EU PRE-ACCESSION FUNDS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT
IN TURKEY: PREPARING FOR MEMBERSHIP OR
SAFEGUARDING EU EXTERNAL BORDERS?

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ABSTRACT

EU PRE-ACCESSION FUNDS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY: PREPARING FOR MEMBERSHIP OR SAFEGUARDING EU EXTERNAL BORDERS?

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As a candidate country, Turkey has been supported by Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) funds since 2007 in its gradual alignment with the EU acquis, standards and policies. In this context, the funds allocated to integrated border management is highly substantial since it has been allocated more budget than other fields such as civil society, justice and fundamental rights. In addition, the ratio of funds allocated to border management has almost been doubled between two IPA periods. Therefore, it is worth to research whether the purpose of EU funds allocated to this field match with that of IPA and these funds support Turkey towards accession; or it is related with the EU's own interests to safeguard its external borders through IPA funds. For this purpose in addition to archival research, semi-structured interview has been conducted with Turkish and EU actors operating in this field. In conclusion, this thesis has concluded that while financial assistance to Turkey in the field of border management approximates Turkey towards membership, it also creates a win-win situation and serve the interests of Turkey and EU irrespective of the accession process.

Keywords: Integrated Border Management, IPA funds in Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE SINIR YÖNETİMİ İÇİN
AB KATILIM ÖNCESİ FONLARI:
ÜYELİĞE HAZIRLIK MI, AB DIŞ SINIRLARININ KORUNMASI MI?

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Yüksek Lisans, Avrupa Çalışmaları Bölümü

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Aday ülke olarak Avrupa Birliğine (AB) katılım sürecinde Türkiye'nin AB Müktesebatı, standartları ve politikalarına kademeli olarak uyumlaştırılması için 2007'den itibaren Türkiye'ye AB tarafından Katılım Öncesi Mali Yardım Aracı (IPA) fonları sağlanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda entegre sınır yönetimine sivil toplum, adalet ve temel haklar gibi diğer alanlardan daha fazla bütçe tahsis edildiği görülmektedir. Ek olarak, sınır yönetimine tahsis edilen fonların oranında iki IPA dönemi arasında neredeyse iki kat artış ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, bu alana tahsis edilen AB fonlarının IPA tüzüğünde yer alan amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılıp bu fonların Türkiye'yi AB üyeliğine mi yaklaştırdığı, yoksa AB'nin dış sınırlarını koruma politikası doğrultusunda fonları kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda mı kullandırdığı araştırmaya değer bulunmuştur. Bu amaçla arşiv araştırmalarına ek olarak, bu alanda Türkiye'de faaliyet gösteren kurum ve AB temsilcileri ile mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Sonuç olarak bu tez, Türkiye'ye IPA fonları aracılığıyla sınır yönetimi alanında sağlanan finansal yardımın Türkiye'yi AB üyeliğine yaklaştırırken, aynı zamanda bir kazan-kazan durumu yarattığını ve katılım sürecinden bağımsız olarak Türkiye'nin ve AB'nin çıkarlarına hizmet ettiğini savunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Entegre Sınır Yönetimi, Türkiye'de IPA fonları

To My Mother

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CARDS   Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization

CCTV   Closed Circuit Television

CFCU   Central Finance and Contracts Unit

DGMM   Directorate General of Migration Management

EC   European Commission

ETIAS   European Travel Information and Authorisation System

EU   European Union

EURODAC   European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database

EUROSUR   European Border Surveillance system

IBM   Integrated Border Management

ICMPD   International Centre for Migration Policy Development

IOM   International Organization for Migration

IPA   Instrument for Pre-Accession

ISPA   Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession

JHA   Justice and Home Affairs

MARSUR   Maritime Surveillance

MIPD   Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document

MIFF   Multi-Annual Indicative Financial Framework

NACORAC   National Coordination and Joint Risk Analysis Centre'

PHARE   Poland and Hungary Assistance for Restructuring their Economies

SAPARD   Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development

SIS   Schengen Information System

TACIS   Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and
Georgia

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR   UN Refugee Agency

VIS   Visa Information System

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Turkey has been supported by the EU financial assistance since 1963, so-called Ankara Agreement, which has been increased throughout time, particularly after December 1999, when Turkey was officially recognized as a candidate country for full membership to the European Union. Following this recognition, a new strategy was formulated to support Turkey for accession and in the course of time, the modality of funding system has been evolved which made the assistance programs more visible and substantial.

In 2006, the EU made a change in the financial assistance mechanism provided to the candidate countries and has consolidated the assistance for potential candidate and candidate countries under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) in order to support these countries in their gradual alignment with the EU standards and policies and the acquis communautaire (IPA Regulation 1085/2006). IPA replaced various other programs and has become the sole instrument devoted for the financial assistance to the pre-accession countries with simplified assistance process (European Commission, 2015a). There has been two IPA periods; IPA-I covering 2007-2013 and IPA-II covering 2014-2020. While the IPA-I period seems to be expired, in practice, the projects funded under IPA-I are still ongoing along with their payment processes. Therefore, two IPA periods are still active in Turkey in terms of EU financing. As regards budget allocation, Turkey has received almost half of the total budget allocated to potential candidate and candidate countries in both IPA periods.

Nevertheless, while the main purpose of IPA assistance is to support countries in their gradual alignment with EU acquis, EU standards and policies; there has been significant amount of allocation for 'integrated border management' in Turkey, and the ratio of allocations to this priority area has been doubled between two IPA periods. On the other hand, budget allocation solely to 'integrated border management' is higher than the total

allocation to remaining priority areas within home affairs sub-sector which are 'migration and asylum' and 'fight against organized crime'. It is also worth noting that the volume of funds allocated to 'integrated border management' is much higher than that of 'justice', 'civil society', and 'fundamental rights' which is an indication of EU's prioritization of the integrated border management among the others.

Therefore it is worth analysing the reasons of this significant budget allocation and the reasons of increase in order to understand whether the purpose of EU funds allocated to this sector match with that of IPA and these funds support Turkey towards accession; or it is related with the EU's desire to strengthen its external borders and use of IPA funds for this purpose. For this reason, this thesis seeks answer to the research question of 'what impact does the EU border security policy have on the EU pre-accession funds in Turkey?'

This research has showed that, while there has been a wide range of resources in the literature related to border security and its evolution in the course of time as well as for the evolution of EU border security paradigm; there has been limited literature on the EU pre-accession funds in Turkey or in the other candidate or potential candidate countries. On the other hand, these limited resources are mostly related with the absorption of funds, their efficiency or their impacts on some specific sectors. The EU border security policy in the realm of the pre-accession funds is obviously a specific topic for which any similar study could not be encountered for any of the countries.

This research is a single case, qualitative research. While the research on EU border security and border management policies and EU pre-accession funds in Turkey, particularly the volume of funds allocated to border management and projects realized in this field will be on a neo-positivist approach; explaining the impact of EU border security policy on the pre-accession funds in Turkey will be constructivist. In this context, this research is based on the primary and secondary data. Accordingly, archival research has been carried out and treaties, regulations, directives, books, articles, reports, statistics, etc. in this field have been reviewed which were published by the EU services, Turkish authorities and the researchers. In addition, semi-structured interview has been performed mainly with the experts and officials playing role in the financial assistance process and those having projects in the field of border management funded by the EU.

This thesis argues that there is correlation between the IPA assistance in the field of border management and Turkey's accession process. For instance, annual progress reports refer to modernization of border management systems and capacity building activities in this field, which have been among the areas supported with IPA funds. The most outstanding issue is the establishment of a new border agency where professional and trained staff work for which necessary infrastructure has also been supported by the funds. In addition, the IPA funds also prepare countries for the utilization of structural and cohesion funds in case of membership (Duran, 2014), and as there have been a variety of institutions preparing and implementing projects in this field, this may be an indicator of their efforts and motivation to acquire EU standards and preparedness for the utilization of different funds in case of membership. Besides, in accordance with Additional Protocol of Amsterdam Treaty, the Article 8, candidate countries must have the required capacity for the application of Schengen Agreement prior to membership. Therefore, projects in this field can be considered to serve for this purpose towards meeting the accession requirements. Also, Turkish membership will push EU borders to further east and south and this means that EU would border Iran, Syria, and Iraq which makes the EU funding to strengthen the Turkish borders rational. On the other hand, Turkey fights against terrorism and huge migration flows, and most of the illegal crossings are from the border zones other than the border gates (National Action Plan, 2006), so strengthening the borders with expensive sophisticated equipment is also among Turkey's priorities. In addition, irregular migration through Turkey is among the top concerns of the EU; therefore, the EU might also have been glad to strengthen Turkey's border management independent from its candidate status. Thus, throughout time strengthening Turkish borders have been among the priorities of both Turkey and EU, and this has created a win-win situation. Therefore, it has been argued that the pre-accession funds in Turkey in the field of border management has been affected from the EU's border security policies and while the funds approximate Turkey towards accession, they also serve for the interests of two sides independent from the accession process.

After this introductive chapter, the second chapter of this thesis starts with the notions of security and border security and presents how these notions have evolved throughout time, in order to better understand the changing dynamics and evolving approaches on the notion of 'security' and reflect on how this shifting meaning determined the course of

border security as well as the understanding of 'integrated border management'. This chapter mainly addresses these two concepts and also mentions the securitization theory which has shown up as response to the insufficiency of traditional approaches to the security. The securitization theory concerns extraordinary measures by the use of successful speech acts and in some cases without a speech act, which will be taken into consideration during assessment of the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds, in order to understand whether the significant amount of budget allocated to the border security projects in Turkey are within normal boundaries and are related to the accession process of Turkey or within high politics as response to the coercive conditions, like migration crisis.

The third chapter concerns border security framework of the EU and presents general paradigm of the EU on border security and border management. It starts with historical background on the notion of border and exhibits how this notion has evolved throughout time. In this context, key developments concerning EU borders which shed light to the evolving practices will be mentioned, like Schengen Agreement, adoption of Integrated Border Management approach, and establishment of Frontex. Understanding integrated border management policy of the EU is important for this thesis, since a significant portion of the pre-accession funds is allocated for realization of the projects in Turkey in the field of integrated border management.

The fourth chapter is related with relations of EU and Turkey in the realm of borders which concerns geographical location of Turkey, migration flows to Europe through Turkey as well as human, drug and arms trafficking. This chapter begins with a general overview on borders of Turkey with the problems encountered, then continue with key developments on integrated border management in Turkey and relations of EU and Turkey as regards border management which will address key problems and Turkey's importance as regards EU integrated border management policies. This review will shed light to assess the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds as it will help to understand the importance of Turkish borders for the EU and its relevance with Turkey's accession.

The fifth chapter is related to EU pre-accession financial assistance to Turkey. In this context, the first section presents a general overview on the financial assistance,

particularly the pre-accession funds with addressing the key documents and assistance mechanisms. It continues with the amount of financial assistance with a sectoral comparison and presentation of the significance of allocations to border management projects. Finally, EU funded projects in the field of border management will be mentioned as well as the background documents on determining the projects to the financed.

The final chapter, conclusion, presents that the EU pre-accession funds have been affected from the EU border security policies, and while it serves for the purpose of Turkey's accession, it also serves for the interests of both EU and Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

SECURITY AND BORDER SECURITY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to explain the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds, it is important to understand first the notion of security and border security and their conceptual shift. Throughout time, there has been evolution in the approaches to two concepts which have also played role in shaping the EU border security policies. Therefore, this chapter will mainly address these two concepts and also explore the securitization theory which has shown up as response to the insufficiency of traditional approaches to the security. The securitization theory concerns extraordinary measures by the use of successful speech acts and in some cases without a speech act, which will be taken into consideration during assessment of the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds, in order to understand whether the significant amount of budget allocated to the border security projects in Turkey are within normal boundaries and are related to the accession process of Turkey or within high politics as response to the coercive conditions, like migration crisis.

2.2 NOTION OF SECURITY

Before reviewing the literature on border security, it will be good to review the notion of security as a starting point. The understanding of notion of security and its evolution in the course of time is directly related with the notion of border security.

Security is a term which is mostly used in IR literature; despite being a non-conceptualized term (Baysal and Lüleci, 2011). Ritchie (2011) designates the 'security' as a powerful concept. Buzan (1983) considers security as an "underdeveloped concept" (p.3), which he argues to be vague and contested. McSweeney (1999) supports this consideration and deems the concept as "elusive" and mentions that "like peace, honour

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and justice, it denotes a quality of relationship which resists definition" (p.13). Baldwin (1997) on the other hand, questions the conceptualization of security and rather than labelling the concept easily as 'contested', mentions that security is rather a confused or insufficiently explained concept. Baldwin (1997) further suggests that "security in its most general sense can be defined in terms of two specifications: 'security for whom' and 'security for which values'" (p.13). Waever (1995) asserts that security problems are threats to state independency and sovereignty; and argues that any issue can become a security problem in case of declaration by the elites to be so.

Despite ambiguity in definition of the notion of security, simply it can be said that "security is the absence of danger" (European Commission, 2012, p.14). In broader terms, as proposed by Wolfers (1952), security "in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (p. 485).

Traditionally, security can be defined as something which states attempt to achieve and get success over one another; this means that the state is under security in case it has the capability to deter or defend itself against the possible attacks by other states or any intervention that breaches sovereignty of the state (Wylie, 2006). Thus, it can be claimed that traditional understanding of security is correlated with the sovereignty of the state (Kaya, 2012). This understanding takes national security and sovereignty into account and conventionally, security is related to the sovereignty and the behaviour of the states seeking for power through the wars; subsequently, security is limited to being an issue among states and it is seen by the states as an issue of sovereignty, power and interest (Kaya, 2012).

On the other hand, there has been contest in this traditional understanding. Ritchie (2011) explains that the literature of critical security studies and human security studies make effort to drive away the traditional definition of security and to make the concept more rational and objective. For instance, the Helsinki Final Act (1975) introduced domestic character to the security notion. However, Zielonka (1991) argues that this definition of security is not the applied one by most strategists since the Second World War as it mainly addresses the state relationship and is mostly related with the sovereignty, negotiations, alliance etc. Zielonka (1991) further mentions that NATO has also identified the necessity

to redefine the security concept in 1990 and has pointed out that the security does not only address military issues, but also the economic and democratic processes.

On the other hand, Sieber (2006), from the Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen of the European Commission defines that;

> security is the condition (perceived or confirmed) of an individual, a community, an organization, a societal institution, a state, and their assets (such as goods, infrastructure), to be protected against danger or threats such as criminal activity, terrorism or other deliberate or hostile acts, disasters (natural and manmade) (p.2)

This institute of the European Commission furthermore suggests a broader definition in order not to limit security with the terrorism and antiterrorism and to include also "organized criminal activities, such as illicit trafficking, illegal migration, and smuggling" (2006, p.121). The Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen (2006) also addresses ISO Advisory Group which mentions that there are three dimensions in security framework; "targets, threats and countermeasures" (p.122).

As seen above, the notion of security is contested and it has been evolved throughout time. The European Commission's Communication (COM (2004) 72) also reflects this situation which mentions that "security is an evolving concept and presents many challenges to the EU-25 that impact on a wide range of existing and emerging EU policies, citizens' concerns, including the protection against terrorist threats, and the adaptation of governance structures to effectively deal with these matters" (p.2).

As mentioned above briefly, there has been a shift from the traditional approach to the security which has been correlated with the state security or sovereignty, to a broader approach including the security of individuals, communities and their assets which should be protected against all kinds of threats like terrorism, disasters, organized criminal activities and irregular migration. This evolution in the security approach will be elaborated further in the next section below, also addressing the reasons behind the evolution. As it will be presented in the next chapter, the EU's border security policies have also followed a similar path, first approaching border security from a traditional point of view; then employing a more extended perspective underlining the societal and humanitarian aspects of 'security' which has also been reflected by the understanding underpinning the pre-accession funds in Turkey.

2.3 EVOLUTION OF THE NOTION OF SECURITY

Traditionally, the notion of security has correlated with the national security, in this respect, as argued by Walter Lippman (1943), nations are secure to the extent to which they are not in danger of sacrificing the core values and to maintain the values by victory in a war (as cited by Wolfers, 1952). By the state's security, security of citizens is guaranteed (Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011). National security is correlated with realist paradigm as states compete for their national interests and rely on military power (Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011). In this regard, "Deterrence" and "Defence" are the key concepts (Sánchez, 2017).

This situation has been altered after the failure of League of Nations and in 1945, the United Nations as an international organization was established to maintain international peace and security (United Nations, 2014). The United Nations included in its agenda the non-military aspects which is to overcome notion of national security and seems to focus on individuals (Charter of United Nations, Article 55). In this regard, international security concept was developed for "the idea of preventing a new World War" (Sánchez, 2017, p.233).

After the end of Cold War, and as a result of globalization, the security concept has further evolved since threats have lost their pure military character and global, cross-border problems have arisen like terrorism, environmental deterioration, poverty and illegal migration (Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011). In addition, Fojón argues that in the absence of direct threats, attention of states was drawn to the internal conflicts which actually do not have a direct effect on their vital interests (as cited by Sánchez, 2017, p. 233). In this context, the concept of "Global Security" was used in UN Global Governance Report (1995) which comprises the classical state security concept as well as the security of human beings and the world. The European border management approach is seemed to be affected from this reality which will be elaborated more in the following chapters.

The shocking 9/11 September terrorist attacks further altered the situation, since the attack differed from the previous terrorist attacks in "its scale, its targets, its symbolism, its lethality" (Cebeci, 2012, p.40). It became revealed that there is an interdependence between foreign and internal threats and there is also interdependence between the states

which have faced this new kind of threat to security at an international level due to introduction of new 'enemies' and new 'threats'; thus, classical security concept which is based on state security and regional integrity does not suit the current situation, so the security concept must be beyond the boundaries of national states and sovereignty (Sánchez, 2017).

As argued by Briscoe, today the forms of threats to security have been expanded and "trafficking with weapons, organized crime, international terrorism, massive migrations, natural disasters, genocide, crimes against humanity, human rights violations, or the lack of development and democratic principles" also take place in the agenda of the international community and are the new dimensions of the security and some of the most important topics in the World Agenda (as cited by Sánchez, 2017, p. 235). The EU takes these threats into consideration while creating border management approaches.

Thus, the notion of security has been evolved in accordance with the change in the nature of threat. The paradigm of traditional security has been shifted to another paradigm which is human security (Kaya, 2012). The threats to human security include various elements such as "economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, political security" (UNDP, 1994, p. 24-25). In this regard, the EU also focuses on the human security, and it adopts humanitarian approaches on the borders, like replacing anti-personnel mines with high-technology surveillance systems, which will be detailed in the following chapters.

Kaya (2012) mentions that there are currently two fundamental security components, which are state and societal security, and keeping in mind that the traditional understanding of security is not sufficient to clarify the dimensions of the security; another paradigm, societal security has been arisen. It is additionally argued that societal security is basically about circumstances when there is a perception of threat to the identity of a society (as cited by Kaya, 2012 in Waever, Buzan, and Kelstrup, 1993). This is also valid for the EU as the recent migration crisis is considered to be a threat to identity, and this issue will also be explained in the following chapters.

Kaya (2012) also argues that there is no more clear distinction between internal and external security and it is blurred throughout time. In this context, Crelinsten (1998) suggests that as the limit between internal security and external security is started to blur, and national security notion is started to intertwine with societal security, so the society has a perception of being threatened; rather than the traditional external enemies, the internal enemies who threaten identity are considered to the cohesion to that society.

In summary, security concept has been evolved throughout time as response to "main changes and tendencies in the international system" (Sánchez, 2017, p.237). In accordance with the new dimensions of the security, there has been a shift from national security understanding to global understanding; also the focus is shifting from the state to individuals (Sánchez, 2017). In this regard, Muller (2004) has suggested that definition of security itself is in question, thus expanding the security agenda to include identity which concerns the critical security studies.

Sánchez (2017) also contends that the fundamental issue is the protection of individuals and people above their connection with a particular state. In this regard, the end of cold war, globalization and interdependence, and new threats to security are the main factors paving the way to approach the notion of security in a broader way. Thus, insufficiency of traditional approach to security notion led to new constructivist approaches. As mentioned above, the EC perceives security as a condition where individuals and society are protected against all kinds of threat like terrorism, human and drug trafficking, illegal migration, disasters. In this context, securitization theory will be reviewed in the next section in order to understand EU border security paradigm better and its reflections on pre-accession funds.

2.4   SECURITIZATION THEORY

Baysal and Lüleci (2011) mention that the inadequate approach by the traditionalists to the notion of security led to emergence of new responses for the questions such as "security for who", "security for which threats". Kaya (2012) argues that the traditional security notion is insufficient when it comes to producing solutions to the global threats. In this regard, new constructivist approaches have emerged by the end of cold war; gradually, more researchers started to work on environment, culture, identity, ethnicity, economics

and health and accordingly, specific fields like Copenhagen School and Critical Security Studies have shown up (Baysal and Lüleci, 2011).

Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), established in 1985, was one of the institutes where security researches were carried out until it was closed in 2004 and Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde were the researchers of the COPRI which has developed the "Securitization theory" (Collective, 2006).

The concept of securitization was initially raised by Ole Waever in 1995 in his popular article "Securitization and Desecuritization". Bill McSweeney (1996) first used the term 'Copenhagen School' of security studies. Later in 1998, securitization theory was more elaborated in the book "Security: A New Framework for Analysis", authored by Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde. According to this theory, security is grounded on "speech act" (Wæver, 1995; Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998), so basically, defining something as a security issue makes it a security problem. Apart from that, Baysal and Lüleci (2011) argue that the Copenhagen School is not so much interested whether there is a real threat or not. In the same vein, Léonard (2010) contends that the theory is based on the idea that the world with security threats is socially constructed which makes it impossible to assess whether threats are real or not.

The Copenhagen school mentions how security is constructed socially through securitizing the issues (Raymann, 2014) and fundamentally combines three elements: securitization, referent objects/sectors and regional security complexes (Collective, 2006). Depending on the sectors (military, political, environmental, economic or societal), referent objects can differ from each other (Collective, 2006). According to securitization theory, a successful speech act labels something as a security issue and removes it from normal political framework to exceptional politics and justify the extraordinary measures to be taken (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998). In this regard, the securitization theory is developed to understand how security is called upon to legitimize controversial legislation or policies which would have been illegitimate otherwise (Neal, 2009). According to Copenhagen school, securitizing actor declares an issue as an existential threat (by speech act) to a referent object (e.g. identity, state) and in case of acceptance by the audience (e.g. public, government), the process is deemed to be successful.

This process allows the securitizing actor to take extraordinary measures and remove the issue from the normal political boundaries (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998). Hence, the securitization theory explains the formation of extraordinary measures in the security politics by outlining security issues; in this context, the securitization theory mentions how the securitizing actors mobilize the audience by a security speech act in order to be capable of taking extraordinary measures (Raymann, 2014). In this regard, Baysal and Lüleci (2011) argue that securitizing actors justify the emergency measures to be taken by presenting existential threats. In this regard, there are two key variables in securitizing an issue; "the language" and "dominant discourse surrounding an issue"; meaning whether it is a security issue threatening survival of state and requiring military reaction or a political issue that is open to public discussion (Morrissette, 2014, p.11). Accordingly, the Copenhagen School's securitization understanding is discourse based (Leonard, 2010). In this regard, the securitization theory refers to a relationship between the audience and the speechmaker (Neal, 2009). Roe considers securitization as a "call and response process"; the actor calls something as a security matter, then the audience must respond with acceptance (2004, p.281). So, it is not something which can be imposed on anybody; instead there should be audience accepting the need and extraordinary measures to be taken (Vermeulen, 2018). On the other hand, Raymann (2014) argues that there is no need to have the formal or informal consent of the whole audience in securitization; instead, consent of enough audience will be sufficient, which is referred as the critical mass and defined as a combination of quality and volume.

As regards, fundamental elements of the theory, Baysal and Lüleci (2011) argue that in many securitizing process, securitizing actor and the referent object are the same or the securitizing actor presents itself within the referent objects, particularly when the subject in question is the state. When migration flows into Europe is taken into consideration, the referent objects and the audience may be considered same in securitization process.

On the other hand, the researchers such as Michael Williams, Keith Krause, Richard Wyn Jones and Ken Booth are associated with "Critical Security Studies" which is also known as the "Aberystwyth School" (more commonly known as Welsh School) (Collective, 2006; Hinz, 2007). Welsch school is heavily based on the insights of 'Frankfurt School', composed of a group of researchers, like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas from the 'Institute for Social Research' which is Frankfurt-based (Floyd, 2007).

What is at the heart of the Welsh School studies critique of the traditional security studies is the emancipation (Collective, 2006; Peoples, 2011) which is to free individuals or groups from the constraints and poverty, political maltreat, poor education etc. According to Floyd (2007) emancipation and security are the two sides of a coin and rather than the order or power, emancipation brings true security, thus emancipation itself is security theoretically.

During the broadening of the agenda of critical security studies in parallel to the changing circumstances, several researchers had concerns for "political construction of security" and "the formation of an internal security field in Europe and the securitization of migration from a more political, sociological and political theory perspective" (Collective, 2006, p. 448). Collective (2006) further explains that these researchers comprised Didier Bigo, Jef Huymans who were mostly living in Paris, thus labelled as "Paris School". Actually, Paris is said to stand for 'Political Anthropological Research for International Sociology' (Bigo and McCluskey, 2018). Hinz (2007) mentions that the approaches of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu are used by the Paris School. The elements of Paris School and Copenhagen School are complementary to each other (Dışkaya, 2013).

Collective (2006) puts the three schools in order as Copenhagen, Aberystwyth and then Paris from the perspective of international relations and English readership. Waever mentions that it is difficult to draw clear-cut lines between these three schools (2004). On the other hand, Collective (2006) contends that the story usually begins with "People, States and Fear" in 1983, where Buzan criticizes the established security concept and finds it "too narrowly founded" (1983, p.9); then it enlarges with Copenhagen and Aberystwyth and infrequent Paris school contributions. On the other hand, McDonald (2008) finds the securitization theory very narrow from three aspects; first from the 'form of act' as the focus of the theory is the speech acts, second from the 'context of act' as the focus is on the intervention moment, third from the 'nature of act' as the act is defined only in terms of the indication of threats. According to Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, under certain conditions, any issue can be securitized in case of threats, "be they tanks, hostile sentiments, or polluted waters" (1998, p.33). As Schwell (2015) argues, in the recent years, migration, terrorism and other threats to the national order occupy the securitization studies agendas. Nevertheless, Huysmans (2004) contends that shift from normal politics to exceptional politics is problematique, because it breaks the rules of normal politics and

legitimizes the extraordinary measures. Cetti (2014) reminds that securitization involves practices that are beyond the norms, for instance emergency legislation. In this case there is a risk of transforming an exceptional threat to a norm (Cebeci, 2012).

Hansen (2012) argues that the securitization theory has been one of the most popular paradigms to security, especially in Europe, and while the concepts of the theory - securitization and desecuritization- create political debates which run on different tracks, these concepts are related with politics; particularly with normal politics on the one hand and security politics on the other.

At the European Union level, EU institutions have responded to 9/11 issues by establishing links between security, migration, terrorism and border which triggered securitizing moves (Neal, 2009). In November 2001, the EC has issued a Commission Communication, declaring that

> border controls must in particular respond to the challenges of an efficient fight against criminal networks, of trustworthy action against terrorist risks and of creating mutual confidence between those Member States which have abandoned border controls at their internal frontiers (COM (2001) 672, p.25).

Neal (2009) argues that this communication is a reiteration of EU's assumptions that, causes of insecurity originate from outside and in this respect immigrants are major cause of insecurity. Neal (2009) further argues that although 9/11 provoked emergency discourses and Madrid attacks renewed this impetus, it was not the securitization that is normally understood; because the securitization theory has been inspired by the traditional debates from inter war on the emergency powers, but it does not work in the EU like that. In this regard, the norm is changing and new and contentious practices rapidly become normal (Neal, 2009).

Huymans (2000) has linked securitization of migrations to Europeanization of migration in the EU and to the expansion of Schengen zone. Vermeulen (2018) contends that policy language of the EU on migration does not present migrants specifically as threat, terrorist or use other expressions related with danger; EU institutions rather use words for the creation of a community within EU using expressions like solidarity, working together, etc, which has then turned to protecting, fighting and defending (Vermeulen, 2018). This approach is to protect European values by the creation of borders keeping migrants out

and in this respect EU has securitized migration in the last years, starting from the refugee crisis (Vermeulen, 2018).

Concerning border management, irregular migration may be considered within the subject of high politics in the Europe which is a securitized issue and any extraordinary measure can be legitimized in this way; like construction of walls, reintroduction of internal border controls or allocating dramatic amount of budget for border management including pre-accession funds. This issue will further be elaborated in the following chapters. As border management is closely linked to migration management, and migration is one of the areas of securitization; the securitization theory is also relevant to border management and significant amount of funds allocated to this area can be assessed within this framework.

On the other hand, it is argued that the speech acts are not necessarily used by the EU bureaucrats in order to move an issue to the realm of security; their discourses are rarely reported and are not publicly discussed, so even there is a speech act and referent object, there is not any audience at EU level and no relationship between the EU, being the securitizing actor and the audience itself (Yavuz, 2017). In this context, Neal (2009) argues that securitization should not be reduced to speech acts alone and conditions under which securitization occur should also be taken into consideration, and in addition securitizing acts in the EU should not be considered exactly same as securitizing acts in national political framework where discourses are broadly reported and examined in the media which raise widespread public debate. Neal (2009) further contends that discourses and statements of the EU can be identified in some securitizing moves, but the relationship between speech acts and the audience, discussions, legitimation and changes are less apparent. In national context, there is focus on discourse and audience, and the leaders' statements are apparent on securitization moves, which are extensively reported and publicly discussed, and are supposed to bring strong relationship to the outcomes of the policies (Neal, 2009). Nevertheless, this looks different at the EU level and the issues are discussed within a very narrow group of specialists, hence the minimal public involvement challenges some of the assumptions of the theory (Neal, 2009). Besides, it is difficult to identify main securitizing speakers in EU politics, and there is a difference between EU context and national context in this respect, because the polity is disintegrated in the EU; within this scope while it is an integrated project, EU cannot be treated as a one single polity (Neal, 2009). One another problem is whether EU institutions have

institutional, constitutional or political capability to apply extraordinary means or breach rules which would otherwise bind; so keeping in mind the major purpose of the EU that is to bind member states to common rules, laws and procedures, it is unlikely that EU can operate in this way, thus EU is problematic as regards application of securitization theory (Neal, 2009).

Accordingly, while some scholars emphasize the role of discourses in securitization, for instance Waever and Buzan, others such as Didier Bigo rather underline the importance of practices. Bigo states that "it is possible to securitize certain problems without speech or discourse and the military and the police have known this for a long time" (2000, p. 347). However, while Copenhagen school precisely defines 'securitising speech act', Bigo does not define 'securitizing practice' precisely. Similarly Leonard (2010) argues that, it is better to focus on the practices rather than speech acts which concern migration, asylum and other issues at the EU level. Copenhagen school also acknowledges itself that there are some security practices which are not legalized in public by discourses because "they are not out in the public at all" (Waever, Buzan and de Wilde, 1998, p.28).

On the other hand, Huysmans (2000) argues that border security is an essential element in both practice and discourses of the EU. In this regard, EU has fortified its borders by taking a number of measures (Baird, 2015) and Frontex has arisen not from a securitization process, but through discourses of risk and risk analysis practices (Neal, 2009).

One another aspect of the securitization theory is that the theory of Copenhagen school mostly focuses on non-military aspects (Baysal and Lüleci, 2011). The EU policies are mostly framed around humanitarian aspects and EU does not desire to frame its policy around terrorist threat or those seeming to be danger to EU, as might be the original form of the securitization theory of Copenhagen School (Vermeulen, 2018). This is a significant political choice of the EU framing its migration policy which is not framed around a threat, but a humanitarian aspect (Vermeulen, 2018). Hence, this is also one of the reasons of using this theory in analysing impact of EU border management policy on pre-accession funds, because the target is mostly non-military aspects, like prevention of illegal border crossings, smuggling, etc.

In the case of pre-accession funds in Turkey, the budget is allocated by the EU and projects proposed by Turkey are financed upon selection by the EU services. Therefore, it is the Turkish actors who initiate the process, so they cannot be deemed as the audience to be convinced; in addition it is hard to identify a precise speechmaker at the EU side to convince Turkish audience to utilize the full budget and submit project proposals in accordance with their expectations. Therefore, it is difficult to say that this process is discourse based. Actually, the project ideas are based on various documents some of which belong to EU itself, on the other hand it is the EU side who accepts or rejects project proposals upon submission of the proposals. Therefore, if the official documents are to be considered among the discourses, first EU convinces Turkey to take action on certain issues, then Turkey convinces EU to finance certain areas, thus it is a two-way communication and there is a mutual agreement between two sides. In this regard, in this process the practices seem more important than discourses like Bigo (2000) has underlined. Nevertheless, it should still be kept in mind that the EC is accountable to the Parliamentary and it is the EC who should make a successful speech act in order to justify the significant volume of funds allocated for the border security of Turkey. While the amount of funds seem extraordinary as compared to other fields of support, still it should be looked at the practices executed by the EU financial assistance, whether they are exceptional and extraordinary and whether they are legitimization of policies and practices that would not have been considered legitimate or directly related with the accession process. This analysis will be made in the following chapters during the elaboration of the process of budget allocation and realization of projects.

Having reviewed the notion of security and its evolution in the course of time and the securitization theory above, notion of border security will be elaborated in the next section as one of the key concepts of this thesis. In order to explain the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds, both the EU's and Turkey's border security paradigms carry importance. So, border security concept will be mentioned first in general aspects before differentiating for EU and Turkey, and present diverging approaches to border security.

2.5   NOTION OF BORDER SECURITY

Border studies comprise many disciplines; however among the border scholars there has still not been a commonly agreed theoretical framework (Kolossov, 2005; Newman, 2006). In academia, there has been limited agreement on the definition of border and Sendhardt argues that "border studies remain under-theorized" (2013, p.21).

Traditionally, the borders or the boundaries are understood in geographic terms as the physical and remarkably visible lines which separate the political, economic and social areas (Newman, 2006). In this context, territorial borders are the lines separating the regions or states and above all, serve for the purpose of control (Bonacker, 2006 as cited by Sendhardt, 2013). This definition is the most prevailing one among the nation states in border studies (Newman, 2003). In accordance with this understanding, borders separate "different entities, mostly states" and by definition are more closed rather than open (Sendhardt, 2013, p.27). The literature mostly reveals an agreement on this definition (Anderson, O'Dowd and Wilson, 2002), thus the notion of border refers to the territorial border self-evidently (Sendhardt, 2013, p.27).

Andreas (2003) argues that from the realist perspective, threats are military and external and borders are lines carrying strategic importance and must be militarily defended or violated; in this regard, survival of the state depends on the deterrence of the borders against invasions of other states. According to this realist perspective, territorial security is basically related with interstate (Andreas, 2003). Hence, realist approach makes national sovereignty and security as a priority and focuses on controlling and defending borders, and states shape the border security policies in accordance with this understanding (Kaya, 2012). In this context, border security relates to the sovereignty of states which has a national focus (Kaya, 2012). This military-focused realist perspective depends on the historical reasons; as famously argued by Tilly, "war made the state and the state made war" (1975, p.42).

On the other hand, Garry (2013) questions the definition of border and asks whether the border is a transit from a sovereign district to another, or it is solely a fictional geographical line separating the states. Garry (2013) suggests that considering the border only as a fixed line which can be crossed physically at the boundary of a sovereign state

would be inadequate, so it is better to consider it as a concept "such as Louise Amoore's biometric borders theory that re-works the Möbius strip analogy", where there is boundary, but who is inside or who is outside is not perfectly known (p.2).

Furthermore, Andreas (2003) contends that major military conflicts between the states have been reduced and borders as military lines are barely contested; as a result, the borders as regards military functions have become less significant than they were in the past. Furthermore, Sendhardt (2013) proposes that in the recent years there has been a shift in the understanding of border concept as a geographical line to a perspective correlated with social construction. Sendhardt (2013) defines this issue as "shifting the focus from the border to the process of bordering" (p.25). In this regard, Wonders uses the phrase "border reconstruction project" in order for recognition of borders as socially constructed (2007, p.34) and suggests that performance of state actors socially construct the borders (Wonders, 2006), thus "better be conceived of as a performance rather than a location" (Wonders, 2007, p.34).

In this context, globalists challenge realists and Sendhardt (2013) argues that globalization has increased the permeability of the territorial borders and thus goods, persons, ideas, capital move easily across borders than ever before. This is extremely reflected by Ohmae with an interpretation of world without borders, as he argues "national borders are far less constrictive than they once were. [...] the world is an increasingly borderless place" (2007, p.20). Andreas (2003) contends that globalists see borders open and blurred and define borders as bridges for mercantile transactions rather than being military lines and barriers and also mentions that the importance of borders has been declined due to globalization and developments in transportation technology, trade liberalization, mobility of finance. This is mostly due to "intensification of interdependence and cross-border interactions" (Andreas, 2003, p.82).

In this regard, Beeson and Bellamy (2003) further suggest that although the globalization notion may be to some extent imprecise, if it is desired to develop effective reaction to new threats, it must be included in the security practices. Beeson and Bellamy (2003) further argue that globalization is not only related with increase of flows between distinct territories, but also depicts a more crucial challenge to the philosophy of international relations. For instance, the armament systems of 9/11 were released from the eastern part

of the USA, not from the other side of its borders and assassins were mostly educated in the USA and even some of them were US citizens, and in addition, they did not target the USA military, but targeted the symbols of the USA hegemony (Beeson and Bellamy, 2003).

Pinos is also one of the scholars emphasizing the significance of borders and argues that 9/11 terrorist attacks drew the attention of states to strict border controls (2013). Pinos (2013) also argues that borders include symbolic aspects of identity and in this regard borders are tools to construct "otherness" and discrimination between "us" and "them". Hence, borders also include the building of identity and thus have a broader meaning (Joenniemi, 2004). Diez (2004) in addition refers to the identity function of the borders and this function becomes more prominent in securitization situations.

On the other hand, it is suggested that "fences become symbols of antagonism, reminding the ones who are in that they are fenced off, and to the ones who are outside that they are not welcome" (Moré, 2007 as cited by Pinos, 2013, p.54). Peoples and Vaughan-Williams suggest that key decisions are taken at the borders about who is risky and who is trusted; who is legal and who is illegal; who can be let in and who is to be kept outside (2010). In this context, Bigo (2005) mentions that rather than being nation state of a 'crustacean' type, there is an evolution towards a global world which will consist of three groups basically; small group of globalized elites enjoying freedom of movement and speed; a narrow group filtered in controls and kept in their areas without any opportunity to escape, and a group of majority as a third group that is positioned between these two extremes and balance them. Bigo (2005) calls this type of mentality as "ban-opticon" (p.74).

Nanopoulos, Guild and Weatherhead (2018) argue that securitization conjointly works with racialization and othering migrants. In the same vein, Garry (2013) argues that securitization and particularly border security does not mean security to all individuals and create a community of exclusions. In this regard, it is argued that at the EU level, risk management of migration is a politics of fear and trust (Munster, 2009). This creates the security dilemma; in this process external threats create perception of insecurity and cause states to suppose themselves as the targets of those threats, therefore measures are taken to overcome those threats, which are then perceived by the others as threatening themselves, leading to taking further countermeasures and so on, which undermines the power

balances and create a circle of gradually increasing perception of insecurity (Cerny, 1998).

In that vein, Collective (2006) defines the issue as security trap and contends that the security discourses legitimizes the practices, but also insecuritize the audience which will then be translated to further demand by the society for further coercive measures. This implies that security and anxiety go hand in hand and securitization and insecuritization processes are inseparable, hence the more effort to securitize society to ensure security, the more perception of insecurity within society, creating a security dilemma (Collective, 2006).

Nanopoulos, Guild and Weatherhead (2018) also emphasize the interesting fact that there is no obvious line between migrants and tourists other than that of securitization. International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2019) defines migrant as an umbrella term which is not described under international law and commonly understood as a person who moves from his usual place of residence within his country or across international border, permanently or temporarily. IOM (2019) further mentions that this term includes not only a class of legal people, for instance migrant workers; but also another group of people whose status are not definitely defined under international law, for instance international students. Thus, the definition of a migrant is regardless of an individual's legal status, whether it is a voluntary or involuntary movement; or the reasons of movement or the duration of the stay; so it is broad enough to involve tourists travelling in this concept (Nanopoulos, Guild and Weatherhead, 2018). However, the border is not a place where categorization can be made, it is a place where only little data can be assessed as regards the future of an individual (Nanopoulos, Guild and Weatherhead, 2018).

It can be claimed that sovereign states are still basic actors with regard to border security and the states have their own rules for determining who can enter, who can be a citizen (Kaya, 2012). As Bommes and Geddes (2000) emphasize, it is obvious that nation states make a differentiation between their citizens and other populations and make effort to control access to their territory. Joppke (1999) asserts that world is divided by every state into nationals who have the right of entrance and stay and to the aliens whose entry can be denied, and accordingly sovereignty is not absolute and limited to the forbiddance of aliens.

The securitization process draws a line between friend and enemy since the identity or the community is built by a security act which identifies the enemy, thus border controls are essential to identify an enemy (Munster, 2005). In this regard, Migdal (2004) has claimed that borders are constructed by the people's mental maps dividing "home from alien territory, the included from the excluded, and the familiar from the other" (p.7). Migdal (2004) further suggests that mental maps include elements of loyalties the people hold, the emotions, passions and cognitive ideas on the construction of the world, and these elements establish attachments between people on the one hand, and cause separation between the groups on the other.

In sum, there is competition among the ideas on the function of borders. Due to its complex and divergent nature, it is hard to make precise definition and to provide meaningful understanding on what a border is (Garry, 2013). The definition of border has changed in the course of time, based on several factors which include the cold war and globalization and new imaginary meanings have attributed the notion of border, aiming formation of social constructions; hence the borders not only has physical role for preserving security, but also symbolic role for maintaining identity (Kaya, 2012). Diez (2004) claims that on the one hand opening the borders will threaten social achievements of a state, on the other hand, borders assure diversity. As regards European Union, Pinos (2013) asserts that globalization did not eradicate the borders; instead, the trend of fortification depicts that the EU as a supranational entity use borders for differentiation of identity, power and control.

Having reviewed the general aspects of notions of security and border security and their evolution throughout time, the following chapter will elaborate more on the EU border security framework.

CHAPTER 3

BORDER SECURITY FRAMEWORK OF THE EU

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents general paradigm of the EU on border security and border management. It starts with historical background on the notion of border and exhibits how this notion has evolved throughout time. In this context, key developments on border security and key documents published which shed light to the evolving practices will be mentioned. This chapter also elaborates EU's integrated border management approach, by explaining what this concept refers to, the underlying reasons for adopting this approach and how it is being implemented. In this regard, the role of Frontex will also be touched upon as an integral part of integrated border management. Understanding integrated border management policy of the EU is important for this thesis, since a significant portion of the pre-accession funds is allocated for realization of the projects in Turkey in the field of integrated border management. In this context, this chapter will provide the key elements of the EU border security policies, so that its impact on the pre-accession funds can be made thoroughly.

3.2   GENERAL OVERVIEW ON EU BORDER SECURITY PARADIGM

The security and integration correlation has been at the core of the European project in the post-World War II period; and the impossibility of the new war between European states - which is deemed to be the most noteworthy accomplishment of the Europe- has been achieved through the persistent mission for closer integration (Tassinari, 2016). This was cultivated through progressive integration, the pooling of assets, and the deliberate sharing of sovereignty, from the European Coal and Steel Community during the 1950s, to the adoption of euro, eastern enlargement and, for sure, the free movement of individuals in Europe (Tassinari, 2016). In this regard, annulling the border controls for free movement

of people in the EU is considered as one of the most politically popular and peaceful acts (Nanopoulos, Guild and Weatherhead, 2018).

Historically, borders have principally been considered in military terms in Europe: as fortified strategic lines which must be destroyed or defended (Andreas, 2003). As Malcolm Anderson (1996) has underlined, the word "frontier" was originally "the zone" in military meaning where the individual came across the enemy (as cited by Andreas, 2003).

One of the outcomes of the European integration is that the European states have opened their borders to one another rather than securing themselves by closing the borders (Tassinari, 2016). As regards the new EU borders, there are diverging conclusions of different scholars. Some of them underline the decreasing importance of borders in the EU frame and focus on the annulment of border controls within the EU and refer the eastern border as a "travelling" border (Popescu, 2008, p.424), which will progressively travel to east to cover entire neighbourhood and construct borderless EU (Delanty and Rumford, 2005 as cited by Sendhardt, 2013). The other group of scholars focus on the initiatives of the EU to strengthen its external borders, underlying the barrier function of the borders which avoid criminals, migrants, illegal goods, etc. This group of scholars emphasize the EU's external borders as an instrument to construct "Fortress Europe", isolating itself from the neighbours (for example Scott, 2005; Houtum and Pijpers, 2007). This debate in the border studies brings the famous question: "borderless Europe" versus "Fortress Europe" (Sendhardt, 2013). Nevertheless, in the light of recent developments, Tassinari argues that "no one in Europe disagrees that the protection of the external borders is vital to the survival of Schengen" (2016, p.78).

In addition, Pinos (2013) contends that if one assumes the permeability and irrelevancy of the borders due to globalization and European integration, this can only be true in the case of the internal borders while it is far from the reality in case of external borders. Pinos (2009) also mentions that the external borders have been fortified, reinforced and securitized because of removal of the internal borders.

Tassinari (2006) emphasizes that the integration and security correlation, as referred above, expands the definition of "domestic" and "foreign". In this regard, it would be convenient to say that there has been a tendency to make a distinction between the

geographical areas, like "core and periphery", "first and third worlds" or some other such construction that endeavours to compartmentalize networks and reify the limits between them, in order to tell us who "they" are and who "we" are; implying "we" as the free, democratic, western and "they" as the undemocratic, extremist, eastern (Beeson and Bellamy, 2003, p.341). This classification shapes the values and behaviours of "us" and defines "them" together with the policies which would be appropriate to adopt as an outcome (Beeson and Bellamy, 2003). Schmitt (1996) argues that the politics include friends and enemies and this distinction makes this issue political and it is claimed that this definition conveys the issue to the "state of exception" (Cebeci, 2012, p.35).

After the end of Cold War, migration has been understood as the causes of insecurity in Europe (Genç, 2010). In contemporary security politics, migration has also turned out to be one of the significant topics in Europe; not only in the real world, but also in the agendas of scholars such as Bigo and Huymans (Bigo, 2001, 2002; Huysmans, 2000). This pattern has regularly been called as "the securitisation of migration, that is, the extreme politicization of migration" and its introduction as threat (Leonard, 2010, p.231).

Migration is comprehended as a "threat to societal security" because there is a risk of "dilution" (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.121). According to Wiley (2006), this is the understanding of post 9/11 world and this identity based approach makes migration a threat for preserving the identities (Genç, 2010). Huysmans in this regard contends that; "migration is identified as being one of the main factors weakening national tradition and societal homogeneity. It is reified as an internal and external danger for the survival of the national community or western civilization" (2000, p. 758).

Actually, the illegal immigration problem is not new to Europe, there was also awareness in 1990s regarding the flow of migrants from Northern Africa; nevertheless, the situation was not as worse, prominent and disturbing as today's migration influx (Sánchez, 2017). The EU has developed its policies of migration and border management since 1990s due to increase in number of irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Nevertheless, outbreak of Arab uprisings accelerated securitization of migration in the EU (Yavaş, 2017). Actually, the migration has become important for EU since end of 1980s and EU has securitized migration by presenting it as threat to identity and public order (Yavaş, 2017). Collapse of communist system in East Europe and war in former Yugoslavia have

caused increase in refugees and immigrants at the EU borders; nevertheless, Arab uprisings further changed the situation and caused dramatic flow of refugees towards Europe (Yavaş, 2017). In addition, Huysmans (2000) argues that migration brings terrorism and transnational crime. Therefore, migration is securitized and regulations on this issue concern issues which are seen as security threats (Mattsson, 2016).

In the post 9/11 atmosphere with increased security environment, the EU reached an agreement on the understanding that the forced migrants must be intercepted ahead of reaching external borders (Cetti, 2014). In this context, there have been considerable developments due to unprecedented refugee arrivals and irregular migrants, especially in mid-2015, since various shortcomings on EU external border and migration policies were identified (Bux, 2019). The EU also reveals that the challenges which are linked to increase in migration flows and intensified security concerns generated a new period in the field of EU's external border protection, which also affect its internal borders (Bux, 2019). On the other hand, the terrorist attacks in USA, Spain and United Kingdom which occurred in the 21st century has also shown that there is a need to change the security strategy (Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen, 2006). After these attacks, terrorism has been conceived as one of most considerable threats to international and national security (Sánchez, 2017). Cebeci mentions that terrorism is typically viewed as an uneven system utilized by the weak against the "strong/the state/the sovereign" (2012, p.38). Mostly, state acts are not seen as terrorism, yet rather as "counterterror', or 'low-intensity warfare' or 'self-defence' and, if successful, 'rational' and 'pragmatic', and an occasion to be 'united in joy" (Chomsky, 2002, p.3). Terrorism is no more constrained to one nation, it works transnationally; and employing, training and financing take place in various locations worldwide (Schlag, Herborth, and Hellman, 2007). The most specific character of the terrorism is its randomness and this is the feature that terrorizes people (Cebeci, 2012). Terrorism targets the entire class or people and in general convey the most outrageous and severe intentions, and this is the reason for demonstrating terrorism as a derogatory term (Cebeci, 2012). The literature on terrorism shows that the majority of the researchers make a distinction between "the old terrorists and the terrorists of their own times" independent from the date they mentioned them (Cebeci, 2012, p.37). They entitle the terrorism of their times as "contemporary terrorism" or "new terrorism" which reveals terrorism to be a dynamic aspect, and the terrorism definition varies from one society to

another as well as from one specific timeframe to the next (Cebeci, 2012, p.37). Cebeci (2012) also argues that today same temporal approach is still applicable which differentiates pre 9/11 terrorists and contemporary terrorists. Mirroring a move towards another, Arquilla, Ronfeld and Zanini contend that terrorism is evolving which they call "netwar" and the new terrorists act through networks and there is a link between different groups yet no hierarchical framework, rather they operate in a loose structure (1999). This circumstance is worsened by 'Islamic state terrorist organization terrorism' and Paris attacks in November 2015 have elevated anxiety within the society that terrorists can enter Europe within the continuing flow of refugees and migrants (Archick and Belkin, 2015). Refugee crisis from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria and the attacks in Paris in 2015 have put the EU at the intersection once more (Sánchez, 2017).

It can be claimed that Europe meets new threats that are progressively diverging, less noticeable and less foreseeable such as terrorism, regional conflicts, human and drug trafficking which challenge the EU internal security (Sánchez, 2017). In consequence, the EU stresses that terrorism and transnational crime are regardless of borders and the crisis within and beyond the EU borders affect citizens' lives, in this regard internal and external borders are more entwined and are not separable and security within EU borders depend on peace outside EU borders (EU Global Strategy, 2016). The EU also emphasizes that internal policies actually deal only with the results of external dynamics and underlines that sufficient level of ambition and strategic independence is important for its ability to promote peace and assure security within and outside of its borders, and in this regard, the freedom, integrity and sovereignty of other states, inviolability of their borders and peaceful dispute settlements are essential elements for European security (EU Global Strategy, 2016). Being a neighbour and a candidate country, Turkey's border security and border management system have an impact on EU security, so this reality might also have effect on the allocation of pre-accession funds and EU-funded projects. As stressed by European Parliamentary Research Service (2019), EU has to support European Integrated Border Management by using the full potential of the existing instruments including the IPA funds. Therefore, one of the motivations behind magnificent budget allocation to Turkey in this field might be the EU's willingness to secure its borders. This issue will be analysed in the following chapters.

Tassinari (2016) argues that migration management has been a complex and politicized issue in Europe, as a consequence of politicization, the words and policies which were deemed to be taboos only a couple of years before, for instance border control, are currently constituent piece of the dictionary and policy agenda. In that vein, the European Commission underlines the difficulty in managing migration by the member states alone in a Europe where internal borders have been removed. Therefore the EC draws attention to cooperation between the states for better management and taking specific actions to tackle illegal immigration both at the international, national and EU levels (Commission Communication COM(2014) 365 final).

In this regard, the EU intensely targets the migrants before they arrive to the territory of EU. Accordingly, it has been mentioned that brave steps are needed to end migration crisis, break the smuggling routes and smugglers' business model and to safeguard the EU external borders as well as to destroy the link between taking a boat and having settlement in the EU (Statement of the EU Heads, 2016). Walters (2010) argues that the EU spends great amount of its resources for this purpose, and it gives priority to protect external borders through surveillance and control and various policies such as strict border controls and visa requirements. The EU also finances surveillance projects with pre-accession funds in Turkey which will be mentioned in the following chapters in detail. Considering the candidacy status of Turkey, Turkish borders will become the external borders of EU in case of membership and the analysis of pre-accession funds will also be made from this point of view. It is also worth noting that, the EU has underlined that it has met the scale and urgency of 2015 and 2016 refugee crisis by surprise (European Commission, 2018a), therefore its budget proposal is to increase significantly its budget for external border management and migration and asylum from 13 billion euro for 2014-2020 period to 34,9 billion euro for the period of 2021-2027; which is almost triple of the previous funding (European Commission, 2018b). This increase will be a response to challenges of migration and security (European Commission, 2018c). In addition, a new financial instrument, Integrated Border Management Fund (IBMF) will be created amounting 9.3 billion euro to enhance capacities of member states in dealing these challenges as well as addressing cross-border crime and internal security within EU (European Parliamentary Research Center, 2019).

On the other hand, it is difficult to say that there is uniformity in the practices of the EU. For instance, the EU lifted the obligatory visa requirement for the citizens of Ukraine (European Commission, 2017), and this decision was totally different from what has been taken for the middle eastern and southern Mediterranean countries, for which police and military power have rather been preferred to tackle with irregular migration (Nanopoulos, Guild, Weatherhead, 2018).

Koslowski (2007) on the other hand argues that the only problem concerning security and border control is not irregular migration, but also the mobility of people. Marenin (2010) suggests that millions of people being tourists, visitors, business people, workers move across the world and reach at the international borders, and the volume and magnitude of legal mobility can easily affect the state's capability for efficient border management, thus excessive number of people and goods arriving at the borders are the real problems. An analysis will be made in the next chapters on whether the EU-funded projects also address this situation. Accordingly, the EU subcontracts its border control actions to private security entities and in addition to third party countries and also confers with them the policies, and practices and discourses to be adopted (Cetti, 2014). This subcontracting and outsourcing policy is mostly prominent in the agreements formulated by the EU and the member states which delegate border control activities to neighbouring states (Cetti, 2014). As a result of this policy, states around Mediterranean, including Turkey, have been employed with the bilateral and EU or Frontex-brokered agreements for the readmissions and returns, which filter the undesired migrants (Cetti, 2014). Cetti refers these countries as the seconded countries of "Europe's border police in the south" (2014, p. 15). The role of Frontex in Turkey and its correlation with EU-funded projects will be elaborated more in the next section under this chapter.

It is also argued that the border management of EU cannot be limited to the control of external borders and should be considered in a broader way (Wolff, 2010). In this regard, the way of designation of the border management policies with its neighbours by the EU reveals the European identity construction process (Wolff, 2010). In order to deal with illegal migration and smuggling (drugs, arms, human beings), the EU promotes and supports capacity building activities in border management in its eastern and southern neighbours (Wolff, 2010). In this regard, similar capacity building projects have also been supported in Turkey which will be elaborated in detail. Wolff (2010) also underlines that

while the EU facilitates the free movement of EU citizens within the EU, controlling Schengen borders is a challenge, which covers 7721 km land and 42673 km sea borders (European Commission, 2011).

Nanopoulos, Guild, and Weatherhead (2018) remind that within the Schengen area, there is no border control and all people (including the foreigners) can travel freely across the EU territory; and claim that sometimes interior ministries worry about their capability to find irregular migrants due to abolishment of intra Schengen border controls, however this argument which is based on national security does not dominate. Yet, this claim is questionable since it does not entirely reflect the current condition as the mandate for negotiating the proposal for amending Schengen border code has been endorsed by the EU for reintroduction of internal border controls temporarily (Council of the EU, 2018). Accordingly, the EU emphasized that the so-called Arab Spring revolutions of 2011 underlined the necessity to strengthen the common rules of Schengen area and reintroduce internal border controls in exceptional situations, particularly when there is threat to the overall function of Schengen area (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2014). Contrary to EU Regulation 2016/399 (Schengen Borders Code - codification), particularly Article 14(2) stating "entry may only be refused by a substantiated decision stating the precise reasons for the refusal", a number of EU member states constructed border walls or fences in order to prevent migrants to access their territories. In addition, there are no explicit rules for building fences at the external borders, and fences were also constructed between Austria and Slovenia which are within Schengen area and the EU member states have also built barriers with third countries including Turkey as a pre-accession country (Bux, 2019). In this context, the European Commission granted 108 million euro of financial assistance to Bulgaria in order to strengthen its borders to Turkey (Commission Communication COM (2016) 634). The erection of the fence between Bulgaria-Turkey was completed in 2017 of which length is 201 kilometres (Radio Bulgaria, 2017), aiming to keep irregular migrants from North Africa and Middle East out and eliminate the risk of entrance of terrorists within migrant flows (Lyman, 2015). Similarly, Greece constructed fence at its border with Turkey in 2012 for a length of 12,5 kilometres to keep migrants out (Nielsen, 2012). In summary, unprecedented arrival of irregular migrants and refugees in the EU territory, that made a peak in 2015, brought various deficiencies in external border policy of the EU, and in response to the migration crisis as well as to the increase in terrorist and crucial

cross-border crime activities, the EU has commenced a broader reform process to strengthen the external borders and reinforced the link between security and border controls which resulted in reintroduction of internal borders as mentioned above (European Parliamentary Research Centre, 2019). Nevertheless, these measures led to disruption of functioning of Schengen area and decreased the trust of EU citizens for the capability of EU to fight with the deficiencies caused by the migration refugee crisis which also generated social, political and economic costs (European Parliamentary Research Centre, 2019). The EU therefore underlines its vision to continue to be a safe place for the people escaping from persecution, an attractive port for the researchers, students and workers and emphasizes that while EU secures its borders, it also has to create the right conditions for economic prosperity and social coherence which is difficult to balance and require coordination at EU level (Commission Communication COM (2015) 240).

Finally, legal base for EU border management can be summarized as Article 3(2) of the Treaty on European Union, referring to the free movement of persons in conjunction with appropriate measures for external borders; the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) underlining the power of EU to define common policy for external border controls depending on solidarity among EU member states (Article 67), and financial implications (Article 80) and progressive introduction of integrated border management policy for external borders of the EU (Articles 77(1)(c) and 77(2)(d); the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights which frame migration and border management policies of the EU by defining right to asylum (Article 18), and other fundamental rights (i.e right to life, prohibition of torture, right to liberty); the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea and the International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue, for the border control activities in the sea (European Parliamentary Research Centre, 2019).

Key developments at the EU level on integrated border management will further be mentioned in the next section.

3.3 KEY DEVELOPMENTS ON EU INTEGRATED BORDER MANAGEMENT

There have been some milestones in the border paradigm of the EU. Removal of internal border controls maybe the major development which is followed by a series of developments to safeguard external borders while sustaining free movement within the EU area without internal borders.

This section will elaborate on key developments by addressing the relevant agreements, treaties, regulations, and substantial documents published towards achieving Integrated Border Management as well Council meetings, in a chronological order.

3.3.1 Removal of Internal Border Controls

3.3.1.1 Schengen Agreement

As mentioned above, annulling the border controls for free movement of people in the EU is considered as one of the most popular and peaceful acts (Nanopoulos, Guild, Weatherhead, 2018). This has been achieved gradually; some of the member states first suggested that the concept should only concern EU citizens and internal border controls should continue to distinguish the EU citizens and non-EU citizens while the other group argued that the concept should include everyone within the EU territory which would bring the end of internal border controls (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2009). At that stage an agreement could not be reached among the Member States, thus initially Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg decided for the creation of a territory without internal borders in 1985 which is known as Schengen area (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2009). This first agreement was signed on 14 June 1985 between the five member states, but a further convention has been composed and signed in 1990 and entered into force in 1995 which has abolished internal border controls of the signatory states and single external border has been created where controls are carried for Schengen area with the identical procedures and in which free movement of persons regardless of their nationality is guaranteed (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2009). Still, all of the member states are not party to the agreement, either because they are not willing to annul border controls or they have not completed all conditions required for applying the Schengen acquis (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2009).

Historically, border management policy of the EU is intertwined closely with the creation of Schengen area (Wolff, 2010). It is argued that Schengen agreement is thought to represent the beginning of EU border securitization policies (Kaya, 2012) and paved the way for the development of EU common border policies (Aydınlı, 2015). The agreement also brought new interpretation to border security since it introduced two new concepts; internal, and external borders (Kaya, 2012). In that vein, Kasparek (2010) mentions that Schengen agreement invented common external border concept which did not exist before and which added a territorial notion to the EU. Migration Policy Institute (2007) defines external borders as the national borders which are crossed by the individuals coming outside of Schengen area where passport controls are carried out; while internal borders are those crossed by individuals coming from a Schengen member state where no passport control is carried out; both of which are valid for land, air and sea borders. Due to increasing significance of external borders, Schengen released surveillance systems to monitor, track and control for the ones considered to be 'aliens' (Cetti, 2014).

3.3.1.2 Amsterdam Treaty

The Schengen agreement was incorporated into EU legal system by the Treaty of Amsterdam (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2018a) which was signed in 1997 and entered into force in May 1999 (Sokolska, 2019). In this way, the Schengen area has been attached to the EU institutional and legal framework, hence, it achieved the objective of free movement preserved in Single European Act which was signed in 1986 (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2009) of which aim was to bring new momentum to the integration (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2018b) and create an internal market without internal borders where persons, goods, services and capital are freely moved (Single European Act, Article 8A). With Amsterdam Treaty, border management has become a shared competence between Member states and the EU (Wolff, 2010). Incorporation of Schengen rules into acquis communautaire have made Schengen rules condition for membership (Celador and Juncos, 2012).

3.3.1.3 European Council Meetings in Tampere and Laeken

In the European Council of 1999 in Tampere, Presidency Conclusions emphasized the importance of control of external borders effectively by 'specialized trained professionals' (Article 25). The Tampere conclusions also remarks that in order to end illegal

immigration, and to fight against their organizers, consistent external border controls are vital (Article 3). It is also underlined that since Schengen agreement has been incorporated into the acquis, the candidate countries must accept the related provisions and take necessary measures. It was also emphasized that Tampere Program of 1999 is one of the keystones of a gradual establishment of the EU as an area of 'freedom, security and justice' (Commission Communication COM (2006) 733). The importance of specialized trained professionals for border management is also underlined in annual progress reports of Turkey. The projects serving for this purpose will be reviewed in the following chapters.

Similarly, the Presidency Conclusions of European Council in 2001 in Laeken emphasized the importance of better management of external borders in order to combat terrorism, human trafficking and illegal immigration (Article 42). In addition, importance of cooperation is emphasized for the optimum use of resources.

3.3.2   Steps Towards Integrated Border Management

3.3.2.1   Commission Communication for Integrated Border Management

In 2002, the Commission has adopted a communication on integrated border management of the external borders of the members states of the European Union (Commission Communication COM (2002) 233), which has included an analysis of current situation and proposed a series of measures and actions to be implemented at the EU level. This communication is important as it has been one of the initial steps towards integrated border management.

3.3.2.2   Regional Strategy Paper for Western Balkans

The regional strategy paper was released for Cards Assistance Programme to the Western Balkans covering a period of 2002-2006. The paper emphasizes the significance of effective border management for free movement of persons, free trade, and multicultural society development. In this regard, the importance and necessity of the adoption of 'integrated border management' (IBM) approach have been underlined on the grounds that problems are very interlinked and states cannot tackle them separately in an effective way, therefore states should cooperate on managing the external borders. Thus, it can be claimed that IBM concept was first mentioned in this paper in a comprehensive way.

According to this paper, IBM is an approach to combat with the interrelated problems comprehensively such as border crossings, crime, insecurity, and smuggling. Later on, Guidelines for Integrated Border Management in the Western Balkans were published in 2007 by the European Commission, which indicates that if army is responsible for border protection or the board guards are under the auspices of the army or Ministry of Defence, this should progressively be handed over to the civil authorities, of which key element is the training of all officers and administrators in order to facilitate from military to civil transition. The important issue underlined in this document is the transfer of border management tasks from the military to the civil authorities which is also one of the hot topics in Turkey as regards compliance with EU standards. This issue will be further elaborated in following chapters.

3.3.2.3 Schengen Catalogue

Schengen Catalogue has been published in 2002 by the Council of EU. The catalogue refers to the 'four-tier model' which is the most common concept of IBM used in several documents addressing; "activities in third countries, international border cooperation, measures at external borders and activities inside the territory" (p.11). This catalogue involves recommendations and best practices for external border controls, removal and readmission. Hence, there has been set of guidance and recommendations within the document which are not binding (Marenin, 2010). For instance, while the document underlines that persons carrying out border duties should be 'specialized trained professionals' as a general rule and accordingly border controls and surveillance should be performed by professional officials of an administration which organizes border management, this will be "if possible under a single national ministry" as a best practice (p.18). In Schengen Catalogue, importance of 'specialized trained professionals' have once more stressed, while establishment of a single authority is considered to be a best practice. Marenin (2010) reminds that Schengen Catalogue is considered to be soft acquis, since it contains non-binding recommendations on the implementation of hard acquis that includes the regulations comprising the force of law of the EU.

The reflections of these issues in Turkey will also be assessed in the following chapters.

3.3.2.4 European Council Meeting in Thessaloniki and Hague Program

The 2003 Thessaloniki European Council underlines the importance of guaranteeing continuity of the action in the field of border management by laying down the priorities and deciding on more structured methods (Article 12).Hague Program adopted in 2004 by the European Council laid down ten priorities to strengthen *Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice.* One of the highlighted priorities of the Hague Program was concerned with developing an approach for integrated management of external borders (European Council, 2005).

3.3.2.5 Establishment of Frontex

Frontex, the 'European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union' was established by a Council Regulation[1] in 2004 which has been accepted as a keystone of integrated border management (Cetti, 2014), and deemed to be one of the greatest achievements in European integrated border management (Pinos, 2013). The aim of the EU was to increase cooperation between the member states which has resulted in creation of Frontex and three main factors can be listed to trigger this process; migration flows since the end of cold war, terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 2004 enlargement of the EU (Leonard, 2010). In accordance with its founding Regulation, Frontex is responsible from six main tasks; coordinating cooperation between member states, assisting member states on training of border guards, carrying out risk analysis, following up the development on surveillance of external borders, assisting member states requiring technical and operational assistance and providing member states necessary support in joint return operations. In 2016, a new Regulation[2] has been adopted which has repealed the founding regulation of Frontex and amended its name as 'European Border and Coast Guard Agency'. In accordance with this

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[1] Council Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004 of 26 October 2004 establishing a European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union

[2] Regulation (EU) 2016/1624 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 14 September 2016 on the European Border and Coast Guard and amending Regulation (EU) 2016/399 of the European Parliament and of the Council and repealing Regulation (EC) No 863/2007 of the

new regulation, the primary responsibility of external border management is retained by the member states and Frontex supports application of EU measures; while development of policy, legislation and IBM strategy remains the responsibility of the EU.

Frontex ensures efficient monitoring through risk analysis, 'Eurosur' and the presence of its experts in the member states and has given a stand-alone budget to guarantee its autonomy (EU Regulation, 2016/1624). Frontex's budget has increased in the course of time and it has been approximately 333 million euro in 2019 while it was approximately 6 million euro in 2005 (Frontex, 2005; 2019a). This can be interpreted as the indicator of a political determination towards investment of substantial amount for border security (Kaya, 2012).

Risk analysis is realized by Frontex using 'Common Integrated Risk Management Model (CIRAM)', which has requested by the European Council in Seville meeting in 2002. Particularly, item 32 of the Seville Council Conclusions refers to preparation of a common risk analysis model, to achieve a common integrated risk assessment. CIRAM has been prepared under Finland's auspices (Carrera, 2007) and was adopted by the European Council in 2003. Neal (2009) argues that by the establishment of Frontex, link between terrorism, security, migration and borders has been institutionalized; nevertheless the outcomes have differed from the urgent and extraordinary measures which have been expected by the securitization theory. In this process, Frontex represents evolution from national focus correlated with sovereignty of states to the operational cooperation for external borders (Neal, 2009).

Turkey has signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" with Frontex in May 2012, which has aimed to enhance operational cooperation between two parties, including participations in joint operations and training activities, and deployment of experts to Turkey as well as to ensure more organized information exchange and risk analysis (Turkey Progress Report, 2012).

Frontex has appointed a liaison officer to work in Turkey (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2017). In addition, a "Cooperation Plan" was signed between Turkey and Frontex in 2014

European Parliament and of the Council, Council Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004 and Council Decision 2005/267/EC

which has aimed to further implement operational cooperation on information exchange, risk analysis, joint operations, research and development and training (European Commission, 2014a).

During interviews, it has been revealed by the interviewees P-2, P-6 and P-8 that in Turkey, Frontex takes active role in some of the capacity building projects for enhancing border management like participating in training programs as trainers, giving recommendation to EU Delegation to Turkey in selection of projects, also supporting international organizations like IOM and ICMPD during implementation of projects. It has also underlined by these interviewees that there is good cooperation between Frontex and Turkish authorities.

3.3.2.6 Schengen Borders Code

The European Commission adopted a Regulation[3] in 2006 on 'establishing a Community Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders', so-called Schengen Borders Code. The regulation emphasized once again that within the EU member states, there should be specialized and properly trained professional border guards (Article 15).

Later, the European Commission adopted a Regulation[4] in 2016 on 'Union Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders', so-called Schengen Borders Code – codification, since the regulation for Schengen Borders Code of 2006 was considerably amended various times, and for clarity and rationality, the regulation had to be codified. The regulation repeated once again that within EU member states there should be specialized and properly trained professional border guards (Article 16).

Schengen Borders Code is the fundamental instrument presenting the common rules to cross external borders, requirements for entry to the Schengen area and length of stay. It also elaborates checks on people who cross EU external borders (for EU and non-EU

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[3] Regulation (EC) No 562/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 March 2006 establishing a Community Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders (Schengen Borders Code)

[4] Regulation (EU) 2016/399 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 9 March 2016 on a Union Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders (Schengen Borders Code) (codification)

citizens) both for entry and exit. Schengen Borders Code also sets out conditions for reintroduction of internal border controls temporarily in case of extraordinary situations (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2019).

3.3.2.7 Treaty of Lisbon

With the Treaty of Lisbon which was entered into force in December 2009 (Panizza, 2019), all policies concerning border controls and immigration have become an EU competence which was intergovernmental issue before (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2017). Henceforth, the EU institutions can adopt measures for common management of external borders, particularly by strengthening Frontex (Summaries of EU Legislation, 2015).

3.3.2.8 Internal Security Strategy and Stockholm Program

The Brussels European Council of 2009 has underlined the necessity to develop an internal security strategy and to strengthen cooperation for border management in order for a more secure Europe (Council of European Union, 2009a, Article 29). Thereafter, 'Internal Security Strategy in Action' for 'five steps towards a more secure Europe' document was adopted in 2010 which indicates "strengthening security through border management" as one of key objectives (Commission Communication COM (2010) 673, p. 11). To achieve this objective, the strategy emphasized intensive use of new border surveillance and border check technologies. In addition, it has been emphasized that it is not possible to achieve internal security if the EU isolates itself from the rest of world; therefore it is essential to establish coherence between internal and external elements of the EU security. It was also mentioned that security aspects should also be considered in programming EU funds.

In that vein, the Stockholm program was also adopted in 2009 and it has emphasized that capacity building activities should be supported in the third countries in order to able them to effectively control their external borders (Council of the European Union, 2009b). In this program importance of cooperation between EU and Turkey was underlined to combat illegal migration and manage migration flows. It will be assessed in the following chapters to what extent the security aspects have been integrated to programming of pre-accession funds in Turkey together with the scope of projects in Turkey.

3.3.2.9 European Agenda on Security

European Agenda on Security was adopted in April 2015 in which the EU reiterated that internal security and global security are closely linked, therefore it was underlined that the EU response must take into account both internal and external dimensions (Commission Communication COM(2015) 185 final).

3.4 INTEGRATED BORDER MANAGEMENT

In 1990s, an approach was started to prevail that the border management should be in a "holistic" or "integrated" way (ICMPD, 2015, p.11). The interrelated concepts, generally labelled as 'integrated border management' have aimed to combine traditional border control modes in order to facilitate free movement of people, goods, and services while protecting the states (ICMPD, 2015). Integrated Border Management (IBM) was a pre-defined concept and was emerged to be a joint concept from the assistance programs like PHARE, TACIS and CARDS (Hobbing, 2005).

During the Finnish presidency in July-December 2006, efforts have been made for clear definition of integrated border management (Finnish Presidency, 2006). Previously the concept has been used officially, but it has been a concept with a short history, which also has a wide spectrum of definitions (Hobbing, 2005). Therefore, it was needed to "fill in this terminological gap" (Carrera, 2007, p.3) and main dimensions comprising the IBM conceptual framework were agreed at the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council in December 2006 (Council of the European Union, 2006). Accordingly, it was underlined that border management must include all threats related with border (Finnish Presidency, 2006). Border prioritization has been coupled with the rise of 'global approach to migration", thus the EU border management policy has two dimensions which are interrelated and complementary to each other; integrated approach to the external border management and global policy including migration (Carrera, 2007).

The management of internal and external borders has become important for the EU after Amsterdam Treaty and the 2001 Laeken European Council has presented that external borders should be better managed and this only comes true in case of establishing the cooperation between services and a common mechanism for the control of external borders (Sert, 2013). Accordingly, IBM system has been created which has merged

mechanisms of border control and tools in the EU and which includes actions for representing member states in non-EU states, developing procedures for cooperation between neighbour countries and taking measures in Schengen area and at the EU borders (Sert, 2013).

In this context, JHA Council has concluded in 2006 that IBM is a "multilevel concept" (Sert, 2013, p.174), which firstly involves coordination and coherence among all member states' border authorities so that each member state can follow the same standards in border controls, border surveillance and risk analysis; second, concerns inter-agency cooperation to better fight against irregular migration and cross-border crimes; and third, requires international cooperation which calls for cooperation with neighbouring and third countries. Hence, in IBM there are three pillars, "intra-service, inter-agency, and international cooperation" (Sert, 2013, p.174). Therefore, integrated border management require multi-layer cooperation which addresses cooperation among different agencies, member states and non-EU states, since the EU external borders concern borders of several member states which should be managed by the same standards. Main related issues are border checks and surveillance, control of goods, plants, live animals and health checks for individuals (Sert, 2013). Hence, Turkey's border management strategy is better considered within the scope of EU's integrated border management approach, therefore the relevance with the EU-funded projects will be assessed under the following chapters.

In 2007, a more security based concept has been adopted by the European Council for the management of external borders (ICMPD, 2015). IBM concept on the one hand refers to an integrated approach to the border management which involves different administrative structures (like customs and border guards); and to the ever closer integration of member states in the management of external borders on the other (National Action Plan, 2006).

Legally, the union introduces gradually the "integrated border management system for external borders", in accordance with Articles 77 and 79 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. According to European Commission's definition, IBM concept is to achieve the target of open but secure and well-controlled borders where international and national coordination between all related agencies is ensured and trade is facilitated through the effective and efficient border management (European Commission, 2018d). In that vein, according to the 2010 Guidelines for Integrated Border Management in

European Commission External Cooperation, IBM has been defined by EuropeAid Co-operation Office (2010, p.23) as;

> national and international coordination and cooperation among all the relevant authorities and agencies involved in border security and trade facilitation to establish effective, efficient and coordinated border management, in order to reach the objective of open, but well controlled and secure borders.

The 2010 Guideline also underlines that there has not a universally agreed definition of IBM. Within this guideline, the agencies typically involved in border management tasks have been listed and it has been observed that various agencies take place for border surveillance and border checks; like armed forces, coast guard, border guard/police, customs and other specialised law enforcement and intelligence agencies; agencies for customs control, inspections for plants and plant products, live animals and animal products; human health inspection etc. Also in Turkey, a variety of agencies is responsible for border management; its reflection to the EU-funded projects will also be analysed in the following chapters.

According to EU Regulation on the European Border and Coast Guard, considering the four-tier control model, measures in third countries are covered by European integrated border management including visa policies, external border control measures, Schengen area risk analysis and return. In addition, the policy of the EU targets to create and implement European integrated border management both at national and EU level and finds this essential for the free movement of persons inside the EU territory, so it is considered as a key factor for freedom, security and justice and for the migration management. Moreover, for effective management of the external borders, migration and possible future threats is addressed to ensure a high level security in the EU; while respecting the fundamental rights and protecting the free movement of the persons inside the Union (EU Regulation, 2016/1624). The EU's integrated border management also aims improvement of the infrastructure at the borders, developing the capacities of the national institutions and procedures and related framework. The scope of the EU-funded projects in Turkey will also be evaluated in order to present their coherence with EU IBM strategy.

It is also worth noting that, the Schengen area is one of the greatest achievements of the EU, and it needs to be safeguarded particularly in challenging situations such as migration and security threats. Murphy and Maguire remark two trends which shape border control

of new times; first, increase in the 'irregulars' crossing the borders of the EU, second increase in the border crossing of 'regular' travellers (2015). According to Frontex (2014) there was a forty-eight percent of increase in irregular border crossings between 2012 and 2013. In addition, number of flights is estimated to go up by over fifty percent by 2035 which will automatically increase the number of 'regular' travellers (Murphy and Maguire, 2015). Therefore, it is important to protect external borders in order to sustain the Schengen zone without internal borders by using the technologies and opportunities brought by the IT systems (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2019). Currently it seems that the EU border security policy and common borders management regime is principally focused on technology based non-tangible borders which tracks and manages individuals by the help of new technologies such as biometrics and Europe wide databases (Bigo, Carrera, Guild and Walker, 2007). As Bigo and Guild (2005) assert, securitization is undertaken through fear management by the discourses, but also with the technologization of policing, hence the physical border concept is changed into border construction with the use of new technologies for 'policing at a distance'. The technologies supported in Turkey for border management will also be reviewed in the following chapters. But it will be good to review the technology used at the EU level first.

The governments, international organizations and experts working in the field have agreed that the security instruments are outdated as they were designed to confront threats of 20th century which were more traditional, so, they do not fit the requirements of contemporary times (Sánchez, 2017). Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen (2006) also agrees with this argument and further proposes that the research and technology competence possessed by the Europe was not sufficient to prevent the attacks and protect the individuals, therefore substantial efforts must be made for further development of the technology.

On the other hand, Cetti (2014) argues that EU migration control regime absorbed the compulsion of security industry via converting the biometric tracks of individuals to the label of 'illegal', thus an individual is lowered to a digitized body collection which are integrated to several biometric databases. In that vein, Bigo (2007) suggests that basically there are three types of new technologies; tracing flows, individualizing bodies with biometric identifiers, and monitoring future flow of actions through profiling next steps. Biometric identification has also become an important topic in Turkey's border

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management agenda in accordance with EU practices, therefore the projects serving for this purpose will also be reviewed in the following chapters.

According to Bigo (2005), 'the myth of mastering the frontiers' is possible with full electronic security. In this regard, the political binary; illegal or legal, in other words, excluded or included is the logic of operations of all technologies in Europe, which involve Schengen Information System, Visa Information System and European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database, each of which is based upon the biometric databases (Cetti, 2014). Hence the politics related with contemporary security technologies consolidate around monitoring, surveillance and control (Amoore and Hall, 2010).

To elaborate more on the systems, Schengen Information System (SIS) is EU wide database, which gives information for missing or wanted people or objects and it alerts officers for the specific actions to be taken, for instance a person to be arrested, invalid passport, stolen car. The SIS is the most widely used database for external borders control, law enforcement, judicial cooperation and has been updated in December 2018 for significant technical and operational developments (European Commission, 2019).

European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database (Eurodac) is the database for fingerprints for asylum applicants or third-country nationals who crossed the border irregularly (European Commission, 2019). Visa Information System (VIS) is for collecting data and decisions for applications on short stay visas towards Schengen area (European Commission, 2019) of which primary aim is to support consular and officers to better manage the common visa policy and combat fraud as well as carry out identity checks at the external borders (Migration Policy Institute, 2007). VIS is one of the most leading systems with over sixty million visa applications and forty million fingerprint data which have been registered as of August 2018 and an update was suggested in May 2018 in order to include data for long stay documents and for interoperability with the other EU information systems (European Commission, 2019). One of the other systems is European Border Surveillance system (Eurosur) which is to ensure cooperation between the member states and Frontex for the improvement of situational awareness and expanding reaction capability, with the aim of preventing cross border crime, irregular migration and protecting lives of migrants (European Commission, 2014b). Eurosur has been created as part of the integrated border management and internal security strategy and helps member states for the rapid

information exchange, and joint responses for the challenges (European Commission, 2014b). Eurosur represents the shift from the use of technology for border controls to the creation of a total surveillance system (Cetti, 2014).

Apart from the above mentioned technologies, there are some other kinds of smart border technologies, for example SIVE (Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior) and MARSUR (Maritime Surveillance), since 2005 and there is also a biometrics-based entry-exit system (Murphy, and Maguire, 2015).

As technology is evolving, future information systems continue to be developed. One of these systems is Entry/Exit System (EES), for the record of external border crossings. This system will collect non-EU nationals' data like identity and register their border crossings, which aim to replace the current practices of manual passport stamping (European Commission, 2019). Another new system is European Travel Information and Authorisation System (ETIAS) which will collect information on non EU-citizens travelling visa free for a short stay in order to identify possible security risks prior to their travel to the Schengen territory (European Commission, 2019).

In summary, there are many forms of surveillance technology. Apart from the large-scale systems mentioned above, many others are used for border security, such as X-ray and similar scanning devices, closed circuit television (CCTV), thermal sensors, X-ray backscatter imaging systems and so on (Kleinig, Mameli, Miller, Salane, and Schwartz, 2011). Thus, the trend is likely to have border management system with full electronic surveillance, which also has impact on the projects realized in Turkey with the EU pre-accession funds.

On the other hand, it can be claimed that private security companies take considerable role in evolution of EU's approach on border security. There is an overlap in the technology used by the police, military, the intelligence services and the security; and member states outsource their operations of immigration and asylum and they work with private contractors operating in the security or surveillance sector such as Thales, EADS, Sagem Sécurité (Cetti, 2014). As a consequence, global security industry incorporate into the centre of the EU's border security policy as well as systems of migration management, they coordinate the research and development activities and set up their think-tanks, also provide their technology and personnel for the operation; thus the industry now plays a

significant role in designation of EU's agenda for immigration and asylum and direct EU's policies, shape its rationale and ideology (Cetti, 2014). Cetti (2014) in this regard criticizes the EU and argues that EU is an undemocratic institution, therefore it is not unexpected that the EU border control system has incorporated the private sector and thus adopted its undemocratic and non-transparent organizational structure. Collective (2006) claims that the privatization of security trend is indirectly associated to the contemporary widening of the security field.

As a result of these measures, it has claimed that efficient and effective border management creates an environment to the countries and citizens of security, freedom where free trade and free movement of people are facilitated; which is also prerequisite for growth and reduction of poverty and societal peace where people respect and tolerate cultural, linguistic and religious differences (Phillips and Panteri, 2004). In this regard, according to Eurobarometer survey which has been carried for European Parliament, the citizens have assessed the involvement of EU in protecting its external borders. While 61% of the citizens has assessed EU's involvement as insufficient in 2016, it has dropped to 50% in 2019 (European Parliamentary Reseach Center, 2019) which implies a trend of an improved assessment. In this survey, Poland has recorded to be the country with the most significant improvement (with an increase of 20%) which is followed by Bulgaria (18%). On the other hand, citizens of some countries feel more secure than the others, for instance Denmark and Finland with the perception of 98% as opposed to Bulgaria (71%) in accordance with another survey carried out in 2015 (European Commission, 2015b).

As conclusion of this chapter, it has been presented that the border paradigm of the EU has changed in the course of time. As Andreas (2003) has mentioned, historically, borders have mainly considered in military terms in Europe as fortified strategic lines in line with the original meaning of the 'frontier' as the 'zone', where the individual meets the enemy (Anderson, 1996, as cited by Andreas, 2003). European Integration and developments thereafter, such as Schengen Agreement, brought a new interpretation to the EU border paradigm. So, while the notion of border has been historically understood as a military line where a person comes across with the enemy, this understanding has evolved for a more humanitarian approach so that military border agencies are recommended to be replaced with civil authorities. In addition, there have been ups and downs in the perception of the EU as regards border security; from securitization to desecuritization by

the removal of internal border controls, and from desecuritization to securitization by the reintroduction of internal border controls, which have been affected from the conjuncture. The practices of the EU have also been evolved and developed accordingly, in order to sustain Schengen area with no internal border controls, ensuring free movement of persons and goods, while strengthening external borders to secure its member states and EU citizens and protecting EU identity and avoiding dilution. In addition to irregular migration, mobility of people also has importance for the EU and excessive numbers of people and goods at the borders are also among the problems (Marenin, 2010). It has also become clear that technological developments go hand in hand with EU border management policies which require high cost investments, where civil and military actors compete and also merge (Hess, 2017). In this context, the EU has decided to allocate more resources for border management in the upcoming period of 2021-2017, by almost tripling the amount allocated for 2014-2020 (European Commission, 2018b).

As Turkey's borders will be the EU's external borders in case of membership, EU pays utmost attention to strengthen Turkey's border management capabilities, therefore allocates significant amount of budget as also mentioned above. However, EU's integrated border management also requires cooperation with neighbour countries and to support activities to strengthen their external borders. Therefore, the projects realized by pre-accession funds to strengthen Turkish borders may be related with the accession process of Turkey, or may be as a result of EU's policies to safeguard its external borders considering that Turkey is a neighbour country. Therefore, assessing the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds in Turkey carries importance in order to understand its relevance with the accession.

The projects correlated with integrated border management and accordingly projects implemented for strengthening the controls at the border gates and ensuring more efficient controls at the border areas, as well as reflections of the EU in Turkey as regards civilian transition will be analysed in the following chapters together with the volume of investments, considering the aim of the EU to support European Integrated Border Management by using the full potential of the existing instruments including the IPA funds (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2019).

This analysis will help to assess whether or not the projects carried out are relevant with the Turkey's EU accession process and whether or not the funds are utilized in accordance with the fundamental objectives of the IPA.

CHAPTER 4

RELATIONS OF EU AND TURKEY IN THE REALM OF BORDERS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Turkey, as a candidate country, is of utmost importance for the EU for its historical experience and geopolitical location (Birdişli and Gören, 2018).   Turkey's EU membership mean that its southern and eastern borders will become the EU's external border, therefore establishing system of a comprehensive border security is very essential. Turkey requires strict border controls due its geographical location. In the last decade, the increase of illegal border crossings brought serious complications to Turkey and border management system of the EU (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2014).

Geographical location of Turkey, migration flows to Europe through Turkey as well as human and arms trafficking through Turkey play an important role in determination of the EU-Turkey relations in the realm of pre-accession funds. This chapter will begin with a general overview on borders of Turkey with the problems encountered, then continue with key developments on integrated border management in Turkey and relations of EU and Turkey as regards border management, which will address key problems and Turkey's importance as regards EU integrated border management policies. This review will shed light to assess the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds as it will help to understand the importance of Turkish borders for the EU and its relevance with Turkey's accession.

4.2   GENERAL OVERVIEW ON BORDERS OF TURKEY

Turkey borders Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Syria in the east and south, Bulgaria and Greece in the west. Turkey has 139 border gates (European Commission, 2014a). Sea border measurement of Turkey is 8333 km in total, while that of land is 2949 km; and the border measurements of Turkey with the neighbouring countries are; 203 km with Greece,

269 km Bulgaria, 276 km with Georgia, 328 km with Armenia, 18 km with Azerbaijan, 560 km with Iran, 384 km with Iraq, and 911 km with Syria (İçduygu, and Sert, 2014). Particularly, the length of borders with troubling Syria and Iraq increases anxiety at the EU level in case of a possible Turkish membership.

On the other hand, Turkey has become a subject of international security as it has been located on one of the largest migration paths from East to West. In this respect, the problems regarding border security are of importance that transcends the region (Birdişli and Gören, 2018). Geographically, Turkish membership will push EU borders to further east and south and this means that EU would border Iran, Syria, and Iraq (Kubicek, 2005). Therefore, 'Turco-sceptics' think that the EU will border and neighbour Middle East and that is a challenge that the EU will not wish to tolerate (Aydin and Esen, 2007).

There is no specific borderline in the eastern side of Turkey, nevertheless, geographical forms determine the border in a natural way; for instance Turkey-Iraq border is defined by high mountains (Kaya, 2012). About 65% of borders of Turkey pass through mountainous areas and the borders especially in the east and southeast mostly pass through the mountains. Depending on the geographical characteristics of the region, even the summer has harsh climatic conditions, and border control in east and southeast regions of Turkey is quite difficult and these adverse conditions cause border violations (Birdişli and Gören, 2018). Turkey-Iran border is the Europe's oldest border and it is quite problematic due to transnational terrorist and drug trafficking; 20-30% of the drug dispatched to Europe is thought to flow through a path that includes Afghanistan-Iran-Turkey and the Balkans (Birdişli and Gören, 2018). There are lots of hidden passages in Iranian border area and the mountainous structure of Iran-Turkey border zone provides opportunity to illegal cross border activities (European Commission, 2015c).

Turkey's location between Asia and Europe and its proximity to the Middle East grants Turkey a strategic location, thus it plays a significant regional role (European Commission, 2018e). Due to its geography with the mountainous borders in the east, and on the other side with long Aegean and Mediterranean beaches, Turkey is an attractive country for irregular transit migrants and thus, vulnerable to irregular border crossings. İçduygu and Sert (2014) suggest that Turkey is a natural bridge between economically, politically unstable neighbouring countries in the south and east and prosperous countries

in the north and west. Transit migrants use many ways to enter Turkey; by using forged documents, hiding in vehicles which pass across the borders, passing borders on donkeys, horses or on foot, passing sea borders on fishing boats, or entering legally but failing to leave after the expiry of visa (İçduygu and Toktaş 2002; İçduygu and Sert, 2014). In addition, illegal immigrants are smuggled to Turkey and Europe through unregulated land, air or sea borders or regulated check points by using stolen or counterfeit passports or concealing in cargoes (Project Fiche of TR080210, 2008).

Historically, diverse migratory movements and flows have been affecting Turkey. Traditionally, Turkey has been a country of emigration, during 1960s and 1970s, big numbers of Turkish citizens have migrated to Europe (Kaya, 2012). Yet, since 1980s, there has been a shift in Turkey's position from an emigration country to a transit and immigrant receiving country (Kaya, 2012). During the last decades, Turkey has turned to be destination country for the political refugees from Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Palestine and several African countries (National Action Plan, 2006). High level of migration through Turkey received great attention on both Turkey's and international agendas (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000). İçduygu (2006, 2007) has divided irregular migration in Turkey into three main categories: first, transit migrants without proper documents aiming to cross to EU with the help of smugglers; second, irregular migrants who enter Turkey with valid visa, but work in Turkey without proper documents; and third, asylum seekers who enter Turkey without valid documents (as cited by Üstübici, 2018).

According to the statistics of Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), irregular migrants captured in 2018 in Turkey were mostly from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria and Iraq. In addition, there has been a gradual increase in the number of irregular migrants who have been captured throughout years. In 2013 this number was 39.890 while it was increased to 268.003 in 2018. The relevant figure is presented below according to DGMM statistics (2019):
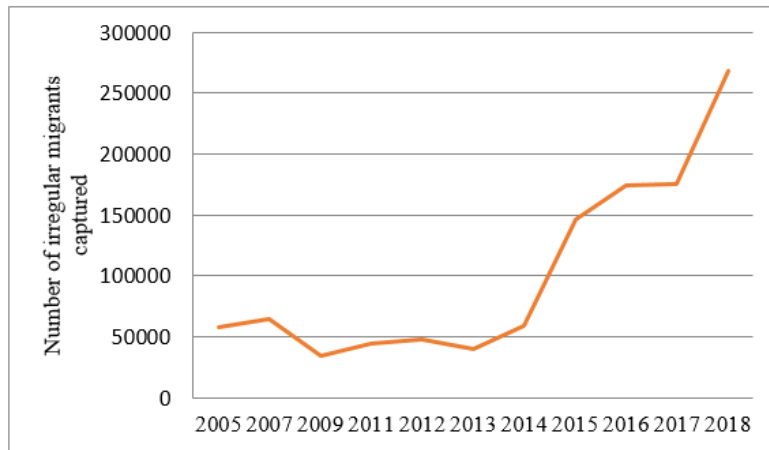
Figure 1: Number of Irregular Migrants Captured

On the other hand, in 2018, almost 40% percent of the captured irregular migrants were from Afghanistan and almost 20% percent of those were from Pakistan according to statistics of Directorate General of Migration Management. Afghans living in Iran as refugees are considered to be one of the sources of irregular Afghan migration, and they use Iran-Turkish borders for illegal crossings and there has been a sharp increase in the migrants arrested in the recent years (European Commission, 2015c). Details have been given in below figure in accordance with DGMM statistics (2019):
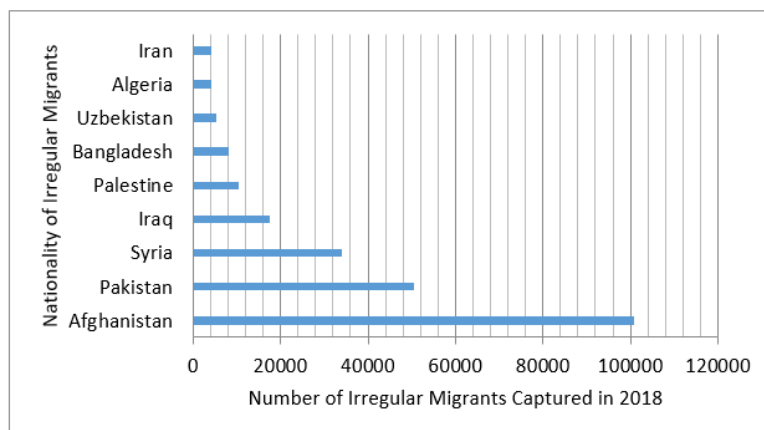
Figure 2: Nationality of Irregular Migrants Captured in 2018

In addition, the number of captured irregular migrants by the Turkish Coast Guard had a peak level in 2015 with a number of 91.611 which has decreased to 21.937 in 2017, and increased to 26.678 in 2018 (Turkish Coast Guard Command, 2018). Please see below figure for details:
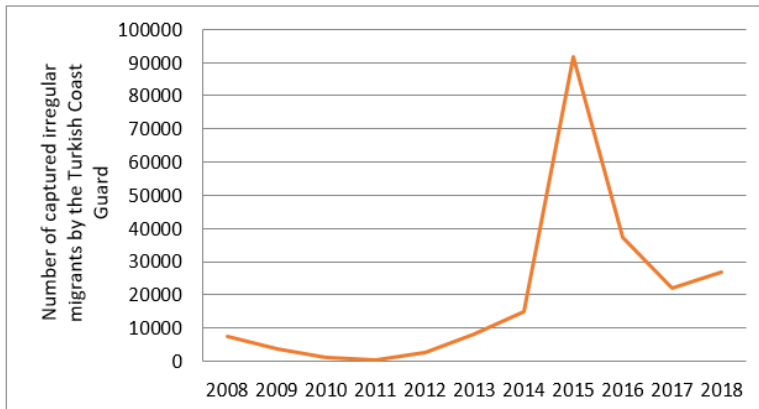
Figure 3: Number of Irregular Migrants Captured by Turkish Coast Guard Command

On the other hand, according to 2019 Frontex Risk Analysis Report, top three nationalities detected in illegal border crossings in the EU external borders is Syria, Morocco and Afghanistan.

Besides irregular migration, terrorism is one of the prioritized issues in Turkey which has a crucial importance in determination of policies concerning border security (Kaya, 2012). In 1980s, Turkey started to fight PKK (Barkey and Taşpınar, 2006) which is also on the terrorist organisations list of the EU (European Commission, 2018e). On the other hand the weapon smugglers consider Turkey as a conduit for supplies (Falk and Farer, 2013). Because of war and internal disorders in the neighbour countries, importance of fighting against illicit trade of arms and ammunition has increased and this becomes evident in the increase in the number of operations carried out by department of anti-smuggling and organised crime and the number of arms and ammunition seized in 2017 (Turkish National Police, 2017). Smuggling offenses have been committed either by direct border infringement or by irregular or misleading transactions in customs procedures (Turkish National Police, 2017). Therefore, strengthening border management in border zones and

border gates of Turkey in order to tackle with irregular immigration and smuggling have become a priority for both Turkey and EU which have been reflected in the EU-funded projects in Turkey, which will be elaborated in the following chapter.

Sert (2013) asserts that the borders of Turkey differ from that of EU and border control and management is a difficult duty in Turkey for several reasons. First, as mentioned above, its mountainous nature and rough climate conditions in winters, particularly in eastern and south-eastern borders are barriers for effective border controls; second there are kinship relations across the borders historically and politically, which require different management methods; third, security forces are responsible for various tasks simultaneously, including fight against terrorism, preventing terrorist flows into Turkey, fight against irregular migration and smuggling and; fourth, border security is not a prioritized issue for Turkey's eastern neighbours because of internal instability, geographical difficulties or inadequate resources, which increases Turkey's burden and responsibility (Sert, 2013).

Being a candidate country, improvement of border management is important for Turkey for EU membership aspects as well (Sert, 2013). In accordance with Additional Protocol of Amsterdam Treaty, the Article 8, candidate countries must have the required capacity for the application of Schengen Agreement prior to membership, in order to be able to accomplish the agreement provisions after membership. This is also valid for Turkey and accordingly, integrated border management system is aimed to be created in Turkey that requires inter-institutional, intra-institutional and international cooperation (Sert, 2013).

There are many authorities/institutions in Turkey which are responsible for border management which makes coordination and cooperation a challenging issue (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2017). Land Forces Command is responsible from the security and protection of land borders, Coast Guard Command is from that of sea borders; General Command of Gendarmerie is responsible from civil and judicial tasks concerning border security (Yeşiltaş, 2015). The border crossings of persons, goods and vehicles are carried out by Ministry of Trade, DG for Law Enforcement (Seren and Yeşiltaş, 2017). General Directorate of Health for Borders and Coasts under Ministry of Health is responsible to take all necessary health measures in international entry points in order to prevent the introduction of public health risks to Turkey (Health Decree, 2018, Art 653). Controls

related to veterinary and phytosanitary are carried out by the units affiliated to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Seren and Yeşiltaş, 2017).

Therefore, the segregation of duties within a high number of authorities is criticized by the EU which repeatedly underlines the importance of establishing a single border agency which will be elaborated in the following chapter. Also, the variety of authorities involving in border management require a strong coordination mechanism. The EU supports projects in Turkey which will be at the disposal of the new border agency in case of establishment, as well as establishment of a National Coordination and Joint Risk Analysis Centre in order to strengthen cooperation and risk analysis which will also be detailed in the following chapter.

4.3 KEY DEVELOPMENTS ON INTEGRATED BORDER MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY

It can be said that the first step of Turkey for the integrated border management towards EU membership is the creation of 'task force' in 2002 which is composed of Land Forces, Coast Guard Command, General Command of Gendarmerie, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Undersecretariat of Customs representatives (National Action Plan, 2006).

The task force has developed 'Strategy Paper on the Protection of External Borders in Turkey' in 2003, which has broadly outlined the harmonization process (Kirişci, 2004). This strategy paper has included a commitment for the creation of a professional agency with non-military border guards (Commission Communication COM (2004) 656).

After the launch of accession negotiations in 2005, the process has started to be accelerated and 'National Action Plan towards the implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy' (National Action Plan hereafter) was adopted in March 2006 as an output of an EU-funded twinning project, of which implementing partners were France and United Kingdom (Baird, 2015). This action plan has foreseen establishment of a single, civilian, non-military and professional body which will be responsible from the border management as well as border surveillance and controls at all border gates in Turkey (National Action Plan, 2006). The EU has considered the plan as a "step forward towards alignment with the EU standards" since development of an

integrated border management approach is seen to be one of the key elements for accession negotiations under Chapter 24 (Turkey Progress Report, 2006, p.62). Thus, as regards IBM, it can be said that efforts on integrated border management have started with the adoption of this action plan (European Commission, 2014a).

Later in 2008, Border Management Bureau has been established under Ministry of Interior which is responsible for conducting legislative and administrative tasks of IBM and for establishment of a new border security agency. It undertakes the main functions in ensuring coordination and close cooperation with relevant agencies for an effective border management (European Commission, 2014a).

In 2010, a circular was adopted on the establishment of 'Integrated Border Management Coordination Board' to be met at least twice a year (Prime Ministry, 2010).

In 2012, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between Frontex and Turkey (Turkey Progress Report, 2012) and in 2014 a Cooperation Plan was signed between Turkey and Frontex to cover 2014-2016 for the share of data for risk analysis, operational cooperation and training (Turkey Progress report, 2014).

In March 2016, a new Regulation[5] has been adopted 'on inter-institutional cooperation and coordination in the field of border management' which has deemed to be a further step forward and which also established the National Coordination and Joint Risk Analysis Centre (NACORAC) with the target of collecting, exchanging and processing data on border security (Turkey Progress Report, 2016).

In above sections, developments regarding integrated border management of both EU and Turkey have been mentioned, as well as the situation of Turkish borders and the problems encountered. The next section will present the relations of Turkey and EU as regards border management and address the common problems and expectations of the EU from Turkey in terms of strengthening its border management and compliance with EU standards.

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[5]Regulation 2016/8520 on inter-institutional cooperation and coordination in the field of border management

4.4 RELATIONS OF EU AND TURKEY AS REGARDS BORDER MANAGEMENT

The EU expects that non-EU partner countries effectively control their borders and decrease irregular migration flows towards EU (Geddes, 2014). In addition, EU asks candidate countries to take actions for control of their borders and immigration, each of which is among the prioritized areas in Europe (Kaya, 2012). In this sense, it has been argued that the EU defines its borders in accordance with its interests and makes European identity as a priority, through preserving a comfort zone which is protected by the amicable buffer states like Turkey (Anderson, Bort, 2001; Tocci 2010 as cited by Kaya, 2012).

When it comes to Turkey's candidacy, the EU considers that in case of Turkey's membership, EU's new long external borders will become a critical political challenge and will require considerable investments; however, closer cooperation both before accession and after accession will facilitate managing migration, and fight against terrorism, organized crime, human trafficking, drug and arms smuggling (European Commission, 2004). The EC also reveals that it will have to strengthen its policies in crucial fields such as management of external borders and foreign policy in case of Turkey's membership (European Commission, 2004).

In this context, Hill (2002) argues that Turkey's entry will confer EU the long frontiers with three of the most problematic states in the world; Syria, Iraq and Iran which are unmanageable. Similarly, Diez (2007) contends that the borders of the EU will be "probably harder than the current border with Turkey" (p.421). In this regard, Kaya (2012) argues that there is a dilemma between allowing and excluding Turkey; on the one hand, irregular migration from Turkey's neighbours will threat EU, thus cause discourses against Turkey's EU membership; on the other hand, Turkey will contribute to EU's peace and security agenda with its individual efforts by securing its external borders, which will facilitate Turkey's entry to the EU. In this respect, the EU requires Turkey to securitize migration which necessitates reserving more resources for the efforts to manage flows and enhancing border regime (İçduygu and Sert, 2010).

The EU becomes more concerned about the migration flows, and EU member states consider this issue as a national security problem. Indeed, the transit migration has been on the EU agenda since 1990s when numbers of illegal migrants have shown up on Greece, Spain and Italy shores (İçduygu and Sert, 2014). Considering the fact that the terrorists linked to the New York, London and Madrid attacks had immigrant backgrounds, the immigration has started to be seen as a source of uncertainty that encompasses the region's political, economic and social layers and a source of insecurity (İçduygu and Sert, 2014). When the issue is the insecurity, it is also worth noting that the traffickers and smugglers are also integral part of these transit migratory movements, which are crucial constituents of criminal networks. Therefore, Turkey, as a transit country due to its geographical position, attracts a great policy attention of the EU during accession negotiations (İçduygu and Sert, 2014) since it has been seen as a source of country of illegal immigrants and a bottleneck for trafficking routes into Europe (Coleman, 2009). One of the tools to tackle with migration problem has deemed to be the readmission agreement (Coleman, 2009). In this regard, 27% decrease has been reported by the member states in illegal crossings in 2018, as compared to 2017 (Frontex, 2019b).

Thus, border management is very important as regards EU-Turkey cooperation and EU supports Turkey to strengthen its capacity for the management of migration and to establish an effective border management system (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2017). The alignment of border security policy and related practices in line with EU acquis is one of the requirements for Turkey's EU accession (Kaya, 2012). Border management is elaborated under Chapter 24: Justice, Freedom and Security, which is unilaterally blocked by Cyprus (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). The EU Delegation to Turkey (EUD) mentions that there has been a comprehensive reform process in Turkey in this field since 2002 which is supported by the EU (2017). The EUD (2017) also underlines the target of Turkey which has been laid down in Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy and National Action Plan which have been adopted in 2003 and 2006 respectively, to establish a single, non-military authority for border management.

Turkey uses economic and diplomatic instruments for the resolution of security problems (Oğuzlu, 2010-11). Border security and management is a very costly area as good infrastructure investments require sophisticated high technology equipment. The EU also supports capacity building activities in the relevant institutions, and there have been

various projects implemented in this area, some of which are very large in terms of size and budget and serve for the purpose of modernization and upgrade of border management system (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2017). There is also co-funding mechanism in the implementation of projects, and most of the projects are co-financed by Turkey and EU in diverging proportions. Hence, Turkey's border surveillance capacity is enhanced by EU funded projects as well as national resources, such as the repair and maintenance of border lightening systems, border patrol roads (European Commission, 2014a) in addition to construction of walls on the eastern borders (Birdişli and Gören, 2018).

Yet, it is worth to remind that in case of Turkey's accession to the EU, internal border checks vis-à-vis Turkey will not be immediately lifted, thus Turkish citizens as well as other EU citizens who cross Turkey's borders will be subject to border controls and will have to show their passports or identity cards (Commission Communication COM (2004) 656). This issue has also been reiterated in the Screening Report for Chapter 24 (2006), stating that Turkey will not be a part of Schengen cooperation on its EU accession day, but only when all requirements are completed which will be at a later stage. In this context, Andoura (2005) argues that EU will ask for long periods of transition in Schengen area and will be excessively strict on deciding when Turkey has met all the criteria, and EU will get more power over the issues concerning justice and home affairs once Turkey becomes a member state, which is obviously a difficult area for the negotiations.

The EU criticizes that while Turkey dedicates significant resources to border management, several aspects are not conforming to EU practices; for instance border management is divided between several authorities such as army, police, and coast guard although best practices of Schengen necessitate single professional authority for border management (Commission Communication COM (2004) 656). In this context, in 2000 there has been a mission of EU Justice and Home Affairs experts to Turkey. In their mission reports, it has been underlined that Turkey needs to establish a non-military professional body which would be responsible for border controls; both green (land) and blue (sea) borders (as cited by Project Fiche of TR0404.04, 2004). This issue has also been stressed in the National Action Plan as mentioned above.

For this purpose, it has been considered that a new organization can be established under auspices of Ministry of Interior. However, National Action Plan reveals that Turkey's borders are different from that of EU's as regards its geography; and unlike EU states, border protection and border controls are not limited to the efforts made for the prevention of smaller scale illegal immigration and trafficking or for the identification of asylum seekers among the immigrants. Turkey also fights against terrorism, so prevention of entry of terrorists is also among the primary objectives of border security in Turkey (National Action Plan, 2006). In addition, illegal crossings from the border gates comprise only a small share in Turkey; most of the illegal crossings are from the border zones other than gates (National Action Plan, 2006). Therefore, it has been mentioned that restructuring towards non-military border management can be initiated at the western borders since the land structure in that region is much more convenient and terrorist activities rarely happen (Kaya, 2012).

In the National Action Plan, it has also been mentioned that the borders should be strengthened with technological infrastructure including surveillance equipment to meet EU standards. It has been emphasized in the plan that despite extensive efforts of Land Forces Command to ensure security at the borders, to prevent illegal crossings they should be supported by the infrastructure like electricity, road, communication facilities, and border security systems like physical barriers, cameras and related equipment; and the duties and power can be transferred to another authority only in case of all infrastructure requirements are met, until then, the existing practices should be continued in the east and south east border; therefore the priority should be the improvement of the existing system throughout the long transition period to achieve complete security at the border of Turkey which will turn to be the external borders of the EU. In the light of these explanations, this action plan seems to be the starting point for investments for modern border control and surveillance systems which will be detailed in the following chapter.

As a conclusion, this chapter has presented that Turkey's strategic location between Asia and Europe and its proximity to the Middle East grants Turkey a significant regional role (European Commission, 2018e). Particularly, the length of borders with troubling Syria and Iraq increases anxiety at the EU level in case of a possible Turkish membership. Due to its geography with the mountainous borders in the east, and long beaches in the west and south, Turkey is an attractive country for irregular transit migrants and thus vulnerable

to irregular border crossings. On the other hand, Turkey's security horizons are very broad (Lesser, 2000) and border control and management is a difficult duty in Turkey; because of its mountainous nature and rough climate conditions in winters in eastern borders; variety of responsibilities undertaken by the security forces in the areas other than border control such as fight against terrorism, preventing terrorist flows into Turkey, fight against irregular migration and smuggling; and heavy burden on Turkey on border management due to instability in eastern neighbours (Sert, 2013).

On the other hand, border management tasks is segregated among various authorities in Turkey and the EU criticizes this situation on the grounds of the best practices of Schengen, necessitating civilian single professional authority for border management (Commission Communication COM (2004) 656). No concrete steps have been taken for establishment of a single civilian border agency so far. Actually, it seems that establishing a 'single authority' is not an obligation as it has been among the recommendations within Schengen Catalogue. However, segregation of duties among various authorities in Turkey is obviously a challenge. On the other hand, the member states have defined their own border management practices in accordance with their characteristics; for instance, in France, there are Directorate General for Border Police responsible from borders and also Maritime Gendarmerie responsible from ports; in Finland, there is Directorate General for Border Enforcement under Ministry of Interior which has a semi-military structure; in Italy, there is Directorate General for Migration and Border Police under Ministry of Interior (Özler, 2010). Therefore, the member states bring their own solutions to border management that fit their characteristics.

Being a candidate country, improvement of border management is important for Turkey for EU membership aspects (Sert, 2013). The candidate countries must have the required capacity for the application of Schengen Agreement prior to membership and the EU considers that in case of Turkey's membership, EU's new long external borders will become a critical political challenge and will require considerable investments (European Commission, 2004).

Therefore, border management is very important as regards EU-Turkey cooperation and EU supports Turkey to strengthen its capacity for the management of migration and to establish an effective border management system (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2017). As

Turkey fights against terrorism in addition to huge migration flows, and most of the illegal crossings are from the border zones other than the border gates (National Action Plan, 2006), strengthening the borders is among Turkey's priorities as well. Border security and management is a very costly area requiring sophisticated equipment. Thus, the EU supports infrastructure requirements in addition to capacity building activities in Turkey which will be mentioned in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

EU PRE-ACCESSION FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Turkey has been receiving financial aid of EU since 1963, which has been increased throughout time, particularly after being granted the candidate status. In this context, the first section will make a general overview on the financial assistance, particularly the pre-accession funds with addressing the key documents and assistance mechanisms. It will continue with the amount of financial assistance with a sectoral comparison and presentation of the significance of allocations to border management projects and finally, EU funded projects in the field of border management will be mentioned as well as the background documents on determining the projects to the financed.

As this thesis aims to explain the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds in Turkey, presenting the EU pre-accession funds is of utmost importance. It is essential to understand the reasons behind allocating funds to Turkey and the allocation of funds for integrated border management, so that it can be explained whether the funds in this field are related with accession or EU's own interests to safeguard its external borders. In above sections, EU's border management paradigm, problems encountered in the border management, Turkey's role, EU's concerns regarding Turkey's membership as regards border management have been presented. In this chapter, EU's financial assistance will be mentioned with an emphasis to border management together with the expectations of EU from Turkey, and the assistance given, the projects realized and the flow of the process.

It should also be noted that while assessing the impact of EU border security policies on pre-accession funds in Turkey, in addition to archival research, semi-structured interview has been performed with the experts and officials playing role in the programming of financial assistance process like EU Delegation to Turkey and Directorate for EU Affairs

and those having projects in the field of border management funded by the EU, such as Directorate General for Provincial Administration (Department of Border Management), Ministry of Trade (Turkish Customs Administration) as end beneficiaries, Ministry of Interior as the Lead institution and in addition Presidency of Defence Industries, the Frontex Liaison office in Turkey and CFCU as the Contracting Authority. The interviewees have been selected on the basis of their experience in this field who take role in different stages of Project Cycle Management and have been approached through author's personal networks. Two of the interviewees have been contacted thanks to recommendations given in the other interviews. There has been fourteen interviews in total and participants have been coded as P-1, P-2 and so on, in order not to disclose their identities as committed to the interviewees. One of the interviews has been realized in a public place, while the others have been realized in the offices of the interviewees. All interviewees have been very cooperative, helpful and open and each interview has taken around 120 minutes.

5.2   GENERAL OVERVIEW on FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Article 21 of the Treaty on the European Union defines the EU enlargement policy which is based on the fundamentals of the EU such as democracy, rule of law, freedom, respect for human rights and dignity, equality and solidarity (TEU).

Turkey's financial cooperation with the EU dates back to 1963, the Ankara Agreement, stating;

> during the preparatory stage Turkey shall, with aid from the Community, strengthen its economy so as to enable it to fulfil the obligations which will devolve upon it during the transitional and final stages (Article 3).

Accordingly, Turkey was supported with financial assistance by the EU in the form of loans and grants; and there has been a substantial increase in assistance in the course of the time, particularly after the opening of negotiations with Turkey.

In Copenhagen summit in 1993, the EU laid down criteria for further accession to the EU which reflects the founding values of the EU, as well as significance of a functioning market economy (European Commission, 2015a). These played role in transformation and entry of Central and Eastern European countries, but are still valid and being applied to all

potential candidate and candidate countries. So-called Copenhagen criteria involve three elements that should be met by these countries; political, economic criteria and harmonization with EU acquis (European Commission, 2015a).

The EU has developed programs special to the candidate countries during their accession process in order for the gradual alignment of their institutions (Duric, 2014). The overall objective of the EU financial aid is to assist enlargement countries in their efforts for undertaking the reforms to meet the membership obligations of the EU (Duric, 2014). Since 2007, the financial instrument applied to potential candidate and candidate countries is Instrument for Pre-accession (IPA) of which legal basis is Article 212 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

IPA Regulation[6] was adopted on 17 July 2006 in order to support the potential candidate and candidate countries in their gradual alignment with the EU standards and policies and the acquis communautaire (IPA Regulation 1085/2006). IPA replaced various other programs including PHARE[7], CARDS[8], ISPA[9], and SAPARD[10], and has become the sole instrument devoted for the financial assistance to the pre-accession countries with simplified assistance process (European Commission, 2015a).

Within this scope, the objective of EU financial assistance to Turkey is to strengthen institutional capacity, improve quality of legislation and its implementation and to facilitate integration to the common policies in case of membership (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019).

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[6] Council Regulation (EC) No 1085/2006 of 17 July 2006 establishing an Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)

[7] Poland and Hungary Assistance for Restructuring their Economies

[8] The programme of Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization

[9] Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession

[10] Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development

The amount of financial assistance provided to potential candidate and candidate countries is solely determined by the EU, including allocation of funds between the countries and the components of the assistance; nevertheless allocation of budget between the components as well as the programming and implementation of the components are decided conjointly by the EU and Turkey, by also considering the specific conditions of Turkey (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019).

In accordance with IPA regulation, the period of assistance was determined to run from 2007 to 2013. During this period, which is called as IPA-I period, the key document specifying the priorities of the components has been the Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD), which has been prepared jointly by the EU and Turkey. The document was to cover 3 years period but was subject to annual revisions (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). Financial assistance was allocated for five components; Transition Assistance and Institution Building, Cross-Border Cooperation, Regional Development, Human Resources Development and finally Rural Development (IPA Regulation, 1085/2006). The main focus of the first component, 'Transition Assistance and Institution Building Component', has been inter alia, the acquis alignment and reforms in public administration and justice and home affairs. This component has also been complementary to investment projects under the third and fourth components addressing transport, environment, employment, education (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). Border security and border management projects have been financed under the first component which will be elaborated in the next section. The other components are not related to this thesis topic, therefore will not be detailed further.

The IPA Regulation has been expired[11] in 2013; however it was decided to maintain the external assistance for further seven years and a new Regulation[12] establishing IPA II has been adopted on 11 March 2014, to cover the period 2014-2020. The objective of the assistance is similar to that of IPA-I, and is to support the countries in adoption and implementation of the administrative, legal, political, social, institutional and economic

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[11] Although IPA-I Regulation has been expired, the implemetation of contracts signed under IPA-I and their payment processes are still on-going in Turkey.

[12] Regulation (EU) No 231/2014 of The European Parliament and of the Council of 11 March 2014 establishing an Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II)

reforms in order to enable them to comply with EU values and align with EU standards, rules, policies, and practices (IPA II Regulation, 231/2014). So, the objectives of IPA-I and IPA-II remain the same, despite having differences in some other aspects (Duric, 2014).

In IPA-II period, the financing priorities are laid down in the Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey (2014-2020) which was adopted in August 2014, and Turkey have made efforts to take a more pro-active role in decision making process (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). The strategy paper uses the political priorities laid down in the framework of enlargement policy in order to determine the key areas where assistance is most required and useful in assisting Turkey on its path to accession (European Commission, 2014c). Thus, financial assistance is planned to be focused on the areas where investments and reforms are most required and be tailored to the capacities of Turkey in meeting these needs (European Commission, 2018e).

While deciding on the priorities, other financing conditions are also taken into consideration like beneficiary's own resources, availability of other EU instruments or stakeholders support or support of International Financial Institutions. One of the aspects in financing decision is the elimination of duplication; while one another is coherence with annual country reports and EU enlargement strategy for Turkey (European Commission, 2018e). In this regard, 2018 Enlargement Strategy underlines the need to focus on fundamental reforms first (Commission Communication COM (2018) 450). During interviews, it has been mentioned that the conjuncture or the political reasons also play role in deciding the priorities.

One of the differences the EU introduced in IPA-II period is that sectoral approach is adopted rather than financing through the components, for the sake of a more effective utilization of funds. In this new period, the strategic importance of EU pre-accession assistance has been increased (Consortium for External Evaluation, 2017) and two pillars have been identified for financial assistance; 'democracy and rule of law' and 'competitiveness and growth' (European Commission, 2018e). Accordingly, 'democracy and governance', 'rule of law and fundamental rights', 'environment, climate action and energy', 'transport', 'competitiveness, innovation, agriculture, and rural development' and 'education, employment and social policies' have been identified as sectors under the two

pillars and these areas have been divided into sub-sectors (European Commission, 2018e). Subsequently, the sector of 'rule of law and fundamental rights' is segregated into three sub-sectors; 'judiciary', 'fundamental rights' and 'home affairs' (Financing Agreement, 2014). Home Affairs sub-sector involves harmonization activities of many institutions. Main target of assistance under this sub-sector is to implement visa liberalisation roadmap by enhancing legal and administrative framework of Turkey in this area in accordance with EU acquis and standards (European Commission, 2014a).

For this purpose, lead institutions have been identified per priority sectors in order to carry out sectoral preparations (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). Accordingly, the lead institution responsible from the Home Affairs sub-sector is the Ministry of Interior (Prime Ministry, 2015) and is responsible from the overall coordination (European Commission, 2014a). Other key institutions that have role in implementation of activities under Home Affairs sub-sector is Ministry of Trade (DG for Customs Enforcement), Turkish General Staff, Gendarmerie General Command, Turkish National Police, Turkish Coast Guard Command, as well as international organizations such as UNHCR, UNDP, IOM and also Frontex (European Commission, 2014a).

The European Commission states that there has become homogeneity and coherence where national sectors and IPA sectors coincide; nevertheless, this is less obvious in more heterogeneous sectors where programming documents are lack of proper sectoral focus (Consortium for External Evaluation, 2017). In this context, the EC claims that one of the sectors for which this situation is evident is 'rule of law and fundamental rights' which involves large sub-sectors such as Home Affairs, and shift in the programming style, from the project-based approach to the sectoral programming is still at a transition level.

There are also priority areas under the sub-sectors and 'integrated border management' is one of these areas under Home Affairs sub-sector, while that of others are 'migration and asylum' and 'fight against organised crime' (European Commission, 2015c). In this context, it was underlined that in order to set up open and secure borders, Turkey's efforts on IBM need to continue through strengthening its legal, institutional and technical capacity, by also taking the migration flows into consideration, which will also enable Turkey to progress to a civilian border agency (European Commission, 2014c).

5.3   FINANCIAL FIGURES for FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

First of all, it is worth noting that, in both IPA-I and IPA-II periods, the 'Financing Agreements' in which the exact allocation to specific projects are presented, serve as the legal basis for the implementation of the projects.

In IPA-I period, the Multi-Annual Indicative Financial Framework (MIFF) was adopted for the indicative allocation of the overall IPA envelope in line with Article 5 of the IPA Regulation, which has presented the envelope broken down by country and component.

According to Revised MIFF for 2013[13], which was the latest MIFF for IPA-I period, the budget allocation per countries was as presented below:

Table 1: Pre-accession funds allocated per country in IPA-I

Candidate/ Potential Candidate Countries	TOTAL
Croatia	997.646.663
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	614.888.608
Iceland	29.807.815
Montenegro	235.715.039
Turkey	4.795.067.817
Albania	594.527.743
Bosnia and Herzegovina	655.524.418
Serbia	1.385.650.498
Kosovo	635.365.817
TOTAL	**9.944.194.418**

Source: Author's own calculation from revised MIFF 2013

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[13] MIFF presents allocation per country, but data within MIFF was given per component and per year. Cumulative allocation per country has been calculated by the author.

As seen in Table 1, in IPA-I period, the overall IPA envelope was around 9,9 billion euros which was allocated to potential candidate and candidate countries, and half of which was allocated solely to Turkey for an amount of almost 4,8 billion euros. Nevertheless, per capita share of Turkey has been lower than the other countries as well as per capita allocations of pre-accession funds of the new ten member states, immediately prior to their accession (Mrak and Horvat, 2009). For instance, while IPA allocation to Turkey per capita was 66 EUR, it was 171 EUR for Bosnia and Herzegovina and 378 EUR for Montenegro (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019). In Turkish National Programme for the adoption of the Acquis of 2001 (NPAA), it was stated that Turkey needs approximately 4.2 billion euro for the adoption of EU acquis, 8-10 billion euro for harmonizing with common agricultural policy and additional 3 billion euro credit for SMEs; implying that total estimated amount was far beyond the IPA allocations. Therefore, EU financial assistance to Turkey cannot be deemed as adequate, still Turkey makes maximum effort for the effective utilization of funds (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019).

Table 2: Pre-accession funds allocated to Turkey in IPA-I

Components	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Transition Assistance and Institution	256.702.720	256.125.297	239.550.810	217.809.826	231.268.023	227.499.161	238.500.014
Cross-border Co-operation	2.097.280	2.874.709	3.049.190	3.090.174	5.131.977	2.174.617	2.218.109
Regional Development	167.500.000	173.800.000	182.700.000	238.100.000	293.400.000	356.066.389	366.882.353
Human Resources Development	50.200.000	52.900.000	55.600.000	63.400.000	77.600.000	83.188.000	91.167.077
Rural Development	20.700.000	53.000.000	85.500.000	131.300.000	172.500.000	187.387.295	204.184.796
TOTAL	**497.200.000**	**538.700.006**	**566.400.000**	**653.700.000**	**779.900.000**	**856.315.462**	**902.852.349**

Source: Revised MIFF 2013

In IPA-I period, unlike some of the countries, all components of IPA have been financially supported in Turkey. In this regard, the above Table 2 presents that there has been a gradual increase in financial assistance throughout years. The bulk of assistance have been

allocated to 'transition assistance and institutional building' and 'regional development' as seen in above table.

Table 3: Ratio of Allocation for Border Management Projects in IPA-I Period

Ratio of Allocated Budget	(%) (approx.)
Border management projects/ Total transition assistance component	9,76
Border management projects/ Total IPA-I envelope	3,40

Source: Author's own calculation[14]

As presented in Table 3, the ratio of amount of projects serving for the purpose of 'enhancing border management capacity' to the 'transition assistance and institution building component' is approximately 9,76 %. As mentioned earlier, border projects have been financed through this component and significant portion of the component was allocated for this purpose. The ratio of amount of border management projects to the overall IPA-I budget is calculated to be around 3,40 %. In IPA-II period, as mentioned in the previous section, the main document is the Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey, which has been prepared for each of the potential candidate and candidate countries separately.

On the other hand, the below Table 4 reveals that there has been a decrease in overall IPA envelope compared to that of IPA-I period. Still, Turkey seems to have the largest portion again which is almost half of the total amount corresponding to around 3.5 billion euro;

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[14] No statistics have been published on the financial assistance allocated for border management projects. The author reviewed the relevant published project fiches and filtered the projects serving for the purpose of border management and calculated the allocated budget amount. It should also be kept in mind that as a result of tendering process, contract amount of the projects might have been changed due to competition, or there might have been cancellations during tendering process, or reductions during payment process or termination of contracts during implementation; so the actual budget spent might be different from the initial allocation. However, this thesis only deals with the initial allocated budget by the EU.

nevertheless the situation is still not so bright when per capita allocation is considered again similar to IPA-I period. It is also underlined in Revised Strategy Paper that, Turkey needs investments for the reforms and this requires resources beyond the IPA II financial assistance, therefore areas are prioritized for assistance.

Table 4: Indicative Allocations (million EUR) per country in IPA-II Period

Candidate/ Potential Candidate Countries	TOTAL
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	608,7
Montenegro	279,1
Turkey	3.533,0
Albania	639,5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	552,1
Serbia	1.539,1
Kosovo	602,1
TOTAL	**7.753,6**

Source: Author's own consolidation from Revised Indicative Strategy Papers 2014-2020[15]

Table 5 presented below shows that among the two main pillars, 'competitiveness and growth' receives almost two-third of the funds which addresses 'environment, climate action and energy; transport; competitiveness, innovation, agriculture and rural development; and education, employment and social policies' sectors, while the rest is allocated to 'democracy and rule of law'. At this point, it is also important to see allocations to sub-sectors in order to observe the significance of Home-Affairs sub-sector within the relevant policy area.

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[15] Indicative Strategy Papers (ISP) are prepared for each particular country. This table has been created by consolidating seven ISPs and total amount of IPA envelope has been calculated by the author.

Table 5: Indicative Allocation for Turkey per policy area per year in IPA-II period

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total 2014-2020
DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW	350	197	234	123	97	220	210	1.431
Democracy and governance	238	29	115	110	87	173	163	916
Rule of law and fundamental rights	112	167	119	13	10	47	47	515
COMPETITIVENESS AND GROWTH	264	429	386	370	289	175	189	2.103
TOTAL	614	626	620	493	387	395	399	3.533

Source: Revised Strategy Paper for Turkey (2014-2020)

Table 6: Allocation of funds per sub-sectors in Turkey in IPA-II period

Sectors	2014	2015	2016	2017
Democracy and Governance				
Town Twinning between Turkey and EU	4.050.000	-	-	-
Regulatory Reform and Acquis Alignment	32.400.000	-	-	-
Support to Participation in Union Programmes and Agencies	167.300.000	-	86.600.000	110.100.000
Civil Society	20.190.000	23.700.000	15.250.000	-
Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme	14.460.000	-	12.870.000	-
Local Administration Reform	-	5.450.000	-	-
Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights				
Judiciary	28.660.000	17.900.000	22.130.000	-
Fundamental Rights	10.920.000	12.579.975	5.000.000	13.000.000
Home Affairs	71.970.000	132.245.475	92.050.000	-

Source: Author's own compilation from the Financing Agreements

It is presented in above Table 6[16] that, 'Home Affairs' sub-sector receives the second highest amount of budget after 'Support to Participation in Union Programmes and Agencies' sub-sector, which is much higher than total allocation to other sub-sectors like

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[16] Financing Agreements are prepared for each year. While preparing this table, the data of Financing Agreement 2014 and 2015 (Addenda on 2017 and 2018 respectively); and 2016 and 2017 Financing Agreements have been used.

civil society, judiciary and fundamental rights. Actually, the amount in original planning for 2014-2020 for Turkey had been higher than the above given figures as shown below:

Table 7: Indicative Allocation for Turkey in IPA-II period - Initial Planning

	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total 2018-2020	Total 2014-2020
a. Reforms in preparation for Union membership	355,1	196,6	240,3	137,2	652,2	1.581,4
Democracy and governance	540,2				416,3	956,5
Rule of law and fundamental rights	388,9				236,0	624,9
b. Socio-economic and Regional development	155,8	265,8	247	261,4	595,3	1.525,3
c. Employment, social policies, education, promotion of gender equality, and human resources	37,4	62,9	65,9	68,9	199,9	435,0
d. Agriculture and rural development	72	100,9	77	158,1	504,2	912,2
TOTAL	**620,4**	**626,4**	**630,8**	**636,4**	**1.940,0**	**4.453,9**

Source: Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey[17] (2014-2020)

As it is seen from the Table 7, the initial allocation to Turkey had been very close to that of IPA-I with an amount of approximately 4.5 billion euros. Nevertheless, there was a 'performance reward exercise' in 2017 carried out by the EU services and the share of 2018-2020 has been reduced significantly. This exercise was based on the review of performance indicators towards meeting the accession criteria, and efficient implementation of the financial assistance, as well as the assessment of the absorption capacity (Revised Strategy Paper, 2014). Based on these criteria, indicative strategy paper has been revised and the programming of 2018-2020 is being carried out with a considerably decreased envelope, compared to the one envisaged earlier (European Commission, 2018e).

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[17] Particularly item 'b' has further breakdown in ISP, however they are not presented here because of irrelevance to this thesis topic

As also presented in Tables 5 and 7, reductions have been made particularly in the 'competitiveness and growth' pillar and the assistance for 2018-2020 is focused more on 'democracy and rule of law' pillar (European Commission, 2018e) . So, while there has been a decrease in the IPA envelope for a total amount of around 900 million euro; there is a deviation of around 150 million euros from the initial planning in total amount of 'democracy and rule of law' pillar and a decrease of around 120 million euro in this pillar in the 2018-2020 programming. Therefore, it seems that the 'penalty' decision of EU as a result of performance reward exercise does not affect 'democracy and rule of law' pillar, representing the EU's determination to support this area. In addition, as the projects concerning integrated border management fall under this pillar, it seems that the upcoming projects will not be significantly affected from the EU decision to cut down the funds.

On the other hand, as observed in above tables, the allocation for Home Affairs sub-sector and its priority areas including border management has not been declared from the beginning. During interviews, it has been revealed that the EU determines the budget per sub-sectors likely to be annually, and Turkish actors responsible for border management submit their project proposals in accordance with this unofficially stated budget under Home Affairs sub-sector, as stated by the interviewees P-1, P-2, P-3, P-6, P-10 and P-14. The way the EU decides the budget allocations to sub-sectors is a matter of question, but its decision making process is likely to include feedbacks from Turkey.

Table 8: Ratio of Allocation for Border Management Projects in IPA-II period

Ratio of Allocated Budget	(%) (approx.)
Border management projects/ Total Home Affairs sub-sector	50,96
Border management projects/ Total IPA-II envelope (2014-2018)	6,42

Source: Author's own calculation

As presented in Table 8[18], the ratio of amount of projects serving for the purpose of enhancing border management capacity to the home affairs sub-sector is approximately 50,96 %.

As mentioned earlier, Home Affairs sub-sector addresses three priority areas which are; 'integrated border management', 'migration and asylum' and 'fight against organised crime'. It seems that the budget allocation solely to integrated border management is higher than the total allocation to remaining priority areas within Home Affairs sub-sector. The interviewees P-4 and P-6 have also underlined that among the remaining priority areas, migration and asylum is prominent while fight against organized crime covers the least volume; likely because of EU's unwillingness to support this priority area with high cost investments. It has also been emphasized by the interviewees P-3, P-6 and P-9 that the EU is very supportive in border management projects, as an example the EU has accepted to re-fund a project of 2013 programming year in this field which has been cancelled, under 2014 programming year again. On the other hand, the ratio of amount of border management projects to the overall IPA-II budget calculated to be around 6,42 %, showing that the ratio is almost doubled compared to IPA-I period. In should be noted that for 2016 programming year, the only publicly available data is the award notice of a supply project[19] which could be taken into consideration during calculations. Nevertheless, there are other large scale border management projects under 2016 Action Document for which any publication has still not made and their budgets are kept confidential until publication. Therefore, obviously the ratio of border management projects to Home Affairs sub-sector and to the total IPA envelope are much higher than given in above Table 8. Thus, there is evidence that there has been a significant increase in the portion of border management projects compared to IPA-I period. The interviewees P-

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[18] In the 2017 report for EU-funded projects of the Ministry of Interior, budget allocations for 2014 and 2015 programming years were presented per end beneficiaries under Home Affairs sub-sector. As the corresponding Action Document of 2014 and 2015 clearly present the end beneficiaries and their projects, the amount for border management projects has been calculated by matching the data of Ministry of Interior to these Action Documents. For 2016, only the data of an award notice belonging to one specific project could be used, since the contracting process of others are under progress and their budgets are kept confidential until publication. On the other hand, no budget has been allocated for Home Affairs sub-sector under 2017 programming year, therefore contribution from this programming year to border management was taken as zero.

[19] Supply for Increasing Border Surveillance Capacity of Turkey

2, P-3, P-4, P-6 and P-7 have emphasized that the large scale border management projects in IPA-II period are related with 'National Action Plan' and 'the roadmap' which has been prepared by TUBİTAK in consortium with Turkish, Italian and German companies (Award Notice, 2007) as an output of an EU-funded project, and also related with the predetermined schedule. It has also been underlined by the interviewees P-2, P-6, P-9, P-11, P-13 and P-14 that the projects for enhancing border management are highly expensive, which require a significant allocation of money compared to other priority areas. In this regard, it is true that for instance, for 'Supply for Increasing Border Surveillance Capacity of Turkey' project, the EU has given over 90 million euros, which is a very extraordinary amount allocated for a particular project. The total amount of the project is approximately 110 million euros with Turkish co-financing which displays the magnificent volume of the project.

After this analysis of financial assistance, the EU-funded projects in the field of integrated border management will be reviewed in the next section.

5.4 EU FUNDED PROJECTS IN THE FIELD OF BORDER MANAGEMENT

Chapter 24 of the EU acquis (Justice, Freedom and Security) together with Chapter 23 (Judicial and Fundamental Rights) comprise the backbone of the efforts of Turkey towards political reforms and alignment with the political criteria (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2014) and these chapters have started to be reviewed under 'Fundamentals First: Political Criteria and Rule of Law Chapters' in annual progress reports as of 2018, rather than 'Ability to Assume the Obligations of Membership' section as before. During interviews, it has been argued by the interviewees P-9 and P-10 that the accession of Turkey is not a technical, but a political issue, therefore differentiating key chapters from the technical ones sounds meaningful. Schengen acquis is the most elaborated part of the EU policies on 'justice, freedom and security' and member states need to be adequately equipped to implement the relevant rules, and border controls are referred to be the integral part of Chapter 24 (Screening Report for Turkey, 2006). The screening report also reveals that there is no EU competence on how the border management should be arranged at the national level; nevertheless there have been some key elements for the effective border controls, such as establishing a coordination mechanism between all authorities taking role

in border management, and improvement and investment in professionalism of the personnel for border management tasks involving surveillance. This report also underlines that it is early to install IT systems related to implementation of Schengen, such as systems compatible to SIS II, since these systems will not be functional on the day of accession of Turkey to EU, but at a later stage when Turkey fully gets in the Schengen Cooperation; however a strategy should be developed to put large scale national IT systems in place which can later be upgraded to SIS II (Screening Report for Turkey, 2006).

In this context, in Accession Partnerships (particularly 2001 and 2003), it was underlined that Turkey should strengthen its border management, align with the acquis and best practices and be prepared to implement Schengen Convention. On the other hand, Accession Partnership of 2006 emphasizes that Turkey should take steps for the establishment of a professional non-military border agency referring to the National Action Plan. Importance of demining has also been underlined in this document. In Accession Partnership of 2008, the steps to be taken for the establishment of a new border law enforcement body as well as the integrated border management based on inter-agency cooperation and professionalism have been reiterated. In Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD) which specifies the priorities of the components (especially 2007-2009; 2008-2010 and 2009-2011), the border management was reflected as one of the priorities as regards adoption and implementation of the acquis and investment requirements. Also in the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey covering the period 2007-2013, establishing infrastructure for professional board guard was addressed.

The annual progress reports are also important in order to understand where Turkey stands on integrated border management. In almost all progress reports from 2007 to 2019, requirement for the establishment of a new civilian border agency with specialised and professional staff has been underlined and delays for this new set up have been criticized. This new agency is referred as 'new border law enforcement authority' in some of the reports (i.e 2007 and 2008) while 'specialized and professional border security authority' (i.e 2012 and 2013) or 'single civilian border agency' in the rest of the progress reports. The requirement for modernization of infrastructure and installation of surveillance systems also constitute subject of these reports (i.e 2006, 2007, 2011 and 2012).

Strengthening the cooperation and coordination between the border related agencies (i.e in 2008, 2009 and 2019) and training needs for the border staffs (i.e 2009 and 2015) have also emphasized; on the other hand rotation of border staff (2009, 2015) as well as non-operational 'National Coordination and Joint Risk Analysis Centre' (NACORAC) (i.e. in 2018 and 2019) which is to collect, exchange, and process data regarding border security and to conduct joint risk analysis, have been criticized in these reports.

On the other hand, National Action Plan for EU Accession Phase-1 and Phase-2 which have been prepared by the Ministry for EU, have replaced the latest National Program of Turkey for the Adoption of the Acquis. These Action Plans have been adopted in 2014 and specify targets as enhancing the capacities of border security institutions and establishing modern border security systems for surveillance of land and sea borders (European Commission, 2015c).

National Action Plan towards the Implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy as mentioned in previous sections, defines short, medium and long term objectives. Short and medium term objectives are related with improvement of administrative and technical capacity of institutions until the establishment of a single civilian border agency, and long term objectives are related with institutionalization of this border agency (European Commission, 2015c). Turkey tries to reach short and medium term objectives currently, while the process for establishing a new border agency is cautiously proceeding due to current situation in Syria and the threats at the Syrian border (European Commission, 2015c).

Having a brief review on the background of projects, the projects carried out in IPA-I period will be mentioned first. During IPA-I period, there have been project fiches specific to the projects which involve components, and majority of which ended with a specific contract. In general, relevance with the documents mentioned above like Turkey's National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, Accession Partnership, Multi-Annual Indicative Planning Document, annual progress reports, national strategies, development plan have been established.

Starting with 2007, it was underlined that in order to transform border management system of Turkey to an integrated system, necessary infrastructure, capacity and technology should be put in place to fight against illegal border crossings, trafficking,

smuggling, terrorism and organized crime through borders which create problems both for Turkey and EU (Project Fiche of TR070215, 2007). In this regard, service and twinning projects (a kind of technical assistance between two public agencies) (Bahçecik, 2014) were designed for strengthening legal and institutional capacity of border security detachment in accordance with EU acquis and best practices within the EU on IBM; and for drafting a roadmap and border gate survey including IBM architecture and standards and to establish a prototype border management system. The roadmap was considered to be very essential by the EU for the implementation of the National Action Plan which is to involve targets, concrete actions, realistic deadlines, responsible authorities, and estimated budget for the actions which require important investment (Turkey Progress Report, 2007). In addition, border control and surveillance equipment were supplied for land borders and sea borders like thermal cameras (Tender Dossier, 2007).

Under 2008 programming year, a twinning project has been designed to enhance risk management capacity of the Turkish National Police and Ministry of Health on IBM with definition of tools and techniques for risk management regarding border management (Project Fiche of TR080210, 2008). Since the risk management is a keystone for an effective border management, assessment and analysis of the policies regarding risk management of all border agencies as well as analysis of current major risks and threats have been among the tasks of the project. In addition, in order to modernize border-crossings in pilot and prototype locations by the use of modern technologies to combat with new threats and to provide a secure flow for travellers, control boats with thermal cameras were supplied to Coast Guard Command, and new generation permanent and mobile thermal camera system were supplied to Land Forces and Gendarmerie (Tender Dossier, 2008a). In addition, various border crossings were furnished with system devices like data centre, communication devices, and equipment for passport control (Tender Dossier, 2008b). Another twinning project has been conducted for training of border police including development of curriculum management system and e-learning system (Project Fiche of TR080213, 2008). Also, in order to prevent passenger trafficking and illegal vehicles and goods, a project for supply of railroad cargo scanning and inspection was designed for the Turkish Customs Administration (Project Fiche of TR080220, 2008).

Under 2009 programming year, in order to strengthen customs surveillance function including seaports and airports with increased ability to patrol, search and intervene in

crimes and to enhance operational practice and inspection capacity, patrol boats, patrol vehicles and mobile scanners for vehicles and containers were supplied (Project Fiche of TR032901, 2009; Tender Dossier, 2009). In addition, trainings were designed for seaport personnel on sea operations under a twinning contract. In order to implement an effective monitoring and evaluation system for risk analysis and to increase the monitoring capacity of Turkish Customs Administration and to prevent fraud, capacity building activities have been designed for risk management system of the administration, including but not limited to trainings and study visits via twinning contract (Project Fiche of TR 0329.02, 2009).

In 2011, one of the most important projects was programmed; that is demining the eastern borders of Turkey in order to provide tools for effective and humanitarian border surveillance which is supported with modern systems with high technology (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). Landmines have been a security concern for both civilians and military personnel; for instance, it was reported that 588 people were killed and 2317 were injured because of landmines during 1993 and 2003, and since 1950s more than 3000 people, most of which were civilians were killed and 7000 injured along the Turkish-Syrian border (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). In accordance with Ottawa Convention, Turkey gradually destroys all anti-personnel mines. As mentioned in previous chapters, it is not easy to manage eastern borders because of geographical and climatic conditions, in addition, as the eastern region is problematic because of illegal crossings, landmines had been used to eliminate illegal border crossings and smuggling as well as for security reasons, which now have turned to be serious threat for border management (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). With the initiation of Ottawa Process in 1996, total ban of anti-personnel mines was brought to the agendas, in this regard, in January 1998, a directive was issued in Turkey prohibiting the use of anti-personnel mines by the Turkish forces and Turkey has become a party to the Mine Ban Treaty in March 2004 (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). Landmines are generally placed in border areas, while there are no land mines at the western borders, they are located in Armenian, Iranian, Iraq, Nakhichevan and Syrian borders and this issue is an important obstacle for an effective border management (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). However, the situation is different from that of European countries. Mines were basically used because of war conditions or conflicts between states in south east Europe; however, in Turkey, they are generally placed for the prevention of illegal migration or smuggling, or security reasons

against PKK (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). These landmines now limit Turkey's operational capacity in those areas and prevent installation of good functioning surveillance systems and decrease the effectiveness in combatting illegal migration, smuggling and cross-border crimes; therefore, due to new security perception and humanitarian reasons, demining is considered as an integral part of border management reforms, so Turkey aims to clear the landmines and subsequently install technologically supported surveillance systems for a more secure and effective border management (Project Fiche of TR0124.10, 2011). Accordingly, Armenia, Iran and Nakhichevan border regions have been demined by UNDP (UNDP, 2017) which is financed by the EU and then reconnaissance/surveillance vehicles have been supplied to the cleared regions (Tender Dossier, 2011-12).

Similarly under 2012 programming, demining activities have been continued by the UNDP which is again followed by the supply of reconnaissance/surveillance vehicles (Proposal for Turkey-TR0124.04, 2012; Tender Dossier, 2011-12). In addition, mobile inspection systems for passenger luggage and small cargos were supplied for the Turkish Customs Administration (Tender Dossier, 2012).

In 2013 programming year, in order to strengthen the Turkey's border control capacity and to improve management capacity at local level, a legislative framework and training model have been developed for the Ministry of Interior and sub-governors for the supervision of border management agencies and equip them with tools to manage policing efficiently (Sector Fiche, 2013). In addition, in order to develop functional and effective integrated border management system between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey which will be through increasing bilateral, inter-agency and regional coordination and cooperation; activities have been designed for trust building among countries and a series of capacity building activities have been carried out by the IOM. Furthermore, special designed vehicles and patrol boats have been procured to Turkish Customs Administration in order to improve their maritime customs surveillance and operational capacity. In order to increase border surveillance capacity, mobile surveillance units have also been procured to Land Forces Command with electro-optical sensor suites and ground surveillance radar (Tender Dossier, 2013).

Besides, training model and curriculum have been developed by the UNDP on management of border and migration and accordingly border guards have been trained on the procedures concerning apprehension of irregular migrants and smugglers at the borders, and their delivery to the relevant border authorities (Sector Fiche, 2013). In addition, a twinning project has been designed to cover specific issues such as inter-agency cooperation in maritime territory. Furthermore, to support border security and surveillance by modernization of border surveillance systems in the western borders, command and control shelters, command and control system, tower systems, surveillance systems with electro-optic suite and ground surveillance radars have been programmed.

In summary, with the funds of IPA-I, significant capacity building activities have been carried out and investments have been made for modernization of border control and surveillance systems.

During IPA-II period, as sectoral approach has been adopted, Action Documents have been prepared for each sub-sector including Home-Affairs. All projects concerning integrated border management, migration and asylum and fight against organised crime have been financed through Home Affairs Action Document. In the relevant Action Documents, in general, relevance with country strategy paper, progress reports, enlargement strategy, visa liberalization roadmap, Turkey's own strategies and actions, National Action Plan for EU Accession Phase-1 and Phase-2 and the 10th National Development Plan have been established.

In 2014 programming year, border surveillance systems have been procured with command and control shelters, command and control system, tower systems, surveillance systems with electro-optic suite and ground surveillance radars (Tender Dossier, 2014-15-16). In addition, in order to increase the capacity of Directorate General for Customs Enforcement's for customs controls and surveillance, and to standardize customs checks and control in pilot airports, detector dogs, specially designed law enforcement vehicles, baggage scanning systems, detection devices for narcotics and chemicals have been supplied (Tender Dossier, 2014a). Pilot airports have determined to be Atatürk (İstanbul), Antalya and Esenboğa (Ankara) airports, by taking passenger and cargo volume and number of flights into consideration (European Commission, 2014a). Especially, Atatürk and Antalya airports face the highest risk for smuggling of illicit goods and illegal

immigration, while Esenboğa airport also carries risk for illegal immigration and smuggling of illicit goods due to direct international flights (European Commission, 2014a). In order to increase the capacity of DG for Customs Enforcement, another contract was carried out by the IOM, and for the increase of border surveillance capacity one another was signed by the UNDP (Award Notice, 2014-15). On the other hand, in order to enable interagency cooperation, to share data, and to combine data in a common database, and to return data to the institutions after joint risk analysis, a project has been carried out to establish NACORAC (European Commission, 2014a). For this purpose, necessary infrastructure have been supplied like data center equipment, relevant software and structural equipment (Tender Dossier, 2014b). NACORAC has been one of the most outstanding projects for the compliance with EU integrated border management since it supports and requires interagency cooperation and risk analysis which have been considered among the fundamentals of integrated border management. In addition, passport stamp devices at border crossings had not been found compatible with the EU standards, as they could not be used practically and had security deficits (European Commission, 2014a). In addition, Turkey had to meet obligations of Visa Liberalization Roadmap, therefore new passport entry-exit stamping devices have been procured.

In accordance with 2015 Home Affairs Action Document, second generation e-passport project has been launched which includes supply of e-passport booklets and e-passport personalization equipment. This project has been designed to upgrade the method of production of passports of 2010, and to include biometrical data and other features compatible with EU standards and with increased security in accordance with Visa Liberalisation Road Map (European Commission, 2015c). As mentioned earlier, biometric data carries utmost importance at the EU level, therefore this project is considered to be among the fundamental projects in the field of integrated border management. Similar to 2014 program, in 2015, supply of command and control shelters, command and control system, tower systems, surveillance systems with electro-optic suite have been programmed for eastern borders in order to support security and surveillance by modernization of border surveillance systems (European Commission, 2015c). In addition, training programs have been designed for enhancing institutional capacity of border staff in charge of border surveillance tasks. Furthermore, in order to strengthen surveillance and control functions of Ministry of Trade, new data governance tools have been developed

and capacity building activities have been designed (Contract Notice, 2015). In addition, training programs have been designed for border staff. Moreover, in order to strengthen border control function of the Turkish Coast Guard Command, supply of small type of fast response boats and mobile radars have been foreseen. However, while procurement of mobile radars seems to be completed (Tender Dossier, 2015), no award notice has been published for boats although contracting deadline has been passed, therefore it is not clear whether or not small type of fast response boats could be procured. Actually, procurement of boats was deemed necessary to fight against irregular migration and apprehend/rescue the migrants at sea, while efforts at sea would be supported from the shore with mobile radars. For DG for Customs Enforcement, backscatter vans have been procured for the seaports where container control tasks are carried out with the highest volume (Award Notice, 2015).

Finally in 2016 programming year, similar to previous programs, in order to modernize border surveillance systems, command and control shelters, command and control system, tower systems, surveillance systems with electro-optic suite have been supplied for eastern borders (Tender Dossier, 2014-15-16). In addition, due to internal conflict in Syria, the borders are subject to intense illegal migration, smuggling and terrorist attacks; therefore, to increase surveillance capability to a certain extent, fixed thermal cameras have been decided to be procured (European Commission, 2016). Furthermore, there will be a grant agreement with IOM to enhance capacity of Turkish National Police and other relevant agencies for detecting forgery in travel documents and risk analysis (European Commission, 2016). The projects under 2016 Action Document should be contracted until December 2020. Therefore, preparations for contracting are still under progress and exact budgets are not publicly available.

Under 2017 programming year, no project has been programmed under Home Affairs sub-sector, so there are no projects related to the border management. On the other hand, the programming of 2018, 2019 and 2020 is still under progress, therefore the projects to be financed are not clear for the moment. During interviews it has been mentioned by the interviewees P-1, P-3, P-4, P-6, P-9 and P-10 that Home Affairs sub-sector will probably be available under the upcoming programming years including border management projects.

In summary, during IPA-II period, capacity building activities and infrastructure investments have been continued similar to IPA-I period. Nevertheless, more expensive and more complex systems have been procured towards full electronic surveillance. In addition, while the projects have been distributed to seven years in IPA-I period, they seem to be accumulated in the first three years of IPA-II period.

As mentioned above, there have been a variety of projects implemented in the field of border management in Turkey. While determining projects, Accession Partnerships, Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD), annual progress reports, National Action Plan for EU Accession Phase-1 and Phase-2, national strategies, country strategy papers, enlargement strategies, visa liberalization roadmap, ninth and tenth development plans have been taken into consideration for implementing projects in the field of integrated border management, which mainly emphasize the requirement for establishment of a professional non-military border agency and necessary infrastructure, modernization of infrastructure and installation of surveillance systems, strengthening the cooperation and coordination between the border related agencies, training border staffs, conducting joint risk analysis, etc. In addition, 'National Action Plan towards the Implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy' and 'the roadmap' prepared for this purpose are also taken into consideration. In both IPA-I and IPA-II periods, many projects have been realized in the field of border management in accordance with above mentioned requirements.

The interviewees P-3, P-4, P-7, P-12 declared that project ideas and project proposals, except in rare situations, have arisen from the Turkish actors, considering the documents mentioned above. In this regard, the EU is not an initiator of a project, but involved in selection process and gives recommendations and guidance during preparations in case of need, and EU makes a selection based on the relevancy and maturity of documents, as well as having an analysis on the previously implemented projects and complementarity to national projects.

However, it was also mentioned by the interviewees P-1, P-3, P-5 and P-6, that the EU deems the revision and update of National Action Plan very essential which had been prepared in 2006 as an outcome of a twinning project, and strongly recommends Turkish parties to come up with such a project proposal. This situation might be counted in the

'rare' situations that the EU takes a more proactive role in initiating a project. It is also worth noting that the interviewees P-2, P-3, P-4, P-6 and P-7 have underlined the importance of the National Action Plan and mentioned that the project ideas have emerged from this document because it had already presented the needs, and also emphasized the importance of roadmap as an output of a technical assistance contract. In addition, during interviews, it has been declared by the interviewees P-3, P-4 and P-6 that EU is of the idea to support value-added projects which will contribute to expansion of know-know, therefore, new technologies have been financed in Turkey; on the other hand, other requirements are met by the national resources like construction of walls, fences, patrol roads, lightening etc which will be complementary to each other. The urgent requirements are also met by the national resources for better border controls since there is a long duration between the programming and contracting and the completion of project activities. It has also been stated that there has not been a rejection for a project in the field of integrated border management based on budgetary restrictions, implying that EU is supportive for IBM projects irrespective of the budgetary limitations.

On the other hand, it has been confirmed by the interviewees P-2, P-4 P-5, P-6 and P-11 that there is a link between the projects carried out and the civilian border management authority since the investments will be transferred to the new authority upon establishment and project ideas are constructed on the grounds of a future border agency. Nevertheless, they also remind that NACORAC may be considered one of the most relevant projects to the European integrated border management since it has designed to support inter-agency cooperation and joint risk analysis.

Besides, both EU and Turkish sides are of the idea that investments are sufficient enough to comply with the European requirements and standards; nevertheless institutional reform is required in Turkey hereafter for a more integrated structure. However, as technology is evolving, there will be no end for the investments required. This may also be an indicator that the EU has allocated resources on whatever the requirement is for an efficient border management, therefore, supported Turkey with a variety of investment projects in this field so that investments are considered to be sufficient.

In conclusion, the ratio of funds allocated to border management projects has doubled between two IPA periods, despite the fact that there has not been a significant difference

in the annual progress reports between two periods. This increase might be because of unexpected migration crisis towards the EU; nevertheless it also seems to be coherent to the National Action Plan and the roadmap and the predefined requirements and their schedules. However, this increase is also in compliance with the EU's decision to increase budget allocation to border management in the upcoming years and also with the efficient utilization of IPA funds for efficient border management. On the other hand, the ratio of amount of projects in the field of integrated border management to the home affairs sub-sector is approximately 50,96 %, implying that the budget allocation solely to integrated border management is higher than the total allocation to remaining priority areas within Home Affairs sub-sector; which are 'migration and asylum' and 'fight against organised crime'. Moreover, allocation solely to integrated border management is higher than the total allocation to some other sub-sectors such as justice, fundamental rights and civil society.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has started with the notions of security and border security and presented how these notions have evolved throughout time, in order to better understand the changing dynamics and evolving approaches. The securitization theory has also been taken into consideration in understanding the EU's approaches to border management. Then, general paradigm of the EU on border security and border management and its evolution has presented starting with historical background, and key developments on border security have also been addressed. In this regard, EU's integrated border management approach has also been explained by addressing what this concept refers to, the underlying reasons for adopting this approach and how it is being implemented. Afterwards, a general overview on borders of Turkey have been made, then continued with key developments on integrated border management in Turkey and relations of EU and Turkey as regards border management. Finally, general overview on the financial assistance particularly the pre-accession funds have been presented and financial assistance to Turkey and EU funded projects in the field of border management have been mentioned.

It has been presented that while the provided financial assistance to Turkey to comply with EU acquis, EU standards and practices is not deemed to be sufficient since Turkey has received the least portion as per capita allocation (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2019); assistance provided to integrated border management is seen sufficient to comply with EU standards. This is revealed in assistance figures: for instance, integrated border management as a priority area under Home Affairs sub-sector is allocated much more budget than other main sub-sectors such as 'civil society', 'judiciary' and 'fundamental rights', and much more than other priority areas under Home-Affairs sub-sector, such as 'migration and asylum' and 'fight against organised crime' which is an indication of EU's prioritization of integrated border management among the others.

This also becomes evident in progress reports, because there has not been any substantial issue as regards EU compliance in this field. This has also been revealed during interviews that interviewees of both Turkish and EU sides who has been asked this question confirm the sufficiency of EU funds in this field (like P-1, P-2, P-3, P-4, P-5, P-6, P-10, P-11). The significant budget allocation to integrated border management as well as increase in the ratio of budget allocation to this field between two IPA periods is also one of the indicators of this finding; which has almost been doubled in IPA-II period, although there has not been any substantial difference between the annual progress reports concerning two IPA periods.

Accordingly, this thesis has argued that the significant budget allocation to this field may be because of unexpected migration crisis. In this context, interviewees P-1, P-4, P-5 and P-6 have remarked that the funds have been affected from the changing conjuncture such as migration, but it is thought to be a temporary situation. Before Syrian civil war outbreak which has caused dramatic migration flows towards Europe, migration was also on the agenda of European Union as mentioned in previous chapters, but as stated by the European Commission, "the scale and urgency of 2015-16 refugee crisis took Europe by surprise" (2018a, p.3), so increasing funds may be correlated with unexpected migration crisis.

On the other hand, implementation of border management projects in Turkey depend on a series of documents prepared by Turkey and EU; however the interviewees (particularly P-2, P-3, P-4, P-6 and P-7) have mentioned that National Action Plan of 2006 and roadmap prepared for this purpose play an important role for the implementation of projects, which were prepared several years before the Syrian outbreak. Hence, the projects are designed and implemented in accordance with pre-defined requirements and schedules and in this regard, are independent from the recent migration crisis, as similarly argued by the interviewees P-2, P-7, P-12 and P-13. In that vein, Bennett (2018) argues that EU financial assistance in Turkey on border management was not stirred up by the refugee crisis, it was rather for harmonization of policies in expectation of possible accession; however Syrian war outbreak has accelerated this process. On the other hand, it should still be kept in mind that illegal migration in Turkish borders also concerns Afghanistan (40%) and Pakistan (20%) (DGMM, 2019).

The interviewees P-2, P-3, P-4 and P-5 have also emphasized that there has been a rational sequence between the projects. For instance, a district is demined and then it has been furnished with necessary technological infrastructure for efficient border surveillance.

Moreover, the projects can only be realized in a sequential way due to annual budget and time restrictions. Therefore, the interviewees P-2, P-4, P-5 and P-6 find splitting the projects into programming years reasonable which may help to explain the increase of budget throughout years to some extent. Besides, the interviewees P-2, P-3, P-4, P-5, P-6 and P-7 have reflected that the EU-funded projects and the projects funded by national resources are complementary to each other.

In addition, the interviewees P-1, P-4, P-5, P-6, P-9, P-10, P-12 and P-13 have mentioned that one of the selection criteria for the projects is their maturity. In this regard, P-1 has underlined that even a project carries political importance, it may not be selected in case it is not mature enough.

On the other hand, interviewees P-2, P-6, P-9, P-11, P-13 and P-14 have emphasized that one of the most important reasons for significant allocation to this area is that necessary infrastructure for border management require procurement of high technology, sophisticated equipment which are very expensive. For instance, "Supply for Increasing Border Surveillance Capacity of Turkey" project is an extraordinary example which has received more than 90 million euros from the EU which is currently implemented by ASELSAN (Award Notice 2014-15-16).

Still, EU's determination to support this field can be counted among the reasons for substantial assistance; because this will also be in compliance with the EU's trend to increase financial resources for the migration and border management in the upcoming years by tripling the allocation and also decision for the efficient utilization of IPA funds for efficient border management. The significance of border management projects for the EU have also been underlined by the interviewees from the EU side. Nevertheless, it should also be reminded that it is the EU who solely decides the budget allocation to Turkey, however it seems to have feedback from Turkey on the amount required for sub-sectors/priority areas. On the other hand, the interviewees P-3, P-6, P-10 and P-11 have emphasized that EU services is very supportive in realization of border projects. In this context, the EU's determination can also be inferred from the recent developments in EU-

Turkey financial cooperation; while there has been an EU decision to cut down the funds in Turkey for the programming period of 2018-2020, this mainly concerns "Competitiveness and Growth" pillar, rather than "Democracy and Rule of Law" under which, inter alia, the integrated border management projects have been financed. Still, it should be kept in mind that the programming of 2018-2020 is still under progress; therefore, while there will not a major reduction in "Democracy and Rule of Law", it is not known how the budget under this pillar will further be allocated to sub-sectors and priority areas; thus the portion of integrated border management within this pillar is not currently known and the overall picture may be changed in the coming programming years.

In this regard, there is an estimation that the budget allocated to border management may start to decrease as compared to previous years. The interviewee P-3 states that one of the reasons of this estimation is that the EU is not so willing to continue to support infrastructure projects in this field as in previous years very much, because the investments have thought to reach saturation level as stated by the interviewees P-3, P-5 and P-6. This may also be deemed as an indicator of the sufficient allocation of funds to this field in order to comply with EU standards. One another indicator is that in 2017 programming year, no budget has been allocated to Home-Affairs sub-sector, thus there is no project concerning integrated border management in this year. In 2017, only 'Fundamental Rights' has been allocated budget under 'Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights' sector. The other reason can be the refugee deal, because as it has revealed in Frontex reports, the pressure at the EU borders have decreased after EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement (Frontex, 2019b). Bennett (2018) argues that EU has obtained negotiation advantage through political conditionality by readmission agreement and financial assistance; nevertheless the EU's conditionality will be less effective in case less anticipation of accession at the Turkey's side (Bennett, 2018). Furthermore, EU might be overestimating its financial power in Turkey's border management and due to Turkey's position as a host and transition country, EU itself conditioned to welcome certain terms (Bennett, 2018).

On the other hand, one another reason is the EU insistence on institutional reform in Turkey as reported by all interviewees. This issue may be the most outstanding issue in this field since establishment of a new civilian border agency with professional and

trained staff has repeatedly reflected in the progress reports. This new agency can only be established by the Turkey's initiatives irrespective of the funds; however the investments will be put at the disposal of this new institution upon establishment. In this context, it has been emphasized by the interviewees P-1, P-3, P-5 and P-6 that Turkey needs a revised strategy and a new action plan for full compliance with the EU integrated border management approach and the EU strongly recommends and awaits for the revision, which may likely to happen in the upcoming programming years as stated by interviewees P-1 and P-3.

At this point, it is worth to remind that border management tasks is fragmented among various authorities in Turkey and the EU criticizes this situation on the grounds of the best practices of Schengen, necessitating single civilian professional authority for border management (Commission Communication COM (2004) 656). This new authority has been mentioned in National Action Plan (2006) which has been prepared as an output of EU-funded twinning project, and was adopted by Turkey. Nevertheless, no concrete steps have been taken for establishment of this new agency so far because of terrorism problem and Syrian crisis. In addition, interviewees P-6, P-10 and P-11 have mentioned that this may also be due to uncertainty in Turkey's accession process and blocked Chapter 24. Baird (2015) argues that Turkey falls short of adopting all EU norms and rules because there is hesitation that full compliance with EU norms will guarantee membership. Baird (2015) further contends that Turkey preserves its own conditionality and sustains its power in negotiations during institutional and legal transformation.

Actually, it seems that establishing a 'single authority' is not an obligation as it has been among the recommendations within Schengen Catalogue. Nevertheless, the interviewees P-2, P-3, P-4 and P-6 have remarked that a series of projects have got funding in correlation to this new authority, therefore it has now turned to be a vicious circle. Yet, the most optimal way seems that the member states find their own solutions that best fit their characteristics; like France, Finland and Italy (Özler, 2010) as the three member states have different implementations. In that vein, Partnership (2006) has mentioned that each member state has different systems, procedures and equipment, and border management and control practices cover agencies such as border guards, law enforcement, and customs. Therefore, one-size-fits-all integrated approach may not be the best methodology for such a divided and heterogeneous environment, so it is proposed rather to develop a

system of network enabling capabilities which brings decision-makers, sensors and other systems together and empower them to pool their data so as to accomplish an upgraded ability (Partnership, 2006). The screening report of Chapter 24 also reveals that there is no EU competence on how the border management should be arranged at the national level; nevertheless there have been some key elements for the effective border controls, such as establishing a coordination mechanism between all authorities taking role in border management, and improvement and investment in professionalism of the personnel for border management tasks including surveillance.

On the other hand, segregation of duties for border management among various authorities in Turkey is obviously a challenge. As Avcı (2018) has argued, transition of border management tasks from the military to civilian border management authority might be also beneficial for Turkey; because border security and management will be the fundamental task of this border agency with professional and trained staff, and it will avoid the complication between the institution/authorities as regards power, authorization and task allocation. In addition, Turkish Armed Forces, Turkish National Police, Gendarmerie General Command will be able to focus on their main tasks when they transfer their responsibility on border management to another, and it will also be beneficial in terms of efficient use of resources (Avcı, 2018). Nevertheless, considering the problems encountered at the borders of Turkey, it is clear that this transition will not be an easy process.

With the financial assistance various projects have been supported in Turkey in the field of integrated border management. In this context, projects have been carried out for strengthening legal and institutional and risk management capacity of authorities in Turkey responsible from border management, and modern technologies for border control and sophisticated border surveillance equipment have been supplied like thermal cameras, scanning devices, patrol boats and vehicles, reconnaissance vehicles, mobile inspection systems, command and control systems, tower systems, surveillance systems with electro-optic suite and ground surveillance radars, detector dogs, detection devices for narcotics and chemicals, infrastructure for interagency cooperation and conducting joint risk analysis for NACORAC, passport entry-exit stamping devices in line with EU standards, e-passport booklets and e-passport personalization equipment to include biometric data, mobile radars, and so on. Demining of eastern borders was also among the projects in this

field. The interviewees P-3, P-4 and P-6 have remarked that EU has supported value-added projects which will contribute to expansion of know-know; other requirements and urgent needs are met by the national resources like construction of walls, fences, patrol roads, lightening etc. which will be complementary to each other. In sum, both EU and Turkish sides are of the idea that investments are sufficient enough to comply with the European requirements and standards; nevertheless institutional reform is required in Turkey. On the other hand, it has also been emphasized by the interviewees P-10 and P-11 that Chapter 24 is not open to negotiations, thus the accession criteria are not clearly known; therefore it cannot exactly be known whether the projects carried out are directly related with alignment with EU requirements. In addition, as technology evolves and the private security companies continue with research and development activities which also take role in determination of EU border management policies as explained in the previous chapters, there will be no end for the investments required.

Finally, this thesis concludes that pre-accession funds have been affected from the EU policies, approaches and trends and results in significant funding in the field of border management and accordingly implementation of variety of projects in this field.

In this context, it has been argued that financial assistance to Turkey in the field of border management approximates Turkey towards accession and that there exists correlation between the IPA funds in this field and accession process. This is presented in annual progress reports which refer to modernization of border management systems and capacity building activities, which have intensively been supported by the IPA funds.

The most outstanding issue is the establishment of a new border agency where professional and trained staff work. The investments made in border management like surveillance systems will be put at the disposal of the new agency upon establishment. On the other hand, NACORAC is directly related with the European integrated border management approach as inter-agency cooperation and risk analysis are among the main pillars of IBM as mentioned in previous chapters; therefore considered among the fundamentals of integrated border management.

Moreover, the IPA funds also prepare countries for the utilization of structural and cohesion funds in case of membership. As there have been a variety of institutions preparing and implementing projects in this field, this might be an indicator for their

efforts and motivation to acquire EU standards and preparedness for the utilization of different funds in case of membership.

It should also be kept in mind that, in accordance with Additional Protocol of Amsterdam Treaty, the Article 8, candidate countries must have the required capacity for the application of Schengen Agreement prior to membership, in order to be able to accomplish the agreement provisions after membership. Therefore, projects in this field are considered to serve for this purpose towards meeting the accession requirements.

Finally, the EU considers that in case of Turkey's membership, EU's new long external borders will become a critical political challenge (Recommendation of European Commission, 2004). Particularly, long borders with troubling Syria and Iraq increases anxiety at the EU level in case of a possible Turkish membership. Therefore, EU funding in Turkish border management seems reasonable and in compliance with the accession process of Turkey.

On the other hand, it has been argued that financial assistance to Turkey in the field of border management serve the interests of Turkey irrespective of the accession process. Turkey fights against terrorism and an increasing trend of migration flows, and most of the illegal crossings are from the border zones other than the border gates (National Action Plan, 2006). Transnational terrorist and drug trafficking are also problems for Turkish borders, so strengthening the borders is also among Turkey's priorities (Birdişli and Gören, 2018). About 65% of borders of Turkey pass through mountainous areas and there are lots of hidden passages in Iranian border area. Even the summer has harsh climatic conditions, therefore border control in east and southeast regions of Turkey is quite difficult (Birdişli and Gören, 2018).

In addition, border security is not a prioritized issue for Turkey's eastern neighbours because of internal instability which increases Turkey's burden and responsibility (Sert, 2013). Finally, border security and management is a very costly area requiring sophisticated equipment. Thus, the EU support in this field also matches with Turkey's own targets.

Likewise, it has been argued that financial assistance to Turkey in the field of border management also serve the interests of EU irrespective of the accession process. It has

been contended that the EU defines its borders in accordance with its interests and makes European identity as a priority, through preserving a comfort zone which is protected by the amicable buffer states like Turkey (Anderson, Bort, 2001; Tocci 2010 as cited by Kaya, 2012). Therefore, the EU might also have been glad to strengthen Turkey's border management independent from its candidate status.

In addition, the EU has a problem of illegal immigration through Turkey (Coleman, 2009). Turkey is also seen to be a bottleneck for trafficking routes into Europe and conduit for weapon supplies (Falk and Farer, 2013). Moreover, 20-30% of the drug dispatched to Europe is thought to flow through a path that includes Afghanistan-Iran-Turkey and the Balkans (Birdişli and Gören, 2018). Illegal immigrants are smuggled to Europe through unregulated borders or regulated check points by using stolen or counterfeit passports or concealing in cargoes (Project Fiche of TR080210, 2008).

Besides, EU intensely targets the migrants before they arrive to the territory of EU and EU believes that a part of this problem concerns Turkish borders. Finally, the EU admits that it cannot handle these problems alone in case it isolates itself from the rest of the world; therefore promotes cooperation with neighbours and capacity building activities in border management in these countries independent from their status, whether or not a candidate country for EU accession.

In conclusion, this thesis has presented that while financial assistance to Turkey in the field of border management approximates Turkey towards membership, it also creates a win-win situation and serve the interests of Turkey and EU irrespective of the accession process.

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APPENDICES

A. HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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01 AĞUSTOS 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr. Başak Zeynep ALPAN

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Bahar Dikilitaş'ın "Impact of EU border security policy EU pre-accession funds in TURKEY"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **299 ODTÜ 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many years have you been working in this institution?

2. How many years have you been working in this department and position?

3. Are you involved in programming of all projects in all sectors or the projects are shared among different staff per sector?

4. What is your role as regards programming process?

5. How is the required budget for Turkey calculated per sub-sector? Which documents are considered for this purpose?

6. How is the budget allocated to sectors? Which factors affect this process? Does the EU declare the precise amount to sectors or it depends on Turkey's requests or is there a negotiation between the parties?

7. How is the budget allocated per sectors further broke down into sub-sectors?

8. Which documents are considered during the preparation of project proposals? Are there any other undocumented resources?

9. During preparation of project proposals, particularly in the field of home affairs, does Directorate for EU Affairs or EU services involve in this process formally or informally? Do they give any guidance or recommendation or wait for official submission of the project proposals?

10. How is the selection made among the projects? Who gives the final decision?

11. Does Directorate for EU Affairs or EU services give feedbacks to lead institutions/end beneficiaries for their priorities concerning selection process?

12. Do you think that budget is fairly shared between the sectors; i.e by considering the priorities of accession process?

13. Do you think that the budget allocated for border security is proportional as compared to other sectors/sub-sectors and priority areas (migration and asylum,

integrated border management and fight against organised crime under home affairs sub-sector) considering the accession requirements?

14. What is the reason of moving Chapter 23 and 24 from "ability to assume of the obligations of membership" to "fundamentals first: political criteria and rule of law chapters" in Annual Country Reports as of 2018?

15. Within home affairs sub-sector, do you have any statistics for rejection? (i.e have you ever rejected any project proposal in the field of border management?)

16. How do you interpret the increase of the portion of border security projects (i.e it has almost doubled between the two periods)? What might be reason of this increase?

17. Are the projects funded by national resources initiated solely by the Turkish side or they are initiated on the request/recommendation of the EU?

18. Are the projects funded by the EU initiated solely by the Turkish side or they are initiated on the request/recommendation of the EU? In the latter case, are there any problems faced during implementation, i.e unwillingness for implementation?

19. According to its founding Regulation, Frontex has six main tasks which mostly concern Member States. What is the role of Frontex in Turkey?

20. Is there any relation between the tasks of Frontex and the EU-funded projects in Turkey? Does Frontex have any role in determination of the projects to be funded or the budget allocated to this sector?

21. Is there any project concerning establishment of a civilian border agency? If not, is it necessary to realize a project for this purpose? Is there any correlation between the other projects in the field of IBM and establishment of a civilian border agency?

22. Do you think that these investments are sufficient enough to comply with EU IBM policy or further investments are required?

23. In case of membership, Turkey will have to invest more for the strengthening of

borders, or to comply with the EU border security requirements, or these investments will be sufficient?

24. Why is the civilian border agency not established which is also criticized in the EU reports?

25. In the revised strategy paper, it was mentioned that "*in order to increase its impact, EU financial assistance shall be concentrated on the areas where reforms or investments are most needed to meet accession criteria…*". Do you think that this statement reflects the reality?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Türkiye 1963 yılında imzalanan Ankara Anlaşmasından itibaren Avrupa Birliği tarafından sağlanan mali yardımlardan faydalanmaktadır. Bu yardım özellikle 1999 yılında Türkiye'nin aday ülke olarak tanınmasından sonra önem kazanmıştır ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği üyeliği doğrultusunda yardım mekanizması geliştirilmiş ve yardım programları daha görünür ve belirgin hale gelmiştir.

Türkiye'ye Avrupa Birliği tarafından sağlanan mali yardımlar kapsamında entegre sınır yönetimi önemli bir paya sahiptir. İki IPA dönemi arasında bu alana sağlanan fon oranında belirgin bir artış olmuştur ve sağlanan fon miktarı desteklenen diğer alanlara göre epeyce yüksektir. Bu nedenle bu tezde entegre sınır yönetimine önemli miktarda fon ayrılmış olmasının nedenleri analiz edilerek, bu alan için sağlanan fonların katılım öncesi yardım aracı (IPA) fonlarının veriliş amacıyla ne kadar örtüştüğü ve sağlanan fonların Türkiye'yi AB üyeliğine mi yaklaştırdığı yoksa AB'nin dış sınırlarını koruma politikası doğrultusunda fonları kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda mı kullandırdığı açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle bu tez 'AB sınır güvenliği politikalarının AB katılım öncesi fonlarına etkisi nedir' sorusuna yanıt aramıştır.

Tez çalışmasında arşiv taraması ile birlikte Türkiye'de mali yardımların programlanmasında yer alan Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı ve Avrupa Birliği Türkiye Delegasyonu ve entegre sınır yönetimi konusunda proje geliştiren ve uygulayan Sınır Yönetimi Daire Başkanlığı ve Gümrükler Genel Müdürlüğü gibi nihai kuruluşlar ile, İç-işleri alt sektörü lider kuruluşu olan İç-İşleri Bakanlığı, ayrıca Frontex Türkiye temsilciliği, Savunma Sanayi Başkanlığı ve sözleşme makamı olan Merkezi Finans ve İhale Birimi uzmanları ile mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bu tez, güvenlik ve sınır güvenliği kavramları ile başlamış ve değişen dinamikleri ve gelişen yaklaşımları daha iyi anlamak için bu kavramların zaman içinde nasıl geliştiğini ortaya koymuştur. Avrupa Birliği'nin sınır yönetimine yaklaşımlarını anlamak için güvenlikleştirme teorisi de dikkate alınmıştır. Avrupa Birliği'nin sınır güvenliği ve sınır yönetimi ile ilgili genel paradigması, bu paradigmanın zaman içerisinde nasıl evrildiği, ve Schengen Anlaşması ve Frontex'in kurulması gibi sınır güvenliği ile ilgili temel gelişmeler anlatılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Avrupa Birliği'nin Entegre Sınır Yönetimi

yaklaşımı, bu kavramın ne anlama geldiği, bu yaklaşımın benimsenmesinin sebepleri ve nasıl uygulandığına da değinilmiştir. Ardından, Türkiye'nin sınırlarına genel bir bakış yapılmış, sınırlarda yaşanan problemlere değinilmiş ve Türkiye'deki sınır yönetimi ve Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye arasındaki sınır yönetimi ile ilgili temel gelişmeler yansıtılmıştır. Son olarak, başta katılım öncesi fonlar olmak üzere Avrupa Birliği tarafından sağlanan finansal yardıma ilişkin genel bir çerçeve çizilmiş ve Avrupa Birliği tarafından finanse edilen sınır yönetimi alanındaki projeler anlatılmıştır.

Yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere AB tarafından Türkiye'ye mali yardımlar 1963 Ankara Anlaşması ile sağlanmaya başlanmış olup zaman içerisinde sağlanan fon miktarında artış olmuş, özellikle Türkiye'nin aday ülke olarak kabul edilmesinden sonra mali yardımlar önem kazanmıştır. Avrupa Komisyonu 2006 yılında yayınladığı IPA tüzüğü ile potansiyel aday ve aday ülkelere sağladığı yardımları Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı (IPA) altında tek bir çatı altında toplamıştır. AB mali yardımının genel amacı, aday ülkelere AB üyelik yükümlülüklerini yerine getirme konusundaki çalışmalarına destek olmaktır (Duric, 2014) ve ülkeleri AB mevzuatı, standartları ve politikalarına uyum konusunda desteklemektir. Bu doğrultuda Türkiye aday ülke olarak 2007 yılından itibaren IPA enstrümanı faydalanıcısıdır.

Birinci IPA tüzüğü 2007-2013 yıllarını kapsamaktadır ve tüzüğün 2013 yılında sona ermesini müteakip 2014 yılında 2014-2020 yıllarını kapsamak üzere IPA-II tüzüğü yayınlanmıştır. IPA-I döneminde fonlar Türkiye'ye 'Geçiş Dönemi Desteği ve Kurumsal Yapılanma', 'Sınır Ötesi İşbirliği', 'Bölgesel Kalkınma', 'İnsan Kaynaklarının Geliştirilmesi' ve 'Kırsal Kalkınma' olmak üzere 5 bileşen altında verilmiştir. 'Entegre Sınır Yönetimi' alanında gerçekleştirilen projeler 'Geçiş Dönemi Desteği ve Kurumsal Yapılanma' bileşeni altından finanse edilmiştir. Her ne kadar IPA-I tüzüğünün süresi sona ermiş görünse de, IPA-I altından finanse edilen projelerin uygulamaları ve ödeme süreçleri halen devam etmektedir. IPA-II döneminde ise fonların daha etkin bir şekilde kullanılmasını teminen fonların kullanımında sektörel bir yaklaşım benimsenmiştir. Bu bağlamda 'Demokrasi ve Hukukun Üstünlüğü' ve 'Rekabet Edebilirlik ve Büyüme' olmak üzere iki politika alanı belirlenmiştir ve her iki politika alanının altında desteklenecek sektörler ve alt sektörler yer almaktadır. Entegre sınır yönetimi alanındaki projeler 'Hukukun Üstünlüğü ve Temel Haklar' sektörü altında yer alan 'İç-İşleri' alt sektörü altından finanse edilmektedir.

IPA-I döneminde potansiyel aday ve aday ülkelere toplam yaklaşık 9.9 milyar avro mali destek sağlanmış olup, bu paketin yarısına tekabül eden yaklaşık 4.8 milyar avro Türkiye'ye ayrılmıştır. Fakat kişi başı oranlara bakıldığında Türkiye için bu oran diğer ülkelere kıyasla en düşük seviyededir (Mrak ve Horvat, 2009). Bu nedenle Türkiye'ye sağlanan mali yardımın yeterli olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir (AB Başkanlığı, 2019). Buna rağmen IPA-II döneminde Türkiye'ye IPA-I dönemine kıyasla daha az fon sağlanmaktadır. Türkiye IPA-I dönemine benzer şekilde potansiyel aday ve aday ülkelere ayrılan toplam tutarın yaklaşık yarısını almaktadır. Fakat bu tutar 3.5 milyar avro civarında olup, IPA-I dönemine kıyasla 1 milyar avrodan daha azdır. Bu kesintinin nedeni Avrupa Komisyonu'nun 2017 yılında gerçekleştirmiş olduğu 'performans' değerlendirmesidir. Bu değerlendirme neticesinde Avrupa Komisyonu büyük kısmı 'Rekabet Edebilirlik ve Büyüme' alanından olacak şekilde kesintiye gitme kararı almıştır. Bu kapsamda Entegre Sınır Yönetiminin finanse edildiği 'Demokrasi ve Hukukun Üstünlüğü' alanı kesintiden fazla etkilenmemiştir, fakat IPA-II dönemi programlamaları devam ettiği için fonun alt başlıklara nasıl dağılacağı henüz net değildir.

IPA-I döneminde entegre sınır yönetimine ayrılan fon miktarı Türkiye'ye ayrılan fon miktarına oranla %3,40 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Bu oran IPA-II döneminde neredeyse 2 kat artarak %6,42'ye yükselmiştir. Aslında IPA-II dönemi için bu oran hesaplanan değer olan %6,42'den daha yüksektir. Fakat 2016 yılı programlamasına ait gerçekleştirilecek projeler belli olmasına karşılık bütçeleri henüz gizli tutulduğu için hesaplamalarda dikkate alınamamıştır. Dolayısıyla bu oran yalnızca 2014 ve 2015 verilerinin yanı sıra 2016 yılına ait yayını gerçekleştirilmiş olan tek bir projeye ait veri kullanılarak hesaplanmıştır. Bu oranda 2 kat artış olmasına rağmen yıllık ilerleme raporlarına bakıldığında iki IPA dönemi bulguları arasında önemli bir fark olmadığı da görülmektedir.

Yukarıda belirtildiği üzere, aday ülke olarak Avrupa Birliği müktesebatını, standartlarını ve gerekliliklerini karşılayabilmesi için Türkiye'ye sağlanan IPA fonlarının yetersiz olduğu düşünülmektedir (AB Başkanlığı, 2019). Fakat bu durum 'entegre sınır yönetimi' için geçerli görünmemektedir, ve sağlanan fonların AB standartlarını sağlamak için yeterli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu görüşü, İçişleri alt sektöründe öncelik alanı olarak yer alan entegre sınır yönetiminin, 'sivil toplum', 'yargı' ve 'temel haklar' gibi diğer ana alt sektörlerden, ve İçişleri alt sektörü altında 'göç ve iltica' ve 'organize suçla mücadele' olarak yer alan diğer öncelik alanlarından daha fazla bütçe tahsis edilmiş olması

desteklemektedir. Bu durum, AB'nin entegre sınır yönetimine verdiği önemin de bir göstergesidir.

Bu durum aynı zamanda ilerleme raporlarından da görülebilmektedir, bu alanda AB standartlarına uyum için daha fazla yatırım yapılması gerektiğine ilişkin bir husus raporlarda yer almamaktadır. Gerek Türk tarafı, gerekse AB tarafı ile gerçekleştirilen mülakatlar da bu alan için ayrılan AB fonlarının yeterli görüldüğünü doğrulamıştır. Entegre sınır yönetimine yapılan önemli büyüklükteki bütçe tahsisi ve yıllık ilerleme raporları arasında önemli bir fark olmamasına rağmen iki IPA dönemi arasında bu alana orantısal olarak yapılan bütçe tahsisinin iki katına çıkmış olması da bu bulgunun göstergelerinden biridir.

Buna göre, bu tez, entegre sınır yönetimine yapılan önemli bütçe tahsisatının göç krizi ile ilgili olabileceğini ileri sürmüştür. Yapılan mülakatlarda da AB fonlarının göç konusu gibi değişen konjonktürden etkilendiği belirtilmiştir. Fakat düzensiz göç probleminin Suriye iç savaşının patlak vermesinden önce de Avrupa Birliği'nin gündeminde olduğunu hatırlatmakta fayda vardır, ancak AB'nin bu büyüklükteki bir göçmen krizine hazırlıksız yakalandığını ifade etmesi (Avrupa Komisyonu, 2018a), artan fon oranının beklenmedik göç krizi ile ilişkili olabileceğini düşündürmektedir.

Öte yandan, Türkiye'de sınır yönetimi projelerinin uygulanması, Türkiye ve AB tarafından hazırlanan bir dizi belgeye dayanmaktadır; ancak mülakatlarda 2006 yılında hazırlanan Türkiye'nin Entegre Sınır Yönetimi Ulusal Eylem Planı ve bu amaçla hazırlanan yol haritasının projelerin uygulanmasında önemli rol oynadığı belirtilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, projeler önceden tanımlanmış gereksinimler ve programlara göre tasarlanmış ve uygulanmıştır ve bu bağlamda son göç krizinden bağımsız yürüdüğü de söylenebilir. Diğer taraftan, Türkiye'de son yıllarda düzensiz göçün büyük ölçüde Afganistan ve Pakistan kaynaklı olduğu da unutulmamalıdır (Göç İdaresi, 2019).

Ayrıca projeler arasında rasyonel bir sıralama olduğu da vurgulamıştır. Örneğin, bir bölge ancak mayından arındırıldıktan sonra etkin sınır gözetleme ekipman ve araçları ile donatılabilmektedir.

Üstelik, yıllık tahsis edilen bütçe ve proje uygulama süresi gibi kısıtlamalar nedeniyle projelerin tamamı bir anda değil, rasyonel bir sıra ile gerçekleştirilebilmektedir. Bu

nedenle projelerin yıllara dağıtılması ve bu dağılımın yıllar içerisinde bütçe ihtiyacında artışa neden olmasının, iki dönem arasında verilen fon oranındaki artışı bir miktar daha açıkladığı düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca, IPA fonları ile gerçekleştirilen projeler gerek birbiri ile gerekse ulusal kaynaklar ile finanse edilen projeler ile birbirini tamamlar niteliktedir.

Diğer taraftan gerçekleştirilen mülakatlarda, bu alana önemli bir tahsisat yapılmasının en önemli nedenlerinden birinin sınır yönetimi için gerekli altyapının ileri teknoloji ekipman tedariki gerektirmesi ve bu ekipmanların maliyetinin çok yüksek olması vurgulanmıştır. Örneğin, ASELSAN tarafından yürütülmekte olan "Türkiye'nin Sınır Gözetleme Kapasitesinin Artırılmasına Yönelik Tedarik" projesi AB'den 90 milyon Euro'dan fazla bütçe almıştır ve bütçesel anlamda oldukça çarpıcı ve sıradışıdır (İhale Kararı, 2014-15-16).

Yine de, AB'nin Türkiye'de entegre sınır yönetimini destekleme konusundaki kararlılığı da önemli büyüklükteki bütçe tahsisatının nedenleri arasında sayılabilir; çünkü bu durum AB'nin önümüzdeki dönemde göç ve sınır yönetimi için ayırdığı mali kaynakları üç katına çıkarmak suretiyle yaptığı artış ve aynı zamanda IPA fonlarının sınır yönetimi için de etkin bir şekilde kullanılması gerekliliğine ilişkin aldığı karar ile uyumlu görünmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye'ye bütçe tahsisine AB'nin tek başına karar verdiği, fakat yine de Türk tarafından ihtiyaçlara ilişkin geri bildirim alıyor olması hatırda tutulmalıdır. Diğer taraftan mülakatlarda, AB'nin sınır projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesi hususunda oldukça destekleyici olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, AB'nin kararlılığı AB-Türkiye mali işbirliğine ilişkin yaşanan son gelişmelerden de anlaşılabilir; AB, Türkiye'de 2018-2020 programlama dönemi için kesintiye gitme kararı almıştır, fakat bu kesinti kararı esas olarak, yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere entegre sınır yönetiminin finanse edildiği "Demokrasi ve Hukukun Üstünlüğü" politika alanı ile değil, "Rekabet Edebilirlik ve Büyüme" alanı ile ilgilidir. Yine de, 2018-2020 programlamasının halen devam etmesi nedeniyle net bir çıkarımda bulunmak mümkün değildir, çünkü "Demokrasi ve Hukukun Üstünlüğü" alanında büyük bir kesinti olmayacak olsa da, bu alan altındaki bütçenin alt sektörlere ve öncelik alanlarına nasıl tahsis edileceği henüz bilinmemektedir. Bu nedenle, entegre sınır yönetimi için gelecek yılların programlanmasında bir netlik olmamakla birlikte, genel tablonun gelecek yıllarda değişebileceği de düşünülmektedir.

Bu bağlamda, sınır yönetimine tahsis edilen bütçenin önceki yıllara göre azalmaya başlayabileceği de tahmin edilmektedir. Bunun sebeplerinden biri, AB'nin bu alandaki altyapı projelerini desteklemek için önceki yıllarda olduğu kadar istekli görünmemesidir. Gerçekleştirilen mülakatlarda da, gerek Türk tarafı gerekse AB tarafı yatırımların doygunluk seviyesine ulaştığını düşündüğünü ifade etmiştir. Bu durum aynı zamanda AB standartlarına uymak için bu alana yıllar içerisinde yeterli miktarda fon tahsisi yapılmış olduğunun bir göstergesi olarak da kabul edilebilir. Diğer bir sebep Geri Kabul Anlaşması olarak sayılabilir; Frontex raporlarından da anlaşıldığı üzere, AB sınırlarındaki göç baskısı anlaşmanın yürürlüğe girmesinden itibaren azalma eğilimi göstermiştir (Frontex, 2019b). Diğer bir gösterge, 2017 programlama yılında İçişleri alt sektörüne bütçe tahsisi yapılmamış olması ve dolayısıyla entegre sınır yönetimi ile ilgili hiçbir projenin finanse edilmemiş olmasıdır. 2017 programlama yılında, "Hukukun Üstünlüğü ve Temel Haklar" sektörü altında yalnızca "Temel Haklar" alt sektörüne fon ayrılmıştır. Fakat, yine de fonların değişen konjonktürden etkilendiği ve AB'nin geçmiş yıllarda entegre sınır yönetimini artan oranlarda destekleme motivasyonu düşünüldüğünde, gelecek programlama yıllarında da benzer kararlar alması olasıdır.

Diğer taraftan en önemli neden AB'nin artık Türkiye'den kurumsal reform konusunda adımlar atmasını beklemesi olabilir. Bu anlamda profesyonel ve eğitimli bir kadro ile yeni bir sivil sınır otoritesinin kurulması talebi ilerleme raporlarında AB tarafından sürekli tekrar edilmektedir. Bu otoritenin kurulması fonlardan bağımsız olarak, yalnızca Türkiye'nin girişimleri ile mümkün olacaktır; bununla birlikte AB tarafından desteklenmiş yatırımlar, bu otoritenin emrinde olacaktır. Bu bağlamda, yapılan mülakatlarda Türkiye'nin, AB'nin entegre sınır yönetimine tam uyumu için gözden geçirilmiş bir stratejiye ve yeni bir eylem planına ihtiyaç duyduğu ve AB'nin de bu belgelerdeki revizyonu şiddetle tavsiye ettiği ve beklediği vurgulanmıştır. Dolayısıyla önümüzdeki programlama yıllarında bu yönde bir adım atılması muhtemeldir.

Bu noktada, sınır yönetiminin Türkiye'deki çeşitli otoritelerin sorumluluk alanına girdiği hatırlatılmalıdır ve AB bu durumu eleştirmekte ve Schengen'in örnek uygulamalarına dayanarak sınır yönetimi için profesyonel tek bir sivil otoritenin gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır (Avrupa Komisyonu (2004) 656). Bu otoritenin kurulması gerekliliği AB tarafından finanse edilen bir eşleştirme projesinin çıktısı olarak hazırlanan ve Türkiye tarafından kabul edilen Ulusal Eylem Planında (2006) da yer almıştır. Bununla birlikte,

terör sorunu ve Suriye krizi nedeniyle bu yeni otoritenin kurulması için somut bir adım henüz atılmamıştır. Ek olarak, mülakatlarda bu durumun AB üyelik sürecindeki belirsizlikten ve 24. faslın bloke edilmiş olmasından da kaynaklanmış olabileceği ileri sürülmüştür.

Aslında, 'tek bir otorite' oluşturmanın Schengen Kataloğu'ndaki tavsiyeler arasında yer aldığı ve dolayısıyla bir zorunluluk olmadığı söylenebilir. Bu anlamda en uygun yöntem, üye devletlerin kendi özelliklerine uygun olarak çözümleri bulmalarıdır. Örneğin Fransa, Finlandiya ve İtalya gibi ülkelerde farklı idareler görülmektedir (Özler, 2010). Ayrıca 24. fasıl tarama raporu sınır yönetiminin ulusal düzeyde nasıl düzenlenmesi gerektiğine dair bir AB düzenlemesi olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Fakat etkin sınır kontrolleri için, sınır yönetiminde rol oynayan tüm makamlar arasında koordinasyon mekanizmasının oluşturulması ve sınır yönetiminde görev alan personelin profesyonelliğine yatırım yapılması gibi bazı kilit unsurlar oluşturulmuştur.

Diğer taraftan, Türkiye'de sınır yönetiminin çeşitli kurumlar arasında paylaştırılmış olması zorlukları da beraberinde getirmektedir. Avcı'nın (2018) da iddia ettiği gibi, sınır yönetimi görevlerinin askeri birliklerden sivil sınır yönetimi otoritesine geçişi Türkiye için de faydalı olabilir. Bu durumda sınır güvenliği ve yönetimi, profesyonel ve eğitimli personelin görev aldığı bu yeni sınır otoritesinin temel görevi olacak ve yetki ve görev dağılımı gibi konularda makamlar arasındaki karışıklık önlenmiş olacaktır. Ayrıca, Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı gibi otoriteler sınır yönetimi konusundaki sorumluluklarını bir başka kuruma devrettiklerinde ana görevlerine odaklanabilecek ve bu durum sınır güvenliği ve yönetimine ilişkin kaynakların verimli kullanımı açısından da fayda sağlayacaktır (Avcı, 2018). Fakat, Türkiye sınırlarında yaşanan problemler düşünüldüğünde bu geçişin çok kolay olmadığı da aşikardır.

IPA fonları ile Türkiye'de entegre sınır yönetimi alanında birçok proje desteklenmiştir. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye'de sınır yönetiminden sorumlu kurumların yasal, kurumsal ve risk yönetimi kapasitesinin güçlendirilmesine yönelik bir takım projeler gerçekleştirilmiştir, ayrıca termal kameralar, mobil denetim sistemleri, kontrol sistemleri, kule sistemleri, dedektör köpekler, narkotik ve kimyasallar için tespit cihazları, pasaport giriş çıkış damgalama cihazları, e-pasaport defter ve makinaları, mobil radarlar, kontrol botları gibi

modern teknoloji ile donatılmış ekipmanların satın alınması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Esas olarak AB tarafından Türkiye'de yeni teknolojilere yapılan yatırım desteklenmiş olup, sınırlarda duvar örülmesi, çit çekilmesi, devriye yollarının yapımı ve aydınlatma ihtiyacının karşılanması gibi gereksinimler ve acil ihtiyaçlar ulusal kaynaklardan karşılanmakta ve ulusal fonlar ve AB fonları ile gerçekleştirilen projeler temelde birbirini tamamlamaktadır. Mülakatlarda gerek AB, gerekse Türk tarafı yatırımların AB standartlarına uymaya yetecek düzeyde olduğu fikrini beyan etmiş ve esas meselenin Türkiye'de kurumsal reform gerekliliği olduğu vurgusunu yapmıştır. Öte yandan 24. faslın müzakerelere açık olmadığı, dolayısıyla uyum anlamında bu konuda çok net bir söylemde bulunamayacağı da hatırlatılmıştır. Ayrıca, teknolojinin gelişimi, güvenlik şirketlerinin araştırma ve geliştirme faaliyetlerine devam etmesi ve bu şirketlerin AB sınır yönetimi politikalarının belirlenmesinde rol oynamaya devam etmesi, sınır güvenliği için gereken yatırımın bir sonu olmadığının da bir göstergesidir.

Son olarak, bu tez, katılım öncesi fonların AB politikalarından ve yaklaşımlarından etkilendiği ve bu durumun sınır yönetimi alanı için önemli miktarda fon sağlanmasına neden olduğu ve bu doğrultuda çeşitli projelerin uygulandığı sonucuna varmıştır.

Bu bağlamda, sınır yönetimi alanında Türkiye'ye yapılan mali yardımın, Türkiye'yi AB üyeliğine yaklaştırdığı ve bu alandaki IPA fonları ile Türkiye'nin AB'ye katılım süreci arasında bir ilişki olduğu ileri sürülmüştür. Bu durum, IPA fonları ile yoğun bir şekilde desteklenen sınır yönetimi sistemlerinin modernizasyonu ve kapasite geliştirme faaliyetlerine ilişkin gereklilikleri ortaya koyan yıllık ilerleme raporlarında da gösterilmektedir. Bu süreçte en önemli mesele, Türkiye'de profesyonel ve eğitimli personelin görev aldığı yeni bir sınır otoritesinin kurulmasıdır. Sınır yönetimi için bu zamana kadar yapılan yatırımlar da yeni kurumun hizmetine sunulacaktır. Öte yandan, AB fonları ile gerekli altyapısı kurulan UKORAM (Ulusal Koordinasyon ve Ortak Risk Analiz Merkezi), entegre sınır yönetiminin temelleri arasında sayılmaktadır. Dahası, IPA fonları aday ülkeleri AB'ye üye olmaları durumunda sunulacak olan yapısal ve uyum fonlarının kullanımına da hazırlamaktadır. Bu alanda proje hazırlayan ve uygulayan birçok kurumun olması, bu kurumların ve personellerinin AB standartlarını yakalamak için harcadıkları çaba ve motivasyonun ve üyelik durumunda bahsi geçen fonları kullanmaya hazırlıklı olduklarının da bir göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca, Amsterdam Antlaşması Ek Protokolünün 8. Maddesine göre aday ülkelerin AB'ye

üyeliklerinden önce Schengen Anlaşması'nın uygulanması için gerekli kapasiteye sahip olması gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu alanda gerçekleştirilen projelerin AB'ye katılım şartlarını yerine getirme amacına hizmet ettiği düşünülmektedir. Son olarak, Avrupa Birliği Türkiye'nin üyeliği durumunda, AB'nin yeni uzun dış sınırlarının kritik bir siyasi mesele olacağı görüşündedir (Avrupa Komisyonu, 2004). Özellikle, Suriye ve Irak sınırlarının uzunluğu AB'nin kaygılanmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'nin sınır yönetimi için AB tarafından sağlanan fonlar rasyonel ve Türkiye'nin katılım sürecine uygun görünmektedir.

Diğer taraftan, sınır yönetimi alanında Türkiye'ye yapılan mali yardımın, katılım sürecinden bağımsız olarak Türkiye'nin çıkarlarına hizmet ettiği de düşünülebilir. Türkiye'nin terörizmle mücadele ediyor olması, artan göç problemi ve yasadışı geçişlerin çoğunun sınır kapıları dışındaki sınır bölgelerinden yapılıyor olması (Ulusal Eylem Planı, 2006), ayrıca transnasyonel terörist ve uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı da Türkiye sınırları için oldukça sorun teşkil etmektedir (Birdişli ve Gören, 2018). Türkiye sınırlarının yaklaşık % 65'inin dağlık bölgelerden geçmesi ve İran sınır bölgesinde birçok gizli geçit bulunması, yaz aylarında bile sert iklim koşullarına sahip olması, Türkiye'nin doğu ve güneydoğu bölgelerinde sınır kontrolünü oldukça zorlaştırmaktadır (Birdişli ve Gören, 2018). Dolayısıyla sınır yönetimini güçlendirmenin Türkiye'nin de öncelikleri arasında olduğu söylenebilir. Ek olarak, sınır güvenliği, iç istikrarsızlık nedeniyle Türkiye'nin doğu komşuları için öncelikli bir mesele değildir ve bu durum Türkiye'nin sınır güvenliğine ilişkin yükünü ve sorumluluğunu artırmaktadır (Sert, 2013). Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'nin sınır güvenliğine yatırım yapılması Türkiye'nin çıkarına görünmektedir.

Benzer şekilde, sınır yönetimi alanında Türkiye'ye yapılan mali yardımın, katılım sürecinden bağımsız olarak AB'nin çıkarlarına da hizmet ettiği düşünülmektedir. Bazı araştırmacılar AB'nin sınırlarını kendi çıkarlarına uygun olarak tanımladığını ve Türkiye gibi dostane tampon devletler tarafından korunan bir konfor bölgesi oluşturarak, Avrupa kimliğini öncelikli hale getirdiğini ileri sürmüştür (Kaya, 2012). Bu nedenle, AB'nin, aday statüsünden bağımsız olarak, Türkiye'nin sınır yönetimini güçlendirmekten memnuniyet duyacağı düşünülebilir. Ayrıca, Avrupa Birliği düzensiz göç problemi ile uğraşmaktadır ve göç yollarından biri de Türkiye'dir (Coleman, 2009). Türkiye ayrıca Avrupa'ya insan ticareti ve silah temini rotaları düşünüldüğünde darboğaz olarak görülmektedir (Falk ve Farer, 2013). Yasadışı göçmenler Avrupa'ya, kontrolsüz sınırlardan veya kontrol

noktalarından kaçak olarak ya da sahte pasaportlar kullanarak ya da kargolara gizlenerek geçmeye çalışmaktadır (Proje Fişi TR080210, 2008). Ayrıca, Avrupa'ya dağıtılan uyuşturucunun % 20-30'unun Afganistan-İran-Türkiye ve Balkanları içeren bir yoldan aktığı düşünülmektedir (Birdişli ve Gören, 2018). Ayrıca Avrupa Birliği, düzensiz göçmenleri AB topraklarına ulaşmadan engellemiş olmayı hedeflemektedir ve AB bu sorunun bir kısmının Türkiye sınırlarında çözülmesi gerektiğine inanmaktadır. Son olarak, Avrupa Birliği bu sorunlarla tek başına mücadele edemeyeceğini düşünmekte ve bu nedenle, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğine aday bir ülke olsun veya olmasın, komşu ülkelerde sınır yönetimi alanında kapasite geliştirme faaliyetlerini desteklemektedir.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, Türkiye'ye IPA fonları aracılığıyla sınır yönetimi alanında sağlanan finansal yardımın Türkiye'yi Avrupa Birliği üyeliğine yaklaştırırken, aynı zamanda bir kazan-kazan durumu yarattığını ve katılım sürecinden bağımsız olarak Türkiye'nin ve Avrupa Birliği'nin çıkarlarına hizmet ettiğini savunmuştur.

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EU PRE-ACCESSION FUNDS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY: PREPARING
FOR MEMBERSHIP OR SAFEGUARDING EU EXTERNAL BORDERS?

<u>TEZİN TÜRÜ /</u> <u>DEGREE</u>**:** **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ■   **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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