea of unity among civil society actors, some media tools are also mobilized; namely, *Bizim Gazete* (Our Gazette) and *Açık Radyo* (Open Radio), which are specifically organized as civil society-oriented media organs.

There is no doubt that such initiatives contribute much to the constitution of a common platform of dialogue and discussion for CSOs in Turkey, but the fact that most of those initiatives appeal only to the CSO community in metropolitan İstanbul, to a great extent, limits their scope. Hence, such initiatives would serve more for the purpose of reinforcing communication between CSOs, if the communication networks are gradually extended from center through margins.

4.2. The EU Policies for Supporting the Development of Civil Society and Democratization in Turkey

Promotion of democracy in third countries has long been a significant concern for EU. Especially within the process of enlargement, the EU has engaged in a gradually increasing cooperation with CSOs in Turkey and other candidate countries. In this respect, the EU has been initiating and supporting various programs in candidate countries, one of which is Turkey, with the purpose of increasing the capacity of civil society organizations as well as making them take active role within the process of democratization.

4.2.1. Background of Turkey-EU Relations in the Context of Civil Society and Democratization

By the late 1980s, the EU, as an important international actor, has attempted to form a more pronounced political role for itself in the international affairs by giving great emphasis to the spread of democratic norms and institutions. In this regard, the role of democracy, rule of law and human rights in the external relations of the EU has gradually been enhanced. Within the enlargement strategy, conditioning membership into EU on some political criteria reached its climax in the 1990s and at the Copenhagen European Council of 21-22 June 1993, political criteria were set for membership including a fully functioning democratic system, rule of law, protection of human rights and protection and respect for minorities.

The relations between Turkey and EU date back to 1959 when Turkey applied for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959 and became an associate member following the Ankara Agreement in 1963. In 1987, Turkey applied for full membership of the EU, but that was a round of disappointment as the application was rejected. Afterwards, although the initiation of the Customs Union Agreement in January 1996 was greeted by Turkish political elite with great enthusiasm, the Luxemburg Summit of December 1997 was another point of disillusionment as Turkey was explicitly excluded from the EU's enlargement process and was not considered among the other candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe. However, after two years, in the Helsinki Summit of 1999, the disappointments of Luxemburg were transformed into renewed hopes for full membership as Turkey was officially accepted as a candidate country.

As is the case in almost every field, the process of integration to EU also leads to major implications for the field of civil society in Turkey as well as the role of CSOs within the democratization process. In fact, the contribution of EU to the civil society projects in Turkey started by the early 1990s in the form of providing financial support to CSOs, especially for the projects concerning the development

of human rights and democratization. In this regard, the European Commission is observed to be engaged in cooperation with a diversity of organizations such as; NGOs working for the promotion of human rights and democratization, women's and youth organizations, trade unions, employers' federations, etc.

In the beginning, the cooperation between the CSOs in Turkey and the Commission was implemented in the way that the Commission provided project-based grants for a variety of CSOs. The supported projects were mostly limited to training programs, symposiums or research on human rights and democratization and rather than having long-term goals, the grants can be characterized as organized on a case-by-case basis. In that sense, at first, the purpose of EU appears to be supporting the development of human rights and democratization in Turkey by means of CSOs, rather than mobilizing resources directly for strengthening civil society.¹³⁸ It is only after Turkey has become a candidate country, then the EU started to implement more comprehensive programs specifically designed for the development of civil society in Turkey.

Today, through different programs, the EU supports the projects of lots of civil society organizations in Turkey. On the one hand, providing support for the projects and activities of CSOs is implemented within the framework of EU-funded public projects in Turkey. On the other, among the EU-implemented programs concerning the field of civil society in Turkey, the ones that should be especially focused on are the "European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights", "MEDA Program" (The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), and the "Civil Society Development Program", which was initiated in 2001 directly for building the capacity of CSOs in Turkey as well as for financing their projects and encouraging cooperation and partnership between CSOs.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Lundgren, Asa, "Demokrasi Destekleyicisi olarak Avrupa Birliği" in Elisabeth Özdalga and Sune Persson (ed.), *Sivil Toplum, Demokrasi ve İslam Dünyası*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 131.

¹³⁹ Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi-STK Destek Ekibi, "Avrupa Birliği'nin Yolu Sivil İnisiyatifleri Güçlendirmekten Geçiyor", *Sivil Toplum*, www.siviltoplum.com.tr/tanitim_7.htm

4.2.2. The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights

The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) was developed by the European Commission in 1992 for the countries that are not members of the EU. The main objective of the program is to promote and support democracy and human rights in third countries. In this respect, the achievement of the objective for the establishment of democratic values in non-members countries is pursued through supporting the projects concerning the development and consolidation of democracy and the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The programme has the particular objective of strengthening non-governmental bodies and associations, which by their vocation and specific activities can make a contribution to the promotion of a democratic society. In this respect, the EIDHR, which aims at directly supporting the NGOs, is structured under four thematic campaigns on:

- Promoting international justice and the rule of law,
- Fostering a culture of human rights,
- Promoting the democratic process,
- Advancing equality, tolerance and peace¹⁴⁰.

In implementing its human rights policy, the European Union recognizes the importance of the contributions made by international, regional and non-governmental organizations and values both the expertise which many organizations working to implement human rights possess, as well as their visibly

¹⁴⁰ “Newsletter on Activities of Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership”, *The EMHRN Newsletter*, February 2005, http://www.euromedrights.net/english/emhrn-documents/newsletters/Newsletter_final%20web_8%20Feb-05_ENG.doc

high impact in the field of human rights¹⁴¹. In this respect, considerably importance is attached to providing support for human rights, democratization and conflict prevention activities to be carried out primarily in partnership with NGOs and international organizations.

Turkey has been participating in the program since 1993 and until today, a considerable number of projects of CSOs in Turkey were supported within the framework of micro and macro-projects programs of EIDHR. Turkey has become a focus country in 2002, which means that the Commission sets itself the target of supporting Human Rights projects in Turkey for an average of €2 million per year, allocated both to macro-projects, presently managed by Europe Aid in Brussels, and micro-projects which are administered locally by the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey¹⁴². The main purpose of the EIDHR micro-projects program is to strengthen the democratic capacity of CSOs and to provide financial support for the initiatives of grassroots non-governmental organizations, which, through their specific field of activity, can contribute to the protection and strengthening of human rights as well as to the development of a democratic society. In this respect, the yearly envelope for EIDHR micro-projects in Turkey is around €500,000. More than 30 projects have been supported within the framework of EIDHR micro-projects program between 2003-2006, which are mainly concerned with freedom of expression and independent media, improved access to justice, prevention of torture and combating impunity, support for measures to combat discrimination and to preserve and respect cultural diversity, and promotion of good governance, particularly by supporting administrative accountability and preventing and combating corruption. As for the macro-projects program, Europe Aid supports macro level EIDHR projects through call for proposals. Eight projects targeting Turkey were selected since 2001, in the

¹⁴¹ Commission of the European Communities, “About the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights”, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/eidhr_en.htm

¹⁴² Delegation of European Commission to Turkey, “European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights”, <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/default.asp?lang=1&pId=13&year=2005&month=&mnId=2&refNo=PRG-2003-027&desc=1>

fields of human rights promotion, torture prevention and rehabilitation of victims of torture, freedom of expression, and improved access to justice.

4.2.3. MEDA Program

The MEDA Program is the principal financial instrument of the EU for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. The program offers technical and financial support measures to accompany the reform of economic and social structures in the Mediterranean partners. The MEDA System is designed on the basis of both bilateral and regional cooperations. For the period of 1995-1999, the first phase of the program was implemented and the second phase was initiated in 2000 to be implemented until 2006.

The Barcelona Conference, which was conducted in 1995, put a special emphasis on the participation of civil society to Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Based on the three pillars of Barcelona Declaration, MEDA commitments would be distributed both bilaterally and regionally to three types of projects, one of which is democratization and civil society. Turkey has been participating in the program since 1995. In this respect, Turkey has benefited from the EC funds under MEDA I both bilaterally and regionally for the projects in support of economic transition, socio-economic development, democratization and civil society. Under MEDA I, the sum allocated to Turkey is €376 million, which corresponds to 55 projects, among which more than 20 were small-scale projects carried out by CSOs. Among them, the projects such as the Civic Education for Reinforcement of Democratic Principles and Rights can be highlighted, which focuses on spreading democratic principles and creating awareness and knowledge of human rights at grassroots levels through training courses in 25 provinces. Another project is the Program on State Reform in Turkey project, which creates a forum of dialogue

through conferences to support the process of clear policy making of the state and to enhance transparency and accountability of state institutions.¹⁴³

Among the regional cooperation programs, MEDA Democracy, which was launched in 1996, aims to promote human rights, pluralism and independent media. Within the framework of this program, the projects of TOSAV (Foundation for Research of Societal Problems), DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey), KADER (The Association for Supporting & Educating Women Candidates) and Independent Communication Foundation were supported in Turkey.¹⁴⁴ The projects supported under this program were generally designed to promote a peaceful and prosperous civil society in Turkey, based on principles of multiculturalism, pluralism and tolerance.

In the framework of MEDA II, a 15% share of the bilateral envelope will be allocated to Turkey during the 2000-2006 period. The total would amount to €890 million. All funds for Turkey will be pre-accession oriented.

4.2.4. Civil Society Development Program

The Civil Society Development Program (CSDP) has been initiated by the EU in 2001 to be implemented in Turkey in order to make CSOs more active and play a more effective role in the process of democratization. The overall objective of the CSDP can be summarized as to reinforce civil society in the democratic process of Turkey, to develop the capacity for citizen initiative and dialogue, domestically and abroad, and to help establish a more balanced relationship between citizens

¹⁴³ Delegation of European Commission to Turkey, “Financial Assistance – Bilateral Projects: Projects on Strengthening of Democratization and Civil Society”, <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/english/e-mali-bilateral-3-3.html#3>

¹⁴⁴ Delegation of European Commission to Turkey, “Sivil Toplum İşbaşında”, 2001, p.16, <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/sivil.rtf>

and the state, thereby contributing to the maturing of democratic practice.¹⁴⁵ The program comprises of six components, namely;

- Local civic initiatives,
- Turkey-Greece Civic dialogue,
- Local government partnerships,
- Dialogue and development of Chambers of Commerce,
- Trade union dialogue,
- Police, professionalism and the public.

For the execution of the “Local Civic Initiatives” and “Turkey-Greece Civic Dialogue” sections, which constitute the first phase of the implementation of the program, in November 2002, an NGO Support Team was established for providing technical assistance to the beneficiaries of the components of the CSDP. Within this context, the Team undertook needs assessments and reviews, collected and expanded databases on Turkish NGOs, trained NGOs and local consultants, assisted in establishing networks, supported events (workshops, conferences, etc.) organized by NGOs within the CSDP and investigated fund-raising opportunities.

In the beginning of its studies, the NGO Support Team drew a profile of the CSOs in Turkey and determined a series of criteria in order to specify its target group. Those criteria were listed as follows:

- The CSOs active within the fields such as; women, children, the disabled, development, culture, human rights, history, etc.,
- Cooperatives, including non-profit seeking corporations, associations, foundations, chambers, unions,

¹⁴⁵ Delegation of European Commission to Turkey, “EU-Turkey Bilateral Cooperation: Civil society Development Programme”, <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/english/e-mali-bilateral-5.html>

- The above-mentioned organizations should not have organic links with the state, their administrations should be elected democratically and at least 50% of their budget should be derived from non-state institutions or individuals.
- The above-mentioned organizations should be organized at the local level and working for public good.

Within the framework of those criteria, the NGO Support Team determined its principal target as the development of the capacity of especially the local civic initiatives for a more effective participation of society in the decision-making procedure. In this respect, within 2003-2005 period, a series of training programs were carried out for the strengthening of the capacity of local civic initiatives, especially with regard to project preparation and access and benefit from the opportunities of funding. Furthermore, the CSOs participated in the programs were also trained about how to broaden their membership base, how to strengthen the institutionalized democratic structure within themselves and especially how to establish communication channels with the other CSOs, at home and abroad, as well as with the society. In this way, the program has reached approximately 750 CSOs by organizing 4-day training programs in 13 different provinces in Turkey.

Within this framework, it can be said that the CSDP strongly drew attention to the fact that the number of civil society organizations in a country is not a direct indication of democratization, but democratization comes about by the development of CSOs' capacities, strengthening democratic management within their structures, their ability to take strong public support behind them as well as play a part within decision making procedures. In this respect, Mr. Sunay Demircan, who is the coordinator of CSDP, also indicates that despite the existence of approximately 100.000 CSOs in Turkey, bidding in contracts, earning money, collecting donations, opening taverns, bars, eateries, etc., to a large extent, appear as the pretexts for founding associations and he asks; "But how many people endeavor to gather in congruity with common interests to keep on the

social struggle together?”¹⁴⁶ In that sense, he emphasized that the goal of the CSDP is not to increase the quantity of CSOs in Turkey, but to improve the quality of the already existing ones in terms of their capacity to support political democratization processes in Turkey.

In addition, Demircan also draws attention to the elitist structure of civil society and states that a kind of CSO aristocracy is being formed in Turkey, which is usually originated in İstanbul. He explains that those organizations have established dominance on funds coming from abroad and mostly private sector funds in the country. For this reason, he emphasizes, it is all the more necessary that the foundations in eastern provinces also learn about preparing projects, carrying them out and reaching sources of funds.¹⁴⁷ In that sense, he stresses the significance of the training programs organized within the framework of CSDP in terms of putting forward a solution for those problems.

On September 30, 2005, the Civil Society Development Center (CSDC), which can be characterized as the continuation of the CSDP, was established again with the support of the European Commission. The Commission is currently supporting this project with a budget of 1.820.000 EUR. CSDC is defined to be a civic structure, which has been constituted by the civil society activists with the purpose of strengthening civil society in Turkey as well as working for the nationwide spread of participatory and pluralist democracy. The main goal of CSDC is determined to engage in activities oriented towards providing support for especially the local civic initiatives’ need for information, economic power, physical supplies and human resources as well as assist them to increase their

¹⁴⁶ Demircan, Sunay, “The State of Social Lethargy”, *TurkishTime*, 2003, http://www.turkishtime.org/19/76_1_en.asp (Ahu Erkivanç Yıldız’s interview with Sunay Demircan for TurkishTime, publication of the Turkish Exporters Assembly)

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

efficiency.¹⁴⁸ In parallel with the targets of the CSDP, CSDC also aims at developing methods for the efficient and fair usage of the financial supports by the CSOs. In this respect, CSDC also plans to carry out a series of training programs oriented towards strengthening the capacity of CSOs working within the fields such as women, children, the disabled, human rights, environment, etc., which are the same as the fields that were previously specified by the CSDP. Within this framework, the CSDC aims at reaching 2.000 participants by organizing 5-day, 120 training programs within a two-year period. Furthermore, within its two-year program, the CSDC is planning to reach approximately 4.000 local CSOs and provide a grant of 500.000 EUR for those organizations within the framework of the projects that would be executed by them. In that sense, it is apparent that by adopting the same principles as the CSDP, the CSDC project can be generally viewed as the broadened version of CSDP with regard to its scope of implementation.

4.2.5. Participation of Turkey in the Civil Society Dialogue Initiative

With the initiation of Civil Society Dialogue by the Commission on 29.06.2005, strengthening of the contacts and mutual exchange of experience between all sectors of civil society in the EU member states and candidate countries is specified as one of the main objectives.

There is a special focus on Turkey in the Commission's Communication as it is determined that the misconceptions and concerns are more widespread about Turkey. In this respect, the Commission has recognised that in the case of Turkey, a dialogue aiming at improving mutual knowledge and encouraging a debate on perceptions regarding society and political issues on both sides is particularly necessary. For the achievement of those objectives, dialogue between Turkey and EU members states will increase bilateral exchanges, thereby contribute to the

¹⁴⁸ Delegation of European Commission to Turkey, "Avrupa Komisyonu Tarafından Desteklenen Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi (STGM) STK'larla Çalışmalarına Başlıyor", *Press Releases*, 21.09.2005, www.deltur.cec.eu.int/!Publish/tr/PR%20-%202005-PressRelease-45.doc

increased participation of civil society in the political, cultural and economic development. Hence, the civil dialogue will not only improve mutual understanding on both sides, but also will support the further development of a lively and vibrant civil society in Turkey, which is key to the consolidation of human rights and democracy, in line with the political criteria for accession.¹⁴⁹

Within the implementation of the civil society dialogue, the Commission has specified that the broadest and most inclusive definition of civil society possible will be employed. In this respect, all society structures outside of government and public administration, whether based on a voluntary or mandatory membership, are encouraged to participate in the dialogue. It is stated that local communities and municipalities will also be included in the dialogue, while the education, media and culture sectors are also expected to play a key role. Furthermore, the dialogue will also include exchanges between opinion leaders from national and European institutions. Within this framework, the Commission will support long-term partnerships between Turkish CSOs and their EU counterparts as well as the partnerships between sectoral organizations from both sides and between Turkish national organizations and their partners in EU member states. It has been declared that from 2006, the Commission will contribute by funding new bilateral exchange projects involving counterparts from both EU and Turkey, under the existing pre-accession assistance programs for candidate countries.

In specifying its policy framework with regard to the implementation of the civil society dialogue initiative, the Commission indicates that it will first focus on strengthening some ongoing activities, carried out at both national and EU level, it will then propose new activities aimed at developing the dialogue further. In this regard, while the strengthening of the on-going EU-funded activities in Turkey such as the Civil Society Development Program and the projects supported within the framework of the European Initiative for Democracy and Human rights is

¹⁴⁹ Commission of the European Communities, "Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries, COM (2005) 290 final, Brussels, 29.06.2005, p.3, <http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/webpub/documents/civildialogue-eng.pdf>

emphasized, future introduction of new activities such as intensified bilateral relations between NGOs, social partners and professional organizations, youth and university exchanges, participation in Community Culture and Media programs, supporting the establishment of town-twinning between local communities in EU and Turkey is also stressed.¹⁵⁰ For the implementation of those objectives, the Commission will conduct regular consultation of leading personalities from the EU and Turkey, chosen on the basis of their expertise in EU-Turkey relations and their involvement in civil society, with the purpose of seeking their advice on making proposals for future actions to be undertaken. Furthermore, for monitoring and reporting purposes, the regular reports on Turkey, published on a yearly basis, will feature a special section on the civil society dialogue, covering the main activities and results.

¹⁵⁰ Commission of the European Communities (29.06.2005), op. cit., p.4-13.

CHAPTER V

THE FIELD RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN TURKEY'S PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF CIVIL SOCIETY- ORIENTED PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTED BY THE EU IN TURKEY

The main purpose of this study is to understand and critically examine the extent to which the CSOs in Turkey have the capacity to promote democratization with special reference to how the EU contributes to this process with the civil society-oriented programs it has implemented in Turkey since the early 1990s, especially after the beginning of the candidacy process in 1999. Within this framework, different, but considerably interpenetrated parameters of the subject become included in the analysis such as the internal operating styles of CSOs as well as their relations with the state and with the other organizations active within the civil society sphere. Furthermore, the analysis concerning the impact of EU-implemented programs on the democratic capacity of CSOs in Turkey is also complex, as the effect of funds or capacity-building/project management training programs, to a great extent, vary according to the intra-organizational structures of CSOs. The field research conducted for this study aims to understand how those different parameters operate and interact with each other

5.1. The Physical Portrait and the Membership Profile of the Sample

The field research was conducted in Ankara, capital city of Turkey, with the participation of 46 CSOs, which have previously taken part in the EU-implemented civil society programs in Turkey, either by taking funds for their projects or participating in the capacity-building/project management training programs.

Regarding the legal statuses of the participant organizations, in conformity with the objectives of the research, most of the participants were chosen from associations, while the rest is composed of foundations, trade unions, non-profit organizations and citizen initiatives. The chambers of commerce and industry as well as the professional chambers were excluded from the study because of the fact that their participation does not depend on voluntarism. The distribution of participant organizations according to their legal statuses can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of Organizations according to their Legal Statuses

	Number of Participants	%
Association	29	63.0
Foundation	13	28.3
Trade Union	2	4.3
Non-Profit Organization	1	2.2
Citizen Initiative	1	2.2
Total	46	100

Among the 46 organizations, which have participated in the field research, 34 of them took funds from the EU in order to finance their projects and the remaining 12 participated in the capacity-building/project management training programs. Methodologically, it was aimed to conduct face to face interviews with the administrators (either the chair or one of the members of administrative board) of each participant as well as two members from each organization in order to include both sides' point of views within the study. However, although it was achieved to conduct interviews with the administrators, it was not so much possible to reach two members from each organization. It was especially difficult to reach the volunteers of foundations as they have no formal membership system because of the related prohibition brought by the Civil Law dated 2001. In this regard, it was the associations, whose members were easier to contact vis a vis the

members of the other organizations. For the foundations, it was generally tried to contact the ones, who have voluntarily taken part in the organization's activities, projects or campaigns. Hence, in total, 72 members could be reached from 46 participant organizations. The details regarding the characteristics of the respondents can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Respondents according to their Characteristics

	Grant Program (Administrator)	Training Program (Administrator)	Grant Program (Member)	Training Program (Member)
Association	20	9	37	17
Foundation	11	2	14	3
Trade Union	2	-	1	-
Non-Profit Organization	1	-	-	-
Citizen Initiative	-	1	-	-
Total	46		72	

Regarding the membership profile of the sample, first of all, the participant organizations were asked to give information about the number of their members or volunteers and their system of general assembly. However, except for associations and trade unions, legally, the rest has neither a formal membership nor a general assembly system, which made it considerably difficult to get certain information from those organizations regarding the statistics concerning members. The foundations and non-profit organizations are basically composed of an administrative organ and wage earners working mainly in the projects of the organization. In addition, there are volunteers who take part in their projects, activities or campaigns, but they have no representation in the decision making procedure of the organization and since their participation have no formal

characteristic, no definite number of volunteers is in question. As for the associations and trade unions, they displayed a wide variety with regard to not only the number of members they have, but also their system of general assembly, whose rules are mainly regulated within the statute of the organization. From the organizations that have considerably limited number of members to the ones whose number of members is expressed by thousands, the participant associations and trade unions largely differ from each other on membership. Furthermore, the fact that some of them are organized as federations or confederations as well as the existence of country-wide branches of some of them further complicate the dynamics of membership and participation.

It is significant to emphasize that although the chambers were excluded from the study because of the fact that they are not based on voluntary membership, it was determined during the interviews with some of the administrators of the participant organizations that the principle of voluntary membership was not implemented by them in practice, either. It was observed that while some of the administrators have prejudices regarding the membership of individuals who have no university education some others stated that they prefer to implement a reference method while accepting members, which is based on the examination of past experiences regarding voluntary memberships. In that sense, it can be said that conditioning membership to some criteria, which are too difficult, even impossible, to set forth in objective terms, largely carries the risk to harm one of the basic principles of civil society, which is voluntary participation. Furthermore, such approaches also involve the possibility to drag the organization into a kind of elitism which considers civic consciousness to be earned by education only, which is in turn seen as equal to having a university degree. In parallel fashion, although the past experiences of individuals as activists can be seen as a reliable criterion for membership, such an approach might not only damage the principle of equality, but also lead to discrimination between individuals, who share the same basic characteristic that is voluntarism. Within this framework, the membership profile of the sample according to age, sex and education can be seen

in Table 4 and Table 5. The profile is put forward for the members and the members of administrative board separately.

Table 4. Distribution of Members according to Age, Sex and Education (%)

Age			Sex			Education		
Below 30	30-50	Above 50	Male	Female	Equal	Primary/ Secondary School Graduate	High School Graduate	University Graduate
30.4	63.1	6.5	43.5	26.1	30.4	2.2	21.7	76.1

n=46 (“n” refers to the number of participants responded to the question)

Table 5. Distribution of Members of Administrative Board according to Age, Sex and Education (%)

Age			Sex			Education		
Below 30	30-50	Above 50	Male	Female	Equal	Primary/ Secondary School Graduate	High School Graduate	University Graduate
13.1	69.6	17.3	58.7	23.9	17.4	-	2.2	97.8

n=46

Regarding the categories that were put forward to draw the profile of the members and the members of the administrative board, it is important to mention that the information taken from the respondents was not reflecting the exact statistics, but approximate. Furthermore, for the foundations, non-profit organization and the citizen initiative, the information here reflects the approximate profile of the volunteers as no enrolled members are in question.

Starting from the profile of the members according to age, it is seen that it is the individuals from 30-50 age-group, who constitute most of the members of the participant organizations. On the other hand, the participation of the age-group below 30 appears as 30.4%. Furthermore, the results indicate that the proportion of the age group below 30 within the administrative boards is even considerably lower than that of the same group within the members. Hence, similar to the profile of the members, the administrative boards also seem to be predominantly composed of individuals from 30-50 age-group. Such a picture, unavoidably, draws attention to one of the principal problems of civil society in Turkey, which is the participation of youth that is generally defined by some age limitations such as 18-25 or 18-30. There is no doubt that linking this situation simply to the insensitivity or indifference of the youth in Turkey towards social problems would be a reductionist approach to the issue, as there is a complex integrity of various parameters, which lead to such a consequence. In assessing the position of the youth within civil society in Turkey, the social and political conjuncture of the last 25 years should be taken into consideration first, as this period reflects the development process of today's young generation. It is important to emphasize that what has great to do with the weak participation of youth in Turkish social and political life is the impact of the military coup of 1980 on the internal politics of Turkey, which depends largely on passifying the youth especially in political terms as well as the distrustfulness against their organization and taking initiative within society. Within such a context, while the methods for individual salvation has become more and more legitimate, the social pressure put upon the youth through the perception of organized action as "anti-state" has constituted a significant barrier to their participation. In that sense, it can be said that the system's failure to develop necessary youth policies for the encouragement of youth civic and political participation in Turkey after 1980 has a great role within the appearance of such a tableau that we have to face today.

Another striking determination is that while the proportion of individuals above 50 is considerably low within the members, within the administrative boards, their

proportion rises to 17.3%. Furthermore, although slightly, the proportion of 30-50 age group within the administrative boards also rises, while it is only the age group below 30, which displays a considerable fall within this category and it is almost entirely the youth associations that constitute the proportion of 13.1% in Table 5. In the first instance, such a scene can be linked to the tendency to view the functionality of the administration as dependent on to be experienced. However, although this is reasonable to some extent, in terms of ensuring legitimate representation within the organization, sufficient representation of youth within administration is equally important, especially for the CSOs, which have a considerable number of young members. Furthermore, if immense importance is attached to the role of civil society to develop strategies for youth participation in civic and political life, it is significant for the CSOs themselves to give way to the voice of youth within their own decision making mechanisms.

Regarding the profile of the members in terms of sex, it is seen that there are no considerable differences with regard to participation of men and women, as more than 50% of participant organizations either stated that their members are composed mostly of women or expressed that the number of male and female members are approximately equal. However, when it comes to representation within the administrative board, similar to the situation of youth, the representation of women within administration displays a considerable fall vis a vis their representation within the members. It is seen that while the proportion of men within the administrative board rises vis a vis their proportion within the members, the proportion of both women and the equal representation of both sexes decreases vis a vis their respective proportions within the members in general. Hence, it can be said that the under representation of women in the decision making mechanisms of most levels of social and political life is also observed at the level of the civil society. However, if promotion of gender equality is one of the major missions of civil society today, the credibility of the CSOs becomes depending, to a large extent, on providing a convincing representation of women within their own decision making mechanisms. In this

respect, some administrators stated that they try to implement positive discrimination policies for women within their electoral procedures in order to increase women's participation in the decision making. In fact, positive discrimination may be an answer to integrate women into decision making, but it is also significant to emphasize that an externally imposed positive discrimination in favor of women is not enough in itself to ensure full, equal and effective participation of both sexes. Rather, positive discrimination should be seen as part of a general strategy, which is based on the purpose of internalization of a social culture where both men and women equally participate in all levels of social, economic and political life. There is no doubt that the role of civil society is considerably valuable within the implementation process of such a strategy.

Hence, based on the results of the field research, the under representation of women and youth is an important issue for criticism that should be significantly focused on, as rather than being the institutions, in which the under representation of women and youth within decision making is reproduced, the CSOs should act as the agents, where such anti-democratic implementations are criticized and challenged. In this regard, there is no doubt that the legitimacy of adopting such a stance depends, to a large extent, on their ability to provide a convincing representation of both women and youth within their own decision making mechanisms.

Finally, considering the distribution of members according to education, the experiences of participant organizations indicate that the civil society movement that they are affiliated, for the most part, carried out via the hands of an educated class, most of which has an academic position. It is observed that there is an apparent predominance of university graduates within both the members in general and the members of administration board. Especially at the level of administration, education seems to be a significant determining factor. This picture can be explained by several interrelated factors. First of all, the identification of civil society with the educated class is the general image of civil

society in Turkey today. Especially the fact that it is mostly the academic and intellectual figures, who appear before media as the representatives of CSOs, has much to do with the construction of such an image on the part of the public. It can be said that the internalization of such an image results in the fact that the members of CSOs in Turkey today are, to a large extent, display a homogenous profile in terms of level of education. Furthermore, it is hard to deny that, today, a considerably limited segment of society participates in the activities of CSOs, which can be linked to the economic conditions of Turkey. In other words, it is mostly the individuals having a certain level of education and economic well-being, who are able to get involved more with the problems of society than their personal problems. In addition to these, the process of internationalization of civil society in Turkey, which is accelerated especially with Turkey's EU membership, has also contributed much to the appearance of such a homogeneous profile within CSOs in terms of level of education. Increased relations with the EU in bureaucratic terms, especially within the framework of the EU-implemented civil society programs in Turkey, unavoidably led to some implications on the internal dynamics of CSOs in the way that a high level of education or knowledge of foreign languages have become more and more observed within the characteristics of the members of CSOs in general. In that sense, although the education level of members can be effective, to some extent, in terms of increasing the efficiency of activities of CSOs, such a homogeneous structure in terms of level of education may inevitably lead to an elitist conduct within the CSOs and marginalize their role to represent the voice of the society as a whole.

What can be inferred from the sum of those evaluations is that, while the membership profile of the participant CSOs generally suffers from youth and women's participation in the decision-making, it also displays a predominant tendency for attributing importance to the level of education of members, especially the members of administrative board. However, the homogenizing effect of this situation may dangerously weaken one of the basic missions of civil society in the long term, which is to promote pluralism within society, and lead to

crises for legitimate representation. While acting as the agents of democratic representation within society, there is no doubt that it is one of the basic missions of CSOs to promote pluralism within their own internal structures. Otherwise, civil society would face the risk to become a sphere that not only fails to be part of the society itself, but also fails to approach the social problems from within.

First of all, it was observed that the civil society movement represented by the sample possesses elitist characteristics in the sense that the members as well as volunteers of most of the CSOs usually belong to middle or upper classes of the society, are university graduates or have a higher education, have knowledge of at least one foreign language and a considerable number of them have academic titles. Especially at the administrative level, it is almost impossible to confront a heterogeneous picture of the members of administrative boards of CSOs in terms of their level of education. On the one hand, considering the acceleration of the process of internationalization of CSOs in Turkey, especially with the process of Turkey's EU membership, having members/volunteers, who have high levels of education or knowledge of foreign languages is advantageous for a CSO. However, what seems problematic is the fact that possessing an almost completely homogeneous structure in terms of the level of education that the members/volunteers have as well as the social and economic classes, which they belong to, considerably carries the risk to damage the pluralist character that is expected to be inherent within CSOs and may lead to a crises of legitimate representation in terms of the CSOs' one of the main missions to represent the benefit of the society as a whole. As a matter of fact, while acting as the agents of democratization and pluralism within society, isn't it one of the main tasks of CSOs to ensure pluralism within their own structures? In this respect, although the said homogeneity may not be the deliberate choice of the CSOs themselves, it can be said that, it depends on their own performance to broaden the societal base, which they address, through adopting different strategies while designing methods for acquiring new members.

5.2. The Financial Portrait of the Sample and Relations with the State

Concerning the financial portrait of the sample, maybe it is first useful to look at the activities carried out by the participant organizations in general. Almost all the participant CSOs stated that their activities are carried out at the national level, while most of them are members of international umbrella organizations working within their respective field of activity. Only 2 of the participant organizations stated that the scope of their activities is regional, while none of them stated that their activities are limited to local or provincial level. Regarding the characteristics of the activities, it was observed that the activities that are carried out are generally grouped in three main categories, namely; project-making, lobbying and periodic activities such as organizing campaigns, conferences, training programs, etc. It is significant to emphasize that among those activities, lobbying is seen by most of the administrators of participant organizations either as a marginal or unnecessary activity for CSOs. On the one hand, this situation can be said to be deriving from the insufficient lobbying capacity of CSOs as it was observed that a considerable number of respondents have confusions regarding the relationship between lobbying and civil society. On the other hand, except for the organizations predominantly active in the field of human rights, a negative meaning is attributed to lobbying in general as it is, to a large extent, seen as an instrument used by certain groups to influence state politics according to their particular interests. Furthermore, it can also be said that, to a certain extent, the reflections of the general tendency in Turkey to approach questioning the politics of the state with hesitation are also observed within CSOs too. As for project-making, what was stated by most of the administrators of participant organizations is that project-making has especially become a principal activity with the acceleration of flow of EU-based funds to civil society in Turkey. It was indicated that the EU-based funds not only contributed much to the implementation of large-scale, comprehensive projects by the CSOs, but also encouraged them in terms of building up their capacity in terms of project management.

Within this framework, the participant CSOs were asked to indicate their financial resources in order to keep their organizations alive as well as to finance their activities. The details regarding the financial resources of the participant organizations can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of Organizations according to their Financial Resources
(%)

Membership Revenues	76.1
Donations	84.8
Supports from Public Institutions	21.7
Supports from Local Administrations	32.6
Funds from International Organizations	82.6
Incomes gained through social activities like concerts, exhibitions, fairs, etc.	45.7

n=46

As it is seen in Table 6, it is generally the membership revenues, donations and international funds that mainly constitute the financial resources of participant CSOs. However, it is important to emphasize that what is drawn attention by most of the participant organizations' administrators is that a differentiation should be made between the membership revenues, donations and incomes gained through various social activities on the one hand and supports from public institutions and local administrations and international funds on the other. This is because it was emphasized that while the former ones are specifically used to provide for the continuation of the organization, the latter ones generally correspond to project-based funds or aids taken in kind. It was observed that, in this way, the respondents tried to put a particular emphasis on the fact that the resources needed for the continuation of the organization solely come from within the organization

itself and that the organization's continuity is, in no way, dependent on the external resources. A small proportion of the organizations stated that the CSOs should take funds from neither the state, nor the international organizations, but should solely depend on the strength of its members and volunteers. In addition to these, some of the participant CSOs stated that they have incomes from commercial enterprise ownership, while some other sources of finance were also indicated such as earnings from publications, funds from embassies and foreign CSOs.

Regarding the financial portrait of the sample, what seems to be remarkable is that the participant CSOs are considerably eager to benefit from international funds, while they approach to national funds (supports from public institutions and local administrations) largely with hesitation. It was observed that, generally, there is a negative approach to establishing cooperation with the state, especially in monetary terms, as it is thought that such cooperation carries the risk to damage the organization's autonomy and self-administration. For this reason, it was stated by most of the CSO administrators that they usually avoid taking financial support especially from public institutions. On the other hand, it can be said that taking financial support from local administrations is found more acceptable by most of the participant organizations. However, interestingly, the anxieties with regard to autonomy were not observed too much when it comes to taking funds from international organizations. It was observed that, generally, international funds are not perceived as a threat to autonomy, but viewed, to a large extent, as an efficient method to finance the organization's activities or projects. This situation can be firstly linked to the origins of state-society relations in Turkey, which is, to a large extent, based on the dominance of the social sphere by the state. There is no doubt that this process had also major implications on the development of civil society in Turkey and resulted in the fact that most of the CSOs in Turkey, today, are largely skeptic about relations with the state. On the other hand, international funds, especially the EU-based funds are found much more trustworthy, given the fact that most of the administrators think that Turkey's EU membership has

contributed much to the diminishing of state intervention into civic life as well as made major amendments on the state's perception of CSOs in positive terms.

As for the relations between state and civil society, as it is well-known, the literature on civil society, for the most part, is occupied by state-civil society relations and the emphasis on civil society as an independent sphere that is autonomous from the state. Considering the social structure in Turkey, within which the supervisory role of the state on many aspects of social life is largely felt, the issue of state-civil society relationship becomes more sensitive in terms of the debates on the autonomy of civil society in Turkey vis a vis the state. Within this framework, it was tried to understand not only how the participant organizations perceive the attitude of the state towards CSOs in Turkey, but also how they perceive their own position vis a vis the state. In this regard, rather than directly asking the opinions about state-civil society relationship in Turkey, the respondents were given a number of statements and asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the given statement. Methodologically, it was not preferred to set forth several measures of agreement in order to determine to what extent the respondents are certain about the given statement. The respondents, who found the given statement too rigid to exactly agree or disagree, were required to prefer the option that is closer to their point of view and to indicate their opinions on the subject regarding the statement.

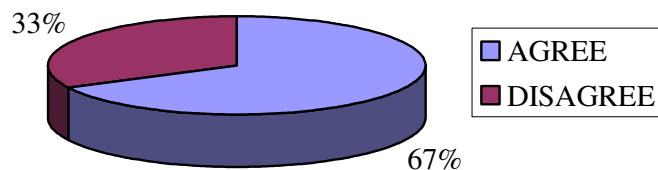


Figure 1. CSOs should assist the state and relieve its burdens by undertaking active role within the spheres where the state falls short to cover. (n=46)

Regarding the first statement, it is seen in Figure 1 that 67% of the participant CSOs have defined their role as assisting the state within the fields where the state appears insufficient to cover. In other words, such an approach can also be interpreted as filling up the space where the state's hand falls short in reaching. In that sense, it can be said that most of the participant organizations' opinion on the state-civil society relationship is that the two should be in a complementary relationship. However, it is also important to add that the proportion of 67%, in fact, indicates a tendency for partial agreement, as a great many of the organizations, which have agreed with the statement, put an emphasis on the fact that they do not approve the "relieve its burdens" part of the statement. It was emphasized that the CSOs, in no way, have a duty to relieve the burdens of the state, but to complement state's activities and regulations with their voluntary attempts. Nevertheless, although the cooperation between civil society and the state is significant for the benefit of the society as a whole, the fact that the conception of state-civil society relationship is based on an idea of civil society assisting the state seems to be problematic, as such an understanding is considerably unfavorable for the formation of an autonomous sphere of civil society in Turkey. This is because internalization of such an approach may dangerously put the CSOs in a dependency relationship with the state and marginalize their critical position vis a vis the official state ideology. To complement the state's deficiencies can be one of the tasks to be fulfilled by the CSOs, but more importantly, in terms of their role within the process of democratization, what is expected from CSOs is not to define their position as complementing the activities of the state, but to shape the state towards being a more democratic and transparent constitution as well as to strive for the establishment of a political culture in Turkey that provides for the creation of a platform where the state's activities and regulations can be criticized. Otherwise, the CSOs may dangerously slide into a dependency relationship with the state, which would, inevitably, marginalize their critical position, resulting in the existence of no place from which to argue outside the dominant state ideology. Besides, the remaining 33% of the respondents put forward similar explanations

in rejecting the statement and indicated that the main role of the CSOs is not to assist, but to shape the state.

By the statement indicated in Figure 2, how the participant organizations perceive the position of CSOs vis a vis the state was tried to understand. However, it was observed that the conception of civil society in opposition to the state is not welcomed by many of the participant CSOs.

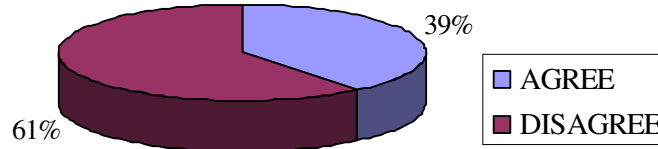


Figure 2. In accordance with their missions, CSOs should position themselves in opposition to the state. (n=46)

The respondents were observed to attribute a considerably negative meaning to the word “opposition” as it was stated that unconditional opposition against the state would provide no benefit for civil society in Turkey. For this reason, by disagreeing with the statement, 61% of the respondents expressed that maintaining an oppositionist attitude towards the state, to a great extent, depends on the given conditions. In order to understand whether the rejection of the statement is solely derived from the negative meaning of the word “opposition”, the respondents, who disagreed with the statement were also required to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement “In accordance with their missions, CSOs should position themselves as critical to the state”. As expected, the amended version of the statement was found more acceptable as it was stated

that while adopting a critical position vis a vis the state should be the main standing of CSOs in general, maintaining an oppositionist attitude depends on the extent to which the conditions necessitate such a manner. Nevertheless, the differentiation made by the representatives of participant organizations between “civil society positioned in opposition to the state” and “civil society positioned as critical to the state” seems to be a superficial distinction and, to a certain extent, can be said to be derived from the prejudices resident in Turkish political culture against “oppositionism”. On the other hand, it was mostly the CSOs active within the field of human rights as well as the ones representing the interests of religious or ethnic communities such as the Federation of Alevi/Bektaşî Communities or Caucasus Associations Federation, which agreed with the statement and expressed that acting as dissident groups is one of the major missions of CSOs. This is seen as largely due to the fact that the fields in which those CSOs are active are, by definition, contradict with the official state ideology and that’s why those CSOs view their position vis a vis the state as mainly oppositionist.

Table 7. Opinions regarding Financial Support from the State and from International Organizations (%)

Financial support from the state is an important factor in terms of solution of financial problems of CSOs		Financial support from International Organizations is an important factor in terms of solution of financial problems of CSOs	
Agree	63.1	Agree	73.9
Disagree	36.9	Disagree	26.1

n=46

n=46

Table 7 indicates how the participant organizations perceive the state and international organizations separately in terms of taking funds from both, for the solution of CSOs’ financial problems. In parallel with the information indicated in

Table 6, the tendency for viewing international funds as an important factor for the solution of financial problems of CSOs is more dominant than perceiving the state-based financial supports as a solution for the same problem. Furthermore, again similar to the discussions on the financial resources of the participant organizations, it was emphasized by those, who agreed with both of the statements that they agree with the statements as long as the financial supports mentioned in the statements are taken as project-based funds or funds taken for financing the organization's activities, campaigns, etc. However, what is significant to draw attention is that, while most of the respondents previously indicated that they usually avoid taking financial supports from public institutions or local administrations in order to protect their autonomy, 63% of the participant CSOs agreed with the statement "Financial support from the state is an important factor in terms of solution of financial problems of CSOs". Although such tendency can be seen as an inconsistency at first sight, actually, this can be linked to the fact that while the question regarding the financial resources of the participant organizations is concerned with the current situation under the present conditions of Turkey, the statement indicated in Table 7 is independent from time or space and agreed by the respondents for they perceived the statement as the ideal situation. In other words, it is the difference between "what is" and "what ought to be", which led to the difference between the tendencies put forward by the participant CSOs in Table 6 and Table 7. This was also understood from the fact that those, who agreed with the said statement in Table 7, emphasized that a system that is based on the allocation of specific funds for the needs of CSOs within the national budget is in fact an ideal solution for the financial problems of CSOs in Turkey. However, it was added, not only such a system is nonexistent in Turkey, but also, if it is to be established, its implementation should be carefully planned in a way that would not damage the functions and autonomy of the CSOs.

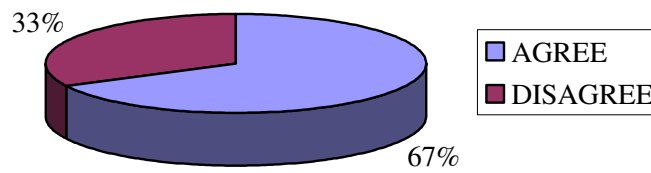


Figure 3. In Turkey, state's attitude toward CSOs is more preventive than supportive. (n=46)

By the statement indicated in Figure 3, how the participant organizations perceive the attitude of the state towards CSOs was tried to understand. It is seen that, generally, the participant organizations find the attitude of the state towards CSOs as more preventive than supportive. In this regard, it was stated by most of the respondents that the state's approach to CSOs in Turkey is considerably biased, discouraging and devoid of confidence. It was particularly emphasized that, in determining its attitude, the state makes discrimination between CSOs in the sense that the state's attitude is preventive especially towards the activities or inquiries of oppositionist CSOs, which do not display a position that is parallel to the ideology of the state. In that sense, it was indicated that the state applies a double standard and makes positive discrimination in favor of the CSOs, whose standing is closer to its own ideology. However, it is significant to emphasize that although it is thought that the attitude of the state is predominantly preventive towards CSOs in Turkey, most of the participant organizations stated that this situation enters into a process of change, which accelerates especially with the process of Turkey's EU membership. It was expressed that the latest set of amendments within the Law on Associations, which were made within the framework of the EU accession criteria, are especially important in terms of the diminishing of state control over CSOs as well as the recognition of the autonomy of CSOs by the state. In this respect, it was particularly stressed that considerable progress has

been achieved with regard to the relations especially between CSOs and local authorities in terms of mutual cooperation and understanding.

Finally, the participant organizations were asked to indicate their opinions on the ideal relationship between civil society and the state. The details regarding their opinions can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8. Distribution of Opinions on the Ideal State-Civil Society

Relationship (%)

State and civil society should complement each other with their respective activities	52.2
State and civil society should, by no means, intervene in each other's respective fields	15.2
State and civil society should check and shape each other	58.7

n=46

It is seen in Table 8 that the opinions regarding the ideal relationship between the state and civil society are mostly concentrated on the statement “State and civil society should check and shape each other”. However, it is significant to emphasize that the respondents particularly drew attention to the fact that, in order to restore the state as more transparent and democratic structure, it is especially the state, which needs to be checked and shaped by civil society. In other words, the respondents stressed that the control mechanism should function more from civil society to state, rather than vice versa. Furthermore, the significance of a complementary relationship between the state and civil society was emphasized by 52.2% of the respondents, while only a small proportion of them approved that the state and civil society should not intervene into each other's respective fields, which is an indication of the importance given by the CSOs to mutual interaction

and dialogue between civil society and the state. In fact, although most of the respondents defined the relations between the state and civil society in Turkey as under considerable tension, they mostly display a tendency to be in a cooperative relationship with the state. Nevertheless, what makes them anxious is how this cooperation would be formulated, as they stated that, firstly, the cooperation should be based on mutual understanding and purified from political interests and patronage relationships. In this regard, it was especially emphasized by the participant organizations that, before all else, state and civil society should overcome the problem of distrust between themselves and take the appropriate steps to get over the prejudices they hold for each other. Within this framework, it was observed that, generally, what is expected from the state is that the state should encourage the development of civil society in Turkey not only by providing the suitable legal environment to ease the activities of CSOs in bureaucratic terms, but also encourage their involvement in the decision-making for the appearance of a civil society, which functions as a sphere that systematically generates policies for social demands and problems.

5.3. Relations with other Civil Society Organizations

With regard to the relations of participant organizations with the other CSOs, it was observed that prejudices and conflicts are also widespread within the field of civil society itself. In this regard, it is important to put an emphasis on the fact that the below Table gives a considerably superficial tableau of the characteristics of CSO partnerships. It should be specified that the attitudes of CSOs toward each other were mostly tried to understand through participant observations.

Table 9. Distribution of Organizations according to the Activities they carried out in Partnership with other CSOs (%)

Common Projects/Workshops	28.3
Common Activities/Seminars/Campaigns	93.5
Common Platforms/Coalitions	32.6
Common Declarations	43.5
Common Publications	15.2
No Partnerships with Other CSOs	4.3

n=46

It is seen in Table 9 that almost all the participant CSOs defined their partnerships with other organizations as organizing common activities, seminars or campaigns and only 4.3% of the respondents expressed that they carried out no activities in partnership with the other CSOs. It is also seen that the proportions of the ones, who stated that they engage in common platforms/coalitions or common declarations or publications are considerably low, too. Furthermore, during the conduct of field work, in order to observe the internal operating styles of participant organizations more closely, the general assemblies of several of them, their internal meetings as well as meetings with other CSOs were participated. During these participant observations, it was seen that except for some of the CSOs predominantly working within the field of human rights, the communication networks, even between the CSOs working in similar fields, are considerably weak. For this reason, the activities of most of those organizations remain to be individual attempts without constituting an integral movement, thus appear to be insufficient in manufacturing the public opinion at large. Furthermore, meetings of various coalitions or platforms, which some of the participant CSOs are member to, were also participated and it was observed that even the CSOs working in the same field are failed to engage in active collaboration in order to put forward solutions for their common problems. It was observed that, for the most part, the leadership concerns or the CSOs' desire to impose individual demands over others prevents the establishment of an efficient

environment for cooperation. Furthermore, especially in terms of project partnerships, predominantly competitive relationships were observed to exist between CSOs in Turkey. Especially the fact that international funds are mostly allocated for the encouragement of activities carried out in specific fields makes the CSOs active in those fields engage in a competition for the sake of utilizing from funds. The fact that only 28.3% of the respondents stated that they engaged in project partnerships with other CSOs can be said to be an indication of this situation. Moreover, the prejudices that the CSOs hold for each other also make most of them reluctant to engage in project partnerships, which makes difficult the usage of funds that are granted on the condition that the project would be implemented through the partnership of a number of organizations. Hence, it can be said that the tendency for individualism as well as the failure to constitute an integral conception of public good makes the sphere of civil society in Turkey considerably powerless in terms of generating collective policies not only for their common problems, but also for the benefit of the society as a whole. In that sense, the fact that the relations between CSOs is more based on contestation than cooperation makes the sphere of civil society in Turkey appear as a disorganized and disorderly field.

There is no doubt that civil society's capacity to act as a powerful body to manufacture public opinion as well as to influence politics, to a great extent, depends on the extent to which it is able to function as an arena of collective social struggle for the promotion of democratic culture within society as well as within the political sphere. In other words, the more the communication and dialogue between CSOs is strengthened, the more they have the power to influence decision making procedures. However, it was observed that the communication networks between CSOs are not only weak, but also cease to have an institutionalized character. In this respect, it is especially the fact that the already existent relations are, to a large extent, identified with the personal relations of administrators, which prevents the institutionalization of relations within the field of civil society. In addition, it was also observed that the

prejudices and conflicts are existent not only between the state and civil society, but also within the field of civil society itself. It can be said that this is, to a certain extent, derived from the dominance of individualism on the part of the CSOs, which is mainly based on giving priority to their own needs and interests over the needs and interests of civil society as a whole. In this respect, the considerable weakness of information-sharing and transfer of knowledge and experience between CSOs largely prevents the constitution of a collective civil society culture in Turkey and leads to the fact that the activities or initiatives of most of the CSOs remain to be individual attempts without constituting an integral movement. In this way, the sphere of civil society appears to be merely composed of the sum of various fragmentary initiatives, which act independently and prove insufficient in constituting a synergy for collective action.

5.4. The Internal Operating Styles

There is no doubt that the capacity of CSOs to promote democratization is, before all else, dependent on the characteristics of their internal composition and constitution. In that sense, the internal operating styles of CSOs are the main determining factors in terms of understanding the extent to which they are able to run the democratic values within their own intra-organizational structures. For this reason, mainly, the members and volunteers of the participant organizations were interviewed in order to understand the extent to which they are active within the decision-making procedures of their respective organizations as well as to learn their opinions regarding in-house democracy and participation.

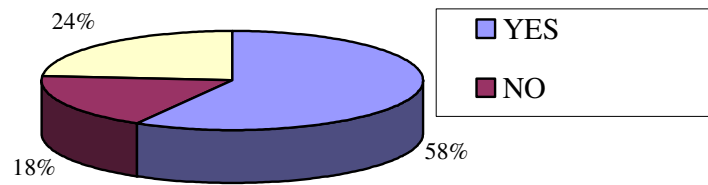


Figure 4. Do you regularly pay your membership revenues? (n=72)

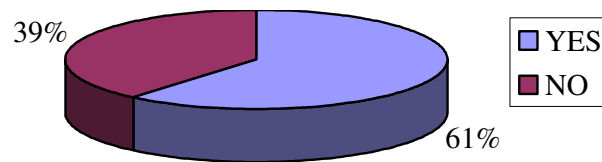


Figure 5. Do you regularly participate in your organization's group meetings? (n=72)

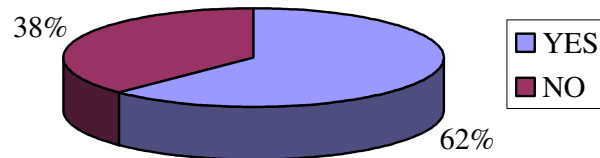


Figure 6. Do you regularly take active role within the activities of the organization of which you are a member/volunteer? (n=72)

Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6 indicate the personal status of members/volunteers within the functioning of their respective organizations in general from their own point of view. In this respect, firstly, the extent to which the members are sensitive with regard to the regular payment of membership revenues was tried to understand, as membership revenues are one of the major financial resources necessary for the continuity of a CSO. It is seen in Figure 4 that only a small proportion of the respondents stated that they do not regularly pay their membership revenues, while the question was not applicable for 24% of the respondents, as they are volunteers of the participant foundations, which have no formal membership system, as mentioned before, thus, their volunteers are not liable for paying membership revenues. Similarly, as it is seen in Figure 5 and Figure 6, the proportions with regard to regular participation to the organizations' group meetings as well as taking active role within the organizations' activities are also at a moderate level. However, it is significant to emphasize that such a picture is, to a certain extent, the result of the fact that the contacted volunteers of the foundations were already the active participants of their organizations' meetings and activities and since a certain number of interviewed members of the associations were reached by participating in their organizations' usual meetings, they automatically appear to be active participants of their organizations' activities or projects. Therefore, the interviews conducted with the members/volunteers appear to reflect a profile, which is more in favor of the ones, who are regularly involved in the activities, campaigns, meetings, etc. of their respective organizations. In order to maintain objectivity, during the conduct of field study, this situation was tried to be balanced by asking the administrators to randomly choose, from their member lists, the persons to be interviewed. In this way, a more heterogeneous sample of members/volunteers was tried to be constituted.

After questioning the personal position of the interviewed members/volunteers within the functioning of their respective organizations in general, the respondents were asked a number of questions concerning the dynamics within their own

organizations with regard to the participation of members/volunteers in the decision-making.

Table 10. Authority to Determine the Rules and Policies of the Organization

(%)

	Who mostly determines the activities and projects executed by the organization?	Who is mostly authorized for amending the rules and policies of the organization?	Who mostly decides on how to solve the problems regarding the organization's general policies?
Experts/Consultants	13.9	1.4	1.4
General Assembly	6.9	48.6	22.2
Chair/Administrative Board	66.7	43.1	68.1
Members/Volunteers	12.5	6.9	8.3

n=72

Table 10 indicates the distribution of authority within the participant CSOs, with regard to determining the rules and policies of the organization. It is seen that except for the amendment of the rules and policies of the organizations, there is a considerable dominance of the chair and administrative board within the decision making procedures, namely; the determination of projects and activities to be executed as well as deciding on the solutions for the problems concerning the ongoing policies in general. It is only the amendment of the rules and policies, within which the general assembly has a more predominant position than the chair and the administrative board, as the rules and policies of a CSO are generally regulated within the framework of the Statute of the organization and their amendment is, for the most part, subject to democratic elections. However, as far

as Table 10 indicates, the effectiveness of members/volunteers within the determination of the rules and politics of their respective organizations is considerably limited to their right to vote in the general assembly, as it is seen that the proportions of members/volunteers with regard to participating in the said procedures of decision making is considerably low. In this regard, it was stated by most of the respondents that the general run of events within their respective organizations is mostly subject to the decisions taken by the administrative board and the involvement of the members/volunteers becomes in question mostly within the process of implementation of the already taken decisions.

Table 11. Authority to take the Decisions regarding Financial Matters (%)

	Who mostly takes the decisions regarding the budgeting of financial resources?	Who is mostly authorized for deciding on the organization's expenditures?	Who is mostly authorized for determining the membership revenues?
Experts/Consultants	4.2	4.2	0.0
General Assembly	12.5	5.6	63.9
Chair/Administrative Board	80.5	88.9	12.5
Members/Volunteers	2.8	1.4	23.6

n=72

Table 11 indicates the distribution of authority within the participant CSOs with regard to the organization of financial matters. However, it is seen that the proportions with regard to the participation of members/volunteers in the process of organization of financial matters is even more dramatic, while the dominance of the chair and the administrative on the same is even stronger. Especially,

regarding the budgeting of the financial resources to be used in the organization's projects and activities as well as deciding on the expenditures in general, the initiative owned by the chair and the administrative board seems to be considerable. As for the determination of membership revenues, only a small proportion of the respondents stated that the revenues are determined by the chair or the administrative board. It is seen that in this case, it is the general assembly, which mainly has the authority to determine the amount of membership revenues or to amend the already existing ones. Hence, as the regulations concerning membership revenues are specified within the Statute of each CSO and their amendment is subject to voting in the general assembly, it can be said that the members are able to participate directly in the decision making regarding this issue. Furthermore, it is significant to emphasize that the proportion of 23.6% in Table 11 corresponds to the volunteers of participant foundations. As the volunteers of foundations are not subject to a membership revenue system, they were asked whether the volunteers of their organizations make financial contributions for the continuity of the foundation and whether any determined criteria are in question in this regard. Since the respondents stated that the financial contributions of volunteers take place on a voluntary basis, those responses were indicated under the category that members/volunteers are effective in determining the membership revenues.

With the purpose of measuring the potential of members/volunteers with regard to generating new ideas as well as their capacity for problem solving, the participant members/volunteers were asked the questions indicated in Table 12.

Table 12. The Capacity of Members/Volunteers regarding Problem Solving/Supplying Information (%)

	Who mostly suggests solutions when members/volunteers confront a problem?	Who mostly supplies the information used in decision making?	Which group mostly develops new ideas?
Experts/Consultants	8.3	5.6	11.1
General Assembly	4.2	2.8	4.2
Chair/Administrative Board	58.3	61.1	41.7
Members/Volunteers	29.2	30.5	43.1

n=72

It is seen that although the influence of the chair and the administrative board is again dominant, the effectiveness of members/volunteers is higher in this case, compared to the level of influence they have on other issues mentioned previously. It is especially concerning the development of new ideas, within which the effectiveness of the members/volunteers is even higher than the chair and the administrative board. However, what is significant to draw attention is that although it is members/volunteers, who are mostly active within the process of development of new ideas, it is the same group, which is considerably uninfluential within the process of determination of policies as well as the projects and activities of the organizations. Furthermore, it is also seen in Table 12 that while the proportion of members/volunteers in terms of development of new ideas is, although slightly, higher than the chair and the administrative board, with regard to the procurement of information used in decision making, the proportion of the chair and the administrative boards again appears to be considerably higher than the members/volunteers as well as the general assembly. Similarly, it is seen that when members confront a problem, it is predominantly the chair and the

administrative board, which is mostly effective in suggesting solutions, rather than the members/volunteers themselves. Hence, although the effectiveness of members/volunteers is higher in this case vis a vis their influence at other levels of decision making, it can be said that the level of effectiveness here is still remote from indicating the existence of a fully functioning democratic system within the participant CSOs.

Table 13. The Methods used by Members/Volunteers to cope with the Problems (%)

	Who is mostly consulted when a problem is confronted?	Who mostly decides on what to do in case of emergency?
Experts/Consultants	12.5	8.3
General Assembly	5.6	2.8
Chair/Administrative Board	70.8	84.7
Members/Volunteers	11.1	4.2

n=72

As complementary to the findings indicated in Table 12, the participant members/volunteers were asked the methods they use in coping with the problems. However, in parallel with what is indicated in Table 12, it is seen in Table 13 that when a problem is confronted, the members/volunteers rely on the chair and the administrative board more than themselves. In other words, it was observed that rather than firstly mobilizing their own capacity of problem solving, the members/volunteers prefer more to depend on the decisions that would be taken by the chair and the administrative board. This is especially seen in case of emergencies and crisis situations, as it was observed that the tendency among

almost all of the members/volunteers is to associate the decision making at the level of emergencies directly with the chair and administrative board. Therefore, without at least making an overall evaluation of the problem in question, the crisis situations are immediately passed to the administrative board's agenda, so that the participation of members/volunteers in the problem solving procedures of their respective organizations remains to be considerably limited, almost nonexistent under emergency conditions. Although handling of emergencies predominantly by the chair and the administrative board seems to be reasonable in terms of accelerating the process of problem solving, the drawback of this situation is particularly the marginalization of the position of members/volunteers in terms of taking responsibility within the problem solving procedures and internalization of vertical structuring in the long term. Furthermore, expecting from the administrative organs to solve every kind of problem confronted in general would also be burdensome for them and weaken the process of fulfillment of main administrative functions. As a matter of fact, it was observed that the members/volunteers themselves do not seem to be so much uncomfortable with the situation that it is mainly the administrative organs, which are responsible for solving the arisen problems. In that sense, it can be said that the appearance of hierarchical relations within CSOs is in fact a double-sided problem, as while the administrative organs has a predominant position within the decision making, it seems that the members/volunteers are not so much ambitious to challenge this situation.

Table 14 indicates the distribution of authority within the participant CSOs in terms of representing the organization before public. It is seen that both the representation of the organization before public and responding to the questions regarding organization's activities are mostly undertaken by the chair and the administrative board. It can be said that this situation is also something, on which both members/volunteers and administrators are in agreement. While the members/volunteers' taking active role in the representation of their organization before public is not so much encouraged by the administrators, the

members/volunteers do not appear so much eager to take such responsibility, either. The problem with this situation is that representation of a given CSO before public always by specific persons, in time, leads to the identification of the organization in question with that person and reduction of the legal personality of that CSO to the personality of the one, who regularly represents it. Such tendency creates problems especially if the person, who regularly represents the organization, is a figure that is well-known by the public, such as intellectuals, journalists, academics, etc. In that sense, it becomes inevitable that the personal relations of those well-known figures, in most cases, become determining on the perceptions of the public concerning the CSO in question.

Table 14. Authority to represent the Organization before Public (%)

	Who mostly represents the organization before public?	Who mostly responds to the questions regarding the organization's activities?
Experts/Consultants	4.2	1.4
General Assembly	0.0	0.0
Chair/Administrative Board	81.9	86.1
Members/Volunteers	13.9	12.5

n=72

By the questions indicated in Table 15, what is tried to understand was the effectiveness of members/volunteers within the internal dynamics of participant CSOs in general, especially with regard to their relations with the professionals and leaders.

Table 15. Effectiveness of Members/Volunteers within the Internal Dynamics of the Organization (%)

	How active are the members/volunteers in the election of employees/leaders?	How active are the members/volunteers within the execution of projects/activities?	How sensitive are the employees/leaders towards the opinions of members/volunteers?
Rarely	5.5	8.3	2.8
Sometimes	18.1	62.5	5.5
Usually	48.6	23.6	63.9
Always	27.8	5.6	27.8

n=72

Regarding the election of employees/leaders, it is seen that a considerable proportion of the respondents stated that the members/volunteers of their organizations are, to a large extent, effective in the election of leaders, but not in the election of employees. This is because while the election of the members of the administrative organs is subject to democratic elections in the general assembly, the salaried employees of the organizations are mostly chosen by the administrators. Hence, since the general assembly is where the members directly participate in the decision making by their right to vote, approximately 76.4% of the respondents expressed that the members are usually or always active in the election of leaders. The remaining 23.6% is generally composed of the volunteers of participant foundations or non-profit organizations. Since those organizations have no formal membership system as well as no obligation for making general assembly, the volunteers taking part in their activities have no effectiveness in the decision making mechanisms of those organizations, thus have no effectiveness in the election of leaders or employees. However, although the members of associations have a considerable initiative to determine the leaders of their respective organizations within the framework of the general assembly, what was observed during participant observations is that the general assemblies, to a certain extent, become settings for personal conflicts of individuals, which,

largely, affects the objectivity of the voting procedures. In that sense, it can be said that the role of members as the determining figures in elections was, in some cases, observed to be overshadowed by the internal conflicts within CSOs, which are mostly derived from personal contestations regarding the processes of administration.

Regarding the extent to which members/volunteers are active within the execution of their organization's projects or activities, it is seen Table 15 that only 29.2% of the respondents stated that the members/volunteers usually or always take active role within the execution of projects or activities, while 70.8% stated that the members/volunteers rarely or sometimes participate in those processes. What those proportions indicate is that the level of participation, among members/volunteers, in the activities or projects of their respective organizations is considerably low. In this respect, what the respondents particularly emphasized is that the indifference of most of the members/volunteers towards what is going on within their respective organizations result in the problem of continuity in terms of sustainability of the activities. In other words, nonexistence of a balanced distribution of tasks to be undertaken among members/volunteers results in the fact that some members/volunteers periodically appear to undertake excessive workload, which, in the course of time, leads to the withdrawal of those persons from the activities of the organization. It was emphasized by most of the respondents that, in that case, because of the unawareness of most of the members/volunteers regarding the activities that have been previously carried on considerable difficulties come into existence with regard to the sustainability of the previously continuing activities. It appears that after the ones, who were previously active within the execution of activities or projects withdraw from the organization, the new comers become obliged to spend too much time and effort in order to understand the previously established system within the organization. In this respect, it is significant to emphasize that the weakness of communication networks within the organizations as well as insufficient transfer of knowledge and experience between members/volunteers as well as between administrators

and members/volunteers has great to do with the appearance of the problem of “continuity”. Under such conditions, too much extra time and effort is spent for rediscovering the already established system within the organization, resulting in the fact that either some activities do not continue anymore or a considerable lack of knowledge appears concerning the purpose and scope of the continuing ones.

Regarding the question “How sensitive are the employees/leaders towards the opinions of members/volunteers?” it is seen that more than 90% of the respondents stated that the employees/leaders are usually or always sensitive towards the opinions of members/volunteers. Considering the fact that the participation of members/volunteers in the decision making is considerably low, the fact that most of the respondents find the leaders/employees highly sensitive towards the members/volunteers’ opinions can be seen as a contradiction. Such tendency, to a certain extent, can be explained with the fact that, as mentioned previously, some of the interviewed members/volunteers are already the active participants of their organizations’ activities, thus have close relations with the leaders and employees of their respective organizations.

Table 16. Capacity of Members/Volunteers to take Supervisory Role within the Organization (%)

	To what extent the members/volunteers check the implementation of projects/activities?	To what extent the members/volunteers check the usage of financial resources?
Rarely	12.5	63.9
Sometimes	61.1	26.4
Usually	18.1	6.9
Always	8.3	2.8

n=72

Table 16 indicates the capacity of members/volunteers to take supervisory role within their organizations, concerning the implementation of projects or activities as well as the process of usage of financial resources. It is seen that only 26.4% of the respondents stated that the members/volunteers usually or always involve in the supervision of the implementation of projects or activities executed by their organizations, while the proportions regarding the supervision of the usage of financial resources by the members/volunteers are even more dramatic as only 9.7% of the respondents stated that the members/volunteers usually or always check how the financial resources of the organization are used. In this regard, what was emphasized by the respondents is that although the members are regularly informed about the activity plan as well as the budget of the new term in the general assembly, in the course of the implementation process, the capacity of members to take supervisory role concerning the decisions taken with regard to the activities or projects as well as the financial and budgetary matters remains considerably limited and to take initiative regarding those issues is almost completely attributed to the administrative organs of the organizations. As for the participant organizations other than associations, the involvement of volunteers in the supervision of the implementation of activities or usage of financial resources is even nonexistent, as, legally, they are not represented in the decision making mechanisms of their respective organizations.

In the aftermath of the questions regarding the internal operating styles of participant CSOs, the members/volunteers were given a number of statements and asked to agree or disagree in order to understand how they perceive the nature of decision making in general as well as their motivation for participation.

By the statements mentioned in Table 17, what was tried to understand is how members/volunteers' perceive the relationship between decision making and education.

Table 17. Opinions regarding the Relationship between Decision making and Education (%)

Decision making should be based on the views and opinions of educated individuals/experts		The participants of the decision making procedure should be composed of educated individuals	
Agree	88.9	Agree	80.6
Disagree	11.1	Disagree	19.4
n=72		n=72	

The statistics regarding both of the statements indicate that most of the participant members/volunteers think that the process of decision making is generally associated with education and expertise. The main difference between the two statements is that, while the statement on the right side of Table 17 directly gives reference to the characteristics of the participants of the decision making, the statement on the left only puts an emphasis on the characteristics of the conceptual framework, which the process of decision making should be based on. That's why some of the respondents disagree with the statement on the right, while agreeing with the statement on the left. In this regard, it was emphasized that there is a difference between utilizing from the views and opinions of the educated individuals within decision making and directly restricting the participants of decision making to educated individuals themselves. However, as Table 17 indicates, there is not so much difference between the proportions corresponding to agreement with the given statements. In that sense, it can be said that a considerably elitist attitude is observed on the part of the members/volunteers with regard to how they perceive the nature of decision making. The fact that most of the respondents themselves have a high level of education may be effective for the appearance of such a picture, but it can be said that the general tendency observed within the interviewed members/volunteers is not only remote from perceiving the danger of elitism that civil society in Turkey is faced with, but also distant from challenging it.

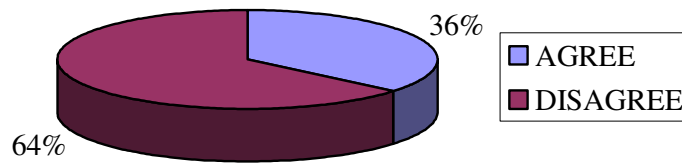


Figure 7. For the decision making to be efficient, it should include as few individuals as possible. (n=72)

Table 18. Opinions regarding the Relationship between Efficiency and Supervision within the Organization (%)

For the activities to proceed efficiently authority to a certain extent is a requirement		For the activities to proceed efficiently a regular control mechanism is a requirement	
Agree	72.3	Agree	97.3
Disagree	27.7	Disagree	2.7

n=72

n=72

The statements indicated in Figure 7 and Table 18 were given in order to understand how members/volunteers perceive the efficiency of the activities as well as the decision making in general. First of all, the respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement; “For the decision making to be efficient, it should include as few individuals as possible”. 64% of the respondents disagreed with this statement and expressed that although the effectiveness of a decision making procedure can be provided by few participants, such an understanding cannot be compatible with civil society’s principle of pluralism as well as the role of CSOs as the agents of participatory democracy. On the other hand, 36% of the respondents, which is a considerable proportion, agreed with the statement and

expressed that over participation would prevent effective administration and slow down the process of decision making. In that sense, it can be said that a notable proportion of interviewed members/volunteers appear to undervalue the importance of “participation” in a CSO, for the sake of “effective administration”.

Regarding the statements in Table 18, mainly, it was tried to understand how members/volunteers perceive the efficiency of the activities within the framework of internal relations of the organization. It was seen that the members/volunteers view not only a certain level authority, but also a regular control mechanism within the organization necessary for the efficient implementation of the activities. The difference between the proportions with regard to agreement with the given statements was observed to be deriving from the fact that the word “authority” led to a more negative reaction on the part of the respondents as compared to the word “control”. In any case, it was observed that rather than promoting the principles such as, self-discipline, self-management or self-supervision, the members/volunteers more tend to think that assurance of internal discipline and supervision should be the responsibility of administrators. It was especially emphasized by most of members/volunteers that a regular control mechanism is particularly necessary within the organization, for the systematic coordination of members/volunteers as well as the prevention of the appearance of a chaos in terms of implementation of activities and projects. In that sense, it is significant to emphasize that especially the members/volunteers’ adoption of such line of thinking is particularly unfavorable in terms of establishment of vertical, hierarchical relations within CSOs. There is no doubt that development of comprehensive mechanisms of internal control is an indication of mature growth in a CSO’s organizational management work. However, the problem with the line of thinking adopted by most of the interviewed members/volunteers is to directly ascribe the role of “controller” to the administrators, while attributing the role of “controlled” to the members/volunteers. In this respect, it should be emphasized that the internalization of the understanding that the members/volunteers always need to be controlled or supervised for the efficient implementation of activities

or projects would have serious drawbacks in terms of functioning of horizontal relations within CSOs.

Table 19. Opinions regarding the Process of Problem-Solving (%)

In solving the problems confronted the opinions of the leaders must anyhow be consulted		In setting forth suggestions for the solution of confronted problems educated individuals/experts are more competent	
Agree	73.7	Agree	76.4
Disagree	26.3	Disagree	23.6

n=72

n=72

As for the statements indicated in Table 19, what was tried to understand is the approach of members/volunteers towards the problem solving procedures within CSOs. In parallel with the findings indicated in Table 13 regarding the methods used by members/volunteers in coping with the confronted problems, it is seen in Table 19 that 73.7 % of the respondents think that the leaders should anyhow be consulted in solving a confronted problem. Only 26.3 % of the respondents think that the members/volunteers should first try to solve the problems they confront in themselves before forwarding them to the administrative organs. In this regard, it can be said that similar to the tendency to directly ascribe the role of “controller” to the administrators, it was observed that it is the administrative organs, which are largely viewed by the members/volunteers as the units to undertake the duty of problem solving. Furthermore, the tendency to glorify education as a determining factor within decision making is also observed within members/volunteers’ approach to problem solving, as 76.4 % of the respondents agreed with the statement that educated individuals and experts are more competent in setting forth suggestions for the solution of confronted problems.

Finally, in order to understand both the administrators and members/volunteers' own approaches towards the dynamics of in-house democracy and participation within their respective organizations, both groups were asked whether they think that their organizations have problems with in-house democracy and participation and the ones, who responded positively to this question were asked to specify the nature of the problem of in-house democracy and participation experienced within their organizations.

Table 20. Opinions regarding In-house Democracy and Participation (%)

Do you think that your organization have problems with in-house democracy and participation? (administrators)		Do you think that your organization have problems with in-house democracy and participation? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	43.4	Yes	69.4
No	56.6	No	30.6

n=46

n=72

As it is seen, the main difference between the statements indicated in Table 20 is the fact that the members/volunteers more tend to think that there is a problem of in-house democracy and participation within their organizations than the administrators. Furthermore, when the respondents, who indicated the existence of a problem of in-house democracy and participation within their organizations, were asked to characterize the said problem, it was seen that there are parallelisms as well as contrasts between both groups' characterizations.

Table 21. Distribution of Administrators according to how they characterize the Problem of In-house Democracy and Participation experienced within their Organization (%)

Hierarchical relations are widespread	30.0
Decision making mechanisms are exclusionary towards members/volunteers	15.0
Members/Volunteers are insufficient within the process of participation	95.0
Implementation and monitoring of the taken decisions are problematic	60.0
Acceptance of new members and amendment of administration are problematic	5.0

n=20

Table 22. Distribution of Members/Volunteers according to how they characterize the Problem of In-house Democracy and Participation experienced within their Organization (%)

Hierarchical relations are widespread	64.0
Decision making mechanisms are exclusionary towards members/volunteers	56.0
Members/Volunteers are insufficient within the process of participation	84.0
Implementation and monitoring of the taken decisions are problematic	26.0
Acceptance of new members and amendment of administration are problematic	4.0

n=50

Table 21 and Table 22 indicate how administrators and members/volunteers characterize the problem of in-house democracy and participation within their respective organizations. The points on which both the administrators and members/volunteers seem to be in agreement are the insufficiency of members/volunteers within the process of participation on the one hand, nonexistence of a considerable problem with regard to the acceptance of new members and amendment of administration on the other. However, although the

proportions indicate that the opinions of both the administrators and the members/volunteers are in conformity with each other on those issues, especially with regard to the participation of members/volunteers, it was observed that the reasoning of each one while arriving at the same inference is somehow different from each other. From the viewpoint of administrators, except for a particular number of active members/volunteers, the members/volunteers are mostly refrain from taking responsibility within the organization and do not follow the activities and announcements of the CSO of which they are a member/volunteer. It was expressed by most of the administrators that the membership of a great number of members remains on paper and after becoming a member once, they display no effectiveness within the activities of the organization. In this respect, it was emphasized that, rather than viewing civil society as an arena of struggle for strengthening civic consciousness within society, most of the members/volunteers see CSO membership as a hobby or a spare-time work. As for the viewpoint of the members/volunteers, they agree with the administrators with regard to the insufficient participation of members/volunteers in the activities of their organizations, but they more tend to hold the administrators responsible for this situation. It was stated by most of the respondents that while the administrators are enthusiastic about accepting new members, the same enthusiasm is not observed with regard to motivating them to participating in the activities as well as taking responsibility within the organization. Thus, the members, who are not adequately oriented, diverge from the organization in the course of time, as they cannot create an appropriate environment for themselves to take active role within the activities. Therefore, what the members/volunteers tried to emphasize is that while charging the members/volunteers with insufficient participation, the administrators, themselves, are not so much sensitive towards especially the new members' adaptation to the activities and purposes of the organization. Rather, it was emphasized, the administrators more tend to continue highlighting the already active members/volunteers in terms of taking initiative within the organization's activities or projects. For this reason, the respondents conclude, the problem of insufficient participation on the part of the members/volunteers is not

only derived from personal insensitivity of individuals, but also from the indifference of most of the administrators towards integrating their members into the activities, targets and position of the organization of which they become a member/volunteer. What can be inferred from the explanations of both the administrators and members/volunteers is that the general problem of participation within CSOs is, to a great extent, concerned with the problem of communication within organizations, as it is seen that there is a considerable communication gap between the administrative organs and members/volunteers. Hence, insensitivities towards taking responsibility on the one hand, insufficiency of effective communication networks within organizations on the other seem to be the primary reasons for the appearance of problem of participation within CSOs. Furthermore, it was also emphasized by some members as well as administrators that the insufficiency of effective communication networks also prevents regular transfer of knowledge and experience within organizations, which creates significant problems with regard to the amendment of administration. In this regard, it was expressed that this problem not only complicates the process of adaptation of new administration but also make the efficient continuation of previous activities and projects considerably difficult.

Comparing Table 21 and Table 22 again, it is seen that the tendencies of the administrators and members/volunteers differentiate from each other especially with regard to existence of hierarchical relations within organizations and the exclusionary character of the decision making mechanisms towards members/volunteers. It was observed that members/volunteers more tend to put an emphasis on those issues in characterizing the problem of in-house democracy and participation within their organizations. Concerning both of those issues, it was observed that while the administrators continuously tried to emphasize that the hierarchy is minimal within their organizations as well as the views and tendencies of the members/volunteers are always considered within the decision making procedures, the members/volunteers, in contrast, stated that the decision making procedures can be characterized as exclusionary towards

members/volunteers in general, as rather than being involved in decision making, the members/volunteers are only informed about the already taken decisions and expected to be involved in the process of implementation. Some members/volunteers explained that, for the most part, the members/volunteers are not even informed about what is discussed in the administrative board meetings and no detailed explanations are made regarding the decisions taken with the excuse that the administrators are too busy to allocate time for informing the members/volunteers about the details of administrative board meetings.

Finally, it is seen that implementation and monitoring of the decisions is found problematic by the 60% of the administrators and 26% of the members/volunteers. In this regard, it was generally explained by both the administrators and members/volunteers that there is an imbalance between the number of decisions taken and the level of implementation. It was emphasized that this imbalance is also concerned with the general problem of participation and communication within CSOs, as while the low level participation on the part of members/volunteers lowers the efficiency of the implementation process, the communication gap between the administrators and members/volunteers as well as within the members/volunteers themselves, to a large extent, prevent the achievement of a systematic coordination within the organization, which is necessary for the proper implementation of the decisions taken. Furthermore, it was also explained that the insufficiency of the monitoring of the implementation process not only makes the review of the progress of the decisions taken considerably difficult, but also complicates the measurement of whether or not the goals are achieved.

The examination of the intra-organizational practices of the participant CSOs can be said to constitute one of the most important parts of the field research, as the capacity of CSOs to promote democratization in Turkey is, before all else, dependent on the extent to which they are able to run democratic values within their own structures. However, it was observed that rather than a network of

horizontal relations, the internal relations of participant CSOs are more structured in a vertical manner with centralized administrations based on hierarchical decision making mechanisms. It is seen that from the determination of projects and activities to be executed to deciding on the budget and expenditures of the organization, there is a considerable dominance of the chair and the administrative board, which is an indication of the prevalence of pyramid type structuring within CSOs. Furthermore, the fact that members/volunteers mostly refrain from taking responsibility within the organization as well as appear insufficient in mobilizing their own problem solving capacity in coping with the arisen problems further complicate the problem of in-house democracy and participation, as it is an indication of the fact that the said problem is experienced not only at the administrative level, but also at the membership level. Moreover, the fact that most of the members/volunteers predominantly view the administrators as the control mechanisms of the organizations also seems to be problematic in terms of establishment of horizontal relations within CSOs. In that sense, significant attention should be drawn to the fact that it is especially the internalization of vertical relations by the members/volunteers themselves, which would deepen the problems with regard to in-house democracy and participation within CSOs.

In addition, the in-house communication problems also make the constitution of an argumentative democratic culture within CSOs considerably difficult, as the nonexistence of an efficiently working communication network within the organizations not only complicates the proper coordination of the activities, but also prevents the transfer of knowledge and experience, which is considerably necessary for the continuity of the already determined targets and purposes.

Finally, concerning the internal operating styles of participant CSOs in general, closely related to the problem of communication within the organizations, the characteristics of the established relations were also not observed to be based always on cooperation and mutual understanding. It was observed that personal conflicts, to a large extent, reflect to the general functioning of the organizations

and lower the efficiency of their activities, which leads to a major problem that is the reduction of the institutional personality of the CSOs to the personality of individuals. In this respect, several instances of withdrawal from membership because of personal conflicts were observed. Hence, it can be said that being too busy with coping with internal disputes largely makes CSOs diverge from dedicating their energy to the fulfillment of their principal functions.

5.5. The Impact of EU-Implemented Civil Society Programs in Turkey on the Internal Dynamics of CSOs

As it has been mentioned before, the process of integration to EU leads to major implications for the field of civil society in Turkey as well as the role of CSOs in the process of democratization. In that sense, although the relationship between the EU and CSOs in Turkey was initially based on financing of the projects of CSOs concerning the development of human rights and democratization, after Turkey has become a candidate country, the EU started to implement more comprehensive programs particularly aimed at development of civil society in Turkey. In this regard, today, the EU not only supports the projects of lots of CSOs through different programs it has implemented in Turkey, but also organizes training programs for CSOs to encourage the constitution of a democratic culture within the field of civil society itself.

Within this framework, the second section of both the administrators and members/volunteers' questionnaires are allocated for the measurement of both groups' perceptions concerning the participation of their organizations in the civil society programs of the EU. Among the 46 organizations, while 12 of them are the participants of capacity building/project management training programs organized within the framework of the CSDP/CSDC, the remaining 34 utilized from EU funds in order to finance their projects within the framework of CSDP/CSDC, MEDA Program or Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights. In this respect, alongside with 46 administrators, interviews were conducted with 20

members/volunteers from the CSOs participated in training programs and 52 members/volunteers from the CSOs participated in the grant programs.

Firstly, all the respondents were asked whether they have knowledge about the Civil Society Development Program or Civil Society Development Center, as it is the latest and most comprehensive program of the EU implemented in Turkey at present with the purpose of enhancing the capacity of civil society in Turkey in democratic terms.

Table 23. Knowledge about the Civil Society Development Program (%)

Do you have knowledge about Civil Society Development Program implemented by the EU in Turkey? (administrators)		Do you have knowledge about Civil Society Development Program implemented by the EU in Turkey? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	82.7	Yes	52.8
No	17.3	No	47.2

n=46

n=72

Table 23 indicates the position of the administrators and members/volunteer separately with regard to whether they have knowledge about the CSDP implemented by the EU in Turkey. It is seen that while the program is considerably known at the level of the administration, the proportion of member/volunteers, who have knowledge about the program is rather limited. Besides, a considerable number of members/volunteers, who stated that they have no knowledge about CSDP, are members/volunteers of the CSOs, which participated in either the training or the grant programs implemented within the framework of CSDP. What is inferred from this picture again refers to the weakness of communication networks within the participant organizations, as it is seen that a considerable number of members/volunteers are even uninformed

about the programs participated by their organizations as well as the activities carried out in relation to those programs. In this regard, it was observed that the activities or projects implemented within the framework of the relations with EU are mostly carried out via the hands of the administrators and a group of active members/volunteers, while the rest has knowledge about neither the CSDP nor the activities or projects carried out within the framework of the said program. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that although Civil Society Development Program is generally known, it was observed that the knowledge of the respondents concerning Civil Society Development Center is relatively limited. While this can be linked to the fact that Civil Society Development Center is a recent initiative, it should also be emphasized that the efficiency of the CSDC project, to a great extent, depends on the extent to which it achieves to adequately introduce itself to its target audience.

5.5.1. The Impact of Capacity Building/Project Management Training Programs

Starting with the evaluation of the opinions of the administrators as well as members/volunteers, whose organizations are participants of capacity building/project management training programs; firstly, the administrators were asked about the experiences of their organizations concerning project preparation after participating in the project management training programs of CSDP.

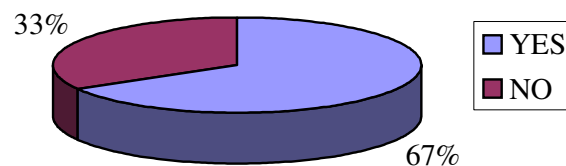


Figure 8. Have you engaged in project preparation after participating in the Project Management training program? (n=12)

Figure 8 indicates the distribution of participant organizations according to whether they engaged in project preparation after participating in the project management training programs. Among the 12 organizations participated in the training programs of CSDP, it is seen that 67 %, that is, 8 of them engaged in project preparation and among those 8 organizations, it was indicated by 7 of them that they presented the projects they prepared to a sponsor organization. However, what was observed to be problematic is that, among the organizations, which presented the projects they prepared to a sponsor organization, the projects of only 2 of them were accepted. In other words, among all the 12 organizations that participated in the project management training program of CSDP, only 2 of them achieved to have a chance to implement what they learned in the training program. In this respect, while some of the administrators stated that they failed to engage in project preparation because of the insufficiency of qualified human resources within the organization, some others explained that since the project funds, especially the international funds, are mostly granted to CSOs working in specific fields such as women, children, human rights, environment, their applications were not accepted because of the said limitation regarding the field of activity. In addition to these, it was observed that the problems with regard to the implementation of what is learned in training programs are also derived from the fact that information sharing within the organizations is considerably insufficient, as the individuals, who participated in the training programs on behalf of their organizations, fall short in transferring their knowledge and experience to the other members/volunteers as well as to the administrators. In this respect, it is significant to emphasize that some of the administrators are only informed about the participation of their members to those training programs, but have no knowledge about what is learned as a result of this participation. In that sense, it can be said that the problems with regard to the implementation of what is learned by participating in the training programs again depends on, to a large extent, the so-called communication problem within CSOs.

Table 24. Distribution of Administrators according to their Opinions on the Contributions of participating in the Capacity Building/Project Management Training Programs to their Organization (%)

The Information Deficiency with regard to Project Preparation was eliminated	66.7
The Information Deficiency with regard to Activity/Campaign Arrangement was eliminated	16.7
The Information Deficiency with regard to Lobbying was eliminated	8.3
The Information Deficiency with regard to Methods of Cooperation with other CSOs was eliminated	33.3
Contribution was provided for the Development of Communication/Participation within the Organization	25.0
No Contribution was provided	33.3

n=12

Table 25. Distribution of Members/Volunteers according to their Opinions on the Contributions of Participating in the Capacity Building/Project Management Training Programs to their Organization (%)

The Information Deficiency with regard to Project Preparation was eliminated	45.0
The Information Deficiency with regard to Activity/Campaign Arrangement was eliminated	15.0
The Information Deficiency with regard to Lobbying was eliminated	5.0
The Information Deficiency with regard to Methods of Cooperation with other CSOs was eliminated	15.0
Contribution was provided for the Development of Communication/Participation within the Organization	20.0
No Contribution was provided	15.0
Unknown	40.0

n=20

Table 24 and Table 25 indicate the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers separately regarding the contributions of participating in the

Capacity Building/Project Management training programs of CSDP. It is seen that the opinion of a majority of administrators as well as members/volunteers is that the primary contribution of participating in the training programs is the elimination of information deficiency within the organization with regard to project preparation. As for the other issues; namely; activity/campaign arrangement, lobbying and methods of cooperation with other CSOs, most of the respondents stated that the program was predominantly based on training in the field of project preparation; therefore other issues such as activity/campaign arrangement, lobbying or methods of cooperation with other CSOs remained considerably marginal within the program and mentioned only in a brief manner. In other words, as far as the respondents explained, it can be said that, rather than capacity building, the training programs of CSDP were more based on developing the ability of CSOs to prepare and manage projects; thus, encouraging them to participate in the grant programs of EU. Furthermore, as it is seen in both Table 24 and Table 25, only a small proportion of both the administrators and members/volunteers indicated that participating in the training programs of the CSDP contributed to the development of communication/participation within their organizations. In this respect, it can be said that poor information sharing as well as transfer of experience within most of CSOs has great to do with the appearance of such a picture. In addition to these, some administrators and members/volunteers indicated that participating in the capacity building/project management training programs led to no contribution for their organizations, while a considerable proportion of members/volunteers stated that they had no knowledge about the process of their organizations' participation to the training programs of CSDP.

Table 26. Opinions regarding the Relationship between participating in the Training Programs and Basic Needs of the Organizations (%)

Do you think that participating in the Capacity Building/Project Management training programs have responded to your organization's basic needs? (administrators)		Do you think that participating in the Capacity Building/Project Management training programs have responded to your organization's basic needs? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	58.4	Yes	35.0
No	41.6	No	47.2
Unknown	-	Unknown	40.0

n=12

n=20

Table 26 indicate the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers on whether participating in the capacity building/project management training programs of CSDP responded to their organizations' basic needs such as training, capacity building, project preparation, in-house communication/participation, cooperation with other CSOs, etc. It is seen that 58% of the administrators and 35% of the members/volunteers stated that they found the training programs of CSDP useful in taking into consideration the basic needs of their organizations. What was generally explained by the respondents, who answered positively to this question, is that participating in the training programs was considerably useful especially in terms of meeting the representatives of other CSOs as well as receiving training about how to design, prepare and write a project. On the other hand, the respondents, who answered negatively to this question, explained that although project management training and meeting different people from other CSOs were useful, the fact that the program is predominantly based on how to design a project and apply for grant programs did not overlap with their expectations from the program, which are more concerned with issues such as in-house communication, participation, planning and coordination, organizational strategies, development of institutional democracy within the organization, etc. In

that sense, it was indicated that the insufficient focus on those issues made the training program of CSDP fall short in responding to the basic needs of their organizations in terms of capacity building and enhancing their role within the process of democratization. As mentioned previously, again 40% of the respondents from the group of members/volunteers stated that since they have no knowledge about the process of their organizations' participation to the training program of CSDP, they did not know whether or not the training program responded to the basic needs of their organizations.

After questioning both the administrators and members/volunteers with regard to how they evaluate their organizations' participating in the training programs of CSDP, the administrators were asked whether they carried out any activities in accordance with the contributions of capacity building/project management training program to their organizations. In this respect, while 4 of the 12 respondents stated that no activities were carried out particularly as an output of the participation to the training program of CSDP, 8 of them stated that the most remarkable output of participation to the capacity building/project management training program was the attempt to engage in project preparation. In addition to this, it was also emphasized by some respondents that, as an important output of participating in the training programs of CSDP, common activities and campaigns were organized as well as project partnerships were established with other CSOs working in similar fields. Within this framework, it can be said that the principal benefits of capacity building/project management training programs of CSDP for the participant CSOs are enhancement of the capacity for project preparation on the one hand, strengthening of partnerships with other CSOs on the other.

The opinions of administrators and members/volunteers with regard to whether they also wish their organization to benefit from EU funds within the framework of the successor of the same program, that is Civil Society Development Center, are indicated in Table 27.

Table 27. Opinions regarding participating in the Grant Program of Civil Society Development Center (%)

Do you also wish your organization to benefit from EU funds within the framework of the same program? (administrators)		Do you also wish your organization to benefit from EU funds within the framework of the same program? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	66.7	Yes	70.0
No	33.3	No	30.0

n=12

n=20

It is seen that the majority of both the administrators and members/volunteers also wish their organization to benefit from EU funds within the framework of CSDC. In this regard, it was stated by most of the respondents that since the training programs of CSDP were mostly based on how to design and manage a project as well as how to apply for international funds to finance those projects, utilizing from EU funds would be complementary to what was learned in the training programs. Furthermore, it was also observed that EU funds are seen, to a great extent, as an important opportunity to put large-scale projects into practice that would strengthen the implementation of the main targets and purposes of the organization. On the other hand, the respondents, who answered negatively to this question, indicated that the usage of international funds leads to nothing, but instrumentalization of CSOs in accordance with the particular interests and priorities of donor organizations; therefore, they are against the usage of international funds by the CSOs.

Concerning participation to the grant program implemented within framework of CSDC, both the administrators and members/volunteers, who answered positively to question indicated in Table 27, were asked to indicate the principal issues, on which they wish to conduct a project to be financed by the EU funds granted within the framework of CSDC. In this respect, it was observed that most of the responses concentrated on three main issues, namely; legislation regarding civil

society in Turkey, establishment of a communication network between CSOs and organization of training programs oriented through consolidation of social consciousness regarding human rights and civil society. In addition to these, women and children's rights, youth participation, cultural discrimination, discrimination based on sexual orientation, freedom of faith can be specified among the other topics indicated by the respondents.

After learning the expectations of organizations from the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey, they were asked whether the grant program implemented within the framework of CSDC can meet those expectations. Among the 8 administrators, who found the participation of their organizations to the grant programs implemented by the EU useful, 3 of them stated that the priorities of the grant program implemented within the framework of CSDC are completely compatible with the priorities of their organizations, while 2 of them stated that the said program does not respond to their needs and expectations. The remaining 3 respondents indicated that they have no knowledge about the characteristics of the said program, so that they have no idea whether it can meet the expectations of their organizations. As for the members/volunteers, among the 14 respondents, who found the participation of their organizations to the grant programs implemented by the EU useful, 3 of them stated that the priorities of the grant program implemented within the framework of CSDC are consistent with the priorities of their organizations, while 4 of them stated that the said program does not respond to their organizations' needs and expectations and the remaining 7 respondents indicated that they have no knowledge about the characteristics of the said program. Within this framework, it is significant to emphasize that what seems problematic is the considerable lack of knowledge on the part of both administrators and members/volunteers with regard to the characteristics and priorities of the grant program implemented within the framework of the CSDC. In this regard, it can be said that the said lack of knowledge was observed not only on the part of the administrators, who stated that they have no knowledge about characteristics of the grant program implemented within the framework of

CSDC, but also on the part the administrators, who indicated that the said program does not respond to their needs and expectations, as they explained that they realized the incompatibility between the priorities of the grant program of CSDC and those of their own as a result of the rejection of their application to the said program. Hence, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the lack of knowledge regarding the characteristics of the grant programs implemented by the EU not only leads to unnecessary applications; thus loss of time and labour on the part of CSOs, but also prevents the applications of organizations, whose priorities are in consistency with those of the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey. In this respect, in terms of the encouragement of the participation of CSOs to either the training or the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey, the significance of sufficient presentation of the civil society-oriented programs to CSOs should be once more emphasized.

Concerning the capacity building/project management training programs implemented within the framework of CSDP, generally, it can be said that, the extent to which the CSOs that participated in the said program are able to benefit from what they learned depends, to a great extent, on their performance for adequately sharing the obtained information within the organization and constitute a synergy to put the acquired experiences into practice. However, it was observed that, as mentioned before, because of the poor communication within CSOs, the information obtained as a result of participating in the training program of CSDP, to a large extent, remained unused and unshared within the organizations, which marginalizes the possible benefits that could be derived by getting involved in the said program.

In addition, it was observed that the major contribution of participation to those programs mainly appears to be acquiring competency with regard to project preparation and elimination of information deficiency concerning how to participate in the grant programs of the EU. Considering the fact that most of the CSOs in Turkey do not have sufficient capacity and technical information for

access to funding opportunities despite the accelerated flow of international funds directly aimed at development of civil society in Turkey, elimination of information deficiency with regard to how to design and implement a project according to international criteria as well as how to apply for grant programs seems to a significant contribution of training programs implemented by the EU. However, as far as the results of field research indicate, the fact that the emphasis of the training programs on “capacity building” is weak vis a vis “project management” seems to be problematic as it leads to an insufficient focus on the issues such as in-house communication, participation, dialogue with the society and other CSOs, improvement of the institutional democratic structure, etc., which are major problems of CSOs in terms of their role for promoting democratization in Turkey. In this regard, a useful step that is taken is that, different from the implementation of training programs within the framework of the Civil Society Development Program, implementation of project management and capacity building training programs are separated within the framework of Civil Society Development Center, which appears to be considerably useful in terms of existence of a separate training program that is completely dedicated to the issues specifically concerning “capacity building”.

5.5.2. The Impact of Grant Programs

When it comes to the CSOs that participated in the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey, first of all, all of them stated that they utilized from the EU-based funds in order to finance their projects and explained the particular grant program they participated as well as the characteristics and the implementation process of the projects they conducted. After obtaining the necessary information regarding the details of the projects conducted as well as the goals that are pursued in using the EU-based funds, the administrators were asked about the priority criteria they considered while determining the subject matter of the project they conducted.

Table 28. Distribution of Administrators according to the Criteria they considered while determining the Subject of the Project they conducted (%)

The fields where the fund opportunities concentrate	20.6
The priorities of the donor organization	17.6
Consistency with the mission of the organization	82.4
Needs of the target audience	76.5

n=34

Table 28 indicates the distribution of the criteria considered by the organizations participated in the grant programs of EU, while determining the subject of the projects they conducted. It is seen that most of the respondents emphasized the significance of consistency with the mission of the organization as well as needs of their target audience. On the other hand, only a small proportion of respondents stated that they consider the fields where the fund opportunities concentrate or the priorities of the donor organization. Within this framework, it seems that the general tendency within CSOs, which utilized from the funds granted by the EU in Turkey, is to prioritize their own preferences over the priorities of the donor organizations, while determining the subject of the projects they will conduct. However, considering the intensity of the contemporary discussions on the relationship between CSOs and the flow of civil society-oriented international funds to Turkey as well as the criticisms directed against civil society in terms of considerable promotion of project making as one of the main missions of CSOs, it was thought that the respondents may be conditioned to choose the options “Consistency with the mission of the organization” and “Needs of the target audience” in order not to become the target of the said criticisms. For this reason, to check the accuracy of the responses given to this question, a comparison was made between the missions of the participant organizations, which were explained by the administrators in the beginning of the questionnaire, and the content of the projects they conducted. It can be said that although the contents of the projects conducted and the missions of the organizations are consistent to a certain extent,

significant incompatibilities were also specified between the missions of some of the participant CSOs and the projects they conducted. Furthermore, it was also determined that there are some popular issues, which were preferred by a considerable number of CSOs, such as sexual health training for youth, democracy and human rights training, encouragement for women to take up a profession, organizing entrepreneurship courses, training and employment development and it was observed that the said issues are not always consistent with the field of activity of the CSOs that conducted the project. In this respect, it can be said that it is especially the fields where the fund opportunities concentrate, which appears to be a determining factor for CSOs in specifying the subject of the projects they conduct, alongside with the other factors such as consistency with the mission of the organization or needs of the target audience. Hence, considering the possibility for the appearance of a tendency to develop projects according to the characteristics of the given funds, rather than to search for the appropriate fund to finance the designed projects, significant attention should be drawn to the risk for the CSOs in Turkey to become organizations that are merely composed of project making and remote from their working for the fulfillment of their main mission to represent society and promote democratization.

Concerning the implementation process of the projects conducted by the participant CSOs, the administrators were asked whether they were exposed to any pressure by the donor organization during the conduct of the project or encountered any intervention or supervision that can be characterized as threatening the autonomy of the organization.

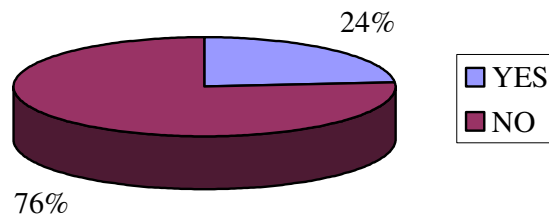


Figure 9. Were you exposed to any pressure by the donor organization during the conduct of the project or encounter any intervention or supervision that can be characterized as a threat to your organization's autonomy? (n=34)

As it is seen Figure 9, most of the respondents stated that, during the conduct of the project, they encountered neither any pressure nor any intervention or supervision from the donor organization, that is, the EU. It was indicated that the style of EU, while granting funds to CSOs, is considerably systematic in the sense that every stage of the project is carefully planned in detail in the beginning of the implementation process and it is especially the budgeting of the project, which the EU closely monitors as each stage of the project proceeds. However, it was emphasized that EU's monitoring of each stage of the project should, in no way, be perceived as an intervention in the negative sense of the term or a threat to the autonomy of the organization, as what the EU demands from the CSOs that participated in its grant programs, is only transparency with regard to budgeting and complying with the roadmap that is drawn in the beginning of the project. On the other hand, 24% of the respondents, that is, the ones who answered positively to this question, in fact, have the same line of thinking in the sense that the EU involves in the implementation process of the project only for monitoring the budgeting processes and checking whether the projects proceed according to what is planned in the beginning. However, different from the ones, who stated that these should not be perceived as a pressure or supervision in the negative sense of the term, those, who answered positively to this question, stated that while monitoring the implementation process of the project, the EU displays no

flexibility and maintains a considerably rigid attitude in terms of conformity with the rules. In this regard, what the respondents complained about is that the said attitude of the EU leads to problems on the part of the CSOs that utilizes from the funds, especially in terms of budget management as completion of large scale projects usually takes more than one year and when the changing conditions, within that time period, necessitates certain level flexibility in budgetary issues or makes it indispensable to depart from the roadmap drawn in the beginning to a certain extent, it becomes considerable difficult to arrive at a compromise with the EU and this largely complicates the implementation process of the project.

After questioning the nature of relationship between the CSOs and the EU during the implementation process of the projects, both the administrators and members/volunteers were asked about their opinions concerning the contributions of the process of project-making to their organizations.

Table 29. Distribution of Administrators according to their Opinions on the Contributions of the Process of Project-making to their Organizations (%)

Competency was acquired with regard to project preparation	23.5
Competency was acquired with regard to project management	82.4
Information exchange/Communication within the organization was intensified	38.2
Participation within the organization increased	35.3
Dialogue with other CSOs increased	64.7
No contribution was provided	17.6

n=34

Table 30. Distribution of Members/Volunteers according to their Opinions on the Contributions of the Process of Project-making to their Organizations

(%)

Competency was acquired with regard to project preparation	42.3
Competency was acquired with regard to project management	57.7
Information exchange/Communication within the organization was intensified	23.1
Participation within the organization increased	19.2
Dialogue with other CSOs increased	51.9
No contribution was provided	15.4
Unknown	26.9

n=52

Table 29 and Table 30 indicate the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers separately with regard to the contributions of the process of project-making to their organizations. First of all, it is seen that the principal contribution of participating in the grant programs of the EU seems to be acquiring competency with regard to project management. In this regard, most of the administrators indicated that the contribution of engaging in project-making within the framework of the EU-implemented grant programs appears to be the development of capacity for project management rather than project preparation, as the competency for project preparation was already acquired through small-scale local projects, but the EU-based funds provided the chance to conduct large-scale projects, which was considerably useful in terms of understanding the dynamics of comprehensive project management. On the part of the members/volunteers, it is seen in Table 30 that although the proportion of the ones, who thought that competency was acquired with regard to project management is the highest, the proportion of the ones, who thought that competency was acquired with regard to project preparation is not too low, either. This can be linked to the differences between the viewpoints of administrators and

members/volunteers in the sense that since the members/volunteers are not so much involved in the administrative procedures, no significant difference can be said to appear between their approach to project preparation and to project management. Rather, they view participating in the grant program of EU as a significant development for the improvement of the capacity of their organization in terms of comprehending the dynamics of project-making in general.

Alongside with the acquirement of competency concerning project management, it can be said that enhancement of dialogue with other CSOs seems to be another significant contribution of engaging in project-making within the framework of the EU-implemented grant programs. This is because of the fact that since most the EU-implemented grant programs in Turkey put partnership between CSOs as a condition for applying for funds, the consequence of the process of project-making automatically appears to be the enhancement of dialogue with other CSOs. Furthermore, since the EU-funded projects mostly have an extensive scope, for the most part, establishing partnerships with other CSOs active in similar field becomes necessary for the proper implementation of the project.

As for the intensification of information exchange/communication as well as participation within the organization, it is seen that the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers are more or less parallel to each other, as both groups thought that the process of project-making provided no significant contribution to their organizations in terms of increase in information exchange/communication as well as participation within the organization. It was observed that while members/volunteers view project-making as a process that mostly functions at the administrative level, the administrators indicated that it is the already active members/volunteers, who mostly take part within the process of project-making. Furthermore, it was also emphasized by the administrators that particular persons from the organization were assigned as working for the project and the process of project-making mostly proceeds between those assigned persons, authorities of donor organization and the representatives of project partners, if the project is

carried out in partnership with other CSOs. Therefore, except for the voluntary involvement of some active members/volunteers in the process of project-making, it was stated that the contribution of the said process to the dynamics of participation within the organization cannot be accepted as considerable.

Finally, as both Table 29 and Table 30 indicates, 17.6% of the administrators and 15.4% of the members/volunteers stated that the process of project-making provided no contribution to their organizations, while 26.9% of members/volunteers stated that they have no knowledge with regard to their organizations' participation to the grant program of the EU, thus; they are uninformed about the process of project-making that took place within their organizations. It is especially significant to draw attention to the reason put forward by the administrators for considering the process of project-making as providing no contribution to their organizations. In this regard, it was explained by the administrators, who chose the option "No contribution was provided", that their organization did not actively get involved in any stage of the process of project-making, as a consultant organization was appointed for both the preparation and execution of the project, so that the process project-making was completely handled by that consultant organization and their organization was only informed about how the project proceeded and resulted. In this respect, problems with having qualified human resources were indicated by the administrators as the reason why they preferred to appoint a consultant organization for the preparation and execution of the project. Within this framework, what seems problematic is that acceleration of the flow of EU-based funds to the CSOs in Turkey has led to the appearance of a new sector, which specializes in project-making, so; significant attention should be drawn to the danger that project-making within the framework of the EU-implemented grant programs may gradually become a commercial activity that would be remote from being a means for the accomplishment of the CSOs' goals and targets as well as for the development of their capacity to promote democratization within society.

Table 31. Distribution of Organizations according to the Outputs of the Projects they conducted (%)

Providing Consultancy/Training services in accordance with the knowledge and experience obtained through the project	64.7
Evaluation and reporting of the findings	91.2
Publication of the findings	58.8
Sharing the findings of the project with the other CSOs	52.9
Investing in new projects	82.4

n=34

Table 31 indicates the outputs of the projects conducted by the CSOs participated in the grant programs of the EU. It is seen that the evaluation and reporting of the findings was fulfilled by almost all of the CSOs, as this is the last stage of the process of project-making and is compulsory for the project to be accepted as completed. In this respect, only a few of the respondents stated that the process of evaluation and reporting has not been completed, yet. However, when it is looked at the publication of the findings, it is seen that the proportion of the CSOs that published the findings of the project they conducted is not as high as that of the ones, who stated that the process of evaluation and reporting was completed. In other words, not all of the CSOs, which prepared the final report of the project they conducted, published this document and provided for the spread of information obtained in the end of the process of project-making. However, it is significant to emphasize that publications concerning the results of the completed projects is one of the most important tangible outputs of projects especially in terms of information-sharing and presentation of the obtained knowledge and experience to the public. For this reason, considering the fact that one of the main purposes of project-making is to provide change in public sphere that is aimed at ensuring social benefit for the development of the society as a whole, as long as necessary importance is not attached to information-sharing, it would be hard to say that the conducted projects serve for the fulfillment of the said purpose. In parallel fashion, it is seen that the proportion of sharing the findings of the

projects with the other CSOs is not too high, either, as only 52.9% of the respondents stated that they informed the other CSOs about the findings of the projects they conducted either by sharing the project reports or by presenting the findings in platforms, conferences or seminars in which they come together with other CSOs. In that sense, it can be said that the weakness of the communication networks between CSOs in Turkey has great to do with the appearance of such a problem and unfortunately lead to the fact that the valuable knowledge and experience obtained as a result of the conducted projects, to a large extent, remained unshared within the field of civil society.

In addition to these, 64.7% of the respondents stated that they provided consultancy/training services to their target audience in accordance with the needs of those groups determined through the knowledge and experience obtained by the projects conducted. It was explained that the consultancy/training services that were offered as an output of the previously conducted projects were also designed as separate projects in themselves, which were, too, financed within the framework of the EU-implemented grant programs in Turkey. Hence, it can be said that investing in new projects also appears as a significant output of the previously conducted projects. As a matter of fact, as Table 31 indicates, 82.4% of the respondents indicated that they invested in new projects as an output of the projects they completed. In this respect, it was observed that, what is meant by “investing in new projects” is to make new applications to continue to utilize from the funds granted within the framework of the civil society-oriented programs implemented by the EU in Turkey. In other words, it can be said that most of the CSOs view project-making as a continuous activity in the sense that one project follows another. Although such tendency may be beneficial in terms of sustainability of the goals and targets specified within the framework of the missions of CSOs, it may also be dangerous if project-making itself becomes a purpose, rather than a means for the achievement of purposes. Put another way, if project-making becomes an activity that is merely viewed as a method for creating financial resources for providing the continuity of CSOs, rather than a

method for financing the activities carried out for the achievement of specific goals and targets specified within the framework of adopted missions, then it would be hard to talk about the existence of a healthful relationship between project-making and CSOs in terms of promotion of democratization in Turkey. There is no doubt that most of the CSOs in Turkey lack sufficient economic strength that is necessary not only for their continuity, but also for the implementation of principal objectives. However, what should be emphasized is that it would be considerably unfavorable to view international funds granted for financing the projects of CSOs as a solution for this problem, rather it would be more useful to consider them as a means for the development of the capacity of CSOs in Turkey, which would enable them, in the long term, to finance their own projects and activities by themselves. Furthermore, what seems also problematic is the great enthusiasm that is observed on the part of the CSOs to engage in new projects, while falling short in implementing the outputs of the already completed ones. In this way, the consequence would be nothing, but accumulation of a great deal of knowledge and experience that remains unused and unshared.

Concerning the process that is after the completion of the project, the administrators were also asked whether their cooperation with the donor organization also continued after the completion of the project, in terms of implementation of the outputs. All respondents answered to this question negatively, as it was emphasized that partnership with the donor organizations ends when the project is completed. However, considering the above mentioned problems with regard to the implementation of the outputs of the conducted projects, it can be said that, as much as they provide financial support to the projects of CSOs, the civil society-oriented programs implemented by the EU in Turkey may also focus on developing mechanisms for the encouragement of those CSOs towards ensuring the establishment of necessary networks for information-sharing and transfer of obtained knowledge and experience to the relevant target audience as well as to the other CSOs. In this regard, the fact that the CSDC not only implements a grant program to finance the projects of CSOs, but also offers

capacity building training programs that focuses on issues such as relationship between CSOs and democracy, communication with the public and other CSOs, can be seen as a considerably useful development for the solution of the problems mentioned with regard to the implementation of project outputs.

Table 32. Opinions regarding Efficiency concerning the Usage of Funds (%)

Do you also think that the funds taken from the EU have been used efficiently by your organization? (administrators)		Do you also think that the funds taken from the EU have been used efficiently by your organization? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	82.4	Yes	69.3
No	17.6	No	3.8
Unknown	-	Unknown	26.9

n=34

n=52

Table 32 indicate the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers concerning whether the funds taken from the EU were used efficiently by their organizations. It is seen that majority of both groups' respondents thought that the funds taken from the EU were used efficiently. In this regard, especially administrators emphasized that the fact that the EU attaches great significance to the budgetary issues, to a large extent, provides efficient usage of the funds. Furthermore, it was indicated that the fact that the budget that would be allocated to each stage of the project was already determined in the beginning the process of project-making also ensures efficient usage of funds. On the other hand, the administrators, who stated that they experienced problems with regard to the efficient usage of funds, again stressed the problem of flexibility on the part of the EU. As mentioned previously, it was explained that the fact that the EU displays no flexibility and maintains a considerably rigid attitude especially in terms of budgetary issues, from time to time, created problems with regard to efficient

usage of the funds in the course of the implementation of the project, because of the changing conditions that were not planned in the beginning of the process of project-making. Furthermore, some of the administrators also stated that since the EU partially finances the project and expects the CSO, which applied for utilizing from the funds, to cover the costs of the project, to a certain extent, from its own financial resources, this also created problems with regard to efficient usage of the funds because of the insufficient financial resources of the organization itself and the related difficulty to balance the costs covered by the EU and the budget supplied by the organization. In addition to these, as Table 32 indicates, 26.9 % of the members/volunteers stated that they have no knowledge about whether the funds taken from the EU were used efficiently, as they indicated that they are uninformed about the participation of their organization to the grant program of the EU and the related process of project-making. Furthermore, it is also significant to emphasize that although 17.6% of the administrators stated that they experienced problems with regard to efficient usage of the funds, only 3.8 % of members/volunteers mentioned similar difficulties experienced within their organizations, which can be said to be an indication of the considerable unawareness on the part of the members/volunteers with regard to the functioning of budgetary issues within their organizations.

Table 33. Opinions regarding the Attitude of Administrators towards Members/Volunteers in the course of Usage of Funds (%)

Do you also think that the administration's attitude towards members/volunteers was transparent concerning the usage of funds? (administrators)		Do you also think that the administration's attitude towards members/volunteers was transparent concerning the usage of funds? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	100.0	Yes	57.8
No	-	No	15.3
Unknown	-	Unknown	26.9

n=34

n=52

Table 33 indicate the opinions of the administrators and members/volunteers with regard to whether the administrations' attitude towards members/volunteers was transparent concerning the usage of the funds within the process of project-making. As expected, none of the administrators answered negatively to this question. In this regard, they emphasized that as long as members/volunteers were willing to involve in the process of project-making, alongside with the progress of the project in general, they were also informed about the developments regarding how the project proceeds in budgetary terms. When the answers of the members/volunteers are considered, except for the ones, who are uninformed about the process of project-making took place within their organizations, it is seen that majority of the members/volunteers thought that the administration was transparent towards members/volunteers with regard to the usage of the funds taken from the EU for financing the projects conducted. However, 15.3 % of the respondents claimed to the contrary in the sense that budgetary issues regarding the process of project-making are mostly discussed at the administrative level and, to a large extent, resolved between the authorities of the EU, the administrators of the organization and representatives of the project partners. In this regard, it was indicated that the members/volunteers, who voluntarily take part in the process of project-making only involve in the process of project-making as the human resources needed for the proper implementation of the project.

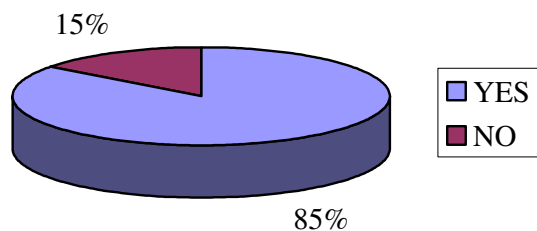


Figure 10. Do you think that the priorities of the EU-based funds that you have used and the priorities of your organization were consistent? (n=34)

Concerning the consistency between the priorities of the funds granted by the EU and those of the CSOs that utilized from them, it is seen in Figure 10 that 85% of the administrators indicated that the priorities of their organizations were consistent with the funding priorities of the EU. Most of those CSOs are especially active within the fields such as women's and children's rights, human rights and democracy, environment, youth, etc., which are the main fields that the funding opportunities provided by the EU concentrate on. On the other hand, 15% of the respondents stated that it is not possible to talk about 100% consistency between the priorities of the EU-based funds and those their own. It was explained that either minor or major modifications were made on the subject as well as on the methodology of the prepared projects in order to comply with the funding priorities of the EU. In this respect, the significance of searching for the appropriate fund to finance the designed projects, rather than to develop projects according to the characteristics of the given funds should be once more emphasized. It should also be stressed that the grant programs that are currently implemented by the EU in Turkey were observed to appear as sufficient only in responding to the needs of CSOs that are active in particular fields, but fall short in responding to needs of the ones that fall outside of those specified fields.

Table 34. Opinions regarding the Relationship between participating in the Grant Programs and Basic Needs of the Organizations (%)

Do you think that participating in the EU-implemented grant programs has responded to your organization's basic needs? (administrators)		Do you think that participating in the EU-implemented grant programs has responded to your organization's basic needs? (members/volunteers)	
Yes	82.4	Yes	57.8
No	17.6	No	15.3
Unknown	-	Unknown	26.9

n=34

n=52

Table 34 indicates the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers with regard to whether participating in the EU-implemented grant programs responded to their organizations' basic needs. It is seen that 82.4 % of the administrators answered positively to this question. In this respect, it was explained that considering the significance of acquiring competency with regard to project management as well as the difficulties concerning fund-raising in order to finance the projects and activities, the fund opportunities provided by the EU appeared to be considerably beneficial in responding to the said needs of the organization. On the other hand, 17.6 % of the administrators stated that since they were not actively involved in the process of project-making but the project was generally executed by a consultant organization, participating in the grant program of the EU did not provide a considerable benefit in terms of responding to the basic needs of the organization. As for the views of members/volunteers, in parallel with the opinions of administrators, 57.8 % of the respondents indicated that they found their organizations' participation to EU-implemented grant programs as useful especially in terms of gaining experience with regard to project-making as well as establishing cooperation with other CSOs. On the other hand, 15.3 % of the members/volunteers stated that alongside with the benefits of participating in the grant programs of the EU such as becoming experienced with regard to project-making or engaging in partnerships with other CSOs, they thought that consecutive processes of project-making that are financed by the EU gradually make the organization dependent on external resources and marginalize the organization's own capacity for fund-raising. Furthermore, it was also emphasized that continuous relations with the EU initiated a process of professionalism in the organization in the sense that the number of professional employers within the organization increased as well as the administrative organs of the organization started to adopt a more professional attitude towards the execution of the activities and the projects. In this respect, it was criticized that the existence of such tendencies within CSOs carries the risk to damage the amateur soul inherent in civil society and give harm to the democratic character of CSOs. Hence, it can be said that, different from the administrators, the attitude of

some of the members/volunteers towards their organizations' participation to the grant programs of the EU seems to be more critical.

Finally, both the administrators and members/volunteers were asked how they perceive the impact of participating in the grant programs of EU on the processes of democracy and participation within their organizations. Their opinions with regard to this issue can be seen in Table 35.

Table 35. Opinions regarding the Relationship between participating in the Grant Programs of EU and In-house Democracy and Participation (%)

How do you perceive the impact of participating in the grant programs of EU on the processes of democracy and participation within your organization? (administrators)		How do you perceive the impact of participating in the grant programs of EU on the processes of democracy and participation within your organization? (members/volunteers)	
Positive	35.2	Positive	34.6
Negative	64.8	Negative	15.3
Neutral	-	Neutral	22.9
Unknown	-	Unknown	26.9

n=34

n=52

It is seen in Table 35 that none of the administrators thought that participating in the grant programs of EU led to negative consequences in term of dynamics of in-house democracy and participation. However, the proportion of the ones, who thought that participating in the grant programs of EU had positive effects on the processes of democracy and participation within their organizations, is not high, either. Rather, most of the administrators indicated that the impact of the process of project-making carried out within the framework of the EU-implemented grant programs on in-house democracy and participation could be accepted as neutral.

In this respect, it was explained that although the process of project-making brought dynamism to the in-house functioning of the organization in general, it is hard to say that participating in the grant program of EU led to considerable transformations on the processes of democracy and participation within the organization. On the other hand, 35.2 % of the administrators chose the option “Positive”; as they stated that the process of project-making, to a large extent, encouraged the participation of members/volunteers to the activities of the organization, enhanced the communication networks within the organization and provided for the improvement of the communication with the other CSOs.

As for the views of members/volunteers, Table 35 indicates that their opinions with regard to the relationship between their organizations’ participation to the grant programs of EU and in-house democracy and participation are considerably divergent. It is seen that 34.6 % of the respondents stated that they found their organizations’ participation to the grant programs of the EU as considerably useful especially in terms of intensification of communication within the organization as well as drawing the attention of a considerable number of members/volunteers to the activities carried out within the process of project-making, which was significant in terms of encouragement of participation. On the other hand, it was seen that, in terms of its impact on the processes of democracy and participation, 15.3 % of the respondents more tended to emphasize the negative consequences of their organizations’ participation to the grant programs of the EU on the grounds that were explained in response to the question “Do you think that participating in the EU-implemented grant programs has responded to your organization's basic needs?”. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, while 26.9 % of members/volunteers stated that they have no knowledge regarding their organizations’ participation to the grant programs of the EU, 22.9 % of the respondents indicated that they observed no apparent transformations within their organizations in terms of dynamics of democracy and participation.

Concerning the participation of CSOs to the grant programs, generally, it can be said that the principal benefits of those programs for the participating CSOs seems to become competent in project management on the one hand, enhancement of the relations and communication with the other CSOs on the other. In this respect, considering the large flow of EU-based funds to Turkey that aimed at development of civil society, it can be said that, improvement of the capacity of CSOs in Turkey in terms of project management is useful in terms of proper exploitation of funding opportunities allocated for CSOs. Furthermore, enhancement of the communication and dialogue between CSOs is equally an important benefit provided by the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey, either in the form of project partnerships or of information-sharing as an output of the conducted projects. However, alongside with those benefits, significant attention should also be drawn to the risks for CSOs to become extremely professionalized in project-making and loose their democratic character and depart from their principal mission to work for the benefit the society, for the sake of utilizing from funds. Hence, how CSOs approach project-making becomes considerably important; as long as the process of project-making that is financed by international funds is seen as a method for ensuring the economic survival of the organization, it would be hard to expect from CSOs to undertake an effective role for the promotion of democratization in Turkey. In this respect, a healthful relationship between project-making and CSOs can be established as long as the funds taken from international organizations are considered only as a means for the development of democratic capacity of CSOs in Turkey. Otherwise, there appears the risk for the CSOs to be transformed into some kind of “fund-hunters” or “project machines” as well as to become organizations that are more responsible to the donor organizations than their own target audience.

5.6. Needs and Expectations

As a result of the interviews conducted with both the administrators and members/volunteers of participant CSOs, it was tried to specify the main needs of

those organizations as well as their expectations from either the state, from the EU or other CSOs. In this respect, it is significant to emphasize that the interviewed individuals specified a considerable number of needs and expectations with regard to their organizations, but what is mentioned here is only the most notable ones that can be said to be shared by all the participant CSOs in general.

**Table 36. Distribution of Organizations according to their Needs
(Administrators) %**

Project Preparation/Project Management	60.9
Communication between Members/between Members-Administrators	73.9
Cooperation with other CSOs	58.7
Financial Support	93.5
Infrastructure (Office Accessories, Computer Systems, Visual/Auditory Hardware, etc.)	82.6
Qualified Human Resources	89.1

n=46

**Table 37. Distribution of Organizations according to their Needs
(Members/Volunteers) %**

Project Preparation/Project Management	34.7
Communication between Members/between Members-Administrators	88.9
Cooperation with other CSOs	79.2
Financial Support	94.4
Infrastructure (Office Accessories, Computer Systems, Visual/Auditory Hardware, etc.)	45.8
Qualified Human Resources	22.2

n=72

Table 36 and Table 37 indicate the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers, with regard to the basic needs of their organizations. It is seen that both groups' emphasis is principally on the need for financial support, including both the need for financial resources to ensure the continuity of the organization and to finance the planned projects and activities. Another significant need that was especially emphasized by the administrators was the need for qualified human resources. In this regard, it was explained by the administrators that lack of sufficient qualified human resources, either as a professional personnel or a member or a volunteer, to a large extent, prevents proper implementation of the activities as well as development of new plans and projects. Furthermore, it was also emphasized that, for the most part, despite the existence of qualified human resources within the organization, they mostly appear to be dysfunctional because of the general problem of participation. On the other hand, only 22.2% of members/volunteers indicated qualified human resources as a principal need of their organizations and corresponding to the administrators' criticisms against members/volunteers in terms of participation, the rest stated that their organizations have a sufficient capacity in terms of having qualified human resources. In terms of project preparation/project management, it is seen that the administrators more tend to view this issue as one of the basic needs of their organizations, while only 34.7% of members/volunteers stated that acquiring competency with regard to project preparation/project management can be accepted as one of the vital needs of their organizations. In addition to these, it was observed that one of the issues, on which the administrators and members/volunteers seem to display different tendencies, is cooperation with other CSOs. In this respect, 58.7% of the administrators indicate cooperation with other CSOs as one of the main needs of their organizations; while the others stated that they view their organizations' level of cooperation with other CSOs as sufficient. On the other hand, 79.2% of members/volunteers emphasized establishing cooperation with other CSOs as a significant need and stated that their organizations' participation to either the capacity building/project management training programs of CSDP, or the grant programs of the EU was

considerably beneficial in terms of finding opportunity to engage in cooperation with other CSOs. Needs regarding infrastructure can be said to be another issue, on which the opinions of administrators and members/volunteers differentiate. In fact, although the economic insufficiencies or the need for qualified human resources can also be accepted as infrastructural needs, here, what is meant by the needs concerning infrastructure are generally the technical insufficiencies experienced by the participant CSOs. It was observed that the administrators tend to be more sensitive with regard to the needs concerning infrastructure such as an office belonging to the organization and necessary office accessories, namely; fax machines, writers, computers, access to internet etc. This can be linked to the fact that since such technical problems are generally associated with the execution of the routine tasks of the organization in which the administrators more get involved, that's why they appear to be more sensitive in putting forward the needs regarding infrastructure. Finally, as both Table 36 and Table 37 indicate, both the administrators and members/volunteers emphasized the need for improvement of communication networks within their organizations not only for the proper implementation of activities and projects, but also for the development of organizational culture in general.

Within this framework, it can be said that there are striking differences between the approaches of administrators and members/volunteers in terms of how they perceive the basic needs of their organizations in the sense that while the administrators predominantly tend to emphasize the infrastructural needs such as economic problems, need for qualified human resources or technical insufficiencies, the members/volunteers seem to be more anxious about internal functioning of their organizations as well as relations with other CSOs. In this respect, some of the members/volunteers also emphasized the need for intensification of the training programs aimed at development of the capacity of CSOs in terms of constitution of an organizational structure that is based on horizontal relations and a more balanced sharing of responsibilities. Furthermore, it was also emphasized by both the administrators and members/volunteers that

constitution of a central consultant organization, which will inform and guide the CSOs in Turkey in terms of finance, legislative regulations regarding civil society or administrative strategies and project management becomes a principal need for all the CSOs in Turkey. It was stated that such an organization can also function as a centre for providing systematic communication and dialogue between CSOs. In this respect, a considerable number of administrators as well as members/volunteers indicated that the establishment of CSDC was a considerably useful initiative, but they also emphasized that the capacity of CSDC should be improved if it will serve as a central organization that carries the said characteristics.

In addition to these, the respondents also mentioned their expectations from the state especially with regard to their financial needs. It was stated that what is expected from the state is the adoption of sensitivity towards the technical and financial needs of CSOs, while, at the same time, respecting to their autonomy and self-administration. Furthermore, implementation of the necessary legislation that would ensure the freedom of CSOs in Turkey was also indicated as one of the principal expectation of CSOs from the state.

As for the expectations from the EU, alongside with the continuity of the civil society-oriented training and grant programs that are currently implemented in Turkey, some of the administrators emphasized their expectation for the extension of the scope of the grant programs especially in terms of determination of the target CSOs according to their fields of activity. In addition, it was also emphasized that the EU's role in increasing the sensitivity towards the independency of CSOs in Turkey as well as in the removal of the prejudices against civil society is considerably valuable in terms of providing for the constitution of an environment in which the civil society can function as an autonomous sphere in Turkey.

Finally, as for the expectations from other CSOs, it was indicated by most of the respondents that it is the enhancement of civil dialogue, which is key to the appearance of civil society as an organized and effective sphere that has the power to influence decision making procedures in Turkey. For this reason, it was emphasized that strengthening of information and experience sharing within the field of civil society as well as intensification of the establishment of local or national cooperation networks between CSOs are what is expected from the organizations active within the civil society. In this respect, it was also stressed that while expecting from the state to get rid of its prejudices against CSOs, the CSOs should themselves also overcome their prejudices against each other and strive for adopting a flexible attitude within their relations.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to analyze the internal dynamics of the field of civil society in Turkey with special reference to the impact of civil society policies of the EU on the internal operating styles of civil society organizations in Turkey. In this respect, a critical evaluation of the said issue was tried to be put forward in the sense that the extensive discussions on the concept, which can be traced back to Greek Political Philosophy, were examined and gathered with the observations and empirical evidence gained on the subject in order to reach an answer on the very nature of civil society-democracy relationship. In doing this, the purpose was to uncover the reasons behind the recent popularization of the concept as an indispensable precondition of democracy, which is seen as distinctly belonging to the contemporary period, and to question whether certain circumstances exist under which the term may rather harm than enable the process of democratization. Within this framework, the consideration of the civil society policies of the EU implemented in Turkey was seen as all the more necessary because of the fact that the process of Turkey's EU membership has major implications for not only the process of democratization in Turkey, but also on the development of civil society as a significant part of this process.

Development of civil society in third countries is an important part of civil society politics of the EU not only within the framework of its Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, but also in terms of its enlargement strategy. Although the contribution of EU to civil society development in Turkey dates back to early 1990s, it is especially by the beginning of the candidacy process the EU has started to implement its policies for the development of civil society in Turkey on a more systematic basis. In this respect, while investigating the role of civil society within the process of democratization in Turkey, the impact of the EU was

tried to be considered within the framework of the extent to which it has achieved to contribute to the enhancement of the democratic capacity of civil society organizations in Turkey.

The analysis of the impact of the EU was undertaken on the basis of the two main strategies it applies while implementing its civil society policies in Turkey; namely, the grant programs and training programs. While the grant programs aim to finance the projects of CSOs principally working in the fields such as women, children, youth, human rights, disabled, environment and culture, the training programs, which were started to put into practice with the initiation of Civil Society Development Program, are mainly organized under two modules; Project Management and Capacity Building; the former intends to enhance the CSOs' ability to prepare and manage projects as well as to access and benefit from the funding opportunities, while the latter aims at reinforcing the capacity of CSOs in democratic terms by focusing on the issues such as lobbying, conflict resolution, fund-raising, strengthening of institutionalized democratic structure and especially establishment of communication channels with the other CSOs as well as with the target audiences and the society as a whole.

The field research conducted in Ankara with the participation of 46 CSOs tries to find an answer to what extent the internal operating styles of the CSOs are themselves democratic on the one hand, whether the EU's policies for the reinforcement of democratic capacity of CSOs sufficiently effected to the desired consequences on the other.

First of all, considering the effects of training programs, it is significant to emphasize that Civil Society Development Program, which was initiated in 2001, was an important step that is taken in terms of EU's approach to building the capacity of CSOs in Turkey, as it directly aims at touching the intra-organizational problems experienced by the CSOs while fulfilling their role within the process of democratization. However, as the findings of the field

research has also indicated, the main problem with the training programs implemented within the framework of CSDP is that, their main focus remained to be on how to prepare and manage projects and apply for the funds granted by the EU. Although strengthening of CSOs' ability to conduct projects and access to funds is also a significant issue to focus on, considering the principal objective of CSDP, which is to make CSOs more active and play a more effective role in the process of democratization in Turkey, it is expected that the Program would put a much more emphasis on "capacity building" that is directly related to the development of sustainable skills for the promotion of CSOs' organizational development as well as building the potential for them to respond to the needs of the community they serve. Such predominance of project management training within the training programs was explained with the reasoning that removal of information deficiency on the part of CSOs with regard to project preparation and applying for grant programs is seen as a more urgent need because of the accelerated flow of EU-based funds to Turkey allocated for usage of civil society organizations. As a matter of fact, by the establishment of Civil Society Development Center, the emphasis on "capacity building" was strengthened to a considerable extent with the implementation of Capacity Building Training Programs as separate 5-day programs that are completely dedicated to the promotion of organizational development of CSOs. In that sense, the EU's approach to civil society development in Turkey can be said to prioritize reinforcement of project-making abilities of CSOs over the promotion of their organizational development. What seems problematic within this approach is that the dominance of the emphasis on project-making in the first instance led to the fact that civil society in Turkey have become too much identified with project-making and most of the CSOs have become organizations that engage in conducting projects in a cyclic manner without having sufficient organizational capacity to integrate project-making into their overall objectives as well as to digest the outputs of the projects they conduct. Furthermore, the experiences of a considerable number of participant CSOs reveals that such intensification of project-making within the field of civil society also led to the emergence of a

sector, which rests its survival solely on project-making and fund procurement, which is considerably unfavorable in terms of the purposes behind the encouragement of CSOs towards project-making. Hence, within the implementation of training programs, it might have been more favorable to put a stronger emphasis on building the organizational capacity of CSOs in the first instance and to position project-making within the overall framework of capacity building, before considering it as a separate issue on its own.

As for the effects of grant programs, according to the experiences of participant CSOs, there is no doubt that, the grant programs implemented by the EU in Turkey contributed much to the reinforcement of the CSOs' ability to conduct projects and access to opportunities of funding. The first thing that should be drawn attention with regard to the implementation of grant programs is the sufficient introduction of those programs to the CSOs in Turkey, as the results of the field research indicate that a considerable number of participant CSOs has considerably limited knowledge concerning the priorities of the grant programs implemented in Turkey. Hence, in the first instance, what should be paid attention is the sufficient announcement of the EU-based funds on the one hand, adequate explanation of the priorities and the implementing regulations of the grant programs to the CSOs on the other. It is especially important that the criteria regarding the selection process concerning the usage of funds is clearly defined in order to prevent the loss of time and labor on the part of the CSOs.

Secondly, drawing attention to the selection process again, considering the negative effects of too much prioritizing of project-making on the part of CSOs, it is important that the EU displays sufficient sensitivity towards the consistency between the content of the projects presented and the mission and field of activity of the CSOs that applied for the funds. Furthermore, it seems also important that the EU adopts a pluralist approach in implementing its grant programs, as it was observed that some of the participant organizations have become considerably distinguished in terms of benefiting from the EU-based funds. These are mostly

the organizations that have sufficient human and financial resources as well as the organizational capacity necessary for successfully carrying out the complicated process of project management. In this respect, it is especially the newly established or small CSOs, which appear as fall short in benefiting from the funds granted by the EU. By small CSOs, what is meant is that they have no or only one paid staff member at the most, are run entirely by the volunteers and have considerably limited financial resources. They mostly lack the capabilities necessary for engaging in the complex procedure of application for funds and preparation of project proposals and more importantly, they have no extensive background in terms of conducting projects, which is a significant criterion looked for by the EU while selecting among the CSOs that apply for the grants. Under such conditions, it is the large and highly institutionalized CSOs, which mostly appear to benefit from the funds granted by the EU, while it is, for the most part, found difficult by the smaller organizations to comply with certain procedural requirements. In this respect, it seems important that the procedures used in the implementation of grant programs have to strike a balance between flexibility and user-friendliness for the recipient organizations and the rigour needed to ensure the sound management of funds, which necessitates careful definition of the award and reporting procedures in order not to give way to abuses. If reaching the maximum number of CSOs is one of the main purposes of the grant programs, it seems only in this way that the EU can manage to display a more pluralist position while distributing funds to CSOs in Turkey.

In addition, it is also important to emphasize that one of the most prominent problems determined as a result of the field research is that the outputs of the conducted projects are not implemented adequately in the sense that they are not made widespread within society and target audiences as well as are not sufficiently shared by the other CSOs. In this respect, considering the criteria foreseen by the EU within the selection process again, it appears considerably important that not only the project background of the applicant CSOs, but also their background regarding the extent to which the outputs of the previously

conducted projects were implemented is investigated. It should be stressed that there are significant differences among the CSOs that have participated in the grant programs of the EU in terms of their approaches towards the implementation of the project outputs. The ones, which have a long duration of existence and have a considerable number of members, mostly give less significance to the implementation of project outputs vis a vis the smaller CSOs that have fewer members and have no long-term existence. It was observed that the tendency for continuously participating in the grant programs and conducting projects is more widespread among the large, highly institutionalized CSOs, while the smaller ones adopt a more sensitive approach towards the implementation of the outputs they obtain through the projects they conduct. Within this framework, it can be said that by putting into effect the necessary mechanisms for monitoring the implementation of the outputs of the previously conducted projects, the EU can not only make a more objective evaluation of the applicant CSOs' intentions in applying for funds, but also can control the problem of continuous project making without digesting the outputs of the already completed ones.

Comparing the effects of both the training programs and grant programs implemented by the EU in general, while the programs themselves have certain insufficiencies in terms of serving for the purpose of making CSOs more active and play a more effective role in the process of democratization in Turkey, their impact on the internal operating styles of the participant CSOs also differentiates according to the certain characteristics of the CSOs themselves. The said characteristics, which lead to such differentiation, are mostly related to the extent to which the organization in question has an institutionalized structure, the number of voluntary members and paid staff and the duration of existence. In this respect, a differentiation can be made between "large CSOs" and "small CSOs" as stated above; the former represents the ones that are highly institutionalized, mostly have nation-wide branches, have a great many members and a long duration of existence, while the latter mostly refers to the CSOs that are newly established or have no long-term existence, hold limited human and financial resources and have

a limited number of members/volunteers. Within this framework, first of all, the number of small CSOs is more than that of the large CSOs among the organizations that participated in the training programs. On the other hand, the number of large CSOs is more than that of the small CSOs among the organizations that participated in the grant programs. This situation can be linked to various reasons such as the insufficient capacity of small CSOs to participate in the grant programs or consideration by the large CSOs of participating in the training programs as unnecessary. In any case, it can be said that the impact of participating in either the grant or the training programs on the intra-organizational structures of CSOs considerably vary according to the characteristics of the organization in question.

Concerning the impact of the training programs, firstly, it was observed that the small CSOs are more successful than the large CSOs in making widespread the information gained through participating in the program within the organization. In the first instance, this can be linked to the fact that the number of members/volunteers that those organizations have are considerably fewer than that of the large CSOs, which makes it easier to exchange information and experience within the organization. Secondly, it was observed that the small CSOs are much more enthusiastic than the large CSOs in using what they learned by participating in the training programs of the EU in terms of improving their overall democratic capacity. Therefore, it was especially the representatives of small CSOs, who put a stronger emphasis on the contributions of participating in the training programs as compared to the representatives of large CSOs. On the other hand, the representatives of large CSOs mostly indicated that participating in the training programs of the EU did not lead to any remarkable changes within the overall functioning of their organizations.

As for the impact of the grant programs, it was principally observed that the large CSOs are much more informed than the small CSOs of the priorities and the implementing regulations concerning the grant programs carried out by the EU in

Turkey. Furthermore, the announcements regarding the funding opportunities offered to civil society organizations is much more systematically monitored by the large CSOs than the small CSOs. However, although the large CSOs are more active than small CSOs in participating in the grant programs in numerical terms, in terms of fostering participation within the organizations, the process of project-making was observed to have a more positive impact on the intra-organizational structure of small CSOs. This can be firstly linked to the fact that since project-making is not a frequent activity among the small CSOs, the motivation to use this process as a means to strengthen in-house participation is considerably higher among them. On the other hand, as most of the large CSOs regularly engage in project-making, most of them handle the process of project making on a more systematic and professional basis in the sense that they either have paid staff for the execution of the projects or constitute working groups within themselves, which are completely responsible for the preparation and management of the projects conducted by the organization. Under such conditions, contribution of participating in the grant programs in terms of improvement of in-house participation remains to be limited for the large CSOs as compared to small CSOs. Nevertheless, it is also significant to emphasize that because of the fact that small CSOs mostly suffer from being inexperienced in project management, for the most part, they appear to experience problems in complying with the procedural requirements. It is stated by some of the representatives of small CSOs that this situation, from time to time, reflects negatively to the relations within the organization and leads to in-house conflicts.

Finally, it can be said that perhaps the most beneficial consequence of the intensification of EU-implemented programs aimed at development of civil society in Turkey is the fact that the problems experienced within the field of civil society in Turkey are apparently put on the agenda. In other words, discussions on the reflections of the process of Turkey's EU membership on the development of civil society in Turkey, inevitably, lead to the constitution of a platform where the problems with regard to civil society-democracy relationship become much more

intensively debated. However, it is significant to emphasize that it is principally the CSOs themselves, which should actively participate in the discussions concerning the doubts or questions directed against the democratic character of civil society and its actors, as the best way for the CSOs to internalize the missions and principles that they explain with sophisticated expressions will be, in the first instance, their ability to question themselves and their capacity to promote democratization in Turkey. Within this framework, the major purpose of this thesis was only to make a modest contribution to the academic discussions on the relationship between civil society and democracy from a critical perspective. However, since the field research conducted for this thesis reflects the conditions and opinions of a considerably small proportion of CSOs in Turkey, it is not so much possible to arrive at absolute generalizations by taking into consideration the results of the field study conducted with 46 CSOs in Ankara. Therefore, if long-term strategies are to be developed for the improvement of democratic capacity of CSOs in Turkey, the need for more comprehensive, nation-wide field researches on the relationship between civil society and democracy should be significantly underlined.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE GRANT PROGRAMS¹⁵¹

Kuruluş Adı:

Yaş:

Cinsiyet:

Eğitim:

1. Kuruluş amaçları ve misyon:
2. Kuruluşa üye/kayıtlı gönüllü sayısı:
3. Genel Kurula katılan ortalama üye sayısı:
4. Kuruluşun yasal statüsü:
 - Dernek
 - Vakıf
 - Kooperatif
 - Kar amacı gütmeyen şirket
 - Oda
 - Sendika

6. Yaş, cinsiyet ve eğitim seviyesi bakımından ağırlıklı üye profili:

Üyeler

Yönetim Kurulu Üyeleri

Yaş

Yaş

- 30 yaş ve altı ağırlıklı

30 yaş ve altı ağırlıklı

¹⁵¹ Some of the questions used in all four questionnaire forms were taken from the questionnaire published on the Civil Society Development Center's web-site, which aims to draw a profile of civil society organizations in Turkey, as well as from the questionnaire used by Gülgün Erdoğan Tosun in her research concerning in-house democracy and participation in civil society organizations, whose results were published in *Birikim* No.130 in February 2000.

• 30-50 yaş ağırlıklı	30-50 yaş ağırlıklı
• 50 yaş ve üzeri ağırlıklı	50 yaş ve üzeri ağırlıklı
Cinsiyet	Cinsiyet
• Kadın ağırlıklı	Kadın ağırlıklı
• Erkek ağırlıklı	Erkek ağırlıklı
• Yaklaşık eşit ağırlıklı	Yaklaşık eşit ağırlıklı
Eğitim	Eğitim
• İlkokul/ortaokul mezunu ağırlıklı	İlkokul/ortaokul mezunu ağırlıklı
• Lise mezunu ağırlıklı	Lise mezunu ağırlıklı
• Üniversite mezunu ağırlıklı	Üniversite mezunu ağırlıklı

7. Kuruluşun coğrafi çalışma düzeyi

- Mahalli düzeyde
- İl düzeyinde
- Bölgesel düzeyde
- Ulusal düzeyde

8. Yürütülen faaliyetler:

- Sosyal hizmetler (sığınma evleri, misafirhaneler)
- Öğrencilere burs verilmesi
- Yayın (Bülten, Kitap, Rapor)
- Basın Toplantısı
- Basın Açıklaması
- Kampanya düzenlenmesi
- Proje yürütülmesi
- Eğitim programları düzenlenmesi
- Araştırma faaliyetleri
- Danışmanlık hizmetleri
- Konferans/Toplantı düzenlenmesi
- Lobicilik
- Diğer

9. Çalışma alanları

- Kltr ve Sanat
- Kadınlar
- Çocuklar
- Gençler
- Engelliler
- İnsan Hakları
- Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım
- Eğitim
- Çevre
- Kırsal Kalkınma
- Turizm
- Kent Geliştirme-Gzelleştirme
- Diğer

10. Kuruluşun mali kaynakları:

- ye aidatları
- Bağışlar
- Kamu kurumlarından destekler
- Yerel yönetimlerden destekler
- Uluslararası kuruluşlardan sağlanan fonlar
- Konser, tiyatro, kermes, vb. sosyal etkinliklerden sağlanan gelirler
- Diğer

11. STK'lar devletin yetiřemediđi alanlarda aktif rol stlenerek devlete yardımcı olmalı, ykn hafifletmelidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

12. STK'lar misyonları geređi devlete muhalif olarak konumlanmalıdırlar.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

13. Devletin STK'ları mali olarak desteklemesi STK'ların mali problemlerinin çözümnde nemli bir faktrdr.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

14. Uluslararası fonlar STK'ların mali problemlerinin çözümünde önemli bir faktördür.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

15. Türkiye'de devletin STK faaliyetlerini desteklemekten çok engelleyici bir tavrı söz konusudur.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

16. Sizce ideal devlet-STK ilişkisi nasıl olmalıdır?

- STK ve devlet faaliyetleriyle birbirlerini tamamlamalıdır.
- Birbirlerine alanına müdahale etmemelidirler.
- Birbirlerini denetlemeli ve yönlendirmelidirler.
- Diğer

14. Diğer STK'larla işbirliği düzeyi:

- Bu güne kadar herhangi bir işbirliği söz konusu olmadı
- Ortak proje/atölye çalışması
- Ortak seminer/toplantı/etkinlik/kampanya düzenleme
- Ortak Platformlar/Koalisyonlar
- Ortak Deklarasyonlar
- Ortak yayın
- Diğer

15. Türkiye'de AB tarafından uygulanan STGP/STGM programları hakkında bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

16. Kuruluşunuzun STGP/STGM kapsamında verilen hizmetlerden yararlandığınız oldu mu?

- Evet

- Hayır

17. Evet ise hangi hizmetler?

- Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Eğitimi
- İhtiyaç Analizi
- Hukuki Danışma Hizmeti
- Hibe Programı
- Proje Hazırlama desteği
- Danışmanlık
- Seminerler
- Yayınlar
- Web sayfası

18. Bugüne değin kuruluş olarak AB destekli olarak yürütülen projelerin:

- Sayısı:
- Hangi hibe programı çerçevesinde desteklendiği :
- Kapsamı ve amaçları:

19. AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde alınan fonlar hangi amaçla ve ne şekilde kullanıldı/kullanılıyor?

20. Yürüttüğünüz/yürütmekte olduğunuz projenin/projelerin konusunun belirlenmesinde gözettiğiniz kriterler neler oldu?

- Fon imkanlarının yoğunlaştığı alanlar
- Fon sağlayıcı kuruluşun öncelikleri
- Kuruluşun misyonu ile tutarlılık
- Hedef kitlenin ihtiyaçları
- Diğer

21. Projenin/Projelerin yürütülmesi sırasında fon sağlayıcı kurum (AB) tarafından herhangi bir baskı yada hedeflerinizle çatışıcı nitelikte müdahale veya denetimle karşılaştınız mı?

- Evet (Açıklayınız)
- Hayır

22. Yürütülen projenin/projelerin kuruluşunuza katkıları neler oldu?

- Proje hazırlama konusunda yetkinlik kazanıldı
- Proje yönetimi konusunda yetkinlik kazanıldı
- Kuruluş içerisinde bilgi alışverişi/iletişim yoğunlaştı
- Kuruluş içi katılımcılığa katkıda bulundu
- Diğer STK'larla diyalog kurulmasına katkıda bulundu
- Herhangi bir katkısı olmadı
- Diğer

22. Yürütülen projenin/projelerin çıktıları neler oldu?

- Elde edilen sonuçlara yönelik henüz herhangi bir girişimde bulunulmadı
- Belirlenen ihtiyaç alanlarına yönelik danışmanlık/eğitim vb. hizmetler sunuldu
- Bulguların değerlendirildi ve yayınlandı
- Elde edilen bulgular diğer STK'lar ile paylaşıldı
- Yeni projelere yatırım yapıldı
- Diğer

23. Proje sonrası destek sağlayıcı kurumla uygulamaya yönelik olarak işbirliğiniz devam etti mi?

- Evet
- Hayır

24. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde alınan fonlar kuruluşunuzca verimli bir şekilde kullanıldı mı/kullanılıyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

25. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde alınan fonların kullanımında yönetim üyelere karşı şeffaf davrandı mı/davranıyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

26. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde kullanılan fonların öncelikleri ile kuruluşunuzun öncelikleri birbiri ile uyumlu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

27. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ına katılım kuruluşunuzun temel ihtiyaçlarına yanıt verdi mi?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

28. Sizce kuruluşunuzun AB Hibe Program(lar)ına katılımı örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılık süreçleri açısından nasıl bir etki doğurdu?

- Olumlu (Açıklayınız)
- Olumsuz (Açıklayınız)
- Nötr
- Bilinmiyor

29. Sizce kuruluşunuzun en temel ihtiyaçları aşağıdakilerden hangisidir (hangileridir)?

- Eğitim
- Proje hazırlama
- Üyelerle iletişim
- Diğer kuruluşlarla işbirliği
- Maddi kaynak oluşturma
- Altyapı (ofis/donanım)
- İnsan kaynağı/Gönüllü çalışan
- Bilgiye Erişim
- Diğer

30. Sizce kuruluşunuzun örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılıkla ilgili problemleri var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

31. Evet ise problemi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Hiyerarşik ilişkiler yaygın
- Karar alma mekanizması üyeleri dışlayıcı
- Üyeler katılım sürecinde yetersiz
- Alınan kararların uygulanması ve takibinde sıkıntı var
- Üye kabulü ve yönetimin değiştirilmesi konuları sıkıntılı
- Diğer

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MEMBERS/VOLUNTEERS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE GRANT PROGRAMS

Kuruluş Adı :

Yaş :

Cinsiyet :

Eğitim :

1. Düzenli üyelik aidatı ödüyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

2. Düzenli olarak kuruluşunuz olağan toplantılarına katılıyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

3. Düzenli olarak üyesi bulunduğunuz STK'nın faaliyetleri içerisinde aktif rol alıyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

4. Yürütülecek faaliyet ve projeler kim tarafından belirlenir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

5. Politika ve kuralları değiştirmeye kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar

- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

6. Genel Politikalara ilişkin sorunların çözümüne yönelik kararlar kim tarafından alınır?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

7. Mali kaynakların bütçelendirilmesinde kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

8. Harcamalara karar vermede kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

9. Derneğin üyelik aidatları kim tarafından belirlenir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul

- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

10. Üyeler ortak bir sorunla karşılaşırse çözüm önerileri kimden gelir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

11. Kararların alınmasında kullanılan bilgiyi en çok kimler sağlar?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

12. Yeni fikirleri çoğu zaman hangi grup geliştirir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

13. Karşılaşılan sorunlarla başa çıkmada kime başvurulur?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler

- Bilmiyor
 - Diğer
14. Acil durumlarda neler yapılması gerektiğine kim karar verir?
- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
 - Genel Kurul
 - Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
 - Üyeler
 - Bilmiyor
 - Diğer
15. Üyeler görevlilerin ve liderlerin seçiminde ne kadar etkilidir?
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor
16. Liderler ve çalışanlar üyelerin fikirlerine ne kadar saygı gösterir?
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor
17. Üyeler faaliyetlerin uygulanmasını ne derece kontrol ederler?
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor

18. Üyelerin yürütülen projelerde ne derece aktif rol üstlenirler?

- Önemsiz derecede
- Biraz
- Oldukça
- Geniş ölçüde
- Her zaman
- Bilmiyor

19. Üyeler kullanılacak mali kaynakları ne kadar kontrol ederler?

- Önemsiz derecede
- Biraz
- Oldukça
- Geniş ölçüde
- Her zaman
- Bilmiyor

20. Kuruluşu Kamuoyunda çoğunlukla kim temsil eder?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

21. Örgüt faaliyetleri hakkındaki sorulara genellikle kim yanıt verir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

22. Karar verme işi eğitilmiş ve bilgili uzmanların görüş ve düşünceleri üzerine oturmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

23. Karar verme sürecinin katılımcıları eğitilmiş bireylerden oluşmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

24. Karar verme sürecinin verimli olabilmesi için mümkün olduğu kadar az insanı içermelidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

25. Karar verme sürecinin verimli olabilmesi için belli bir düzeye kadar otorite şarttır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

26. Karşılaşılan problemlerin çözümünde mutlaka liderlerin görüşlerine başvurulmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

27. Çözüm önerileri ortaya konulmasında daha çok eğitilmiş/uzman bireyler yetkindir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

28. Faaliyetlerin verimli yürüyebilmesi için düzenli bir kontrol mekanizması şarttır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

29. Türkiye’de AB tarafından uygulanan STGP/STGM programları hakkında bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

30. Kuruluşunuzun STGP/STGM kapsamında yararlandığı hizmetler konusunda bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

31. Evet ise hangi hizmetler?

- Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Eğitimi
- İhtiyaç Analizi
- Hukuki Danışma Hizmeti
- Hibe Programı
- Proje Hazırlama desteği
- Danışmanlık
- Seminerler
- Yayınlar
- Web sayfası

32. Kuruluşunuzun AB Hibe Program(lar)ına katılımı çerçevesinde yürütülen projenin/projelerin kuruluşunuza katkıları neler oldu?

- Proje hazırlama konusunda yetkinlik kazanıldı
- Proje yönetimi konusunda yetkinlik kazanıldı
- Kuruluş içerisinde bilgi alışverişi/iletişim yoğunlaştı
- Kuruluş içi katılımcılığa katkıda bulundu
- Diğer STK'larla diyalog kurulmasına katkıda bulundu
- Herhangi bir katkısı olmadı
- Bilinmiyor
- Diğer

33. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde alınan fonlar kuruluşunuzca verimli bir şekilde kullanıldı mı/kullanılıyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

34. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ı çerçevesinde alınan fonların kullanımında yönetim üyelere karşı şeffaf davrandı mı/davranıyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

35. Sizce AB Hibe Program(lar)ına katılım kuruluşunuzun temel ihtiyaçlarına yanıt verdi mi?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

36. Sizce kuruluşunuzun AB Hibe Program(lar)ına katılımı örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılık süreçleri açısından nasıl bir etki doğurdu?

- Olumlu (Açıklayınız)
- Olumsuz (Açıklayınız)
- Nötr
- Bilinmiyor

37. Sizce kuruluşunuzun en temel ihtiyaçları aşağıdakilerden hangisidir (hangileridir)?

- Eğitim
- Proje hazırlama
- Üyelerle iletişim
- Diğer kuruluşlarla işbirliği
- Maddi kaynak oluşturma
- Altyapı (ofis/donanım)
- İnsan kaynağı/Gönüllü çalışan
- Bilgiye Erişim
- Diğer

38. Sizce kuruluşunuzun örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılıkla ilgili problemleri var mı?

- Evet

- Hayır

39. Evet ise problemi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Hiyerarşik ilişkiler yaygın
- Karar alma mekanizması üyeleri dışlayıcı
- Üyeler katılım sürecinde yetersiz
- Alınan kararların uygulanması ve takibinde sıkıntı var
- Üye kabulü ve yönetimin değiştirilmesi konuları sıkıntılı
- Diğer

APPENDIX C

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE CAPACITY BUILDING/PROJECT MANAGEMENT TRAINING PROGRAMS

Kuruluş Adı:

Yaş:

Cinsiyet:

Eğitim:

5. Kuruluş amaçları ve misyon:
6. Kuruluşa üye/kayıtlı gönüllü sayısı:
7. Genel Kurula katılan ortalama üye sayısı:
8. Kuruluşun yasal statüsü:
 - Dernek
 - Vakıf
 - Kooperatif
 - Kar amacı gütmeyen şirket
 - Oda
 - Sendika

6. Yaş, cinsiyet ve eğitim seviyesi bakımından ağırlıklı üye profili:

Üyeler	Yönetim Kurulu Üyeleri
Yaş	Yaş
• 30 yaş ve altı ağırlıklı	30 yaş ve altı ağırlıklı
• 30-50 yaş ağırlıklı	30-50 yaş ağırlıklı
• 50 yaş ve üzeri ağırlıklı	50 yaş ve üzeri ağırlıklı
Cinsiyet	Cinsiyet
• Kadın ağırlıklı	Kadın ağırlıklı
• Erkek ağırlıklı	Erkek ağırlıklı

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| • Yaklaşık eşit ağırlıklı | Yaklaşık eşit ağırlıklı |
| Eğitim | Eğitim |
| • İlkokul/ortaokul mezunu ağırlıklı | İlkokul/ortaokul mezunu ağırlıklı |
| • Lise mezunu ağırlıklı | Lise mezunu ağırlıklı |
| • Üniversite mezunu ağırlıklı | Üniversite mezunu ağırlıklı |

7. Kuruluşun coğrafi çalışma düzeyi

- Mahalli düzeyde
- İl düzeyinde
- Bölgesel düzeyde
- Ulusal düzeyde

8. Yürütülen faaliyetler:

- Sosyal hizmetler (sığınma evleri, misafirhaneler)
- Öğrencilere burs verilmesi
- Yayın (Bülten, Kitap, Rapor)
- Basın Toplantısı
- Basın Açıklaması
- Kampanya düzenlenmesi
- Proje yürütülmesi
- Eğitim programları düzenlenmesi
- Araştırma faaliyetleri
- Danışmanlık hizmetleri
- Konferans/Toplantı düzenlenmesi
- Lobicilik
- Diğer

9. Çalışma alanları

- Kültür ve Sanat
- Kadınlar
- Çocuklar
- Gençler
- Engelliler

- İnsan Hakları
- Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım
- Eğitim
- Çevre
- Kırsal Kalkınma
- Turizm
- Kent Geliştirme-Güzelleştirme
- Diğer

10. Kuruluşun mali kaynakları:

- Üye aidatları
- Bağışlar
- Kamu kurumlarından destekler
- Yerel yönetimlerden destekler
- Uluslararası kuruluşlardan sağlanan fonlar
- Konser, tiyatro, kermes, vb. sosyal etkinliklerden sağlanan gelirler
- Diğer

11. STK'lar devletin yetişemediği alanlarda aktif rol üstlenerek devlete yardımcı olmalı, yükünü hafifletmelidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

12. STK'lar misyonları gereği devlete muhalif olarak konumlanmalıdırlar.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

13. Devletin STK'ları mali olarak desteklemesi STK'ların mali problemlerinin çözümünde önemli bir faktördür.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

14. Uluslararası fonlar STK'ların mali problemlerinin çözümünde önemli bir faktördür.

- Katılıyorum

- Katılmıyorum

15. Türkiye’de devletin STK faaliyetlerini desteklemekten çok engelleyici bir tavrı söz konusudur.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

16. Sizce ideal devlet-STK ilişkisi nasıl olmalıdır?

- STK ve devlet faaliyetleriyle birbirlerini tamamlamalıdır.
- Birbirlerine alanına müdahale etmemelidirler.
- Birbirlerini denetlemeli ve yönlendirmelidirler.
- Diğer

14. Diğer STK’larla işbirliği düzeyi:

- Bu güne kadar herhangi bir işbirliği söz konusu olmadı
- Ortak proje/atölye çalışması
- Ortak seminer/toplantı/etkinlik/kampanya düzenleme
- Ortak Platformlar/Koalisyonlar
- Ortak Deklarasyonlar
- Ortak yayın
- Diğer

15. Türkiye’de AB tarafından uygulanan STGP/STGM programları hakkında bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

16. Kuruluşunuzun STGP/STGM kapsamında verilen hizmetlerden yararlandığınız oldu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

17. Evet ise hangi hizmetler?

- Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Eğitimi
- İhtiyaç Analizi
- Hukuki Danışma Hizmeti

- Hibe Programı
- Proje Hazırlama desteği
- Danışmanlık
- Seminerler
- Yayınlar
- Web sayfası
- Bilinmiyor

18. Proje döngüsü eğitimine katıldıysanız proje hazırladığınız oldu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

19. Bu projeleri herhangi bir kuruluşa sundunuz mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

20. Kabul edilen projeniz oldu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

21. STGP çerçevesinde organize edilen Kapasite Geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımın kuruluşunuza katkıları ne oldu?

- Proje hazırlama konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Etkinlik/kampanya düzenleme yöntemleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Lobicilik faaliyetleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Kuruluş içi iletişim/katılımcılığın geliştirilmesine katkıda bulundu
- Diğer STK'larla işbirliği yöntemleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Herhangi bir katkısı olmadı
- Diğer

22. Sizce Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımın kuruluşunuzun temel ihtiyaçlarının giderilmesine katkısı oldu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

23. Kapasite geliştirme programının kuruluşunuza katkılarıyla doğru orantılı gerçekleştirdiğiniz faaliyetler oldu mu? Açıklayınız.

24. Kuruluşunuzun aynı program çerçevesinde AB fonlarından yararlanmasını da olumlu bulur musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

25. Sizce kuruluşunuzca kullanılacak fonlar en çok hangi ihtiyacın giderilmesine yönelik olmalı?

26. Sizce STGP/STGM çerçevesinde uygulanan hibe programı bu ihtiyac(lar)a yanıt verebilecek nitelikte mi?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

27. Sizce kuruluşunuzun STGP çerçevesinde organize edilen Kapasite Geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımı örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılık süreçleri açısından nasıl bir etki doğurdu?

- Olumlu (Açıklayınız)
- Olumsuz (Açıklayınız)
- Nötr
- Bilinmiyor

28. Sizce kuruluşunuzun en temel ihtiyaçları aşağıdakilerden hangisidir (hangileridir)?

- Eğitim
- Proje hazırlama
- Üyelerle iletişim
- Diğer kuruluşlarla işbirliği
- Maddi kaynak oluşturma
- Altyapı (ofis/donanım)
- İnsan kaynağı/Gönüllü çalışan
- Bilgiye Erişim

- Diğer

29. Sizce kuruluşunuzun örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılıkla ilgili problemleri var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

30. Evet ise problemi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Hiyerarşik ilişkiler yaygın
- Karar alma mekanizması üyeleri dışlayıcı
- Üyeler katılım sürecinde yetersiz
- Alınan kararların uygulanması ve takibinde sıkıntı var
- Üye kabulü ve yönetimin değiştirilmesi konuları sıkıntılı
- Diğer

APPENDIX D

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MEMBERS/VOLUNTEERS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE CAPACITY BUILDING/PROJECT MANAGEMENT TRAINING PROGRAMS

Kuruluş Adı :

Yaş :

Cinsiyet :

Eğitim :

1. Düzenli üyelik aidatı ödüyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

2. Düzenli olarak kuruluşunuz olağan toplantılarına katılıyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

3. Düzenli olarak üyesi bulunduğunuz STK'nın faaliyetleri içerisinde aktif rol alıyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

4. Yürütülecek faaliyet ve projeler kim tarafından belirlenir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

5. Politika ve kuralları değiştirmeye kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar

- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

6. Genel Politikalara ilişkin sorunların çözümüne yönelik kararlar kim tarafından alınır?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

7. Mali kaynakların bütçelendirilmesinde kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

8. Harcamalara karar vermede kim yetkilidir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

9. Derneğin üyelik aidatları kim tarafından belirlenir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul

- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

10. Üyeler ortak bir sorunla karşılaşırse çözüm önerileri kimden gelir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

11. Kararların alınmasında kullanılan bilgiyi en çok kimler sağlar?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

12. Yeni fikirleri çoğu zaman hangi grup geliştirir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

13. Karşılaşılan sorunlarla başa çıkmada kime başvurulur?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler

- Bilmiyor
 - Diğer
- 14. Acil durumlarda neler yapılması gerektiğine kim karar verir?**
- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
 - Genel Kurul
 - Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
 - Üyeler
 - Bilmiyor
 - Diğer
- 15. Üyeler görevlilerin ve liderlerin seçiminde ne kadar etkilidir?**
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor
- 16. Liderler ve çalışanlar üyelerin fikirlerine ne kadar saygı gösterir?**
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor
- 17. Üyeler faaliyetlerin uygulanmasını ne derece kontrol ederler?**
- Önemsiz derecede
 - Biraz
 - Oldukça
 - Geniş ölçüde
 - Her zaman
 - Bilmiyor

18. Üyelerin yürütülen projelerde ne derece aktif rol üstlenirler?

- Önemsiz derecede
- Biraz
- Oldukça
- Geniş ölçüde
- Her zaman
- Bilmiyor

19. Üyeler kullanılacak mali kaynakları ne kadar kontrol ederler?

- Önemsiz derecede
- Biraz
- Oldukça
- Geniş ölçüde
- Her zaman
- Bilmiyor

20. Kuruluşu Kamuoyunda çoğunlukla kim temsil eder?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

21. Örgüt faaliyetleri hakkındaki sorulara genellikle kim yanıt verir?

- Uzmanlar/Danışmanlar
- Genel Kurul
- Başkan/Yönetim kurulu
- Üyeler
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

22. Karar verme işi eğitilmiş ve bilgili uzmanların görüş ve düşünceleri üzerine oturmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

23. Karar verme sürecinin katılımcıları eğitilmiş bireylerden oluşmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

24. Karar verme sürecinin verimli olabilmesi için mümkün olduğu kadar az insanı içermelidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

25. Karar verme sürecinin verimli olabilmesi için belli bir düzeye kadar otorite şarttır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

26. Karşılaşılan problemlerin çözümünde mutlaka liderlerin görüşlerine başvurulmalıdır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

27. Çözüm önerileri ortaya konulmasında daha çok eğitilmiş/uzman bireyler yetkindir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

28. Faaliyetlerin verimli yürüyebilmesi için düzenli bir kontrol mekanizması şarttır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

29. Türkiye’de AB tarafından uygulanan STGP/STGM programları hakkında bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

30. Kuruluşunuzun STGP/STGM kapsamında yararlandığı hizmetler konusunda bilginiz var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

31. Evet ise hangi hizmetler?

- Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Eğitimi
- İhtiyaç Analizi
- Hukuki Danışma Hizmeti
- Hibe Programı
- Proje Hazırlama desteği
- Danışmanlık
- Seminerler
- Yayınlar
- Web sayfası

32. STGP çerçevesinde organize edilen Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımın kuruluşunuza katkıları ne oldu?

- Proje hazırlama konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Etkinlik/kampanya düzenleme yöntemleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Lobicilik faaliyetleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Kuruluş içi iletişim/katılımcılığın geliştirilmesine katkıda bulundu
- Diğer STK'larla işbirliği yöntemleri konusunda bilgi eksikliği giderildi
- Hernagi bir karkısı olmadı
- Bilmiyor
- Diğer

33. Sizce Kapasite geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımın kuruluşunuzun temel ihtiyaçlarının giderilmesine katkısı oldu mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

34. Kuruluşunuzun aynı program çerçevesinde AB fonlarından yararlanmasını da olumlu bulur musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

35. Sizce kuruluşunuzca kullanılacak fonlar en çok hangi ihtiyacın giderilmesine yönelik olmalı?

36. Sizce STGP/STGM çerçevesinde uygulanan hibe programı bu ihtiyac(lar)a yanıt verebilecek nitelikte mi?

- Evet
- Hayır
- Bilinmiyor

37. Sizce kuruluşunuzun STGP çerçevesinde organize edilen Kapasite Geliştirme/Proje Döngüsü Yönetimi eğitim programlarına katılımı örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılık süreçleri açısından nasıl bir etki doğurdu?

- Olumlu (Açıklayınız)
- Olumsuz (Açıklayınız)
- Nötr
- Bilinmiyor

38. Sizce kuruluşunuzun en temel ihtiyaçları aşağıdakilerden hangisidir (hangileridir)?

- Eğitim
- Proje hazırlama
- Üyelerle iletişim
- Diğer kuruluşlarla işbirliği
- Maddi kaynak oluşturma
- Altyapı (ofis/donanım)
- İnsan kaynağı/Gönüllü çalışan
- Bilgiye Erişim
- Diğer

39. Sizce kuruluşunuzun örgüt içi demokrasi ve katılımcılıkla ilgili problemleri var mı?

- Evet
- Hayır

40. Evet ise problemi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Hiyerarşik ilişkiler yaygın
- Karar alma mekanizması üyeleri dışlayıcı
- Üyeler katılım sürecinde yetersiz
- Alınan kararların uygulanması ve takibinde sıkıntı var
- Üye kabulü ve yönetimin değiştirilmesi konuları sıkıntılı
- Diğer