

THE PROSPECTS OF EUROPEANIZATION IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL
PROTECTION: THE CASES OF ITALY AND CROATIA

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ABSTRACT

THE PROSPECTS OF EUROPEANIZATION IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL PROTECTION: THE CASES OF ITALY AND CROATIA

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Civil protection is one of the areas where the European Union (EU) coordinates the efforts of the Member States to minimize the effects of emergencies and disasters. In line with the subsidiarity principle, EU level civil protection mainly depends on the national capacities of the Member States. Therefore, civil protection is an area where the EU regulations do not have a binding power and the Union is mainly supporting the Member States in their civil protection efforts. The main aim of this study is to understand the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection, where all the Member States have their own unique civil protection systems and the EU level coordination is mainly dependent on the domestic systems and resources. To understand the prospects of Europeanization, the study examines the main aspects of the current civil protection system of the EU and shows to what extent non-binding governance paves the way for Europeanization. For this aim, two Participating States of the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM), Italy and Croatia, are examined as case studies.

Keywords: Europeanization, civil protection, civil protection mechanism, non-binding governance

ÖZ

SİVİL KORUMA ALANINDA AVRUPALILAŞMA İMKÂN LARI: İTALYA VE HIRVATİSTAN ÖRNEKLERİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Avrupa Çalışmaları Bölümü

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Sivil koruma, Avrupa Birliği'nin (AB), Üye Ülkelerin acil durum ve afet etkilerini en aza indirme çabalarını koordine ettiği alanlardan biridir. Yerellik ilkesine uygun olarak, AB düzeyinde sivil koruma esas olarak Üye Ülkelerin ulusal kapasitelerine bağlıdır. Bu nedenle, sivil koruma, AB düzenlemelerinin bağlayıcı bir güce sahip olmadığı bir alandır ve Birlik, Üye Ülkelere sivil koruma çalışmalarında destek vermektedir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, tüm Üye Ülkelerin kendilerine özgü sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip olduğu ve AB düzeyindeki koordinasyonun temelde ulusal sistemlere ve kaynaklara bağlı olduğu sivil koruma alanında Avrupalılaşma imkânlarını anlamaktır. Çalışma Avrupalılaşma imkânlarını anlamak için, mevcut AB sivil koruma sisteminin temel özelliklerini incelemekte ve bağlayıcı olmayan yönetişimin Avrupalılaşmaya ne ölçüde zemin hazırladığını göstermektedir. Bu amaçla, Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizması (UCPM) Katılımcı Ülkeleri, İtalya ve Hırvatistan, örnek olaylar olarak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupalılaşma, sivil koruma, sivil koruma mekanizması, bağlayıcı olmayan yönetişim

To my family for their endless support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMC	Assessment Mission Course
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
CECIS	Common Emergency Communication and Information System
CMI	Union Civil Protection Introduction Course
CND	Course on Negotiation and Decision-Making
CPC	Civil Protection Committee
CPM	Civil Protection Mechanism
DG ECHO	Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
ECA	European Court of Auditors
EoE	Exchange of experts (programme)
ERCC	Emergency Response and Coordination Centre
EU	European Union
EUCPT	European Civil Protection Teams
HNSG	Host Nation Support Guidelines
EWS	Early Warning System
HLC	High Level Coordination Course
HNS	Host Nation Support
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

JRC	Joint Research Centre
MBC	Modules Basic Course
NCP	National Contact Point
NPRD	National Protection and Rescue Directorate
NRA	National Risk Assessment
NTC	National Training Coordinator
OPM	Operational Management Course
SEC	Security Course
SMC	Staff Management Course
SME	Seminar for Mechanism Experts
TAST	Technical Assistance and Support Team
TEC	Technical Expert Course
TEC MI	Technical Expert Course for Maritime Incidents
UCPM	Union Civil Protection Mechanism

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Civil protection can be defined as an effort to minimize the effects of emergencies and disasters. As a concept, “civil protection”, has been used in Europe since the 1980s, starting with the disaster mitigation activities of France and Italy as they experienced several disaster risks in their histories. Today civil protection organizations of the EU Member States do not only work to ensure an efficient response to disasters, but they also intend to mitigate and prevent the disaster risks (Gaetani et al., 2009). In the field of civil protection, the main capacities that are being used today are mainly the national ones. The EU, in the meantime, advocates the efforts of the Member States with a cooperation system and supporting legislations.

Civil protection, as a concept, has changed in time. Before 1995, it was mainly focused on natural disasters faced by the Mediterranean countries. However, after 1995, with accession of the Northern countries such as Finland and Sweden to the EU, the concept has started to refer to several types of disasters (Britz, 2007). Today the Southern European countries are mainly prone to earthquakes and forest fires while the Northern European countries mostly experience man-made disasters. This difference in risks also causes a difference in the perception of civil protection concept.

Although, the civil protection system of the EU has a strong domestic side, it has also been coordinated at the Union level with a need to increase cooperation among the Member States. So, the EU policy was mainly formulated due to limited capacities and resources of some Member States to cope with the disasters and emergencies. Today, the main aim of the civil protection system of the EU is “to protect with cooperation” (Gaetani et al., 2009).

Although civil protection does not have a common definition and way of implementation among different Member States, the responsibilities of the parties are still clearly defined at the Union level. The Commission is the main authority that coordinates the efforts against natural and man-made disasters (European Commission, 2017) and the main mechanism that is responsible for civil protection is the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM) that operates under the Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO). The establishment of UCPM in 2001 was an attempt to support the efforts of the Member States in the area of civil protection. Although the Mechanism depends on the resources of the Member States, it also gives an authority to the EU since it operates under the European Commission. With the UCPM, the supranational presence of the EU in this field was strengthened.

Civil protection is an area that falls under “supporting competences” of the Union. Since the supporting competences define the areas where the EU only supports the efforts of the national systems and the main responsibility in these areas belongs to the Member States, the EU does not act as a binding power (EUR-Lex, 2016a). This results in differences in national policies, administrative structures and practices.

In accordance with the aim of the EU to strengthen its position in the field of civil protection, the current system has recently been subject to discussions between the EU and the Member States. Consequently, the European Commission came up with a new proposal in November 2017 to revise the Union civil protection system and find solutions to the current shortcomings. The most remarkable change came with this new legislation that entered into force in March 2019 was the establishment of the “rescEU”. RescEU proposal aimed to strengthen the EU’s disaster and emergency response capacities. Therefore, it is possible to say that, in a civil protection system that is mainly dependent on the national capacities and resources, the Commission took one step forward to empower the position of the EU by increasing its control over the Member States.

With the rescEU, it is planned to support the Member States from the Union level with additional reserve of capacities. These capacities (such as firefighting planes, helicopters etc) that will be used when required by the EU, aim to establish a Union level response power to find solutions to the bottlenecks of the current response system due to its highly voluntary characteristic.

It is important to point out that, although the rescEU was proposed with an aim to strengthen EU response power, it was not regarded as a new system that replaces local, regional and national capacities. Therefore, according to the current discourse, the main responsibility remained with the Member States, while the Union continued to support and complement the efforts of the Member States.

The European Civil Protection Forum that was conducted on 5-6 March 2018 provided a platform for the future of the EU civil protection system. The Forum mainly focused on the power of the EU in this field and tried to understand the reactions of the Member States to a more effective “European” civil protection system. The rescEU was also at the center of the discussions.

Before the Forum, the Union tried to understand how a more strengthened system would be perceived by the EU citizens and used Eurobarometer to support the discussions. According to the Eurobarometer results, 90% of the Europeans pointed out the need that the EU should coordinate response to disasters in the Member States. In addition to that, 87% of the participants mentioned that a common civil protection policy was needed (European Commission, 2018a). Therefore, although the strong presence of the EU has not been foreseen in this policy area within the actual division of competences, it is evolving to a stage where not only the Member States, but also the EU has a strong presence.

This shift in the field of civil protection that leads the way to the direction where the EU becomes more powerful and the Member States are being kept in the system with the help of various mechanisms, seems worthy to examine from the Europeanization perspective. However, although civil protection has been gaining importance day by

day both at the Union and at the national levels, it is still an area that can be considered as under-researched. The number of studies that focus on Europeanization in this policy area is even more limited. Therefore, the starting point of this research is the curiosity to understand the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection, where all the Member States have their own unique civil protection systems and the EU level coordination is mainly dependent on the domestic systems and resources. In other words, this study tries to understand the mechanisms that would lead this specific policy area to be Europeanized where the EU does not have a visible binding power and which aspects of the current civil protection system would pave the way to Europeanization.

Therefore, the main questions that are expected to be answered in this study are:

-“What are the prospects of Europeanization in the field civil protection?”

-“How can civil protection be examined within the frame of “facilitated coordination”?”

In this context, the main argument is that, even when there are no binding legislation and no hard law that is being applied to a policy area, the non-binding governance leads to Europeanization and consequently result in altering the power balances towards the Union and changing the civil protection perspectives and practices of the Member States. By analyzing the current system both at the EU and at the selected Member States levels, this study will try to reveal the mechanisms that would Europeanize the civil protection policies of the Member States. Since all the Member States have their own civil protection systems and policy alignment is not expected in the area of civil protection, the study will mainly focus on which ways these states take part in the European system of civil protection and which soft governance structures are operational in this field that would lead to Europeanization.

To find an answer to the research questions, the study will firstly provide a theoretical background of Europeanization literature to acknowledge how Europeanization literature would be functional for the analysis of civil protection field. After setting the

theoretical basis, the Union civil protection system will be analysed from the perspective of Europeanization literature. This analysis is important to reveal the possible mechanisms used by the Union despite the non-binding image of EU civil protection. After clarifying the theoretical framework, the Union civil protection system will be examined in detail to show how the actual position of the EU in this policy field is, how it guides and controls the national civil protection systems and which steps it takes to strengthen its position. After this descriptive account, two cases, civil protection policies and mechanisms of Italy and Croatia, will be examined to show the prospects of Europeanization in this policy field.

It is however important to point out once again that there are limited studies in the literature that examine European civil protection system with the tools of Europeanization. The literature mainly consists of studies that focus on different policy areas and the effect of Europeanization on these areas. The most relevant studies are those that focus on Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) of the Union. Therefore, the study will be an exploratory one that would be carried onward with further research in the future to better understand the dynamics and prospects of Europeanization in this field.

In addition to the Europeanization literature, the soft law and soft governance studies are considered to be beneficial in this study, although civil protection can not be seen as an area solely governed by soft law. Looking at how Europeanization processes have been studied until now, it can be said that, approaches that focus on the interrelation of domestic and supranational policies with an aim to explain Europeanization in the lack of binding legislative pressures will be the most helpful ones. As mentioned before, civil protection is a policy area that is located under the supporting competences where there are no visible adaptational pressures nor any misfit caused by hard law. But it is also an area that is not solely subject to soft governance structures. Therefore, an attempt to examine Europeanization processes in this policy field is compelling and will possibly refer to the limits of the Europeanization literature.

1.1 Research Design

To better understand the current system and to find an answer to the main research questions, it is important to observe the system both within the supranational and the domestic levels. The main point where the study stands is that, in the policy fields where there are no direct and visible top-down pressures, it is still possible to observe Europeanization and the process may result in an even stronger EU. Therefore, the study, in a way, tries to show how “EU matters” in this voluntary based policy area.

The experience of Europeanization is most probably unique for each and every Member State who are operating in the area of civil protection. Therefore, to better understand the current dynamics, the research will be based on two different Member States: Italy as an old Member State and a strong Participating State of the UCPM, and Croatia as a new Member State and a relatively new member of the UCPM. The west and east division is also important since “civil protection” perceptions are believed to display some degree of variation.

1.1.1 Methodology

This research will be an exploratory one. In addition to the literature review that will focus on Europeanization, civil protection and soft governance literatures, quantitative data from European sources and from the studies conducted in the field of civil protection will also be used.

As will be detailed in the following sections, there are many different approaches to analyze Europeanization in a selected policy area. Therefore, it is significant to choose the most suitable tools during the analysis. The literature review, with the classical theories and with the contribution of the new ones, shows us that existence of hard law/soft law, being a member (even being a member cannot be considered as a single category since there are clear differences between different Member States) and a candidate, makes difference. Civil protection, as a policy area that mainly belongs to “supporting” competences of the Union, does not operate with hard law and binding

legislation. However, it is also not possible to define the process solely with soft governance since there are regulations (although they are mainly supportive and not binding). Still, since it is claimed that the non-binding mechanisms set by the EU pave the way to Europeanization, the analysis will be mainly based on “facilitated coordination” mechanism of Europeanization process in this study.

As mentioned, the analysis will consist of one Western and one Eastern Member State. Both these Member States have their own civil protection systems and since they are both Member States they not only download what has been decided at the EU level, but also have the opportunity to upload their preferences for civil protection to the Union level. Therefore, it is a two-way process for both of them. The cases that will be examined in this study and the justification for their selection are as follows:

Case 1: Italy- The reason behind the selection of Italy is its strong position in the civil protection system of the Union. Italy can be named as one of the locomotives in the field of civil protection. The country has been a member since the establishment of the UCPM, and has strong cooperation with the Mechanism.

Case 2: Croatia- As the latest member of the Union and as a country that also has strong cooperation with the civil protection system of the Union, Croatia is one of the optimistic and cooperative Participating States of the UCPM that is believed to benefit from the common civil protection system.

Both cases that differ in many ways from each other, such as the perception of civil protection, the national system and their position within the UCPM, will be used to compare and explain the prospects of Europeanization by focusing on soft governance structures and combining the top-down and bottom-up approaches. The study will focus on horizontal Europeanization rather than a vertical one.

1.1.2 Methods and Techniques

For this study, both Europeanization and civil protection literatures are reviewed. The Europeanization literature is a rich one while the civil protection literature is very limited. The relationship between civil protection and Europeanization, on the other hand, has only been mentioned in a few studies. Therefore, this study will be an exploratory one aiming to contribute to Europeanization studies by focusing on civil protection as a new dimension.

To explain the current civil protection system of the EU and for the two selected cases; the official documents of the Union and national documents of the selected Member States are reviewed. Therefore, mainly the document analysis and process tracing are used as methods.

1.1.3 Limitations of the Study

Civil protection is an under-researched area. Therefore, there are quite limited number of studies in the literature to guide this study. However, although there are limited studies in the literature on Europeanization in the field of civil protection, the European foreign policy studies provide a great insight on the policy areas that are not hierarchal or top-down in nature. Similarly, the studies that cover the policy areas where soft law is dominant and the ones that refer to “open method of coordination” provides remarkable tools to understand how Europeanization process is experienced within the scope of non-binding policy tools.

The system set up for civil protection at the EU level is the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM). Rather than “governance by hierarchy”, the UCPM operates through a voluntary, non-hierarchal process which can be analysed within the frame of “facilitated coordination”. In addition to that, there is a strong “technocratic” part of the civil protection system and its contribution to the current system needs to be analyzed carefully.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is not easy to find a common definition of Europeanization in the literature today. There are different approaches to define Europeanization and these approaches show difference in accordance with the policy areas focused by the researchers. Therefore, maybe it is more possible to talk about “Europeanizations instead of Europeanization” (Kale, 2005).

As Börzel and Risse pointed out (2000), while some scholars defined Europeanization by focusing on the Union level governance structures, some others name the process as “Euroification”. Some scholars, such as Ladrech on the other hand, focus on processes and how the Union institution building may affect the Member States (Börzel & Risse, 2000).

In the literature, one of the first definitions of Europeanization was given by Ladrech in 1994 (Graziano & Vink, 2013). Ladrech (1994) defines Europeanization by referring to institutional and political change observed in Member States. According to him, Europeanization is “an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making”¹. Therefore, it is possible to say that, Ladrech’s definition was in a way limited to politics and policy making processes (Balkır & Soyaltın, 2018).

¹ Although the definition itself seems to provide a top-down perspective, in his article Ladrech (1994) also refers to the already existing domestic structures and developments and how they may have an effect on the external pressures. Therefore it is possible to say that Ladrech refers to “bottom-up” approach as well (Bache, 2003).

Cowles et al., (2001: 3 as cited in Bache, 2003) on the other hand, defined Europeanization as “the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules”.

According to Olsen (2002), Europeanization may be defined in relation to five main phenomena. The areas Olsen refers to are “changes in external boundaries, developing institutions at the European level, central penetration of national systems of governance, exporting forms of political organization and a political unification project.” (pp. 923-924, 2002). The first phenomenon refers to territorial aspects of governance and takes attention to Europe as a single political space. This way Olsen draws attention to the enlargement process and how it goes hand in hand with Europeanization. Here Olsen also refers to European transformation as a process not only experienced by the EU and the Member States but also achieved as a result of cross-border effects (p. 926, 2002). The second phenomena “developing institutions at the European level” refers to the development of several institutions at the Union level to ensure governance with binding principles. The third phenomena, “central penetration of national systems of governance”, on the other hand, draws attention to the division of competences at different levels. The fourth phenomena, “exporting forms of political organization” mainly refers to non-European actors and how they are affected by Europeanization; while the last phenomena “a political unification project” points out the motive behind Europeanization to achieve a united Europe. As can be seen from Olsen’s analysis, it is difficult to talk about a “single grand theory of Europeanization” that covers all the possible aspects of Europeanization (Olsen, 2002, p. 944).

As another remarkable definition, Vink and Graziano (Vink and Graziano 2007: 7 as cited in Graziano & Vink, 2013), defined Europeanization broadly “as a process of domestic adaptation to European regional integration.”

Bulmer and Radaelli (2004) contributed the discussion by drawing attention to the non-static nature of the EU and the Member States by stating that “Europeanisation is

a matter of reciprocity between moving features”. They did not discuss Europeanization only within the scope of domestic and supranational relations, but they also pointed out the relationship between Europeanization and globalization. Radaelli’s contribution to Europeanization literature is remarkable. Today one of the most widely accepted definition of Europeanization is the one provided by Radaelli. Following Ladrech’s path, he improved the definition provided by Ladrech by adding “cognitive” and “values” as new components of Europeanization (Bandov & Kolman, 2018). According to Radaelli (2004), Europeanization is “processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies.”. There have been many scholars who provided new interpretations to the definition of Europeanization but the definition of Radaelli can still be considered as one of the most comprehensive and holistic definitions.

As it can be seen from the discussions above, when we refer to Europeanization, it is almost impossible to give a common definition that covers all the relevant approaches. As Bache (2003) summarizes the literature in one sentence, “...only by understanding what is being ‘downloaded’ from the EU in relation to what is being and has been ‘uploaded’ from Member States, and contextualising this dynamic in relation to broader international processes and independent domestic sources of change can we understand of the process of Europeanization.”

Bache also mentions how it would not be possible to talk about one kind of Europeanization that follows one route for each and every European State (Bache, 2003). Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that, defining and studying Europeanization is contextual. However, as Bache points out (2003), it is possible to talk about three main definitions of Europeanization. The first type points out the Union level authority and competences while the second type is interested in the effects of this authority and competences on Member States. Finally, the third type

points out the importance of “interconnections and transfer mechanisms” between the Member States (Bache, 2003, p.7), which provides a more holistic approach.

After giving different definitions of Europeanization, a brief historical overview of the emergence of Europeanization will be summarised in the following section.

2.1 A Brief Historical Overview

After introducing different definitions of Europeanization given by different scholars in the previous section, giving the historical background of Europeanization is crucial to understand the basis of these definitions.

To start with, in order to understand how Europeanization as a tool has been utilized in time, the European integration process and the main theories of integration are important to discuss. In other words, Europeanization literature, in a way, has its roots in European integration research (Tekin & Güney, 2015). As Caporaso (2007, p. 23 as cited in Tekin & Güney, 2015) points out, Europeanization can also be seen as “a logical outgrowth of the evolution of integration theory”. So, what is European integration and how can we present a whole picture of the European integration?

European integration has been studied by many scholars and the studies took different routes in different time periods. To give more detailed examples, it can be said that, in the 1960s, the main research focus was to figure out the main motives behind the emergence of European integration. The main theories that were dominant in the literature was liberalism, realism, functionalism, neo-functionalism. From the 1980s onwards, the main focus became researching the prospects of the European polity and how it operates, by referring to politics, policy and governance (Diez and Wiener, 2009: 6-9 as cited in Göksel, 2011). In mid 1990s, on the other hand, the main research focus was to understand the effects of EU regarding national systems, politics and policies of the Member States (Knill, 2009 as cited in Göksel, 2011). Therefore, it can be said that the main focus was on the domestic structures and how they were influenced by the EU as a supranational entity. In this process new institutionalism

(rational choice, historical and sociological institutionalism) was influential (Göksel, 2011).

Table 1 European Integration Research Process

1960s	1980s	Mid-1990s	2000s
Motives behind emergence of European integration	European polity and how it operates	Effects of EU on national systems, policies and politics	Impact of EU on the accession process

Source: (Göksel, 2011)

In the 2000s, due to the massive enlargement process that enabled the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) to become members, the literature also started to focus on the new Member States and the candidates with a curiosity to understand the impact of EU on them (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmier, 2005; Sedelmier 2011; Heritier 2000; Grabbe 2003 as cited in Tekin and Güney, 2015). However, in time, especially as a result of the enlargement process, it has become difficult for grand theories to explain European integration. At that point, Europeanization emerged as a meso theory in relation to neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism (Kale, 2005).

As Börzel pointed out, integration theories were mainly focusing on the aspects of European Integration rather than the role of Member States. Europeanization theory, on the contrary, went beyond classic integration theories and included the domestic dimension as well (Radaeli, 2004).

Today Europeanization can be accepted as a theory that shows the interrelation of domestic and supranational policies. Therefore, it can be said that, “Europeanization” can be seen as an emerging dimension of the European integration theoretical debate which shapes domestic policies, practices, structures and politics (Radaeli, 2004). To better understand the scope of this meso theory, it is important to examine different

elements attributed to it. In the next section domains of Europeanization will be examined.

2.2 Domains of Europeanization

Europeanization has different dimensions and different definitions, as proposed by various scholars, some of which have been introduced in the previous sections. Since Europeanization refers to several policies, politics and topics, it is not easy to conceptualize it. Therefore, the level of analysis makes a remarkable difference while studying Europeanization (Kale, 2005). Due to the fact that the content of the term is comprehensive, it is mostly being used as an organizing concept (Kassim, 2000, p. 238 cited in Olsen, 2002).

In their study "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europeanization" Börzel and Risse (2003) gave "policies, politics, and polity" as three dimensions to analyse the impact of Europeanization on domestic change and pointed out the general consensus in the literature that Europeanization has different effects on different domains.

Table 2 Domains of Europeanization

Domains of Europeanization		
Policies	Politics	Polity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Standards ✓ Instruments ✓ Problem solving approaches ✓ Policy narratives and discourses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Process of interest formation ✓ Interest aggregation ✓ Interest representation ✓ Public discourses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Political institutions ✓ Intergovernmental relations ✓ Judicial structures ✓ Public administration ✓ State traditions ✓ Economic institutions ✓ State-society relations ✓ Collective identities

Source: (Börzel and Risse, 2003)

As can be seen from the table above, Börzel and Risse (2003) identified the aspects of these three domains. The division is one of the major contributions to the Europeanization literature that is thought to be beneficial for analytical purposes, since it draws the frame of which area to focus while studying Europeanization. However, as Radaelli pointed out in his article “Europeanisation: Solution or problem?” (Radaelli, 2004), this division can also be seen as one of the limitations of the Europeanization literature. In his article, Radaelli provides a holistic approach to Europeanization theory and emphasizes that the most exciting research are the ones that show how these three are interacting. Therefore, it can be said that, stepping up onto this division of Börzel and Risse (2003), may contribute to the dynamism of Europeanization studies.

Looking from the civil protection perspective, the criticism of Radaelli seems to be a meaningful one. Looking at the prospects of Europeanization, it can be stated that, in order to provide a solid analysis of the process of Europeanization of civil protection, one should focus at least on two domains, policy and polity, which seems difficult to separate. In the next section main approaches to Europeanization will be examined and this discussion will be carried a step further.

2.3 Main Approaches to Europeanization

Today we can talk about two main approaches in the Europeanization literature: top-down and bottom-up approaches. Before getting into the details of these two approaches, it is important to mention that although we do not have a universal definition that is accepted by all, in the literature, Europeanization is either accepted as the effect of the EU on the domestic level or the effect of the domestic level on the Union (Flockhart 2010: 790 as cited in Graziano & Vink, 2013). In time, several studies contributed to the literature with developed ideas regarding “top-down” and “bottom-up” division, but also other remarkable studies were conducted in a way to harmonize these two approaches. Different definitions of Europeanization have been provided in accordance with these different approaches.

2.3.1 Top-down Approach

Top down approach has been dominant in the literature in the 1970s and the 1980s (Radaeli, 2004). According to Bandov & Kolman (2018), the top-down approach defines Europeanization in accordance with the influence at the EU level. Bandov and Kolman refers to the definition of Buller and Gamble (Buller and Gamble, 2002, as cited in Bandov and Kolman, 2018), who pointed out the effects of European governments on domestic policy and Bache and Marshall (Bache and Marshall, 2004 as cited in Bandov and Kolman, 2018) who provided a top-down approach by emphasizing how the Union level actors affect domestic politics.

Cowles, Caporaso and Risse (2001) have also made a remarkable contribution by referring to top-down processes to understand Europeanization. They tried to understand the impact of Europeanization on domestic structures. In their book “Transforming Europe Europeanization and Domestic Change” they used a three-step approach that is used to explain various country examples (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse, 2001). Three steps are, namely, “Europeanization”, “adaptational pressures” and “mediating factors” (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse, 2001, p.2).² According to the scholars, their way of defining Europeanization is different from the traditional definition of the concept since traditional definition mainly refers to Europeanization as “institution building at the European level”. According to them, their main contribution to the literature is to study how Europeanization shapes the domestic structures of the Member States (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse, 2001, p.3).

In their way of analysing the effects of Europeanization, Cowles, Caporaso and Risse (2001) firstly pointed out the need to identify the Europeanization process at the Union level. Therefore, the initial step is to define the process. The second step is what they call “goodness of fit between Europeanization and domestic structures”. This second step focuses on “adaptational pressures” (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse, 2001).

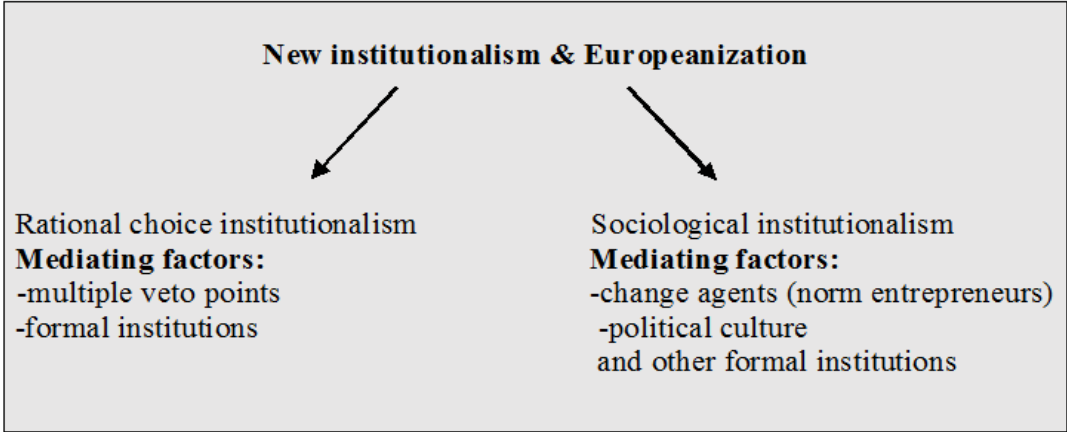
² It is important to emphasize that their three-step framework is influenced by Fritz Scharpf and Tanja Börzel who have remarkable studies regarding Europeanization.

According to the scholars, the degree of adaptational pressures is related with how the EU level fits / misfits with the domestic level. The third step of the framework refers to institutions and actor strategies that may serve as mediating factors during Europeanization. They give “multiple veto points, facilitating institutions and cooperative cultures” as examples. Cowles, Caporaso and Risse (2001) admit that the interaction between the Union and the Member States is a two-way interaction. However, they choose to focus on the top-down perspective. Although different scholars have chosen to focus on different domains or they had different approaches, the framework presented in their study has been used by many of them as a reference point.

Börzel and Risse (2003) also propose a top-down approach in their study, "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europeanization". They pointed out the significance of using top-down approach to show “how EU matters” (Börzel and Risse, 2003). Like Cowles, Caporaso and Risse (2001), they once again point out the strong relationship between misfit and Europeanization and the importance of facilitating factors. The analysis of Börzel and Risse is important since it has been used by many scholars to defend or oppose their analysis. According to the scholars although there are different domains such as “policy, polity and politics”, in order to understand the domestic changes in any of these domains, there needs to be a “misfit”. The misfit is directly related with the “adaptational pressures” and consequently the level of Europeanization. Referring to institutionalism as a tool to understand Europeanization, Börzel and Risse (2003) talk about two types of new institutionalism: “rational choice institutionalism” and “sociological (constructivist) institutionalism”. According to them, the rationalist approach use “logic of consequentialism” while sociological institutionalism use “logic of appropriateness”. Börzel and Risse (2003) defined different mediating factors for these two types of institutionalism. As shown in table 3, while the mediating factors are defined as “multiple veto points” and “formal institutions” for rational choice institutionalism, it is “change agents (norm entrepreneurs)” and “formal institutions” for sociological institutionalism. Following

Risse, Cowles and Caporaso (2001), Börzel and Risse (2003) perceives Europeanization as an institution-building process at the Union level to understand the effects of this process on the domestic level. Pointing out the importance of misfit to experience Europeanization, they define two main types of misfit, which are “policy misfit” and “institutional misfit” Although these two approaches consider misfit (and adaptational pressure in accordance with that) as necessary conditions for Europeanization, their perception about the high adaptational pressure shows difference. According to rationalist approach, high adaptational pressures (and medium level adaptational pressures) may be successful to achieve Europeanization. Sociological institutionalism, on the other hand, point out that although there needs to be a misfit, it still needs to be in line with the “collectively shared understandings and meaning structures” (Börzel & Risse, 2003).

Table 3 New Institutionalism & Europeanization



Source: (Börzel & Risse, 2003)

As a result of this process there are three possible degrees of Europeanization that may be achieved. These are, absorption, accomodation and transformation. These three degrees, their relationship with adaptational pressures and facilitating factors for

rationalist institutionalism (RI) and sociological institutionalism (SI) can be seen from table 4.

Table 4 Three Degrees of Europeanization

	High Adaptational pressure	Medium Adaptational pressure	Low Adaptational pressure
Facilitating factors	RI: Transformation SI: Inertia (unless external shock)	RI: Transformation SI: Gradual transformation	RI: Accommodation SI: Accommodation
No Facilitating factors	RI: Accommodation SI: Inertia	RI: Accommodation/ absorption SI: Accommodation/ absorption	RI: Inertia SI: Absorption

Source: (Börzel & Risse, 2003)

Knill and Lehmull (1999) also approached Europeanization from a top-down approach, by pointing out that the effects of European integration on the domestic level have not been explained properly. The scholars focus on European policy-making and provide three ideal types which are namely “positive integration”, “negative integration” and “framing integration”. The ideal types that are defined by Knill and Lehmull (1999) are important since it was referred by several scholars who study Europeanization. The first ideal type “positive integration” is a mechanism in which the Union provides an “institutional model” for the Member States to adjust to. In “negative integration” however, European legislation does not directly guide the Member States for adjustment, but instead it affects “domestic opportunity structures” by defining the conditions. Finally, the “framing integration” mechanism, as the weakest one among all three, does not impose Union level requirements or alters the institutional structures by defining the conditions. Instead, it has the most indirect effect

on the Member States in terms of “cognitive logic” (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999). It is important to mention that, although Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999) provided an analysis by defining three different mechanisms, they also admit that in different policy types, it is possible to observe different types together. Radaelli (2004) also refers to this mechanism in his analysis and names it as “facilitated coordination” (Bandov & Kolman, 2018).

The analysis of Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999) was also referring to the areas where the Union does not have a binding power on the Member States. Therefore, their analysis in a way improved the analysis provided by Börzel and Risse, which mainly focus on the areas where “the misfit / adaptational pressure” discussion could be implemented.

Top-down approach has been criticized or improved by many other scholars. According to Radaelli, there are three modes of governance (bargaining, hierarchy and facilitated coordination) and “facilitated coordination” is the one that mainly uses soft law as a tool (Radaelli, 2004). Radaelli’s approach will be given in detail in the following section. However, it is important to mention that, by providing a holistic approach Radaelli (2004) emphasizes that the Europeanization process should be seen as a process more than a vertical one that focus on the impact of EU on the domestic structures.

Jacquot and Wall (2003) approached European integration from a sociological perspective and criticized the main conceptualization of Europeanization. With their “sociology of the usage of European integration” conceptualization, they focus on the “role of actors” in the process of Europeanization by emphasizing the importance of the actors’ “place, choices and strategies” (Jacquot & Wall, 2003). Therefore, Jacquot and Wall (2003) contributed to the “misfit” discussion by reminding that the actors may actually “choose” and “learn” without “institutional pressures” so individual actions should not be disregarded.

2.3.2 Bottom-up Approach

The other approach that was introduced to the literature was bottom-up approach. This new perspective has provided a new research framework since the top-down approach was considered not to be sufficient to explain the domestic changes by taking the EU as the independent variable (Bandov & Kolman, 2018).

The main argument of bottom-up approach is that Europeanization cannot be solely understood from a top-down approach that mainly focus on Brussels' processes. It is important to understand that the Member States are also defining and contributing to the process in line with their own preferences and interests. Therefore, the multi-level nature of Europeanization should not be disregarded (Kale, 2005). Radaelli has made a remarkable contribution to the bottom-up approach. Radaelli defines Europeanization as:

Europeanisation consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies (Radaeli, 2004).

Looking at the definition of Radaelli, it is possible to see that, both the top-down and bottom-up processes are taken into account. As Radaelli explains, Europeanization is not solely the domestic adaptation to the Union level policies, but instead it includes domestic actors' participation to the policy making process. Therefore, Radaelli draws attention to the complex nature of Europeanization and points out how it follows a "circular process" (Radaelli, 2004 as cited in Bandov & Kolman, 2018).

Another important study belongs to Bulmer & Radaelli (2004), in which the authors refer to three characteristics of Europeanization as follows:

- 1) Europeanization can be experienced by following different policy stages which are “policy formulation (construction); putting policy into practice (institutionalisation); and in a much less structured manner where the EU’s role may be quite limited (diffusion)”.
- 2) Europeanisation is not only related to formal policy rules, but also to beliefs and values.
- 3) Europeanization, European integration and policy-making processes are different from each other.

In line with these three points, they refer to three types of governance for the Europeanization of domestic policies which are “governance by negotiation”, “governance by hierarchy” and “facilitated coordination”. As shown in table 5, Bulmer & Radaelli (2004) relate these modes of governance with types of policies and the main mechanisms by also referring to their analytical core.

Table 5 Governance, policy and the mechanisms of Europeanisation

MODE OF GOVERNANCE	TYPE OF POLICY	ANALYTICAL CORE	MAIN MECHANISM
Negotiation	Any of those below	Formation of EU policy	Vertical (uploading)
Hierarchy	Positive integration	Market-correcting rules; EU policy templates	Vertical (downloading)
Hierarchy	Negative integration	Market-making rules; absence of policy templates	Horizontal
Facilitated coordination	Coordination	Soft law, OMC, policy exchange	Horizontal

Source: (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004)

An important contribution made by the scholars is that they also refer to the areas where the EU does not have a binding power and they explain these areas with facilitated coordination. In their table “Europeanization and policy illustration” as can

be seen from the table 6 below, they show which policy areas follow which pattern and how the Europeanization achieved in the end can be defined.

Table 6 Europeanisation and policy illustration

TYPE OF POLICY	ILLUSTRATIVE POLICY AREAS	'DEFAULT' EXPLANATION OF EUROPEANISATION
Positive integration	Environment, social policy, EMU, CAP	Goodness of fit
Negative integration	Internal market in goods and services, utilities sectors (e.g. telecommunications, electricity), corporate governance	Regulatory competition
Coordination	CFSP, third pillar, OMC policies (e.g. employment, social inclusion, pensions, enterprise policy, asylum policy)	Learning

Source: (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004)

In time, bottom-up approach has been improved by different scholars. Moumoutzis & Zartaloudis (2016) focused on the difficulty of causality in the Europeanization literature, especially for the studies that focus on the relationship between non-binding “European Union stimuli” and “change in national policy”. Their contribution is remarkable in the sense that, it shows how Europeanization may also be achieved when it is not possible to talk about a top-down process where the EU has a binding power. According to them, to understand Europeanization, four distinct causal mechanisms can be mentioned. The mechanisms, used to explain Europeanization in policy areas with non-binding EU effect are “instrumental learning”, “social learning”, “naming and shaming” and “peer pressure” (Moumotzis & Zartaloudis, 2016).

Irondelle (2003) is another scholar who focuses on the areas that Europeanize without the dominance of supranational policies. According to Irondelle (2003),

Europeanization cannot simply be seen as imposing the EU policies to the domestic level and EU level common institutions, rules and policies are not preconditions to achieve Europeanization. It is mainly an interaction process. Irondelle (2003) focuses on the prospects of Europeanization in French military policy and put forth the mechanisms of Europeanization. Irondelle's definition of Europeanization is inspired by Radaelli. However, he criticizes the definition by pointing out that Radaelli's definition does not pay enough attention to the effect of integration. In other words, Irondelle (2003) claims that the integration experienced in a specific field can have domestic impacts for another Member State in another field. Since he is inspired by the definition of Radaelli and tries to improve his approach, it is possible to say that Irondelle also follows a bottom-up logic while defining Europeanization. He amends the Europeanization definition of Radaelli as: "A set of processes through which the political, social and economic dynamics of European integration become part of the logic of domestic discourses, identities, public structures and public policies" (Irondelle, 2003).

Due to the fact that military policy is not subject to binding rules of the EU, Irondelle (2003) believes that the best option to understand the Europeanization process is to focus on the "framing processes". To understand the prospects of Europeanization Irondelle (2003) examines the domestic reforms made by France by checking the decision-making process. According to Irondelle, "Europeanization without the EU" is actually possible. He argues that in cases where the policy area does not have an achieved integration process at the EU level the framing mechanism becomes more evident. Therefore, he focuses on "cognitive" and "normative" processes and tries to figure out how "belief systems" or "paradigms" might determine Europeanization in the military field. He refers to different mechanisms that was determinant in the "Europeanization without the EU" process, namely, "indirect pressures", "institutional mediations" and "socialization and learning" (Irondelle, 2003).

Looking at the Europeanization literature, it is possible to talk about a clear distinction between top-down and bottom-up approaches, which is directly related with the

competences of the European Union. However, there are many important studies in the literature that aim to combine these two approaches to provide a more detailed and holistic analysis. Although the approach of Radaelli (2004) has been named as bottom-up, since he refers to “the construction” and “diffusion” at the same time, it would not be wrong to say that Radaelli favors a combination of the top-down and bottom-up approaches (Graziano & Vink, 2013).

Another important study has been conducted by de Flers and Müller (2010). The scholars focus on the interrelation between top-down and bottom-up approaches to better analyze the complex nature of Europeanization in Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Their study points out to “consensus-oriented decision making” within the framework of top-down approach and “policy learning” and “socialization” as the main mechanisms regarding bottom-up approach to achieve Europeanization in foreign policy area. It is important to mention that de Flers and Müller (2010) also discuss the methodological challenges of linking the two dimensions. However, to be able to analyze a policy area that cannot be explained only by top-down processes, they draw attention to the need to combine bottom-up approach with top-down approach. Therefore, it is once again put forth by the scholars that, Europeanization may follow different paths in different policy areas and although there are no direct pressure from Brussels through the Member States and the processes are voluntary and non-hierarchical, in the end it is still possible to see that “Europe matters” for those policy areas too (de Flers & Müller, 2010).

In line with the main aim of this study, the studies that link top-down and bottom-up processes provide valuable insights. Since civil protection is one of the areas where EU power is not directly imposed upon the Member States and it is not possible to talk about “adaptational pressure” or “misfit”, it is important to be aware of other mechanisms that show how “Europe matters” like de Flers and Müller (2010) points out. In the next section soft governance mechanisms will be examined separately.

2.3.3 Soft Governance

As mentioned in the previous sections, in the Europeanization literature there is an awareness now that Europeanization can also be seen in the areas where a top-down dominance of the EU is not observed. There are several mechanisms that may lead to Europeanization, some of which are based on soft governance structures. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) is one of these mechanisms.

The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) as a policy-making process, was announced in the Lisbon European Council in 2000. Although the term started to be used in 2000, as a method it was used after 1992 Maastricht Treaty within the scope of economic coordination and after 1997 Amsterdam Treaty in the field of employment policy (European Employment Strategy – EES). OMC initially started to be used in economic policy area, however, in time it covered other policy areas too (European Parliament, 2014).

The OMC is a method used to reach the EU goals defined in various areas where “partial or full competence” belongs to the Member States. With the OMC, the Member States share their knowledge and experiences and enhance their domestic policies. Although the processes for different policy areas show difference, there is still a common logic in the use of the OMC. The process starts with defining the goals at the EU level and then these goals are being adapted by the Member States in line with their own requirements and perspectives. This domestic implementation process is monitored by the EU with the help of benchmarks and indicators which are also defined with the participation of the Member States. Putting forth the results of the implementation process creates a ground to compare the Member States and spread the best practices among them. Since the OMC is a soft governance method, the results coming out of this process are not binding for the Member States. However, although the process seems “soft” it would not be wrong to say that it has its own pressures on the domestic actors with “peer pressure” and “naming and shaming” (European Parliament, 2014). The diagram of the method is shown in figure 1.

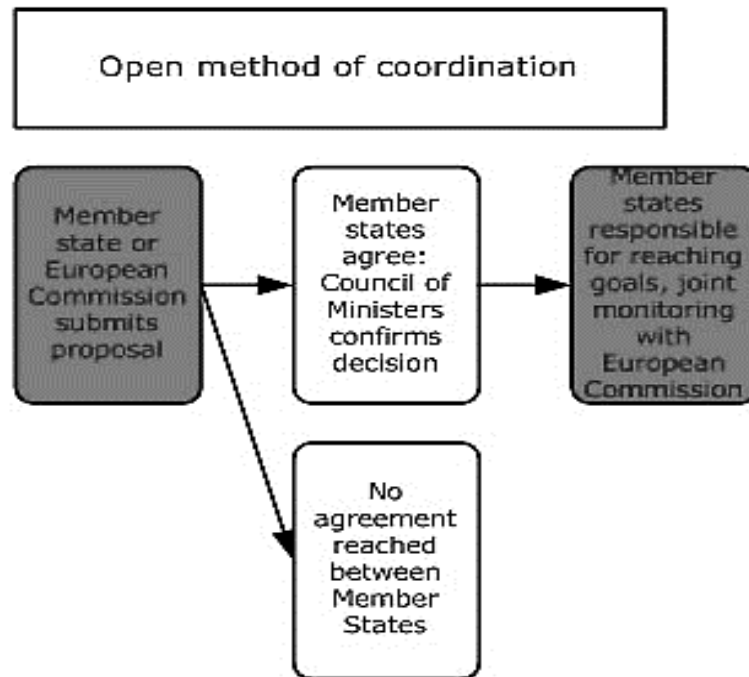


Figure 1: Open Method of Coordination

Source: (EU Monitor, 2019)

Looking at the OMC from the perspective of Europeanization literature it can be said that the OMC operates through “governance by coordination”, which is also named as “facilitated coordination”. To understand Europeanization in the policy areas that are subject to the OMC, it is important to understand how things proceed at the local level, instead of Brussels to show that there is actually “a European space of ideas that stretches beyond the realm of EU policy-making”. The OMC should not be regarded as a mechanism that would take the place of hard law, but instead it should be seen as a new way for Europeanisation. However, it is important to keep in mind that seeing the OMC as a process that is totally nonhierarchical is not correct. The components of the OMC, such as networks, benchmarking, collective learning is likely to create their own hierarchies (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). As shown in the “Governance, policy and the mechanisms of Europeanisation” table of Bulmer and Radaelli (2004) soft law, and more specifically the OMC, provides a horizontal mechanism.

Table 7 Governance, policy and the mechanisms of Europeanisation

MODE OF GOVERNANCE	TYPE OF POLICY	ANALYTICAL CORE	MAIN MECHANISM
Negotiation	Any of those below	Formation of EU policy	Vertical (uploading)
Hierarchy	Positive integration	Market-correcting rules; EU policy templates	Vertical (downloading)
Hierarchy	Negative integration	Market-making rules; absence of policy templates	Horizontal
Facilitated coordination	Coordination	Soft law, OMC, policy exchange	Horizontal

Source: (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004)

The OMC, as a method of policy making, faced with several criticisms. According to the European Parliament one of the criticisms is that the OMC has not been applied to all of the countries in some policy areas, such as social inclusion. Also, at the Union level, the OMC was seen as a method that would threaten the Community method. Taking this criticism one step further, the European Parliament explains that, in the policy areas where Member States have the authority and power, the use of the OMC has been named as “covert intrusion” by the critics. Therefore, in some cases, the relation of the OMC with the competences was problematic. One example of this can be the 2010 resolution of the European Parliament on economic governance. With this Resolution, the Parliament pointed out that the OMC should not be seen as a relied method within the scope of economic policy. This criticism provided by the Parliament was not against the OMC as a whole, but the usage of the OMC in areas that is thought to disregard the competences as well as the community method. The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) also criticized the OMC with its “The Open Method of Coordination and the social clause in the context of Europe 2020” Opinion that was announced in 2011, by saying that is not so effective at the domestic level. Looking at the criticisms, it is possible to say that if the method will survive in the

future, it will be in the policy areas where a threat to community method and competences is not perceived (European Parliament, 2014).

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHING THE EU CIVIL PROTECTION SYSTEM FROM THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

As there are very limited number of studies in the literature today that examine civil protection system of the EU with the tools of Europeanization, it has not been an easy task to decide from which perspective this study should use the Europeanization theory while examining civil protection system of the EU and the selected Member States. There are some significant points that should be mentioned to better explain the relationship between civil protection and Europeanization:

- Civil protection is a policy area that is not hierarchal in nature.
- Civil protection belongs to the supporting competences of the Union.
- Civil protection has been referred to in the Treaties and there are several legislations prepared at the EU level.
- The current legislation is not binding and the EU does not use any sanctions to control the Member States.
- However, although the system does not have a binding nature, it should not be understood that the Union does not exercise power on the Member States,
- This study is trying to examine the civil protection system of the EU by making the soft governance mechanisms more evident and show how these mechanisms might lead to Europeanization in the selected Member States.

Therefore, while trying to set the theoretical frame, the literature that cover the policy areas where soft law is dominant and the ones that are trying to understand how Europeanization is experienced within the scope of non-binding systems have been helpful. As given in details in the previous sections, there are various approaches within the scope of Europeanization literature. Since civil protection is an area in which it is difficult to have a clearcut frame, the study uses an exploratory approach to make an analysis.

The first issue that needs to be clarified is the top down/bottom-up division in the Europeanization literature. As it was given in detail in the theoretical framework chapter, although there is a division between top-down and bottom-up approaches in the literature, some scholars point out the need to combine these two. This study defends the idea that, focusing only on the top-down or bottom-up approaches will not be sufficient to provide a holistic approach in the civil protection policy field. Therefore, this study mainly focuses on the interaction between the supranational and domestic level to understand the prospects of Europeanization.

Secondly, the division between the soft and hard law in this sense is important to clarify. As it has been mentioned in the Article 288 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, regulations, directives and decisions are binding. Soft law, therefore, refers to the measures of the Union that are not binding in nature, such as, guidelines, recommendations, declarations and opinions. However, soft law should not be understood as a tool that have no legal effects and its potential effects in practice should not be disregarded. Soft measures may also be powerful enough to result in change, and in some cases, they may have an even more powerful effect on the process, since it gives the sense to the Member States that getting closer to the Union practices is voluntary and actually their choice. Therefore, soft law can be regarded as a more flexible tool to reach the Union policy targets. The Union chooses to use soft law in cases where it does not have the power to implement hard law, due to the division of competences. In addition to that, soft governance is being applied when the Member

States have difficulty in deciding which measure to use or when they resist to act (Eurofound, 2011).

However, even though the soft law is shaped with guidelines it has connections to the hard law. One example of this might be the European Employment Strategy, and the Europe 2020 Strategy. These strategies are being conducted with open method of coordination (OMC). The OMC promotes the use of soft law employment guidelines, which are not legally binding. However, Article 148(2) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, points out that the Member States should take these guidelines into account while shaping their employment policies (Eurofound, 2011).

It is, however, important to mention that civil protection can not be named as an area that is solely regulated by soft law. Relating civil protection only with soft law is simply not true since the base of the current mechanism is set with the TFEU and there are various legislations in this field. In other words, the case does not completely fulfill the definition of soft law at the Union level. However, since this is an area that belongs to the supporting competences of the Union, where the main responsibility and power belongs to the Member States, it is also misleading to say that hard law with binding nature is being implemented to the Member States. Following this notice however, it can be said that, by looking at the unique condition of civil protection, this study tries to benefit mainly from the tools of soft law, although civil protection is not considered as an area where the Union merely practices soft law.

Quoting from Olsen (2002) it can be stated that ‘the language and logic of fixed dependent and independent variables, can become a strait jacket preventing an adequate theoretical and empirical analysis of European dynamics of change’. Therefore, while trying to understand the dynamics of Europeanization in this policy field a more holistic and comprehensive approach is required. This study focuses on the Radaelli’s third type of governance “facilitated coordination” and also benefits from the framework provided by de Flers and Müller (2010) for the analytical

purposes. However, it should not be perceived that the selected approach is the most suitable one to understand civil protection from the Europeanization perspective. As there are very few studies to discuss the relationship between civil protection and Europeanization, further studies are needed to have a comprehensive understanding.

After giving this brief introductory discussion about the complex relationship between the theory and practice, in the next sub-section the non-binding governance tools used by the UCPM will be examined.

3.1 Civil Protection and the Non-Binding Governance Structures of the EU

As Radaelli (2004) puts forth, Europeanization should not be regarded as a “black-box design in which one correlates the input ‘EU independent variables’ to the output ‘domestic impact’ and rather focus on the process as a whole. Although the Europeanization process has vertical aspects, the horizontal ones should not be disregarded. Civil protection is an area where it is not possible to talk about a top-down pressure from Brussels with binding regulations and therefore the approach of the top-down perspective where the discussion evolves around “adaptational pressures” and “misfit” is not relevant. But instead, as many scholars pointed out, the EU may implement other forms of pressure on the Member States that is not so easy to track and define. Looking at the whole process, it is possible to say that, the Union civil protection system is the result of a need that occurred at the national and regional levels. Therefore, it is possible to say that the story starts with the Member States. The current system is the result of the disasters and emergencies that have been experienced in the continent and the difficulties faced by the Member States in coping with the effects of these disasters on their own. With the establishment of Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM), that aims to coordinate civil protection efforts of the EU Member States, the Member States became the natural participants of the system³. Although the Mechanism was mainly focusing on “response” when it was established,

³ All the members of the UCPM are names as “Participating States” since there are also Non-Member States among them.

due to the severity of the disasters and emergencies faced by Europe, in 2013, it went through serious changes and started to focus on all the stages of the disaster management cycle. This shift also resulted in enhanced cooperation between the Union and the Member States, in all the areas of the disaster management. At the beginning, the civil protection system was even more voluntary in nature than it is today. As it will be examined in detail in Chapter 4, the Mechanism has been subject to several changes in years and finally in 2019 the new legislation ended up giving more power to the Union. Since we are speaking of a system that is mainly dependent on the capacities and voluntary contribution of the Member States, this change is interesting to observe. The role of Member States in this non-binding civil protection system can be explained as:

-The Member States shape the policies by participating to the working groups and to the high-level meetings conducted within the scope of the UCPM as well as taking part in the decision making processes at a more macro level. Therefore, they have the power to “upload” their preferences to the system before applying these decisions. However, it is also true that not all the Member States have the same determinant power and the position within the system is in a way related to their position in the Union.

-The system is dependent on the resources and capacities of the Member States both in terms of assets and human resources. Especially for the reason that civil protection is a supporting competence for the Union, Member States have the power to set their own civil protection system and to dedicate their own resources to the system.

As natural participants of the system, all the Member States are currently integrated into the civil protection system and although they are not subject to binding legislation, they are contributing to and benefiting from the components⁴ of this “European” system which will be examined in detail in the following chapter. With the changes observed in the latest legislation, they also ended up giving more power to the Union. Therefore, looking at the current civil protection system one can see that, the Member

⁴ Components of the civil protection system are examined in Chapter 3.

States, which are prone to different disasters, have different civil protection perspectives, different systems and policies are still articulated to a system where they act as a Europeanized power.

As Radaelli and several other scholars pointed out in their studies, the Europeanization discussion goes far beyond the top-down binding forms of governance and “positive integration mechanism”. As Knill & Lehmkuhl (1999) and Radaelli (2004) pointed out, the type of EU pressure in a policy field effects the process of Europeanization and the experienced domestic change, all in three forms of integration (positive, negative or framing integration) and in the cases where the EU uses hierarchal governance or facilitated coordination. In this study “facilitated coordination” will be the main approach to examine the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection.

For this study, two approaches in the Europeanization literature are considered to be important and the study will combine these two approaches. The first one belongs to Bulmer and Radaelli (2004). As can be seen from the table 6, for the policy areas that are not binding in nature, they refer to “coordination” which is also named as “facilitated coordination” and the main explanation of Europeanization is evolving around “learning” discussion.

De Flers and Müller’s study (2010) that merges top-down and bottom-up approaches and focusing on foreign policy as a non-binding policy area is the other important approach for this study. They focus on two dimensions while examining the foreign policy and points out that, while uploading the domestic preferences to the EU level, the main mechanism is “socialization”. During the downloading process, on the other hand, main mechanisms are “socialization and learning”.

Table 8. Dimensions, Mechanisms and Outcomes of the Europeanization of Foreign Policy

Dimensions	Mechanisms	Outcomes/Indicators
Uploading/Bottom-Up Member States seek to influence EU foreign policy and the foreign policies of other Member States	Socialization	Policy Projection projection of national policy preferences, policy models and ideas onto the EU level
Downloading/Top-Down Member States are subject to influences and stimuli from the EU and other Member States	Socialization/ Learning	Policy Adaptation changes of national institutions, processes, ideas and policies due to practices, rules, objectives and norms adopted or prescribed at the EU level

Source: (De Flers & Müller, 2010)

By referring to Bulmer and Radaelli, de Flers and Müller (2010) point out that, in the field of foreign policy there are no defined learning platforms, but instead the policy makers mainly learn from “critical experiences, such as crises and policy failures, which put into question the policy that has been followed hitherto rather than from common benchmarks and best practices”. This has not been the case for civil protection. The civil protection policy area is operating with “lessons learnt system”. Lessons learnt meetings are being conducted at the EU level with the participation of the Member States. Apart from that, the evaluation reports on the UCPM are also determinant since they point out the bottlenecks and problems faced within the scope of the civil protection mechanism. Apart from the learning system, although the OMC is not officially implemented in this area, the targets set in the Union level and the monitoring of these targets show OMC characteristics in the field of civil protection.

The aspects of civil protection that should be analyzed to examine uploading and downloading mechanisms of the UCPM is given in table 10. As shown in the table, this study mainly focuses on the EU decision making system, the working groups and high-level meetings in the analysis of bottom-up Europeanization; and on several systems that evolve around “socialization and learning” such as focal points system,

common EU documentations, lessons-learnt mechanism, trainings etc. while examining the top-down Europeanization.

Table 9 Europeanization of Civil Protection

Bottom-up (Uploading) Socialization		Top-down (Downloading) Socialization and Learning
Wider Context	Small Context	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU decision-making system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working groups • Technical and high level meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical and high level focal points system (national focal points, training coordinators etc.) • Lessons-learnt mechanism • Common EU documents (guidelines, roadmaps etc) • Trainings & exercises • Exchange of expertise (Exchange of Experts system, Peer review mechanism) • Projects

It is possible to say that both “thick” and “thin” learning mechanisms can be observed in the top-down Europeanization process. The table will be used for the analysis of the two cases in Chapter 5. To better understand the system, on the other hand, the following chapter will present the Union Civil Protection System in detail.

CHAPTER 4

EU CIVIL PROTECTION SYSTEM AND THE UNION CIVIL PROTECTION MECHANISM (UCPM)

4.1 History of the Mechanism

“Civil protection” as a concept emerged in Europe in the 1980s in line with some disaster mitigation initiatives seen in France and Italy. These two Member States at that time were trying to deal with high catastrophic risks by establishing cooperation mechanisms. At the beginning of the 1980 France prepared the “Plan d’Exposition aux Risques” that aimed to map both natural and man-made hazards by determining their risks. In Italy, on the other hand, assessments on some natural disasters were being conducted and there were studies to develop risk mitigation policies. Therefore, in the 1980s, these two countries were both focusing on the risks ahead and were trying to find coping mechanisms (Gaetani et al., 2009).

As a result of the fact that the European countries were prone to different risks due to geographic and climatic differences, the mandate to define risks was mainly the responsibility of the national institutions. It is possible to talk about a southern and northern divide within this context. While Southern States were dealing with natural disasters such as earthquakes and forest fires, the Northern States were prone to mostly man-made technological disasters (Gaetani et al., 2009).

To some extent, it was possible for the European countries to cope with the effects of disasters with their own national system and resources. When it became impossible to deal with the disasters and emergencies, due to the severity of disasters and their cross-border effects, on their own “civil protection” emerged as a European concept that

aims to build a cooperation mechanism among the Member States. Therefore, the essence of civil protection concept is the exchange of expertise and good practices with an aim to improve cooperation among nations (Gaetani, et al., 2009).

So how can we define civil protection? Civil protection can be simply defined as the purpose to minimise the effects of disasters (Gaetani et al., 2009). However not only the definition of the term, but also the policies towards civil protection have changed in time and influenced “civil protection” as a policy area.

The establishment of Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM) in 2001 as a new tool has been a remarkable step in the history of European civil protection (EVANDE Project, 2014). Although the Member States had their own civil protection systems prior to the UCPM, this new system, by pooling of the necessary capacities, opened the way for better coordination among the Member States with an aim of not just to protect people but also to protect the environment and cultural heritage (EVANDE Project, 2014).

Today at the EU level, civil protection is the mandate of the European Commission. The European Commission is the main authority that works to help affected populations of natural and man-made disasters. The current system with its legal background, administrative structure and main components is examined in the following section.

4.2 Current System

4.2.1 Legislative Framework

4.2.1.1 Exercise of Competence and Fundamental Principles in the Field of Civil Protection

To better understand how civil protection operates at the EU level, it is important to understand its place in the EU competences. There are mainly three types of competences defined at the EU level, namely, exclusive competences, shared

competences and supportive competences. Each of these competences covers different policy areas. Exclusive competences are defined under Article 3 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The EU is the sole authority in the areas defined within the scope of exclusive competences and it mainly prepares binding legislations to achieve control in these areas. The areas defined within the scope of exclusive competences are “customs union, the establishing of competition rules necessary for the functioning of the internal market, monetary policy for euro area countries, conservation of marine biological resources under the common fisheries policy, common commercial policy, and conclusion of international agreements under certain conditions” (EUR-Lex, 2016a).

Shared competences, on the other hand, are defined under Article 4 of the TFEU. For the policy areas that fall under shared competences, both the EU and the Member States are able to prepare and adopt binding legislations. In these policy areas, the EU countries do have power where the EU chooses not to act and use its power. The policy areas related with shared competences are: “internal market, social policy, , economic, social and territorial cohesion (regional policy), agriculture and fisheries (except conservation of marine biological resources), environment, consumer protection, transport, trans-European networks, energy, area of freedom, security and justice, shared safety concerns in public health matters, limited to the aspects defined in the TFEU, research, technological development, space, development cooperation and humanitarian aid” (EUR-Lex, 2016a).

And finally, supporting competences which are defined under Article 6 of the TFEU points out that in the policy areas that are given within the scope of supporting competences, the EU only intervenes with an aim to promote and coordinate the efforts of the Member States. Therefore, harmonization of the laws and legislation is not expected from the Member States. In other words, these policy areas do not operate with binding EU acts. The policy areas that fall under supporting competences are: “protection and improvement of human health, industry, culture, tourism, education,

vocational training, youth and sport, civil protection, administrative cooperation” (EUR-Lex, 2016b). The division of competences are shown in Table 10.

Table 10 Division of Competences

Exclusive competences (TFEU, Article 3)	Shared Competences (TFEU, Article 4)	Supporting competences (TFEU, Article 6)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •customs union •the establishing of competition rules necessary for the functioning of the internal market •monetary policy for euro area countries •conservation of marine biological resources under the common fisheries policy •common commercial policy •conclusion of international agreements under certain conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • internal market • social policy, but only for aspects specifically defined in the Treaty • economic, social and territorial cohesion agriculture and fisheries (except conservation of marine biological resources) • environment • consumer protection • transport • trans-European networks • energy • area of freedom, security and justice • shared safety concerns in public health matters, limited to the aspects defined in the TFEU • research, technological development, space • development cooperation and humanitarian aid. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • protection and improvement of human health • industry • culture • tourism • education, vocational training, youth and sport • civil protection • administrative cooperation

Source: (EUR-Lex, 2016a)

So, what does “belonging to the supporting competences” mean for civil protection? It can be said that the EU will support the efforts of the Member States but will not intervene and use sanctions for the actions of the Member States in the area of civil protection. Today the civil protection system of the EU is based upon the principle of

“subsidiarity”⁵ (EVANDE Project, 2014). The principle of subsidiarity refers to the “degree of independence” for the lower or local authorities in sharing the power in a given policy area. In the EU context, it is the expectation that the Union only intervenes when an issue cannot be managed effectively at the Member State level anymore and the involvement of the Union is required (European Parliament, 2018a).

The preconditions for the intervention of the Union defined under Article 5 (3) of TEU are:

- (a) the area concerned does not fall within the Union’s exclusive competence (i.e. non-exclusive competence);
- (b) the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States (i.e. necessity);
- (c) the action can therefore, by reason of its scale or effects, be implemented more successfully by the Union (i.e. added value). (European Parliament, 2018a).

With subsidiarity principle the EU/EC has a supportive mandate to coordinate or support the actions of the Member States (Maier, 2018). In the next section, the legal basis of civil protection within the Treaties will be examined in detail.

4.2.1.2 Legal Basis within the Treaties

The Treaty of Lisbon sets a basis for the actions of the EU in the field of civil protection. In the Article 214, the assistance commitment of the EU to the natural or man-made disasters around the World is defined, while in Article 196 EU support and coordination mandate for the Member States is given (DG ECHO, 2019a). When we look at the treaties that are currently in function today, it is possible to see direct references or references related to the essence of civil protection. To begin with, the Article 21⁶ of the Treaty of the European Union emphasizes the establishment of

⁵ The legal bases of the principle is “Article 5(3) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and Protocol (No 2) on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality.” (European Parliament, 2018a).

⁶ Chapter 1, General Provisions on the Union's External Action

common policies and actions and the “high degree of cooperation” (EUR-Lex, 2016c) in order to:

- g) assist populations, countries and regions confronting natural or man-made disasters; and
- (h) promote an international system based on stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance. (EUR-Lex, 2016c).

When the TFEU is considered, on the other hand, it is possible to see more direct references to civil protection and the actions of the EU in this field. In the Article 6 of the TFEU “civil protection” has been clearly defined as an area where the Union has a role to support, coordinate or contribute to the efforts of Member States (EUR-Lex, 2016b). Other related articles of TFEU are given below:

TFEU, Art. 196:

1. The Union shall encourage cooperation between Member States in order to improve the effectiveness of systems for preventing and protecting against natural or man-made disasters.
Union action shall aim to:
 - (a) support and complement Member States’ action at national, regional and local level in risk prevention, in preparing their civil-protection personnel and in responding to natural or man- made disasters within the Union;
 - (b) promote swift, effective operational cooperation within the Union between national civil- protection services;
 - (c) promote consistency in international civil-protection work. (...) (EUR-Lex, 2016b).

TFEU, Art. 214⁷:

1. The Union's operations in the field of humanitarian aid shall be conducted within the framework of the principles and objectives of the external action of the Union. Such operations shall be intended to provide ad hoc assistance and relief and protection for people in third countries who are victims of natural or man-made disasters, in order to meet the humanitarian needs resulting from

⁷ Although the 3rd Chapter (that the Article 214 belongs to) mainly refers to “Humanitarian Aid”, the content is related to the assistance to the countries outside of the EU that face natural or man-made disasters.

these different situations. The Union's measures and those of the Member States shall complement and reinforce each other. (EUR-Lex, 2016b).

Treaty of Lisbon shaped the EU assistance and it has started to be perceived as an operation that is closely related to European solidarity (European Commission, 2017a).

TFEU, Art. 222:

1. The Union and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster. The Union shall mobilise all the instruments at its disposal, including the military resources made available by the Member States, to:

(b) assist a Member State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities, in the event of a natural or man-made disaster.

Therefore, as can be seen from the given quotations, although the main authority seems to belong to the Member States, at the Union level civil protection is a recognized area that is defined within the Treaties.

4.2.1.3 Other Related Legislation

Apart from the aforementioned Treaties, various legislations were prepared in the field of civil protection. Before introducing the most recent legislation, it will be useful to give a brief outlook of the history of the EU civil protection legislation.

The first framework that is important to mention is the “Civil Protection Action Programme”. This Action Programme, that aims to support and increase cooperation among the Member States was established by the Council Decision 1999/847/EC of 9 December 1999 and expired in 2006. The programme supported exchange of experience and assistance among the Member States and made funding available for prevention and preparedness activities (Potyka & Beeckman, 2005). Another important framework was established in 20 December 2002, with the Decision N° 2850/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council to enhance cooperation regarding marine pollution (Potyka & Beeckman, 2005). And lastly, the framework that establish

the Civil Protection Mechanism was introduced in 2001 with the Council Decision 2001/792/EC. This framework focused both inside and outside of the Union and aimed to enhance cooperation between the Member States in different civil protection areas. Although, this new framework did not include financial measures at that time, it had a more comprehensive nature since it did not only focus on the protection of people, but also on the protection of environment, property and cultural heritage (Potyka & Beeckman, 2005).

In time, the system that was foreseen by the Council Decision 2001/792/EC⁸ has gone through several changes and supportive structures have been set up such as EU Solidarity Fund and a European civil protection force (Europe Aid) (Konstadinides, 2013). One important step in this process is the enactment of the “Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism”. With this decision, the system of the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM) was revised to ensure rapid response to disasters with a more planned and more effective structure (DG ECHO, 2014a).

The new system that entered into force with the Decision No 1313/2013/EU started to focus more on disaster prevention, risk management, preparedness in addition to response. Organisation of trainings and simulation exercises, the exchange of experts programme and the establishment of a voluntary pool that consists of “pre-committed response capacities by the Member States” are remarkable changes that are achieved with the new legislation (DG ECHO, 2014a). Although the system has been improved remarkably with the Decision No 1313/2013/EU, the shortcomings of the system required more changes in the legislation. With this need the Commission proposed new legislative framework for EU civil protection.

⁸ 2001/792/EC, Euratom: Council Decision of 23 October 2001 establishing a Community mechanism to facilitate reinforced cooperation in civil protection assistance interventions, Official Journal L 297, 15/11/2001 P. 0007 - 0011

4.2.1.4 The New System and the rescEU

“With rescEU, we have put words into action. We have delivered a practical tool for citizens that can save thousands of lives in the future. rescEU means having a much stronger, pan-European civil protection system...”- Christos Stylianides

The European Commission came up with a new proposal in November 2017 to revise the Union civil protection system and find solutions to the current shortcomings. As the former European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management Christos Stylianides pointed out, with this new system the position of the Union in the field of civil protection was aimed to be strengthened (DG ECHO, 2019b). The new proposal brought together many improvements in several areas. Some issues that were raised by the Commission and some solutions proposed are given in detail in Table 11. Before getting into the details of the new system it is important to give information about the background of this proposal and the public opinion surveys that is believed to support this change.

So, how did this change, that gives more authority to the Union, should have been observed at the very beginning by the public and the Member States? Eurobarometer results are helpful to understand the perception of the public about a “strengthened EU civil protection system”. The Eurobarometer civil protection survey that was conducted between 26th November and 5th December 2016 included all EU Member States which are also natural Participating States of the UCPM. Approximately 28.000 respondents that belong to different social and demographic groups participated in the study (European Commission, 2017b). The research firstly tried to understand how the EU citizens perceived the EU efforts in the field of civil protection. According to the results of the study, 55% of the EU citizens were aware of the role of the EU in disaster response, while 42% were not aware of the position of the EU. Among all, in 21 Member States, the majority of the EU citizens were informed about the EU response while in Netherlands and Italy the majority was not aware of the system (European Commission, 2017b).

One of the significant findings of the study is the approach of the public to their own national civil protection systems. A small number of the participants (37%) pointed out that they believe their countries would be able to deal with disasters in a sufficient way. EU coordination in the event of a disaster is supported by 80% of the participants and it was pointed out as a more efficient option compared to individual response mechanisms of the Member States. In addition to that, 90% of the respondents mentioned that the EU should also be active in third countries in the event of a disaster which supports the position of the UCPM as an international assistance mechanism. The most significant finding of the survey was the public opinion on the EU level civil protection policies. 88% of the participants supported the idea of an EU-wide policy due to the cross-border effects of the disasters. As can be seen from the results, on the margin of a change in the civil protection system, the EU wanted to show the support of the EU citizens by using Eurobarometer (European Commission, 2017b).

The Eurobarometer survey was followed by the 6th Civil Protection Forum that was conducted in 5-6 March in Brussels. Approximately 900 representatives attended the Forum from EU civil protection authorities, Member States, representatives from Neighbourhood countries, first-line responders, universities, international civil protection actors to discuss the future of the Mechanism (European Commission, 2018a).

There Forum discussions were structured around 4 main pillars which are

- Strengthening preparedness: Enhancing Europe's collective capacity to respond
- Simplifying response: Every second counts
- Scaling up prevention: Small actions, big changes
- Fostering Resilience: Working with Europe's neighbourhood (European Commission, 2018a).

In addition to these four pillars, in the first plenary session namely “rescEU: Solidarity with Responsibility”, the future of civil protection was discussed within the scope of the new proposal of the European Commission “rescEU” (European Commission, 2018a). Therefore, the Forum was helpful to understand the prospects of the

establishment of a new system and how it was perceived by the Member States. In the next section the details of this new proposal and how it was designed to change the system will be examined.

4.2.1.4.1 The rescEU

The most remarkable change came with the new legislation that entered into force in March 2019 was the establishment of the “rescEU”. So, what is rescEU and what is offered by the Commission with this new system?

Coming from the verb “rescue”, rescEU aims to strengthen EU response capacities (European Commission, 2018b). Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that, in a civil protection system that is mainly dependent on the national capacities, the Commission took one step forward to empower the position of the EU by increasing its control over the Member States. The RescEU has two main objectives, which are, strengthening European response capacities and stepping up disaster prevention and preparedness (European Commission, 2018b).

To achieve the first goal, it is planned to support the Member States from the Union level with additional reserve of capacities. These capacities (such as firefighting planes, helicopters etc) that will be used when required, is planned to complement the Member State capacities. The Union aimed to co-finance the development and operational costs of these capacities (European Commission, 2018b). For this aim, the EU committed that financial support for the capacities registered in the European Civil Protection Pool would be increased and this support would cover repair, operational and transport costs (European Commission, 2018b). To step up prevention and preparedness on the other hand, it is planned to:

- Set up a reporting framework regarding key cross-border risks and low probability with high impact risks,
- Support the measures of the Member States by establishing a consultation mechanism and by expert missions,
- Use European Civil Protection Knowledge Network to exchange knowledge and lessons learnt between the Member States,

-Enhance cooperation with other Union policies regarding prevention and preparedness (European Commission, 2018b).

It is important to point out that, although rescEU aimed to strengthen the Union power in the field of civil protection, it should not be regarded as a new system that replaces local, regional and national capacities. The main responsibility remains with the Member States, while the Union supports and complements the ongoing efforts by also providing financial assistance. RescEU is just one of the components of the new legislation. The details of the proposal and in which areas of EU civil protection it is aimed to be effective is given in table 11.

Table 11 New Proposal for the Civil Protection Legislation

Issues Addressed by the Commission	The New Offer
The voluntary nature of the assistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The problems faced during the disasters should be overcome by using the Union instruments in a more flexible way by ensuring the participation of the civil society.
Operational gaps were observed both in the Member States and in the Union institutions such as European Emergency Response Capacity (EERC) which is in nature a voluntary pool that consist of response capacities offered by the Member States.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •There is a need to strenghten prevention and preparedness capacities of the Member States by also committing capacities to be used in times of disasters. Also, additional measures should also be taken at Union level. Especially to deal with forest fires
Further action in the field of prevention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Risk assessments and of the assessment of the risk management capabilities of the Member States should be shared with the Commission regularly. •Member States should inform the Mechanism about their prevention and preparedness measures,
Information sharing in the field of disaster risk management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Guidelines should be developed by the Commission and the Member States share information on disaster risk management.
The preparation of risk maps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Actions that focus on vulnerability of the population (the protection of critical infrastructure, animals and wildlife, environment, cultural resources are important.
Prevention and preparedness planning and coordination between Member States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The Commission should establish consultation mechanisms with the Member States, •The Commission should collect prevention and preparedness data regarding specific risks when a Member State requests for assistance •Administrative costs should be increased by using other Union instruments such as the European Structural and Investment Funds.
Improvement of risk assessments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Member States should take into consideration the risk assessments performed within the scope of Directive 2007/60/EC and take necessary measures to reduce risks when performing their risk assessments.
Change of the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The name of the European Emergency Response Capacity (EERC) or voluntary pool should become the European Civil Protection Pool
Establishment of the rescEU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •rescEU should be established and used in cases where the national capacities of the Member States are not sufficient to respond to disasters.
Interoperability with regional and local authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The regional and local capacities should to be involved to response activities. The cooperation at local, regional and cross-border level should be enhanced.
Flexibility of rescEU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The rescEU capacities need to be flexible to better adapt to the changes (such as climate change) •The Commission should be able to adopt necessary acts for rescEU capacities, without disregarding identified risks, overall capacities and gaps

Table 11 (Continued)

Financing rescEU capacities,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Additional financial resources should be available to support actions under the UCPM. •The EU should co-finance the rescEU capacities, (rental, leasing and acquisition costs) •Financial support should be provided for response capacities regarding low probability risks with a high impact. •Additional co-financing should also be provided for capacities that have high costs (aerial forest fire-fighting capacities is given as an example). •co-financing rates should be included to the annual work programmes of the UCPM. •Some amount of the operational deployment costs for rescEU capacities should be provided by EU financial assistance.
Disasters in third countries.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •rescEU capacities should be deployed in third countries too. In that situations the operational costs should be covered by the Union budget.
Deploying rescEU capacities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •While deploying rescEU capacities the Commission should ensure coordination among the requesting Member State and capacity owner Member State . •The Commission and the Member States should prepare operational contracts regarding the usage of rescEU capacities.
Training, research, innovation capacities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •To improve the effectiveness of civil protection training and exercises; support innovation initiatives and enhance cooperation between national civil protection systems, a Union Civil Protection Knowledge Network should be established.
Recognition of the MS efforts and capacities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The efforts and commitment of the Member States to the UCPM need to be recognised by the Union.
Strong territorial and community-led actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •It is of great importance to ensure the strength of territorial and community-led actions, since it is believed to be the most rapid and effective way of responding to disasters.
Simplifying the procedures of the UCPM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •It is important to simplify the procedures to help Member States to reach and provide assistance during disasters.
Maximising the use of existing funding instruments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Civil protection and humanitarian aid funding should continue to be separated
Necessary actions to prevent natural and man-made disasters and to mitigate their effects.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •EU legislation on prevention and disaster risk management (covering the cross-border prevention and response activities) should be taken into consideration. •Territorial cooperation programmes should cover disaster resilience, risk prevention and risk management. •The actions should be in line with the international commitments. Some examples of these commitments are Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (2015 – 2030), the Paris Agreement and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).

Table 11 (Continued)

<p>Information flow about capacities and modules at the disposal of Member States</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common Emergency Communication and Information System (CECIS) should be used for information exchange and it should be updated. • It is also important to share the information of the capacities that are not pre-committed to the European Civil Protection Pool but they will be possibly used via UCPM in case of a disaster.
<p>Coordination between the Union Mechanism and other Union instruments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is crucial to ensure creating synergies between different instruments that may contribute to repair or mitigation of the disaster damages.
<p>The power to adopt acts should be given to the Commission in accordance with Article 290 of the TFEU regarding the eligible costs related to Union's financial assistance to the rescEU capacities, In order to ensure that the conditions are alike to implement Decision,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Commission, should include the relevant parties to the preparation of the relevant acts. The consultations should be carried out in accordance with the principles of the Interinstitutional Agreement of 13 April 2016 on Better Law-Making. • The capacities needed for the European Civil Protection Pool should be defined • The capacities for rescEU should be defined • the Union Civil Protection Knowledge Network should be established • low probability risks with a high-impact categories should be defined • Commission should be given implementing powers • The powers should be implemented within the framework of Regulation (EU) No 182/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council.
<p>In cases, it is not possible for the Member States to effectively deal with disasters, it is important to support the position of the Union in the fields of prevention, preparedness and response to disasters.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and proportionality, measures should be adopted at the EU level.

Source: (European Commission, 2017c)

Today there are various legislative documents that are developed at the EU level to guide civil protection efforts of the Member States. A list of the legislation, in accordance with the changes provided by Decision (EU) 2019/420, is given in table 12 (DG ECHO, 2019a).

Table 12 Legal Framework of the EU Civil Protection

CURRENT LEGISLATION	
NAME	DATE
Decision (EU) 2019/420 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 March 2019 amending Decision No 1313/2013/EU on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism	21/03/2019
Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council and the Committee of the regions: rescEU	23/11/2017
Proposal for the European Parliament & of the Council amending Decision 1313/2013/EU on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism	
Council Regulation (EU) 2016/369 on the provision of emergency support within the Union	15/03/2016
Regulation No 375/2014 of the European Parliament and the Council on establishing the European Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Corps ('EU Aid Volunteers initiative')	03/04/2014
Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism	17/12/2013
Regulation (EC) No 1257/96 concerning humanitarian aid	20/06/1996
IMPLEMENTING RULES	
Commission Implementing Decision (EU) 2019/570 of 8 April 2019 laying down rules for the implementation of Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council as regards rescEU capacities and amending Commission Implementing Decision 2014/762/EU	10/04/2019
Commission Implementing Decision (EU) 2018/142 amending Implementing Decision 2014/762/EU laying down rules for the implementation of Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism	15/01/2018
Commission Decision, laying down rules for the implementation of Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism and repealing Commission Decisions 2004/277/EC, Euratom and 2007/606/EC, Euratom	16/10/2014
Commission Decision 2010/481/EU, Euratom amending Decision 2004/277/EC, Euratom as regards rules for the implementation of Council Decision 2007/779/EC, Euratom establishing a Community civil protection mechanism	29/07/2010
Commission Decision 2008/73/EC, Euratom amending Decision 2004/277/EC, Euratom as regards rules for the implementation of the Mechanism	20/12/2007
Commission Decision 2007/606/EC, Euratom laying down rules for the implementation of the provisions on transport	08/08/2007
Commission Decision 2004/277/EC laying down rules for the implementation of Council Decision 2001/792/EC	29/12/2003

Table 12 (Continued)

COUNCIL CONCLUSIONS	
Council conclusions on the development of the external dimension of the European Programme for Critical Infrastructure Protection	09/06/2011
Council conclusions on Integrated Flood Management within the European Union	12/05/2011
Council conclusions on Further Developing Risk Assessment for Disaster Management within the European Union	11/04/2011
Council Conclusions on Host Nation Support	02/12/2010
Conclusions on Innovative Solutions for Financing Disaster Prevention	08/11/2010
Council conclusion on Psychosocial support	21/05/2010
Council Conclusions on a Community framework on disaster prevention within the EU	30/11/2009
Council Conclusions calling for civil protection capabilities to be enhanced by a European mutual assistance system building on the civil protection modular approach (16474/08)	28/11/2008
Council Conclusions on Reinforcing the Union's Disaster Response Capacity – towards an integrated approach to managing disasters	16/06/2008
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTIONS	
EP resolution on Community approach on the prevention of natural and man-made disasters	21/09/2010
European Parliament resolution on stepping up the Union's disaster response capacity	19/06/2008
OTHER DOCUMENTS	
Commission Staff Working Document on EU Host Nation Support Guidelines	01/06/2012
Commission Staff Working Paper on Risk Assessment and Mapping Guidelines for Disaster Management	21/12/2010
COM(2010)600 Communication Towards a stronger European disaster response: the role of civil protection and humanitarian assistance	26/10/2010
COM(2009)82 Communication on a Community approach on the prevention of natural and man-made disasters	23/02/2009
COM(2008)130 Communication on Reinforcing the Union's Disaster Response Capacity	05/03/2008
Joint Statement (2008/C 25/01) - The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid	30/01/2008
Commission Staff Working Document SEC(2007)1721 Towards Better Protecting Citizens against Disaster Risks: Strengthening Early Warning Systems in Europe	14/12/2007

Source: (DG ECHO, 2019a)

4.2.2 Current Administrative Structure

4.2.2.1 European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO)

Today civil protection is the mandate of the European Commission and Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM), as the main mechanism set up for Union civil protection cooperation, operates under European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO) (European Commission, 2017a).

Since 2010, DG ECHO operates in two areas which are “humanitarian aid” and “civil protection”. Today civil protection is not only achieved within the borders of the EU but it is also being activated all around the world. The Commission gave the responsibility to DG ECHO in order to make the system more rapid and effective (European Commission, 2017a). These two pillars of DG ECHO are strictly divided and does not interfere each others’ field of activity.

DG ECHO has five directorates which are namely, Directorate A: Emergency Management and RescEU, Directorate B: Disaster Preparedness and Prevention, Directorate C: Neighbourhood and Middle East, Directorate D: Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America and Pacific and Directorate E: General Affairs. Civil protection is mainly the responsibility of Directorate A and Directorate B. The organizational structure of DG ECHO is given in Table 13 (DG ECHO, 2019c).

Table 13 Organizational Structure of DG ECHO

Directorate A Emergency Management and Resceu	Directorate B Disaster Preparedness and Prevention	Directorate C Neighbourhood and Middle East	Directorate D Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America And Pacific	Directorate E General Affairs
A/1 Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC)	B/1 Civil Protection Horizontal Issues	C/1 Humanitarian Aid Thematic Policies	D/1 Strategic Partnerships with Humanitarian Organisations	E/1 International and Interinstitutional Relations, Legal Framework
A/2 Capacities and Operational Support	B/2 Prevention and Disaster Risk Management	C/2 Southeast Europe and Eastern Neighbourhood	D/2 West and Central Africa	E/2 Programming, Control and Reporting
A/3 Security and Situational Awareness	B/3 Knowledge Network and Evidence-Based Policy	C/3 Middle East	D/3 East and Southern Africa	E/3 Contracts and Finance
A/4 Communication		C/4 North Africa, Iraq and Arabian Peninsula	D/4 Asia, Latin America, Caribbean and Pacific	E/4 ECHO Field Network
				E/5 IT Solutions

Source (DG ECHO, 2019c)

4.2.2.2 Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM)

Operating under the mandate of DG ECHO, today the UCPM has 34 Participating States, while 28 are the Member States there are also other countries such as Iceland, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Norway, Serbia and Turkey (European Commission, 2019a).

It is important to point out that, since civil protection is one of the areas that belong to “supporting competences” of the Union, all these Participating States have their own

national civil protection systems that are not subject to alignment. All the Participating States are engaged with the various components of the UCPM.

As mentioned, the initial system of EU civil protection that was set up with Council Decision 2001/792/EC was mostly focused on response capacities. However in time the Mechanism adapted itself to the current needs and with the establishment of “Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism” the UCPM was revised to have a more holistic approach to disaster management by focusing on disaster prevention, risk management, preparedness in addition to response. (DG ECHO, 2014a). Therefore, today the UCPM has many components that serves different aspects of the disaster management cycle. In the next section the components of the UCPM, in accordance with the latest legislation, will be reviewed in detail.

4.2.3 Components of the UCPM

In the current system, the UCPM has three main components which are preparedness, prevention and response. There are many sub-components under these three pillars which will be examined in detail in the following sections.

4.2.3.1 Components Related to “Preparedness”

4.2.3.1.1 Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC)

The core of the UCPM is the Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) that is the operational unit that Works 24/7 basis. ERCC monitors the disasters and emergencies all over the World and also acts as a coordination platform between the Union and the Participating States. Through the requests submitted through ERCC by the affected countries, the assets and experts are deployed. ERCC operates with the help of a web-based alert system CECIS (Common Emergency Communication and Information System) (European Court of Auditors, 2016).

ERCC has the knowledge of the pre-committed resources of the Participating States that are ready to be deployed in the event of a disaster. The criteria and the certification

process in deployments is important and it is managed by the ERCC. Apart from the technical support, ERCC also coordinates EU financial support when necessary. To support the deployment process and ensure that it operates effectively the EU provides transport support with co-financing to the countries that deliver aid or send teams (European Commission, 2019b).

Apart from these, as mentioned in the previous sections, with the change in the civil protection legislation, rescEU system that is established as a reserve capacity will also be coordinated by ERCC as a last resort (European Commission, 2019b).

4.2.3.1.2 The European Civil Protection Pool⁹: Voluntary Pool

The European Civil Protection Pool, also known as the ‘voluntary pool’ consists of the resources that are pre-committed by the Participating States. It was established with an aim to improve cooperation in the field of civil protection and to ensure an efficient response to disasters and emergencies. The Pool consists of capacities offered by 23 Participating States which will be deployed in the event of a disaster. The offered capacities include teams, experts, equipments or transportation. The system will be used when an assistance request reaches the ERCC (DG ECHO, 2019d).

4.2.3.1.3 Early Warning and Analysis Systems

Early warning systems aim to ensure rapid and effective information flow. DG ECHO tries to integrate the national early warning systems (EWS) to ERCC and CECIS (European Commission, 2017c). According to the “Interim Evaluation Report of the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (2014-2016)”, EWSs have showed an increase since 2007 and have made remarkable contribution to achieving better preparedness and response to disasters and emergencies (European Commission, 2017c).

⁹ The European Emergency Response Capacity was turned into European Civil Protection Pool with the new legislation (European Commission, 2018b).

4.2.3.1.4 Preparedness Projects

Preparedness projects are one of the tools provided by the Commission. The projects of the Participating States are co-financed by the Commission to increase awareness, ensure information and best practice exchange and capacity development (European Commission, 2017c).

The details of the financial assistance of the UCPM and how it is used for the preparedness projects is defined with relevant Commission Implementing Decisions. (European Commission, 2018c).¹⁰

As defined in the 2019 Work Programme for UCPM (European Commission, 2018c), the financial assistance provided within the scope of the UCPM covers both the Participating States and the third countries. The preparedness projects are under direct implementation of DG ECHO and they are conducted via call for proposal. The co-financing rate is expected to be maximum 85% of the eligible costs and the highest possible contribution is 1 million Euro for the participating states, while 400 hundred Euro is allocated to third countries that are not a part of the UCPM (European Commission, 2018c).

With the help of preparedness projects, it is expected that:

- Some new multi-country response capacities should be committed to European Emergency Response Capacity¹¹ or to the European Medical Corps.
- Cross-border disaster response plans should be developed.
- IPA II/ENP countries' response capacities are enhanced.
- Interoperability and new procedures among relevant civil protection institutions are developed to promote IPA II/ENP countries' response capacities" (European Commission, 2018c).

¹⁰ "Commission Implementing Decision of 19.11.2018 on the financing of Decision No 1313/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism and the adoption of the work programme for 2019" will be used as UCPM Work Programme in the study.

¹¹ European Emergency Response Capacity is named as "European Civil Protection Pool" with the latest legislation.

4.2.3.1.5 Trainings

The UCPM has an extensive training programme that was activated in 2004 (EVANDE Project, 2014) that equip the experts from the Participating States ready for the European civil protection missions. The training programme is designed in a way to improve the prevention, preparedness and disaster response skills of the experts by offering a wide range of courses that have different target groups (DG ECHO, 2019e).

UCPM has various training programmes that has different target groups. Some of these trainings are linked to each other and the main aim is to raise EU civil protection experts that will be deployed in the event of a disaster and emergency.

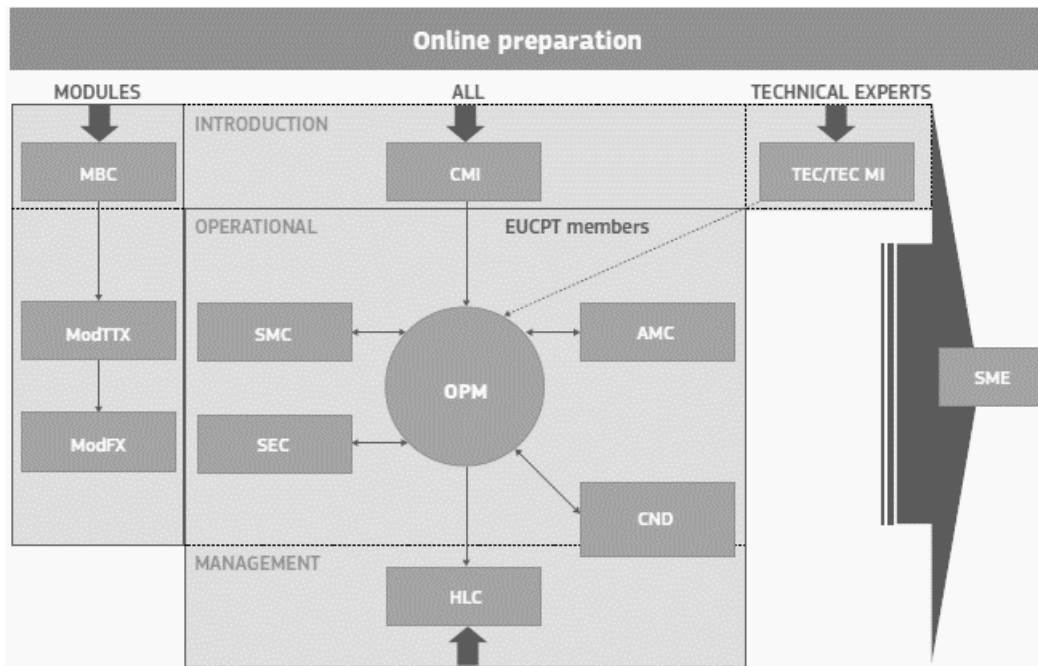


Figure 2 Training System of the UCPM

Source: (European Commission, 2016a).

The details and system of the training system of UCPM is given in figure 2. There are mainly four categories for the trainings which are: introduction, management, operational and further education /refresher courses (European Commission, 2016a). As shown in table 14, introductory courses consist of four courses which are Union Civil Protection Mechanism Introduction Course (CMI), Modules Basic Course (MBC), Technical Expert Course (TEC), Technical Expert Course for Maritime Incidents (TEC MI).

Table 14 Divison of Courses

<p><u>Introduction Courses:</u> CMI: Union Civil Protection Mechanism Introduction Course MBC: Modules Basic Course TEC: Technical Expert Course TEC MI: Technical Expert Course for Maritime Incidents</p>	<p><u>Operational Courses:</u> OPM: Operational Management Course SMC: Staff Management Course SEC: Security Course AMC: Assessment Mission Course CND: Course on Negotiation and Decision-Making</p>
<p><u>Management Courses</u> HLC: High Level Coordination Course</p>	<p><u>Further education /Refresher Courses</u> SME: Seminar for Mechanism Experts</p>

Source: (European Commission, 2016a)

The CMI as the main introduction course, aims to teach the experts the EU emergency management system with the main actors. The target group is the civil protection experts of the Participating States. MBC, on the other hand, mainly aims to increase experts' knowledge on response by focusing on deployments. Therefore, the target group changes as the EU Modules¹² management personnel, personnel from technical assistance teams (TAST) and other response capacities. TEC, is another introductory course that targets to improve the knowledge and capacity of the technical experts.

¹² Modules system will be explained in detail in the following section.

Therefore, different from CMI, TEC requires specific technical backgrounds (such as environment, logistics, telecommunication, infrastructure etc.). Finally, TEC MI focuses mainly to maritime incidents and requires experts that work in the field of maritime response (European Commission, 2016a).

Operational Courses consists of OPM, SMC, SEC, AMC and CND. Operational Management Course (OPM), is open to the experts of the EU civil protection teams and aims to provide information about the operational issues by focusing on coordination aspects among key actors. SMC, on the other hand, aims to inform the experts about staff structures by focusing on information management and work proceses. The objective of the AMC is to increase participants' knowledge on assessment working steps by focusing on common assessment tools and data management. SEC, as another operational course focuses on security management regarding operational and strategic aspects. Finally, CND course is offered to experts that took OPM with an aim to support the experts about management of decision-making processes. The course covers decision making methods developed to be used within the team and with the external partners (European Commission, 2016a).

Management courses cover High Level Coordination Course (HLC). HLC is a comprehensive course that targets senior experts who would be at management positions within the UCPM teams. Strategic and political dimensions of international assistance system is covered with this course. Mission management, negotiation, international, coordination policy, the legal framework are some issues that are included to the course programme (European Commission, 2016a).

Further education /Refresher Courses consist of Seminar for Mechanism Experts (SME). SME is the course that is provided to the experts who attended OPM, HLC, TEC and TEC MI to refresh their knowledge on the EU civil protection aspects. The experts are able to select topics they would like to focus on (European Commission, 2016a).

All the Participating States have quotas to attend each programme and the training cycle is announced to ensure their participation. The expenses are covered from the allocated budget within the UCPM, which is contributed by the Participating States.

4.2.3.1.6 Modules and Exercises

Modules and exercises are tools to support the UCPM Participating States within the scope of preparedness. Module is an autonomous unit which may consist of operational staff and the required assets that will be used during the disasters. Currently there are 17 modules the functions of which are pre-defined. The tasks of these 17 modules, that can be used through ERCC (the operational unit of the UCPM) in the event of a disaster, are defined at the annex of Decision 1313/2013. It is the Member States who are responsible from the well functioning of these modules (Jäkel, 2015).

Modules system was initiated as an idea after the South Asia tsunami that happened in 2004. After the tsunami, the European Council supported the establishment of an EU response system with the contribution of the civil protection modules of the Member States (EVANDE Project, 2014). To establish the required system, the “Council Conclusion” that was based upon the “Council Decision of 8 November 2007 establishing a Community Civil Protection Mechanism (Mechanism Recast)” was announced to determine the details of the modular system (Council of the European Union, 2008).

In order to ensure the quality and to strengthen the interoperability between different modules, the modules are subject to a standard education model (which was previously explained in the training section). This way the modules are being prepared to have effective cooperation with the international actors, and especially with the UN (Jäkel, 2015). Defined modules are listed in table 15 (Jäkel, 2015). As can be seen from the table the modules have different themes and expertise.

Table 15 Modules Defined within UCPM

Modules Defined within the System of UCPM	
1.	High Capacity Pumping,
2.	Water Purification,
3.	Medium Urban Search and Rescue (Medium USAR),
4.	Heavy Urban Search and Rescue (Heavy USAR),
5.	Aerial Forest Firefighting Module Using Helicopters,
6.	Aerial Forest Fighting Module Using Airplanes,
7.	Advance Medical Post
8.	Advance Medical Post with Surgery,
9.	Field Hospital,
10.	Medical Aerial Evacuation of Disaster Victims,
11.	Emergency Temporary Camp,
12.	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Detection and Sampling,
13.	Search and Rescue in CBRN Conditions,
14.	Ground Forest Firefighting,
15.	Ground Forest Firefighting Using Vehicles,
16.	Flood Containment,
17.	Flood Rescue Using Boots;

Source: (Jäkel, 2015)

Exercises is another important component of the UCPM regarding preparedness. DG ECHO provides funds for the conducted exercises each year to strengthen disaster preparedness and to promote the cooperation between the EU and Member State level civil protection units (European Commission, 2016a).

Modules Field Exercises makes it possible for the civil protection response teams to test their efficiency and their capacity of cooperation and coordination with other units in the field. These exercises are also good opportunities to learn how the modules really function. The exercises have many benefits for the participants since they focus on several important aspects of disaster response such as “contingency planning, information management, media relations and decision-making processes”. With these exercises the bottlenecks and the training requirements of the teams are being determined and this process is being supported with “lessons-learnt workshops” which aim to analyse how the response activities can become better (European Commission, 2016a).

The activities related to exercises regarding civil protection modules, technical assistance and support teams, EU civil protection teams (EUCPT) and the financial support of the Union to these exercises is defined in UCPM 2019 Work Programme. According to the Work Programme, conducting a minimum of 15 exercises and certificating the modules and response units is targeted for 2019. These exercises are under direct implementation of DG ECHO and they are funded through call for proposals (European Commission, 2018c).

4.2.3.1.7 Exchange of Experts (EoE):

The Exchange of Experts programme (EoE) is another significant component of the UCPM that supports the current civil protection system at the EU level. With this programme, the UCPM gives opportunity to the civil protection experts to be involved in short term exchange programmes in other Member States (European Commission, 2016a).

EoE is complementing the training programme and the exercises of the UCPM. This way the programme enhances the capacity of both the Participating States and the third countries that are not members of the UCPM. The programme creates a platform for information and exchange of experience between different civil protection authorities of the Participating States and the third countries (European Commission, 2016a).

EoE is currently being implemented in 52 countries, with an exchange system the duration of which varies from few days to two weeks. The programme welcomes the experts of the civil protection authorities who serve as professionals or volunteers. It is possible for civil protection organisations to host experts from other countries to improve their working modalities and to share knowledge and experience with each other. It is also possible to get training from the experts who are invited via EoE (European Commission, 2016a).

As of 20 June 2019, 1936 participants benefitted from the programme, with 34 participating countries and 31 hosting countries (European Union, 2019). The required expertise and priority categories to benefit from EoE is given in table 16.

Table 16 Experts who can benefit from EoE

Area of expertise	Priority consideration categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experts who work in the area of prevention and preparedness • Team leaders and deputy team leaders • Liaison officers • Technical experts • Experts work in the area of assessment • Experts who are part of coordinating teams • Coordination personnel • Key national contact points • Trainers and emergency call handling staff • Personnel who are involved in policy making processes 	<p>Experts who are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • registered in CECIS • working in operation units • experienced in CBRN • experienced in prevention, preparedness • experienced in risk assessment are prioritized.

Source: (European Union, 2019)

Here it is also important to mention that for the experts willing to benefit from EoE, National Training Coordinator (NTC)¹³approval is vital (European Union, 2019).

4.2.3.2 Components Related to Prevention

4.2.3.2.1 EU Overview of Risks

Risk management is one of the main components related to prevention. For the period 2014-2020 the Participating States are expected to prepare and submit their National Risk Assessments (NRA) to the Commission which in a way identify national and sub-national risks (European Commission, 2017c). The Decision No 1313/2013/EU,

¹³ NTC: Each Participating State has a “National Training Coordinator (NTC)” who is responsible from the selection and nomination of the national experts to attend the UCPM courses and exercises (EVANDE Project, 2014).

forsees the submission of the risk assessments periodically, and also presenting a summary of their NRA in every three years. NRAs aim to point out the disaster risks (at a national or supra-national level) and how they will be addressed by the Member States. This way prevention and preparedness efforts of the Member States are aimed to become more effective and also sharing the best practices is thought to become possible (Poljanšek et al., 2019).

The Council of Europe requested a risk overview from the Commission based on the submitted NRAs in 2011. The European Commission prepared the first report with the help of the documents submitted by the Member States in 2013 (Commission Staff Working Paper, 2014) and within the scope of the documents shared by Member States in 2015 it prepared the second overview (Poljanšek et al., 2019). Therefore, it can be said that, NRAs have great importance to identify and assess the disaster risks in Europe. Apart from that, NRAs are also the tools to ensure a common understanding and an integrated management system among the Member States regarding disaster risks (Poljanšek et al., 2019).

The Commission also prepared the "EU Risk Assessment and mapping guidelines for disaster risk management" in order to collect more comparable information from the Member States. Although there are guidelines prepared to simplify the process, it is still challenging for the Member States to prepare the NRAs due to their different disaster risk management systems. Member States mentioned this challenge in different meetings and requested an updated version of the guidelines that would also guide them with more details. After the expression of this need, there has been many reports produced to guide policy makers and the disaster management community to ensure more cooperation among different sectors with a multihazard approach (Poljanšek et al., 2019).

In the Decision (EU) 2019/420 amending Decision No 1313/2013/EU on a Union Civil Protection Mechanism, risk management has been addressed in a detailed way. According to the amended Decision, Participating States are supposed to:

- (a) further develop risk assessments at national or appropriate sub-national level;
- (b) further develop the assessment of risk management capability at national or appropriate sub-national level;
- (c) further develop and refine disaster risk management planning at national or appropriate sub-national level;
- (d) make available to the Commission a summary of the relevant elements of the assessments referred to in points (a) and (b), focusing on key risks. (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

According to the Decision, the summary is expected from the Member States by 31 December 2020. After submitting the summaries, the Member States are expected to share the updated versions periodically in every three years (as it was also mentioned in Decision No 1313/2013/EU) and when there are remarkable changes the Member States are expected to report it to the Commission. Apart from the requested summaries, the Member States are encouraged to participate in the peer review system (which will be explained in the following sections) that operates under the UCPM (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

The Decision also refers to consultation mechanisms that may be established by the Commission to increase cooperation and coordination among the Member States and the guidelines that are supposed to be prepared in accordance with the risk assessment summaries submitted by the Member States. In addition, according to the Decision, the Commission has the authority to request additional information from the Member States on the measures against disaster risks, make recommendations and support the Member States with expert and team missions (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

As it can be seen from the risk management references in the decision, although civil protection is mainly the mandate of the Member States, the Commission has control over the activities conducted in risk assessment area. Firstly, the Commission develops guidelines¹⁴ to support the NRA process and expect the Member States to prepare their

¹⁴European Commission prepared risk assessment and mapping guidelines to support the Member States in the process of delivering their NRAs.

own NRAs within the scope of these guidelines. Apart from controlling the NRA preparation proces, the Commission reviews their efforts periodically and also publishes reports to share its recommendations on the submitted assessments.

The NRA is an important process and it needs to be in line both with several EU legislations, policies and with national development agendas of the Member States. Related legislation can be seen from table 17. As can be seen, these legislation covers many areas in the field of disaster management such as flood management, major accident hazards, critical infrastructure, climate change, health, nuclear safety etc. Since NRA refers to disaster risks, its harmony with the related disaster management legislation is significant.

Table 17 EU Legislation in the Field of Risk Management

EU Legislation in the Field of Risk Management
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The EU Flood directive (Directive 2007/60/EC) ➤ The Seveso III directive (Directive 2012/18/EU) ➤ The European programme for Critical Infrastructure (Council Directive 2008/114/EC) ➤ EU Solidarity Fund (Council Regulation (EC) No 2012/2002) ➤ EU strategy on adaptation to climate change (COM(2013)216) ➤ Directive on serious cross-border threats to health (Decision No 1082/2013/EU) ➤ The European programme for Critical Infrastructure (Council Directive 2008/114/EC) ➤ Council Directive 2013/59/Euratom laying down basic safety standards for protection against the dangers arising from exposure to ionising radiation ➤ Council Directive 2014/87/EURATOM amending Directive 2009/71/Euratom establishing a Community framework for the nuclear safety of nuclear installations.

Source: (Poljanšek et al., 2019)

In the next section prevention projects that are being funded within the scope of the UCPM will be examined.

4.2.3.2.2 Prevention Projects

Prevention projects are one of the tools provided within the scope of the UCPM to promote and contribute to the disaster prevention efforts of the Participating States and the neighbouring countries (European Commission, 2017c). Expected results of these projects is defined under UCPM 2019 Work Programme (European Commission, 2018c) as follows:

With prevention projects it is aimed to increase cooperation, improve the capacity and ensure exchange of good practices.

Relevant stakeholders and related policies are aimed to work in a more connected way within the scope of disaster management cycle.

The implementation of EU CBRN Action Plan Sendai framework for disaster risk reduction is aimed to be supported.

It is aimed to improve the management of key disaster risks in EU

It is aimed to promote cross-border and regional cooperation regarding prevention.

According to the UCPM Work Programme 2019, prevention projects are under direct implementation of DG ECHO via both direct grants and call for proposals. In direct grants, co-financement rate is 95% at most. For the call for proposals, on the other hand, co-financement rate is 85% and the maximum contribution for each project is 1 million euro for the Participating States and 400 million Euro for the third countries that are out of the UCPM (European Commission, 2018c).

4.2.3.2.3 Policy and Technical Meetings, Workshops, Prevention and Preparedness Missions

There are several technical and policy-oriented meetings that are being conducted in a regular way within the scope of the UCPM that are also supported with several workshops and expert missions (European Commission, 2018c). The activities that are designed to ensure effective management of the UCPM under this component differ as “preparatory, monitoring, control, audit and evaluation activities”. UCPM related Union priorities are also discussed with the help of these activities (European Commission, 2018c). Within this component the expenses on various studies, expert meetings, information and communication related activities, IT related activities

(development and dissemination of information, data exchange, technical and administrative support) are covered (European Commission, 2018c).

Some activities that are defined under this component are:

- Technical disaster management meetings on specific areas such as forest fires, CECIS etc,
- Policy / working group meetings that focus on different areas such as loss data, prevention, training policy, modules and host nations support,
- Meetings among different sectors with the participation of experts from Member States with an aim to establish develop a common framework to enhance resilience,
- Directors-General meetings,
- Directors-General with Directors-General for civil protection of Mediterranean countries meetings,
- Activities conducted within the scope of communication activities on civil protection and disaster risk management, including corporate EC communication initiatives (e.g. social media, videos, publications, etc.).
- Expert deployments for prevention and preparedness missions (European Commission, 2018c):

These meetings and activities bring together high-level representatives and experts from the Participating States of the UCPM. This way the Participating States not only find the opportunity to interfere with the decisions of the UCPM, but they also find a platform to share their knowledge and experiences.

4.2.3.2.4 Peer Review

Peer Review system of the UCPM is another important tool to support disaster risk management (DRM) policies of the Member States and neighbourhood countries ensuring the exchange of good practices. The system therefore is important to increase cooperation and mutual learning in the field of civil protection. Within the scope of the peer review programme, experts from various countries come together to review and assess the disaster risk management (DRM) system of the requesting country. The reviews may be conducted from a general DRM point of view or may serve to specific purposes such early warning systems, risk assessments and risk management capacity (DG ECHO, 2019f).

The reviews are being conducted in line with the European Commission guidelines. The system operates with voluntary principles both for the reviewed and the reviewing countries. It is important to mention that the system is based upon mutual learning. The report that is prepared by the reviewing countries include several recommendations that touch upon different subjects within the scope of disaster risk management (DG ECHO, 2019f).

The countries that have benefitted from the peer review system until 2019 are given in table 18. As can be seen from the table not only the Member States but also the EU candidates, who are also Participating States of the UCPM, benefitted from the programme, such as Turkey. This, in a way, shows us the comprehensiveness of the programme.

Table 18 Countries Benefitted from Peer Review System

Country	Date of Review	The Scope of the Review
United Kingdom	2013	Building resilience to disasters: assessing the implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action
Finland	2014	Building resilience to disasters: assessing the implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action
Bulgaria	2015	General Disaster risk management
Georgia	2015	Risk assessment and early warning
Turkey	2015	General Disaster risk management
Estonia	2016	Risk management capabilities
Malta	2016	Risk assessment
Poland	2016	Risk assessment
Cyprus	2018	General Disaster Risk Management
North Macedonia	2018	Comprehensive Disaster Risk Management

Source: (DG ECHO, 2019f)

4.2.3.2.5 Improving the Knowledge Base for Disaster Prevention, Awareness Raising and Dissemination of Good Practices

Within the scope of the EU civil protection system, improving the knowledge base, awareness raising and sharing the good practices have a remarkable place. This component is under the direct implementation of DG ECHO via the administrative agreement signed with the Joint Research Centre (JRC)¹⁵.

The objectives of this component are defined under UCPM Work Programme 2019 as below (European Commission, 2018c):

- Enhancing the knowledge base regarding disaster risks and promote sharing of information, knowledge and best practices,
- Supporting the risk assessment and mapping efforts of the Member States and ensure their access to required knowledge and expertise for the issues that are common,
- Supporting the national civil protection systems to deal with climate change impact with the help of exchange of good practices,
- Supporting prevention measures against disaster risks both in the Member States and in third countries.

4.2.3.3 Components Related to Response

4.2.3.3.1 Transport Support Inside and Outside the Union

Transport support is one of the components of response within the Union civil protection system. The Commission supports the response efforts of the Participating States and the third countries by contributing to their transport costs in civil protection operations. This support may be used both the deployment of teams and necessary equipments. To benefit from the transport support system, the requesting country is expected to inform the other Participating States about the transport support requirement via the ERCC. In order to transmit this need to the Participating States, the ERCC requires some documents from the Participating State that requests transport

¹⁵ JRC is a centre that operates under European Commission with an aim to provide science and knowledge service. The JRC carries out researches with the help of scientists and produce independent scientific data to support EU policies (European Commission, nd.).

support. In order to use the system, the applicant Participating State needs to make a grant application with all the necessary forms¹⁶ and wait for the assessment of the Commission. After the approval of the Commission, the applicant Participating State is expected to finalize the process by signing the related documents such as the Grant Agreement, Full Grant Application, the budget document and the other necessary annexes (DG ECHO, 2018).

4.2.3.3.2 Coordination of Response inside and outside of the EU

The most important part of the response pillar is the conducted response operations inside and outside of the EU. The Mechanism has been put in action more than 300 times since 2001 both inside and outside the EU (European Commission, 2019a).

When the operations conducted within the EU between 2002 and 2018 are considered, it is seen that there have been 126 activations within the Union. These activations were related to floods, forest fires, severe weather conditions, earthquakes and other disasters (European Commission, 2019c). The number of activations for each disaster is provided in table 19:

Table 19 Number of Activations for Each Disaster (within the EU)

Type of Disaster	Number of Activation
Forest Fire	64
Flood	20
Environmental Accident	13
Population Displacement	12
Severe Weather	7
Earthquake	3
Maritime Accident	2
Medical Emergency	2
Disaster Preparedness Mission	1
Conflict	1
Consular Support	1

Source: (European Commission, 2019c).

¹⁶ Please see https://ec.europa.eu/echo/funding-evaluations/financing-civil-protection/transport-co-financing-procedures-under-union-civil_en for more details.

Between the years 2014-2018 there has been a total of 112 UCPM activations in the world. Number of activations per year is listed in table 20.

Table 20 UCPM Activations in the World (2014-2018)

Years	UCPM Activations
2014	19
2015	18
2016	23
2017	32
2018	20

Source: (European Commission, 2019c).

Some of the countries that have benefitted from the EU assistance between 2014-2018 are Greece, Albania, Portugal, Iraq, Ukraine, Bangladesh, Italy, Georgia, Democratic Republic of Congo. The selected countries are the ones which requested EU assistance more than three times.

The European Court of Auditors report prepared to examine disaster response outside the EU indicates that the disaster response outside the EU has been referred as a smooth and effective system. However, ECA presented some recommendations to find solutions to various bottlenecks experienced during the EU assistance. The five recommendations of ECA are “increasing the time needed in the initial stages of a response operation, improving CECIS components, enhancing coordination and synergy in the field, improving the deployment process of epidemiologists and ensuring accountability with reporting” (European Court of Auditors, 2016).

Here it is also important to mention that, The Host Nation Support Guidelines (HNSG), which were approved in 2012, are being used by the Participating States as a non-binding guiding document to support the process of receiving international assistance. These guidelines are developed in accordance with the experiences and lessons learnt from the previous operations of the Participating States in the event of disasters

(European Commission, 2017c). How the HNS will be implemented differs according to the conditions and may require apriori agreements among the states who request and propose assistance. There are HNS checklists as annexes in the guideline to help the host, sending, transit nations and the EU in the event of an EU assistance (European Commission, 2012).

To better understand the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection, how the civil protection system has been operating at the EU level has been introduced in this chapter. As examined in detail, the UCPM is the main mechanism at the EU level to support the civil protection efforts of the Member States. Since its establishment in 2001, the Mechanism has gone through different phases and the system has been improved with several legislation amendments. The main components of the system show us how the EU guides and controls the Member States and create a common ground within the scope of preparedness, prevention and response efforts of the Participating States. In the following section the two cases, Italy and Croatia, will be examined with the tools of Europeanization theory, by referring to the civil protection systems of the selected states and their position within the UCPM.

CHAPTER 5

THE PROSPECTS OF EUROPEANIZATION: THE CASES OF ITALY AND CROATIA

In the light of the theoretical framework and the components of the Union Civil Protection Mechanism, this chapter will analyse two case studies, namely the cases of Italy and Croatia, in a way to explore the prospects of Europeanization. As indicated in the introduction, the case selection focused on one Western and one Eastern EU member states. The argument for the case selection is that both countries have their own civil protection systems; and, since they are EU Member States they do not only “download” what has been decided at the EU level, but also have the opportunity to “upload” their preferences to the Union level. Therefore, their experience can be considered as a two-way process.

Italy, as the first case, has been selected due to its strong position in the civil protection system at the EU level. Italy can be named as one of the locomotives in the field of civil protection system of the EU. The country has been a member to the system since the establishment of the UCPM, and has a strong cooperation with the Mechanism. As the latest member of the EU and as a country that values cooperation with the UCPM, Croatia has been selected as the second case. These two cases differ in many ways from each other, such as the perception of civil protection, the national system and their position within the UCPM. Both cases will be analyzed by focusing on the soft governance structures from the top-down and bottom-up perspectives. Therefore, the study focuses on horizontal Europeanization rather than a vertical one.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the study combines two approaches of Europeanization literature which are provided by Bulmer and Radaelli (2004) and de Flers and Müller

(2010) that focus on non-binding policy areas. Therefore, the study uses Bulmer and Radaelli’s “facilitated coordination” with de Flers and Müller’s “bottom-up” and “top-down” approach to understand the prospects of Europeanization in the selected countries. Table 21, which was also presented in Chapter 3, provides the main approach of the study.

Table 21 Europeanization of Civil Protection

Bottom-up (Uploading) Socialization		Top-down (Downloading) Socialization and Learning
Wider Context	Small Context	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU decision-making system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working groups • Technical and high-level meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical and high-level focal points system (national focal points, training coordinators etc.) • Lessons-learnt mechanism • Common EU documents (guidelines, roadmaps etc) • Trainings & exercises • Exchange of expertise (Exchange of Experts system, Peer review mechanism) • Projects

This logic of intervention will be given in detail from the perspectives of the two selected cases in the following sections. Firstly, the civil protection system of the selected countries and their position within the UCPM will be summarised. After that, an analysis of Europeanization within the scope of “facilitated coordination” will be made in the light of the Table 21.

5.1 Civil Protection in Italy and Croatia and their Position within the UCPM

5.1.1 Italy

Italy that is prone to many disasters, can be classified as “high-risk” country. Earthquakes, floods, landslides, volcanic eruptions, fires are some of the nature related disasters, while man-made disasters can also be observed. Looking at the history of

civil protection in Italy, it is possible to say that the system has gone through various remarkable changes in time. The first law that set the frame of the civil protection actions was Law No: 996 dated 8 December 1970, which mainly focused on rescue and assistance to ensure smooth interventions and transmission of relief to the affected people. Faced with several disasters and failed in coping with the consequences of some of them, Italy experienced a shift in disaster management approach. With this shift the policy makers realised that civil protection was not solely about “rescue” and forecast and prevention were vital. This gave start to a more radical change. In 1981, the regulation implementing the Law No. 996 dated 1970 made a distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary civil protection authorities. Apart from this division of competences, civil protection was defined as the main responsibility of the state. In 1982, with the Law No 938, “Minister for the Coordination of Civil Protection” was defined as a position to deal with the coordination of civil protection as a permanent task with “Civil Protection Department” that was founded in 1982. Civil Protection Department was responsible from reaching data regarding forecasting and prevention, implementation of civil protection plans, the situation of rescue services, voluntarism and civil defense efforts. Therefore the Minister had a wide range of responsibilities (Protezione Civile, 2019).

Another transformation was achieved with the establishment of “National Civil Protection Service” with the Law No: 225 in 1992. The main responsibility of the National Civil Protection Service was defined as “protecting the integrity of life, property, settlements and the environment from damage or the danger of damage deriving from natural disasters, catastrophes and others calamitous events”. With the Law No.225 the system was no longer limited to rescue and assistance to the population, but also started to focus on other dimensions of civil protection such risk management and mitigation. There were three main levels defined with the Law No: 225 which are namely: “a (municipal level), b (provincial and regional) and c (State)” (Protezione Civile, 2019).

In the 1990s, there occurred a shift from the central management to the local one in line with principle of subsidiarity and integration. With this shift, the scope of civil protection was also defined one more time. The legislative Decree No: 112 dated 1998 is important to explain this process since it transferred the responsibility to the local authorities. As a result of the shift, civil protection started to be seen as an area where there is mixed competence. This means that the local institutions had their own authority while the state had its own power and authority which was non-assignable. The responsibilities of the State were to “coordinate civil protection activities, deciding on the state of emergency for type c emergencies, preparation of ordinances, development of national emergency plans for type c events and conducting exercises”.

Such a decentralization process came to an end with the reformation of “Constitutional Law No. 3 dated 2001”. Legislative Decrees No: 300 and No. 303 dated 1999 also caused some changes in the civil protection system. With the legislative “Decree No: 300” for example, the Civil Protection Agency took over the functions of the Civil Protection Department. With this decree Minister of Interior became the main authority in civil protection management. Law No: 401 that came into force in 2001, on the other hand, gave the power back to the Prime Minister, by ending the operation of the Civil Protection Agency and restoring the Department of Civil Protection. The President of the Council was linked to Civil Protection Department. During this phase also a committee that consists of state, region and local authorities was established (Protezione Civile, 2019). Therefore, it is possible to say that, Italian civil protection system has gone through trends of centralization and decentralization in time.

In 2012, the National Civil Protection Service was reformulated twenty years after its establishment with the Law No: 100. With this change, the position of the Department of Civil Protection was strengthened again. This law is important since it focuses on the system as a whole. With the Law No: 100, the aspects of civil protection such as “overcoming the emergency”, risk mitigation and prevention were clarified. It was mentioned in the law that prevention included alerting, planning, training, sharing

knowledge about civil protection, informing the population, how to apply technical legislation and finally the exercises. According to the law, Mayor was the main authority of civil protection at municipal level (Protezione Civile, 2019).

Finally, in 2018, the civil protection legislation has been modified one more time with the Civil Protection Code, “Legislative Decree No. 1 of 2 January 2018”. The main aim of the code was to simplify the civil protection legislation, in an effort to reform the civil protection system in Italy. With the code, a “polycentric national service” was interiorized. In line with this approach, during the preparation phase of the code, a team that consisted of Civil Protection Department, local and regional authorities and volunteers contributed to the process. The need behind this reform was mainly related to the historical emergencies and disasters that the county had to face with. Therefore, like every other amendment and change until 2018, this final reform initiative was also a way to keep up with the changing trends in civil protection. The Law No. 225 dated 1992 was already 25 years old and the revisions made it difficult to implement. The new law tried to find a solution to the complexity of the civil protection task and make it manageable.

Some aspects of the Legislative Decree No. 1 of 2 January 2018 can be summarized as follows (Protezione Civile, 2019):

- Regarding forecasting and prevention, the code contributed to the process with an innovative approach by focusing on “dynamic risk scenarios”.
- For prevention, the code pointed out the need to focus on non-structural prevention as well as structural prevention. The role of Civil Protection Department regarding prevention was defined and an integrated approach for structural and non-structural prevention was emphasized.
- Regarding national emergency management, usage of extraordinary instruments, was no longer dependent on “declaration of a state of emergency” but instead, they were decided to be used as a result of the assessment made by authorized units. With the

code, also the local authorities were allowed to mobilize resources and to ask for assistance from the national authorities before the declaration.

- Regarding civil protection planning, the code aimed to ensure that the process is functional.

- The code also determined the risks that are being dealt within the scope of civil protection, which are “seismic, volcanic, tsunami, hydraulic, hydrogeological, from meteorologically adverse phenomena, from water deficit, from forest fires” and the ones that are subject to National Service cooperation, which are namely, “chemical, nuclear, radiological, technological, industrial, transport, environmental, hygienic-sanitary, from the uncontrolled return of satellites and space debris.”

- The code encouraged the participation of scientific community to civil protection processes.

- The code also regulated the Competence Centers that were used to produce the products for civil protection.

- The code aimed to achieve awareness raising regarding the risk and resilience and support the participation of citizens in civil protection activities (Protezione Civile, 2019).

In brief, the most recent development in Italy’s civil protection system has been the modification of the legal framework with “Legislative Decree No. 1” that entered into force on 6 February 2018. The main aim of this reform was to find a solution to the complexity of the system, clarify the roles and responsibilities of the relevant public institutions at the level of state, regions, provinces and the responsibilities of the other stakeholders. The new modification also clarified the role of Civil Protection Department in times of international assistance via the UCPM.

Today, for Italy, the concept of civil protection is perceived as “an expression of solidarity, a spirit of collaboration and a civic sense - has distant roots.” The main

principle of the Italian civil protection system has been “subsidiarity” just like the civil protection system of the EU. According to the principle, first responders to a disaster or emergency need to be the locals. In other words, the first responder needs to be the “institution closer to the citizen” (Protezione Civile, 2019). Although there are some centralized elements in the civil protection system of Italy, it still has a “decentralized bottom-up system” like Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the UK (Widmalm et al., 2019).

The Civil Protection Department is responsible for civil protection management at the state level and it cooperates with and coordinates the efforts of regional and local authorities. Within the scope of forecasting activity, the risk scenarios are being evaluated with the contribution of scientific and technical subjects and monitoring is conducted. Within the scope of prevention; planning, knowledge sharing, awareness raising, exercises, trainings are some of the main activities. Rescue, on the other hand, includes the initial assistance to people in need. The Mayor is the civil protection authority at the local level and the responsibility of the Mayor continues until local efforts are not sufficient anymore. Therefore, in the management chain after the Mayor there are “province, the prefecture, the region and the finally the state” (Protezione Civile, 2019).

Since Member States are natural Participant States of the UCPM, Italy has been a member of the Mechanism since its establishment in 2001. Therefore, the country has strong ties with the Union civil protection system.

When there is a disaster within the EU, Italian operations are mostly coordinated by the UCPM. When a disaster occurs outside the EU, the country may conduct its operations within the scope of the UCPM or its agreements with other countries. Until now, Italy has provided assistance both within and outside of EU. The EU countries that received assistance from Italy are Greece (operations conducted in 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2012) and Portugal (operations conducted in 2009 and 2010). Outside the EU, Italy provided assistance to Albania (2007, 2010, 2011), Montenegro (2008,

2011), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2014), Pakistan (2005), Haiti (2010), and Chile (2010), Southeast Asia (2004), and Philippines (2013) after several different disasters. As a country that is prone to many disasters, Italy has established a well functioning disaster response system. The country's involvement in international cooperation systems such as the UCPM helps Italy improve its capacity and level of preparedness. Until now, Italy rarely requested external assistance but when needed the system worked smoothly (Gatti, 2015). Italy activated the UCPM several times. After the request of Italy for water bombers in 2007 and 2009, Spain and France sent the requested assistance. Also, in 2009, after the L'Aquila earthquake, Italy needed a technical expert team to conduct damage assessment. The UCPM Participating States provided the requested team (Gatti, 2015).

According to a study conducted to understand how trust affects cooperation within the civil protection system of the EU, Italy is one of the most trusted states (Widmalm et al., 2019). The same study put forth "the degree of prestige" where the most prestigious one, Germany, took its place at the center as can be seen at from Figure 3. According to the Figure, Sweden, Austria and Italy follows Germany. Therefore, it is possible to identify Italy as the fourth most trusted state within the UCPM.

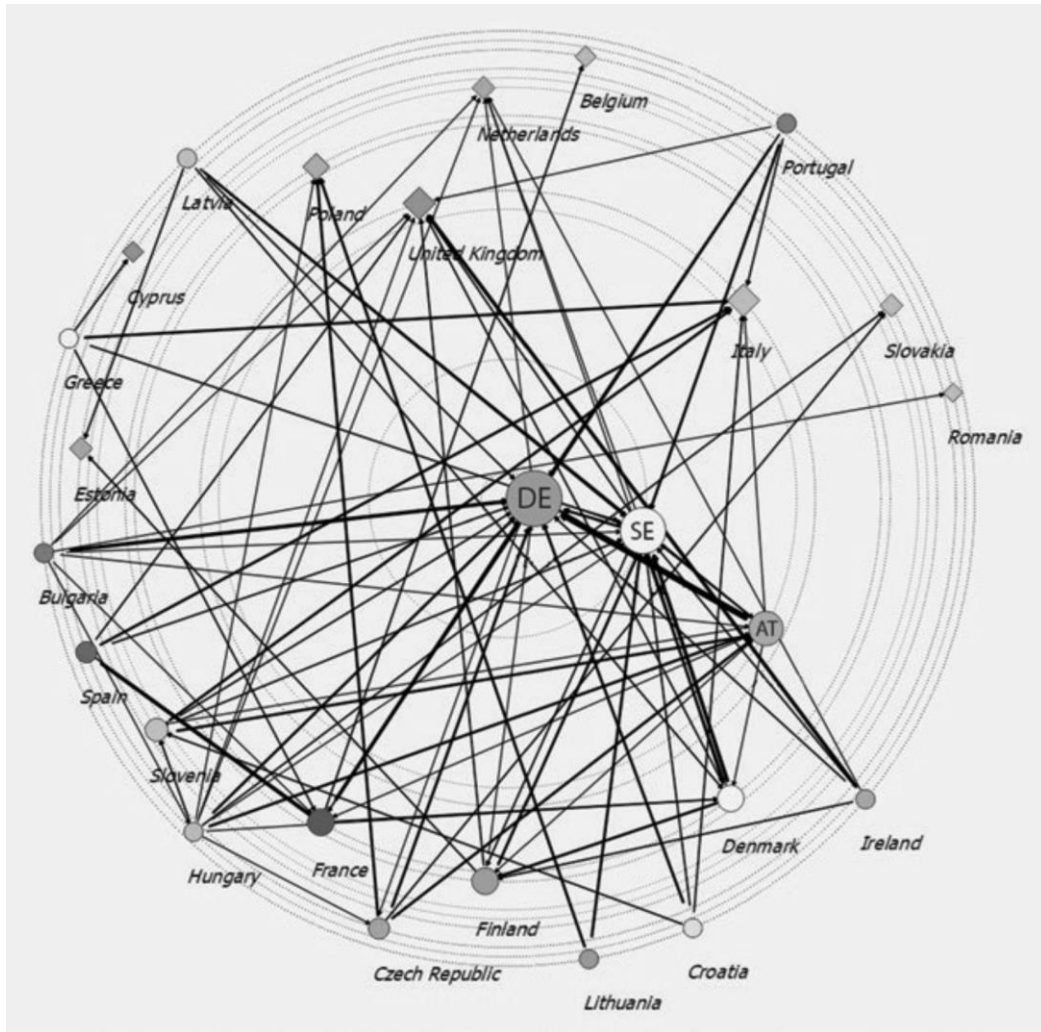


Figure 3 All edges, and node sizes representing degree of prestige

Source: (Widmalm et al., 2019)

Italy has been part of many operations within the scope of the UCPM. In March 2019, after the landfall caused more than 600 deaths in Mozambique, the UCPM was activated and nine Member States offered assistance to the country, one of which was Italy. Also, after the forest fires in Sweden in 2018, Italy has been part of the operation via the UCPM not only with its assets but also with its personnel (DG ECHO, 2019g).

5.1.2 Croatia

Population of the Republic of Croatia is approximately 4 million and the most common disasters are forest fires. Croatia is also highly prone to natural hazards such as “floods, earthquakes, droughts and heat waves” as well as industrial pollution (Samardzija et al., 2014). Before 2005, protection and rescue tasks were being coordinated by different laws and regulations in Croatia. These laws were aiming to set the main goals, methodology and operational regulations as well as defining the context of the civil protection plans. In 2005, these separate laws were replaced by the Law of Protection and Rescue. The law defined civil protection in three levels. According to this division, central level was “Level 1” and it was mainly responsible from coordination. National Protection and Rescue Directorate (NPRD) became the main authority that is responsible from this level. “Level 2”, on the other hand, was county level and the main organ that was responsible from this level was the prefects. Lastly, “Level 3”, was town or municipality level and the mayors were authorized (Gaetani et al., 2009). With this law, a new model was introduced to the country and civil protection (with firefighting and the operational and communication center 112) became integrated to NPRD system. In the event of a disaster, NPRD was the main authority that coordinated civil protection efforts. Therefore, the local representatives were accountable to the NPRD that operates as a part of ministry of interior and accountable to the prime minister. Other governmental stakeholders that had responsibilities in the field of civil protection were expected to participate to the system when the NPRD requested (Samardzija et al., 2014).

In 2019, the Law on Civil Protection entered into force. With this law, the “Law on Protection and Rescue” was abolished (ZAKON HR, 2019)¹⁷. Today the civil protection management in Croatia is the responsibility of the Government and the main actors are the Ministry of the Interior (as the main authority responsible from civil protection management), other central and local public institutions and the armed

¹⁷ Law on Civil Protection System the consolidated text of the law OG 82/15, 118/18 effective 01/01/2019

forces. In the new law, with a reference to the principle of subsidiarity, decisions and measures of civil protection are primarily expected to be made and implemented by local and regional authorities. It is clearly stated in the new law that the regional and local authorities shall receive additional assistance after using their available resources and capacities (ZAKON HR, 2019). However, it is possible to say that, although the system gives value to subsidiarity principle, it still has centralized characteristics.

The cooperation of Croatia with the Union civil protection system, on the other hand, works through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed with the Commission to use the “Civil Protection Financial Instrument” in 2007. After that, Croatia joined the UCPM¹⁸ in 2008 and became the 31st Participating State. In other words, Croatia has attended the UCPM as a Participating State before becoming an EU Member State (Gaetani et al., 2009). However, even before joining the UCPM officially, Croatia was benefiting from the civil protection of the EU as a candidate country. After joining the UCPM, Croatia has given importance to reshaping its civil protection activities in line with the current civil protection trends. To achieve this, changes in the national civil protection system, alignment with the Union guidelines, such as National Risk Assessment (NRA) and Host Nation Support (HNS), and improving the international assistance capability in terms of assets and experts, was considered important (Kopal et al., 2013).

Croatia values cooperation with the UCPM. As given in Figure 3, Croatia falls far from the center of the “most trusted states” figure¹⁹. However, as can be seen from Figure 4, Croatia is one of the countries that attach great importance to its cooperation with the Mechanism.

¹⁸ At that time the UCPM was named as Community Civil Protection Mechanism.

¹⁹ Germany as the most “trusted” state within the UCPM is at the center of the figure.

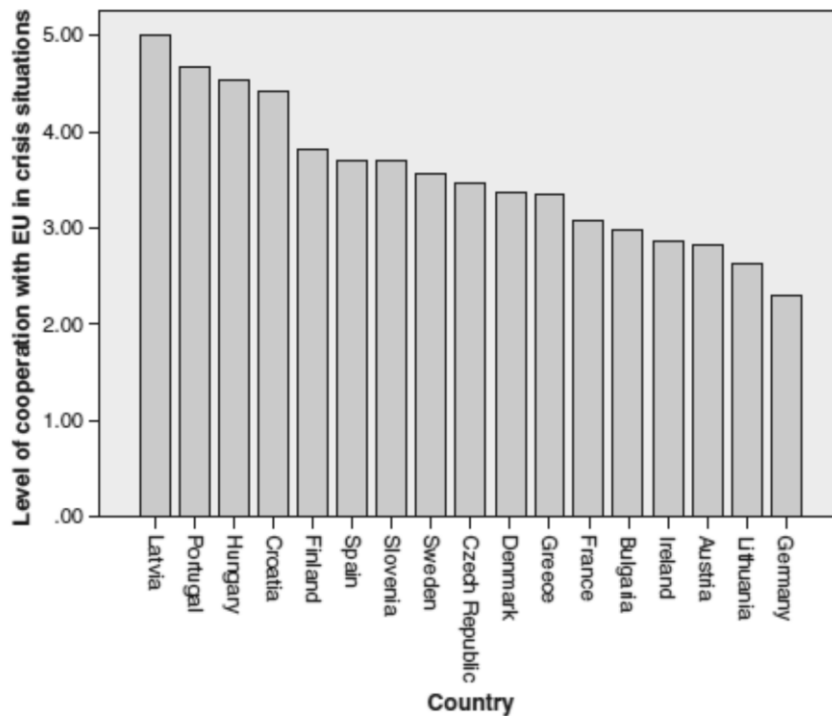


Figure 4 Level of cooperation with EU institutions in crisis situations

Source: (Widmalm et al., 2019)

Croatia is an important case here because, according to the study of Widmalm et al. (2019), in most of the countries, trust to national civil protection workplace was higher than or equal to the trust to the Union level civil protection. However, Croatia and the Baltic states were exceptions since they mentioned that their trust to the EU was higher than their trust to the national workplaces.

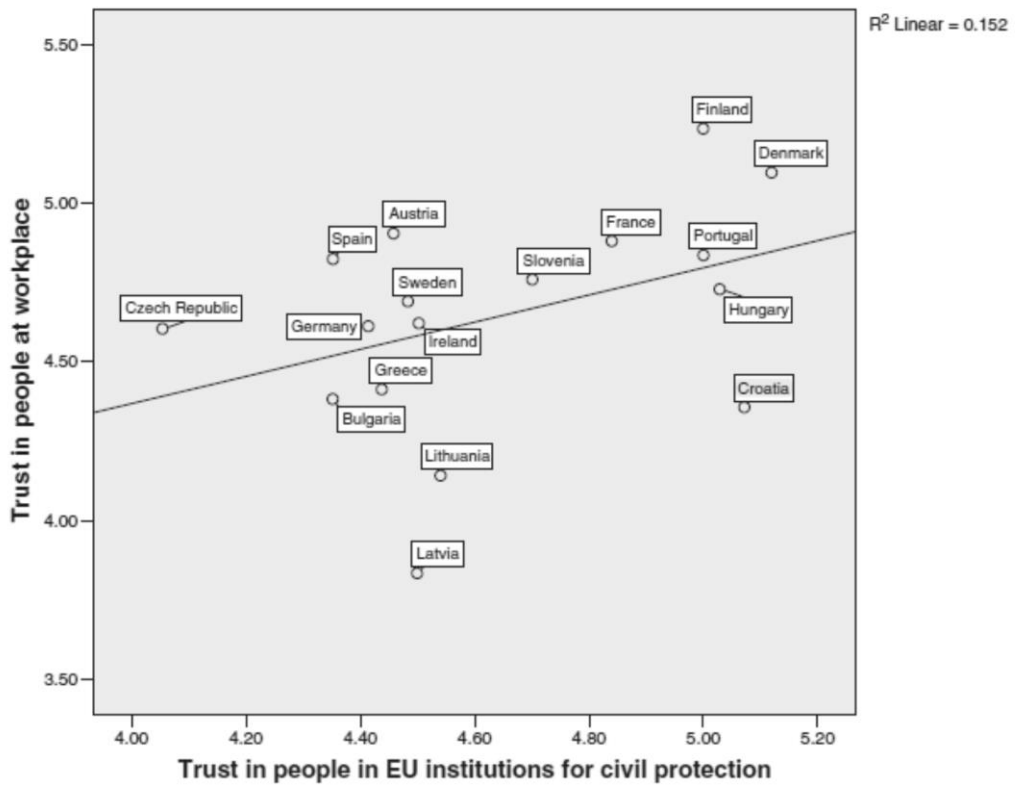


Figure 5 Relationship between trust in people at workplace and trust in people at EU institutions

Source: (Widmalm et al., 2019)

The study (Widmalm et al., 2019) pointed out that this result may somehow be related to the “GDP per capita” of the countries. In Figure 6, the relationship between GDP per capita and level of trust to the workplace is shown. The researchers concluded that the states that have a longer democratic history and the ones that are “wealthy” have more trust for their national workplace (Widmalm et al., 2019).

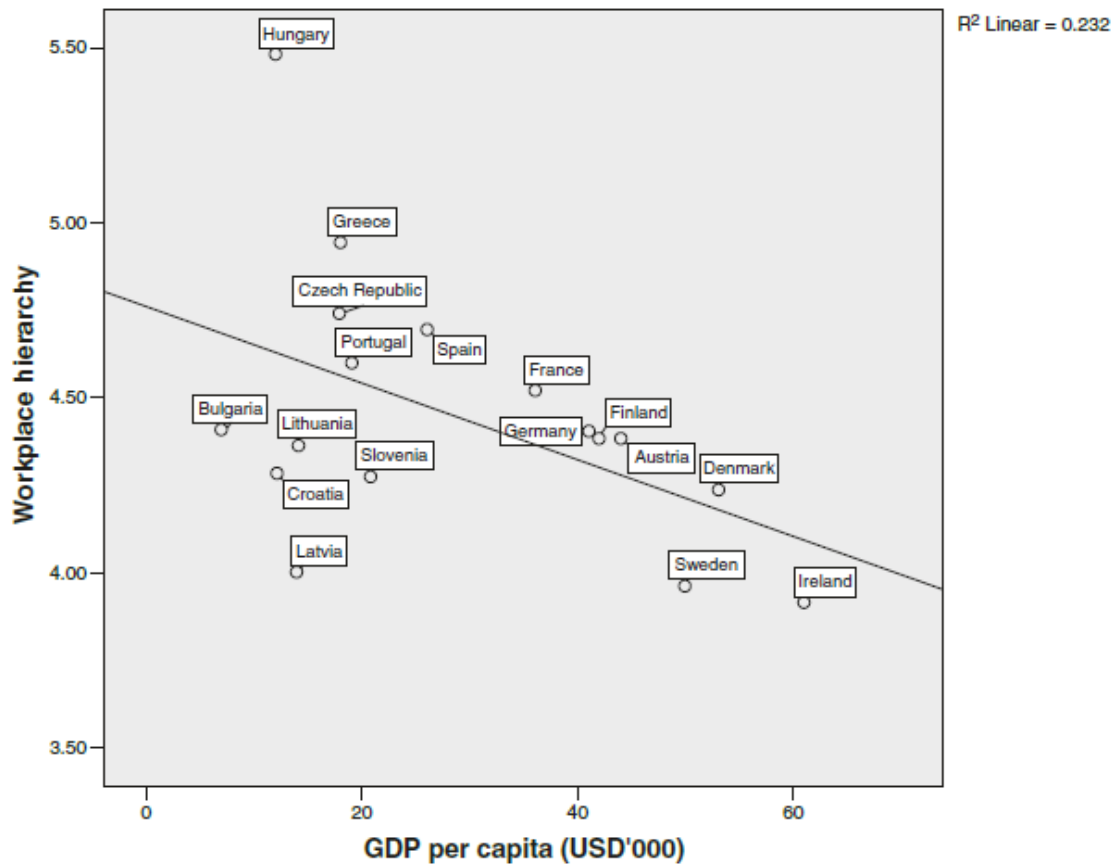


Figure 6 Relationship between workplace hierarchy and GDP per capita

Source: (Widmalm et al., 2019)

In the study (Widmalm et al., 2019) the “likeminded” states were also mentioned by the interviewees. This means that some countries seem to have a similar civil protection logic and/or public administration approaches with each other and this promotes cooperation. Apart from that, “common problems and historical bounds” also seemed to influence the cooperation and establish partnerships. According to the study “the young democracies” and relatively new members of the Union, such as Croatia, gives importance to chain of command in civil protection management. The older members and the ones with more established democratic backgrounds trust their own institutions rather than the EU system. Regarding the effectiveness of the EU civil protection

institutions; Czech Republic, Germany, and Ireland were given as skeptical countries while Croatia, Hungary, and Latvia were given as countries that have a positive approach regarding the potential of the UCPM.

The civil protection system of Croatia shows several differences when compared to that of Italy. As mentioned in the Italy section, civil protection system in Italy has a “decentralized bottom-up system” like Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the UK. Croatia, on the other hand, has a more centralized system, with some indications of decentralization. Therefore, the civil protection system of Croatia is more similar to Estonia, France, and Poland. However, none of the two can be named as countries that have fully centralized civil protection systems. One similarity here is that in both Member States civil protection is the main responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. Apart from this, in both countries the civil protection system is hierarchal, with clear chains of command, and being run by standard operational procedures (SOP) and protocols. Not only its civil protection system, but also the story behind the membership to the UCPM shows difference between Italy and Croatia. After becoming a potential candidate country, Croatia has continuously been monitored by the EU to track the progress achieved in several policy areas and one these areas was civil protection (Widmalm et al., 2019).

Against the backgrounds for two cases, the next section explores the prospects of “facilitated coordination” within the theoretical framework of Europeanization literature.

5.2 Europeanization through “Facilitated Coordination”

As summarized above, Italy and Croatia are two Member States with different civil protection approaches and different civil protection systems. Since the aim of the study is mainly to explore how these two different states are brought together in a common system in the absence of binding structures, in this section, the soft governance tools used at the Union level will be examined in detail for the two cases. Both uploading

and downloading mechanisms of Europeanization will be considered to better understand the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection.

5.2.1 The Uploading Dimension: Constructing the Union Civil Protection Policy

Uploading mechanism is considered to be more useful to see the process as a two-dimensional process. The Member States upload their preferences within the system via technical and high-level working groups and they also upload their preferences to the system within the wider EU context (through EU institutions and decision-making processes). Therefore, there are two main systems: the particular UCPM system and the system of the EU itself. Therefore, it can be said that, within the wider context, getting involved with the EU decision making system and guiding the way the UCPM follows can be seen as an “uploading” determinant; while in the smaller context getting involved to the UCPM working groups, technical and high-level meetings is the main opportunity for the Member States to upload their preferences to the system.

EU decision-making process and the involvement of the Member States to this process is one of the ways to understand how the Member States are uploading their preferences within the scope of Union civil protection. To better understand the position of Italy and Croatia in the wider context, the amended legislation of the UCPM can be given as an example. As given in detail in Chapter 4, the UCPM legislation was amended in March 2019, with some serious changes. During the amendment process, after the Commission proposed the new draft, the process was experienced as in Table 22:

Table 22 Process of the Approval of the New Legislation

23/11/2017	Legislative proposal published
14/12/2017	Committee referral announced in Parliament, 1st reading/single reading
15/03/2018	Referral to associated committees announced in Parliament
17/05/2018	Vote in committee, 1st reading/single reading
23/05/2018	Committee report tabled for plenary, 1st reading/single reading
30/05/2018	Debate in Parliament
31/05/2018	Decision by Parliament, 1st reading/single reading
31/05/2018	Matter referred back to the committee responsible
21/01/2019	Approval in committee of the text agreed at 1st reading interinstitutional negotiations
12/02/2019	Results of vote in Parliament
12/02/2019	Debate in Parliament
12/02/2019	Decision by Parliament, 1st reading/single reading
07/03/2019	Act adopted by Council after Parliament's 1st reading
13/03/2019	Final act signed
13/03/2019	End of procedure in Parliament
20/03/2019	Final act published in Official Journal

Source: (European Parliament, 2019a)

In the process of amendment, the Committee responsible for civil protection in the European Parliament had been Environment, Public Health and Food Safety (ENVI). ENVI, which consists of Members of the European Parliament (MEP) representing different Member States, also got feedback from other related committees. During the debates in the Parliament, MEPs²⁰ shared their position on the proposed civil protection system. All these stages can be seen as an opportunity for the Member States to upload their preferences to the Union level. Voting phase is the final phase of the uploading. The amendment was adopted by the European Parliament with 431 votes to 99, with 97 abstentions²¹ (European Parliament, 2018b). During the debates, both Italy and Croatia have supported the amendment from different perspectives. In the

²⁰ There are 73 members of the European Parliament from Italy while Croatia has 11 members. (<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/home>)

²¹ After the amendment it was also proposed by the Parliament and the Council to get information about the progress of the UCPM annually.

Parliament, Italy²² mentioned that due to the recent disasters faced by Europe, there was a need to establish the Union Civil Protection Mechanism. Portugal and Italy fires were given as examples of bottlenecks of the voluntary nature of civil protection assistance and the new system was mentioned as a way to fill the current gaps by establishing reserve capacities at the Union level. Another issue that was pointed out by Italy was the need to allocate enough budget for the Mechanism to take preventive actions. Therefore, it can be said that, in principle, Italy has been one of the supportive states for the legislation amendment. Croatia, also announced its support for the amendment that will increase the power of the EU by referring to the forest fires took place in southern Europe. However, it was also mentioned by Croatia that the authority for the operations should belong to the Member States. This is an important reference to the principle of “subsidiarity”. Another important issue that was announced as an important issue for Croatia was the co-financing rate for the operations and it was requested not to be more than 55%, which in fact had been the final decision at the Union level (European Parliament, 2019b).

There have also been unsupportive approaches from the other MEPs in the Parliament debate. An interesting one is put forth by João Ferreira from “Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left”. The opposition is given below, since it is closely related to the discussion behind this study.

...The protection of people, infrastructure, goods, the protection of territory, of nature, is an obligation of states, a function that touches the core of their sovereignty...The European Union, which has not done everything it could, for example, to support Member States in developing their own capabilities, in the first place in prevention, now wants to do more than it should. The usurpation of chains of command to a supranational plan, for example, poses unimportant risks beyond a well-founded political objection (European Parliament, 2019b).

As can be seen from the debate, the process of change was open to the interference of the Member States and they had the voting power to actually affect the final outcome.

²² Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats represented Italy in the European Parliament.

Although there have been objections to the increasing power of the Union in the field of civil protection, as can be seen from the speech of João Ferreira, both countries supported the new legislation that will result in a shift of power. It is important however to mention that, not all the Participating States of the UCPM have the “voting power” within the EU system, only the ones that are Member States. Therefore, the distinction between Member State and Participating State is important. This study focused on two cases, both of them are Member States, but there are many other states in the UCPM that are articulated to the system and although they are believed to “upload” their ideas and preferences to the system at the EU level, they do not officially have the right to decide the road that UCPM will follow.

Another important unit working on civil protection is PROCIV. PROCIV is a working group that operates under the Council to negotiate the civil protection legislation. Apart from the legislation, it also works on the political priorities of the Presidencies. Therefore, also via PROCIV, the Member States find the opportunity to upload their preferences and priorities to the Union civil protection system. PROCIV meetings are being conducted 5 times per Presidency (DG ECHO, 2019g). Croatia will be holding the next Presidency after the current one Finland and therefore it will be Croatia’s turn to announce its civil protection priorities to the civil protection community. Prioritization can be named as another way of uploading the preferences to the Union level.

When the uploading system within the UCPM is considered, the working groups, technical and high-level meetings are important within the smaller context. Working groups are platforms for the technocrats to exchange views on the system of civil protection at the EU level. Some working groups that bring together the civil protection community are “Early Warning Systems Working Group, Modules Working Group, Training Policy Group, Capacities Working Group, CECIS Users Working Group etc.”. All the working groups are operating with different agendas. According to (Widmalm et al. 2019), as given in his study on the civil protection cooperation, the working groups formulated within the UCPM compose “temporary families” that

focus on several issues. The interviewees that attended the study mentioned how useful it was for the EU to organize working groups, since they helped for the creation of common concepts and bringing participants together to share their perception and knowledge with each other. Therefore, it can be said that, these meetings are functional since they help the civil protection community to become “aware of each other”. As mentioned in Widmalm’s (2019) study, the Member States are parts of a “common family” and the working groups can not only be seen as an opportunity for knowledge and experience exchange but they also result in establishment of “we perception” between the members of the UCPM. The groups not only bring together national experts from different Member States, but they also bring the national experts with the Commission staff (Widmalm et al., 2019). Another platform that enable “uploading” is the UCPM high level meetings. These meetings create a platform to socialize and exchange views between the high-level representatives of the system. The working groups and high-level meetings that take part in UCPM Work Programme for 2019²³ are given below:

- Technical disaster management meetings on specific areas such as forest fires, CECIS etc,
- Policy/working group meetings that focus on different areas such as loss data, prevention, training policy, modules and host nations support,
- Meetings among different sectors with the participation of experts from Member States with an aim to establish develop a common framework to enhance resilience,
- Directors-General meetings,
- Directors-General with Directors-General for civil protection of Mediterranean countries meetings” (European Commission, 2018c).

Although it is not possible to analyze each and every working group meeting and follow the contribution of the selected Member States to those meetings, it is possible to have an idea by examining an example. The operating logic is the same for each working group. All the Member States are being invited to the working group meetings that are being conducted in Brussels and the meetings involve the Commission staff as well as the Participating States. After each meeting the minutes are circulated by

²³ The details of the UCPM Work Programme are examined in Chapter 4.

the Commission to all the Participating States. Therefore, even if they may not have the chance to attend a working group meeting, all the members of the UCPM is informed about what has been discussed. “Expert Group on Civil Protection - Permanent Network of National Correspondents” can be given as an example. In the UCPM system all the Participating States have “Civil Protection Director Generals” who meet twice a year to discuss the civil protection policies. The meetings are being conducted in the countries that are holding the Presidency. The working group was established by the Commission on 27/6/1995 and the first meeting was hosted by French Presidency. As a result of this meeting “Resolution of 31 October 1994 on strengthening Community cooperation on civil protection” was adapted. The second meeting was hosted by Belgium on 11-12.10.2001 after the 9/11 attack. After this meeting, the Commission proposed measures against terrorism which are agreed by the Member States and the proposal was submitted to the Council. After that time, the Director Generals meetings started to be organized two times a year to discuss Union civil protection. There is also a subgroup defined under this working group, which is namely, “Training Policy Group (TPG)”. At the TPG meetings the experts from Participating States, who are responsible for trainings come together to discuss training policies within the scope of civil protection. The subgroup was established in 2010 under Civil Protection Committee (CPC) to get expert advice on the training efforts of the UCPM (European Commission, 2019d). Therefore, the working group was reporting to the CPC.

43rd Directorate Generals Meeting was conducted on 9-10 October 2019 in Helsinki under the Finnish Presidency of the Council of the European Union. At the meeting the most recent civil protection issues were discussed with the participation of the Participating States. One important issue that was put forth was the UCPM Knowledge Network that was planned to be established by the Commission. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the establishment of the network was offered with the new legislation of the UCPM. Although this is not a final figure (Figure 7), it is important for being the outcome of the TPG working group discussions that was presented to the policy

makers at the DGs Meeting (DG ECHO, 2019h). It is important to show how technical work reaches the high-level meetings and how the components of the system feed each other.

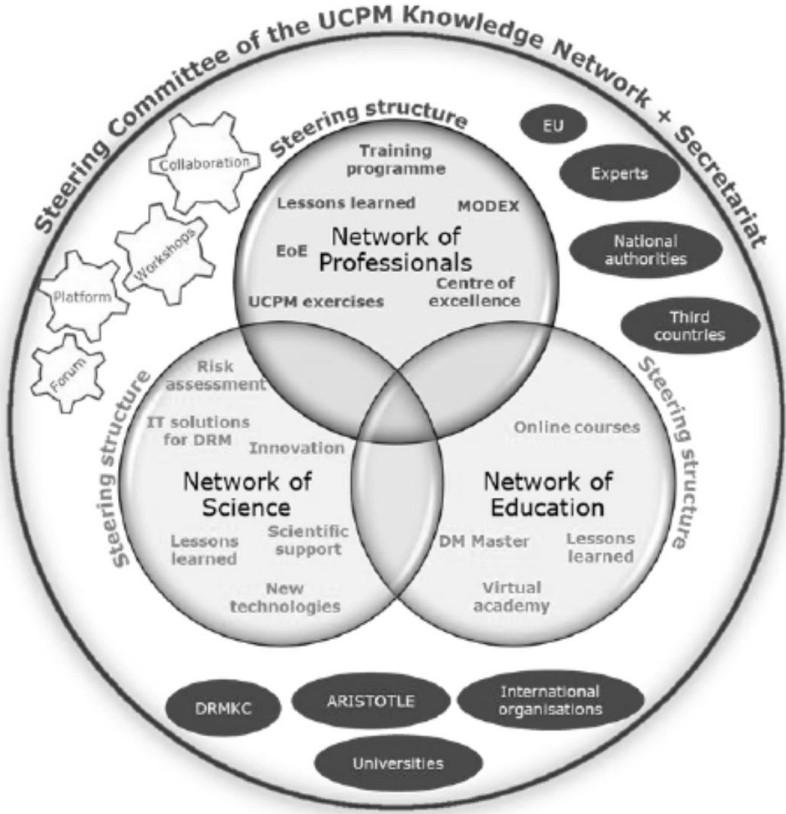


Figure 7 UCPM Knowledge Network

Source: (DG ECHO, 2019h)

“Expert Group on Civil Protection - Permanent Network of National Correspondents” has 33 public authorities from the EU Member States who actively contribute to shaping the future of the UCPM policies. There are also members from Iceland, Norway, Turkey and North Macedonia as observers, which is referred as “Type E: Other public Entity” that have no voting power but can only attend the group as observers. As shown in table 23, both Italy and Croatia are the members of the group,

represented by one public authority identified for the system. Members of the working group are also given in table 23.

Table 23 Members of the Expert Group on Civil Protection

Country	Number of Authorities	Membership Status
Austria	2 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Belgium	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Bulgaria	2 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Croatia	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Cyprus	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Czech Republic	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Denmark	2 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Estonia	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Finland	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
France	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Germany	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Greece	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Hungary	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Ireland	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Italy	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Latvia	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Lithuania	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Luxembourg	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Malta	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Netherlands	2 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Poland	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Portugal	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Romania	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Slovakia	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Slovenia	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Spain	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
Sweden	1 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member
UK	2 Public Authorit(y-ies)	Member

Source: (European Commission, 2019d)

As can be seen, to better understand the uploading dimension, both the wider and smaller contexts are taken into consideration in this section. This analysis shows us what are the main aspects that, in a way, pull Croatia and Italy into the Union civil protection system and give them the opportunity to upload their preferences.

5.2.2 The Downloading Dimension: Adaptation to the Union Civil Protection Mechanism

To better understand the “downloading” process, it is important to understand what facilitates coordination among the Member States. It can be said that although civil protection belongs to the supporting competences of the EU, as it was given in detail in Chapter 4, it is still subject to Treaties and many legislations. The main trigger for the Member States who take part in the UCPM is the “solidarity clause”. Solidarity clause was introduced by the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) (Article 222) as follows:

Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 222

1. The Union and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster. The Union shall mobilise all the instruments at its disposal, including the military resources made available by the Member States, to: (b) assist a Member State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities, in the event of a natural or man-made disaster. (EUR-Lex, 2016b).

Emphasizing the need to act in solidarity was actually the result of the Madrid terrorist attacks that took place in March 2004. After the announcement of the solidarity clause in 2014, the decision that determines the rules and procedures for the implementation of the clause was also announced by the EU. Therefore, the main aim with the clause was to ensure that interoperability and cooperation among domestic structures and the EU for an efficient response in case of terrorist attacks, disasters and other kind of emergencies (EUR-Lex, 2019b).

Although the civil protection system has always been voluntary and dependent on the decisions of the Member States, the current developments show a shift of power from the Member States to the EU. To better understand this shift, the recently amended legislation of civil protection and how the shift is defended by the Union is important to understand. As given in detail in Chapter 4, when the new legislation is considered, it is possible to see that, by referring to the recent disasters and emergencies and by questioning the efficiency of the system, the Union proposes the new legislation by highlighting the role of the Union instruments:

Recent experience has shown that reliance on voluntary offers of mutual assistance, coordinated and facilitated by the Union Mechanism, does not always ensure that sufficient capacities are made available...To overcome those insufficiencies and deal with emerging hazards, all Union instruments should be made use of in a fully flexible manner, including through the promotion of active participation of civil society. (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

The new legislation touches upon a variety of issues and by referring to the operational gaps in the system, points out the importance of taking additional measures at the EU level. The legislation highlights the importance of information management and requests the Member States to submit their risk assessment summaries to the Union regularly. As an important soft governance tool, the guidelines that are produced at the EU level are emphasized in the new legislation to ensure that all the Member States at the same level and they speak the same language regarding risk management:

The Commission together with the Member States should further develop guidelines to facilitate the sharing of information on disaster risk management. Such guidelines should help to promote the comparability of such information, in particular where Member States face similar risks or cross-border risks. (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

The role of the Union should be a supportive one for sure, however, with the new legislation, the Union takes the authority to request information on the measures taken at the Member State level by mentioning that all these pieces of information will be used to support the Member States in the end. As mentioned in detail in Chapter 4, the establishment of “rescEU” as a Union level response capacity is one of the major

developments with the new legislation. Therefore, it is an important signal of the shift of power from the Member States to the Union. Although the Member States are already expected to offer capacities to be used in the event of a disaster or emergency, the Union still increases its power by establishing the “rescEU” as a Union level capacity:

In addition to strengthening overall existing capacities, rescEU should be established to respond to overwhelming situations as a last resort where existing capacities at national level and those pre-committed by Member States to the European Civil Protection Pool are not, in the circumstances, able to ensure an effective response to various kinds of disasters. (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

Although there are various references to the need to consult with the Member States, it is possible to see the power of the Union regarding the implementation of the “rescEU” is mentioned as: “The Commission should therefore be empowered to adopt implementing acts defining rescEU capacities, taking into account the identified risks, overall capacities and gaps.” (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

Another important part of the new legislation is the establishment of Union Civil Protection Network. With this network the Union expects to improve trainings, conducted researches and innovative actions taken in the field of civil protection.

Training, research and innovation are essential aspects of cooperation in the civil protection field. In order to strengthen the efficiency and effectiveness of civil protection training and exercises, to promote innovation and dialogue, and to enhance cooperation between Member States' national civil protection authorities and services, it is necessary to establish a Union Civil Protection Knowledge Network... (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

The Network is expected to be beneficial for trainings, exercises, lessons learnt system and knowledge transfer.

Regarding the exchange of knowledge, the new legislation points out the need to prepare a training programme for the civil protection staff that covers all the disaster management cycle. The programme is expected to include joint trainings and support sharing of best practices as well as exchange and secondment of experts.

The information management power at the EU level also becomes evident with the new legislation with references to the Common Emergency Communication and Information System (CECIS). The information of the national capacities and modules are expected to be shared through CECIS even for the capacities that are not pre-committed by the Member States. And finally, by referring to the “subsidiarity” and “proportionality” principles, the new legislation highlights the possibility to take additional measures at the EU level (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

“... the Union may adopt measures, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity as set out in Article 5 TEU. In accordance with the principle of proportionality...” (EUR-Lex, 2019a).

The Commission is expected to monitor the adaptation process to the decision and report it to the Parliament and Council. Therefore, both the financial and operational aspects of the Decision is expected to be monitored at the EU level.

As can be seen from the mentioned areas of the new legislation, although the role of the Union is supposed to be a supportive one, the level of this support has recently been increased in the favor of the Union. There is an apparent shift of power from the Member States to the Union. While examining the process of “downloading” this shift is important to keep in mind since there are many sub-systems within the UCPM that encourage the Member States to “download” what has been prepared at the EU level.

To better understand top-down mechanism of Europeanization, it is possible to use several tools. These tools are technical and high-level focal points system, being a part of lessons-learned mechanism, the usage/adaptation of common EU documents (such as common guidelines, roadmaps etc), taking part in trainings and exercises, taking part in exchange of experts system, peer review mechanism and conducting common projects. Most of these areas has been referred to in the new legislation to emphasize the need for a stronger Union civil protection system and they are all tools to gather the Member States around a common European system.

As given in Table 9, to examine top-down Europeanization in this study, the main mechanism is considered as “socialization and learning”. Therefore, all of the components of the UCPM given above are believed to operate through socialization and learning. All of these components will be briefly explained below by also referring to how the selected countries are included to their system.

1. Technical and high-level focal points system (national focal points, training coordinators etc.): The technical and high-level focal points system refers to the official representatives of the UCPM in the Participating States. The system operates through “socialization and learning” since these points of contacts not only come together with several occasions such as technical and high-level meetings, but they also ensure the information flow and knowledge exchange between the national and supranational institutions. By dedicating a National Contact Point (NCP) and National Training Coordinator (NTC), the Member States become connected to the system and their interoperability with the system increases. Currently all the Participating States have NCPs and NTCs. The National Training Coordinator and Focal Point as the main contacts. The NCP represents the Participating State at the highest level while NTC is mainly coordinating the participation to trainings, exercises and exchange of expert systems. Both Italy and Croatia have defined NTCs and NCPs for the UCPM. The main contact point for Italy is “Civil Protection Department International Relations Unit”, while for Croatia it is “National Protection and Rescue Directorate Ministry of Interior Directorate for Civil Protection” (DG ECHO, 2019i).

2. Lessons-learnt Mechanism: According to the Interim Evaluation Report of the UCPM, exchange of feedback between the lessons learnt system and the civil protection activities, such as prevention, preparedness and response, is crucial. During the preparation of this report, Participating States of the UCPM pointed out that the lessons-learnt system was also beneficial for trainings, exercises, UCPM operations, and the deployment of modules during the civil protection operations. However, it was also mentioned in the report that the system needs to become more systematic both for the EU and the Participating State and should be monitored and reported regularly.

(European Commission, 2017c). The lessons learnt system started with the establishment of an expert group on “lessons learnt from the handled emergencies” in 2007. After the establishment of the working group, lessons and good practices started to be defined and prioritised. The implementation process on lessons and good practices are also being followed at the national level. Under the lessons learnt programme meetings are being conducted. The last meeting was held with a focus on forest fires in 2018. During the meeting, UCPM activations were discussed and lessons from the previous year were revised and reported. In 2017, “Lessons Learned on UCPM operations in 2017 Report” was prepared by the group. This report covered evaluations on several critical civil protection operations in 2016 and 2017. Italy and Croatia are members of the group and attend the meetings via their recognized public civil protection authorities (European Commission, 2019d). The system gives the opportunity to “socialization” with Lessons-Learnt meetings, and opens the way to “learning” by creating a platform both for the Member States and for the Commission to exchange knowledge on mistakes as well as best practices.

3. EU Documentation (Guidelines, Roadmaps etc): The EU creates common documents and shares it with the Member States as a guidance. It is not obligatory to follow the common documents; however, as mentioned before, the Member States are expected to follow the EU way of doing things. “Host Nation Support Guidelines (HNSG)” and “National Risk Assessment Guidelines (NRA)” can be given as examples. HNSG is prepared by the Union, with the contribution of the Member States, to guide the process of receiving assistance from other EU countries. In the International Disaster Law report²⁴ that was prepared for the Italian Red Cross and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the HNSG is given as a non-binding soft law document to enhance the implementation of the UCPM. The HNSG covers a wide range of areas from emergency management to logistical issues to receive assistance smoothly. As mentioned in the report, Italian law is compatible

²⁴ Whole name of the report is “IDRL in Italy. A Study on Strengthening Legal Preparedness for International Disaster Response”.

with HNSG (Gatti, 2015). The Republic of Croatia, on the other hand, has determined the necessary procedures to receive international assistance. However, there emerged a need to update the procedures in line with the HNS guidelines (Kopal et al., 2013).

As mentioned in the Chapter 4, risk management is one of the main components related to prevention. Therefore, risk assessment is another important area where Union guides the Member States through the National Risk Assessment guidelines (NRA). The NRAs aim to pinpoint the disaster risks (at a national or supra-national level) and show how they will be addressed by the Member States. For the period 2014-2020, the Participating States are expected to prepare and submit their National Risk Assessments (NRA) to the Commission in a way to identify national and sub-national risks (European Commission, 2017c). The new civil protection legislation requests the submission of the risk assessments periodically, and also presentation of a summary of the NRA in every three years (Poljanšek et al., 2019). Italy prepared a national risk assessment document in 2018 (Protezione Civile, 2018) while Croatia prepared its first NRA in 2015 and updated the document in 2019 (Republika Hrvatska, 2019).

4. Trainings & Exercises: Another component of the UCPM that is taken to explain top-down Europeanization is training and exercises. As mentioned in the Chapter 4, within the scope of the UCPM there are various trainings and exercises; and like other components, the main features of trainings and exercises are also planned annually with the UCPM Work Programme. The quota for these trainings is set by taking into account the population of the Participating States and distributed to them by the Commission. By now, 17th cycle for 2019-2020 is being implemented. The training programme accepts participants from 34 Participating States and also from the third countries. The civil protection courses provided for the Participating States and the training quotas for Italy and Croatia are given in table 24.

Table 24 Quota Allocation of UCPM Trainings for Italy and Croatia

Name of the Course ²⁵	Italy	Croatia
CMI	18	5
TEC	6	2
OPM	10	3
SMC	5	1
SEC	1	1
AMC	4	2
HLC	2	2
CND	1	1
SME	5	1

Source: (European Commission, 2019e)

The exercises that have been organized by Italy and Croatia between 2010-2017 are also shown in table 25. Apart from these, Italy attended to eight exercises between the years 2012-2017, while Croatia attended to five exercises. The number of joint exercises for the countries is two (DG ECHO, 2016).

Table 25 List of Exercises Organized by Italy or Croatia

Name	Time/Place	Scenario	Organiser(s)	Further information
NEIFL	September 2017, Venice region	flood	Presidency of the Council of Ministers, National Civil Protection Department Italy	Call 2015 EU contribution € 530.580 EU financing rate: 85%
TWIST ²⁶	October 2013 southern Campania, Basilicata and northern Calabria regions	tsunami	Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Italian Department of Civil Protection Italy	Call 2011 EU contribution € 977.230,00 EU financing rate: 85% All partner countries are members of the NEAMTWS - North Eastern Atlantic & Mediterranean Tsunami Warning System

²⁵ Details of the courses are given in Chapter 4 “4.2.3.1.5 Trainings” section.

²⁶ Croatia attended the exercise.

Name	Time/Place	Scenario	Organiser(s)	Further information
EU TEREX ²⁷	Tuscany (Italy)	earthquake	Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dipartimento della Protezione Civile Via Ulpiano	Call 2008-2 EC contribution: € 864,225.00 EC financing rate: 75 %
MURA 2015	May 2015, border area between Croatia, Austria and Slovenia	flood	Croatia-National Protection and Rescue Directorate	Call 2013 EU contribution € 416.248,96 EU financing rate: 85%

Source: (DG ECHO, 2016)

5. “Exchange of expertise” System: In this study, exchange of expertise refers to Exchange of Experts (EoE) programme and peer review mechanism. As detailed in Chapter 4, EoE is a programme that complements the training programme and the exercises of the UCPM. The programme aims to improve the capacity of the Participating States and the third countries. The programme creates a platform for information and exchange of experience between different civil protection authorities of the Participating States and the third countries (European Commission, 2016a). According to the data provided from the Exchange of Experts programme field reports, Italy seems to have two experts that took part in EoE, while Croatia has not benefited from the programme in the past exchanges (European Union, 2018).

The UCPM also uses peer review system to promote knowledge and good practice exchange between the countries (European Commission, 2017c). The system increases cooperation and mutual learning in the field of civil protection with the help of the experts from various countries come together to review and assess the disaster risk

²⁷ Croatia attended the exercise.

management (DRM) system of another country. It is important here to mention that the peer reviews are being done in line with the EU guidelines.

Although both of the mechanisms operate with “socialization and learning”, it is important to mention that the peer review system can also be linked to “naming and shaming” as a driving force. Italy has contributed to three peer reviews until now, which are, Georgia 2015 and Turkey 2015 and United Kingdom 2013 peer reviews. Croatia, on the other hand, contributed to one peer review which is Georgia 2015 peer review (DG ECHO, 2019f). However, none of the two countries have requested to be reviewed via UCPM until now.

6. Projects: Although they are not specifically mentioned in the new legislation, the EU projects are thought to be another significant tool to create a platform for the dissemination of the “European way of doing things”. As explained in detail in the Chapter 4, within the civil protection system of the UCPM, prevention and preparedness projects are being funded. The scope of these projects is pre-defined and the projects serve as a tool to connect the national civil protection systems with each other and create a platform to have a similar understandings regarding the way of doing things. Each year within the scope of the Work Programme on the UCPM (European Commission, 2018c), prevention and preparedness projects are being funded. These projects bring national civil protection agencies, experts, private sector, academia and civil society together and they give opportunity to the Participating States to share their experiences and best practices with each other. Since these are EU projects, the EU way of doing business in the field of civil protection spreads among the states. Apart from the UCPM funded projects, there are also other EU programmes and projects that aim to create a common European civil protection approach not just among the Member States but also with the candidates and potential candidates. Programme for Disaster Risk Assessment and Mapping (IPA DRAM) can be given as an important example. IPA DRAM aims to strengthen disaster risk management efforts in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. The programme includes establishing a platform for

national disaster loss databases, improve the alignment between national civil protection systems with EU regulations, guidelines and good practices within the scope of Instrument for Pre-accession (IPA). The consortium of IPA DRAM involved the Italian Civil Protection Department (DPC) and the Republic of Croatia National Protection and Rescue Directorate (DUZS) together with other members. This example is important to show that Italy and Croatia are not only articulated to the civil protection system of the EU in terms of their own systems, but they also get involved to other EU programmes in a way to align the civil protection efforts of the non-EU states with the EU system (IPA DRAM, 2019)

This chapter has provided an analysis of the civil protection field in Italy and Croatia from the perspective of Europeanization by focusing on several components of the UCPM in line with the theoretical framework set in Chapter 3. With the help of this analysis, the soft governance structures used by the Union to interlock the Member States around the European system of civil protection and the position of the selected cases in this system is revealed. The overall conclusions are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The starting point of this research was the curiosity to understand the prospects of Europeanization in the field of civil protection, where all the Member States have their own unique civil protection systems and the EU level coordination is mainly dependent on the domestic systems, resources and the voluntary contribution of the Member States. The research questions asked at the beginning of the study was “what are the prospects of Europeanization in the field civil protection?” and “how can civil protection be examined within the frame of “facilitated coordination?”. Therefore, this study tried to examine the civil protection system of the EU by exploring the soft governance mechanisms that might lead to Europeanization by focusing on two selected Member States. The study benefitted from Radaelli’s third type of governance “facilitated coordination” and the framework provided by de Flers and Müller (2010) and combined bottom-up and top-down approaches in order to provide a more holistic and comprehensive analysis. In the bottom-up analysis, the study revealed the ways in which the Member States can upload their preferences within the system and pointed out that there are two main systems in this process: the small UCPM system and the system of the EU itself. Within the wider EU context (through EU institutions and decision-making processes) it is mentioned that, the Member States upload their preferences to the system and shape the future of the Mechanism with their voting power, while within the smaller context of the UCPM they upload their preferences to the system via technical and high-level working groups. During the uploading process the main mechanism is identified as “socialization”.

To better understand the top-down Europeanization mechanism, on the other hand, the study focused on several tools, namely, technical and high-level focal points system,

being a part of lessons-learnt mechanism, the usage / adaptation of common EU documents (such as common guidelines etc), taking part in the trainings and exercises system, exchange of expertise (taking part in exchange of experts system, peer review mechanism), conducting common projects. Most of these areas have been referred to in the new EU civil protection legislation that gained support of both Italy and Croatia in the amendment process. In the process of “downloading”, the main mechanism is identified as “socialization and learning”.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the UCPM is a system that becomes operational with the help of the National Contact Points (NCP) and National Training Coordinators (NTC). These points of contact ensure the information flow and knowledge exchange between the national and supranational institutions, which is considered to be a process of “socialization and learning”. With the help of the lessons learnt system, the Member States not only learn to be a part of the European system in a more efficient way, but they also learn from each other. Therefore, this system clearly shows the characteristics of “socialization and learning”. Adaptation of the common EU documents is reviewed with two examples, namely the preparation of the National Risk Assessments (NRA) and the implementation of Host Nation Support Guidelines (HNSG). Using common guidelines is important since they are tools for the Member States to learn the “EU way of doing things”. Apart from all these, taking part in the trainings and exercises system, being a part of the exchange of experts and peer review mechanisms and conducting common projects are all seen as tools that show how top-down Europeanization mechanism actually works in the field of civil protection. Although the study revealed the prospects of Europeanization within the scope of “top down” and “bottom-up” processes, “how” the Member States experience the “socialization” and “learning” mechanisms should be analyzed with further research.

As summarised in “Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework”, some scholars discuss Europeanization with “adaptational pressures” and provide “mediating factors” as triggers of domestic change. In other words, as Radaelli (2004) mentioned, “adaptational pressure, mediating factors, and domestic change” are believed to

constitute a “three-step framework” (Radaeli, 2004). According to those scholars, when the EU policies become more binding with the help of hard law, when domestic policies face with adaptational pressure and when more mediating factors become functional in this process to support the EU policies, the change occurs in a more strong and rapid way. As mentioned by Graziano and Vink (2013), there are several scholars that believe “goodness of fit hypothesis” also works for soft law policies (Graziano & Vink, 2013).

In this study a policy area that is not being regulated by hard law is taken under scrutiny. By looking at all the aspects of civil protection, it can be said that, the results of the study are not consistent with the “three-step framework” that was introduced by Börzel and Risse (Radaelli, 2004). As given in “Section 5.1”, the selected cases, namely Croatia and Italy, are two Member States with different membership processes. They are prone to different disasters, have different civil protection systems, different capacities and different administrative cultures. Apart from their differences in terms of national civil protection management, they are also in different positions within the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM). Their perception of the UCPM, their level of trust and dependence to the system and their contributions in terms of assets and human resources also show differences. The common thing is that, like this study shows, both countries are articulated to all the components of the Mechanism. Although recent research showed that the GDPs can be considered to affect the level of trust to the UCPM, even Germany, as the most sceptical country regarding the functioning of the UCPM takes part at the center of the system²⁸ as the most trusted Member State (Widmalm et al., 2019). This means that, even the ones that have serious concerns about the utility of the system, still take part in and make contributions to the system and earn the support and trust of the other Member States. Therefore, we need other explanations to answer the question “why Member States, even the most sceptical ones, choose to remain within this system?” At this point, this study suggests the idea that the reaction of the Member States to the invisible power and pressure that

²⁸ Figure 3.

is exercised by soft law can best be explained from the perspective of sociological institutionalism. Sociological institutionalism defends the idea that, with socialization and learning, the Member States experience a “norm internalization” process and they develop new identities. In our case, with the emergence of the UCPM, civil protection cooperation started to progress and common norms and values are set at the EU level to strengthen this cooperation. “European solidarity” is at the core of the EU civil protection system today, which is also strongly supported by the TFEU with “solidarity clause”. The choice of becoming a part of this “European family” and to stay within the system is ensured with the soft law instruments that are articulated to the Union civil protection system. As de Flers and Müller (2010) point out, “common definitions of problems” and “collective orientation to problem-solving” are internalized by the Member States throughout the “socialization” process. In the case of civil protection, once they are internalized, they are being enforced repetitiously through the components of the system.

Although civil protection seems to be an area where it is possible to search for “Europeanization without the EU”, the components of the system and actual implementation mechanisms prove that the soft power of the EU is also very determinant in shaping the actions of the Member States. As can be seen from the cases, although they are both members of the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM), Italy and Croatia have very different civil protection systems, even when the definition and scope of civil protection show difference in these two cases. However, as the analysis shows, with the help of soft governance, the Union brings these countries to a common ground and ensure their participation to the Union level civil protection. This move, although it causes subsidiarity discussions from time to time, is not so contestable since there are no direct pressures and the experienced pressure is somehow hidden.

In conclusion, with this study it has been observed that although there are no binding legislation that is being applied to civil protection as a policy area, soft governance leads to Europeanization through the current components of the Union civil protection

system. Since there are limited studies in the literature that combine civil protection with Europeanization literature, the approach adapted in this study is an exploratory one and further studies are needed to better conceptualize the dynamics and prospects of Europeanization in this field.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKKÇE ÖZET

Sivil koruma, Avrupa Birliği'nin (AB), Üye Ülkelerin acil durum ve afet etkilerini azaltmaya yönelik faaliyetlerini koordine ettiği alanlardan biridir. Avrupa'da "sivil koruma" kavramı, 1980'lerde Fransa ve İtalya'da görülen afet zararlarını azaltma girişimleri doğrultusunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Coğrafi ve iklimsel farklılıkları nedeniyle farklı afet türlerine yatkın olan Avrupa ülkeleri sivil koruma alanında farklı sistemlere sahiptirler. Bunun yanı sıra "sivil koruma" anlayışlarının da maruz kaldıkları afet riskleri doğrultusunda değişiklik gösterdiği gözlenmektedir.

Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizması'nın (UCPM) 2001 yılında yeni bir araç olarak kurulması Avrupa sivil koruma tarihinde önemli bir adım olmuştur. Üye Ülkeler UCPM'den önce kendi sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip olmalarına rağmen, bu yeni sistem, gerekli kapasitelerin bir araya getirilmesiyle, sadece insanları korumakla kalmayıp aynı zamanda çevre ve kültürel mirasın korunmasına da odaklanmıştır. Bugün AB düzeyinde sivil korumadan Avrupa Komisyonu sorumludur.

Sivil Koruma Mekanizmasını oluşturan yasal zemin 2001/792 / EC sayılı Konsey Kararıdır. Söz konusu karar ile Mekanizma 2001 yılında kurulmuştur. Bu yasal çerçeve hem AB sınırları içinde, hem de bu sınırlar dışında gerçekleştirilecek sivil koruma faaliyetlerine odaklanmış ve bu alanda Üye Ülkeler arasındaki işbirliğini artırmayı amaçlamıştır. Zamanla, 2001/792 / EC sayılı Konsey Kararı ile öngörülen sistem üzerinde çeşitli değişiklikler gerçekleştirilmiş ve destekleyici yapılar oluşturulmuştur. Bu süreçte önemli bir adım, 1313/2013 / EU sayılı Kararın yürürlüğe girmesi olmuştur. Bu kararla, Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizması (UCPM) sistemi, daha planlı ve daha etkili bir yapıya kavuşmak ve afetlere daha hızlı müdahale sağlamak için revize edilmiştir. 1313/2013 / EU sayılı Karar ile yürürlüğe giren yeni sistem, müdahalenin yanı sıra afet önleme, risk yönetimi ve hazırlık gibi afet yönetimi

döngüsünün diğer alanlarına da odaklanmaya başlamıştır. Eğitimler, uzman değişimi programları ve Üye Ülkelerin önceden taahhüt etmiş oldukları müdahale kapasitelerinden oluşan gönüllü bir havuz oluşturulması yeni mevzuatla elde edilen dikkate değer değişikliklerdir. Her ne kadar 1313/2013 / EU sayılı karar ile sistem önemli ölçüde iyileştirilmiş olsa da, sistemin eksiklikleri mevzuatta daha fazla değişiklik yapılmasını gerektirmiştir. Bu ihtiyaçla birlikte Avrupa Komisyonu, Kasım 2017'de Birlik sivil koruma sistemini gözden geçirmek ve mevcut eksikliklere çözüm bulmak için yeni bir teklif hazırlamıştır. Bu yeni sistemle Birliğin sivil koruma alanındaki konumunun güçlendirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Yeni teklif, çeşitli alanlarda birçok iyileştirmeyi bir araya getirmiş olup, bunlardan en dikkat çekici olanı Mart 2019'da yürürlüğe giren yeni mevzuatla “rescEU”nun kurulmasıdır. “Kurtarma” fiilinden gelen rescEU, AB müdahale kapasitelerini artırmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu nedenle Komisyonun, esas olarak ulusal kapasitelere bağlı olan sivil koruma sisteminde, Üye Ülkeler üzerindeki kontrolünü artırarak AB'nin konumunu güçlendirmek için bir adım attığını söylemek yanlış olmaz.

RescEU'nun iki ana hedefi vardır: Avrupa müdahale kapasitelerini güçlendirmek ve afet önleme ve hazırlıklılığını arttırmak. Bu hedeflere ulaşmak için, Üye Ülkelerin Birlik seviyesinde oluşturulan kapasiteler ile desteklenmesi ve gerektiğinde kullanılacak bu kapasitelerin (yangın söndürme uçakları, helikopterler vb.) Üye Ülke kapasitelerini tamamlayıcı nitelikte olması planlanmıştır. Birlik, bu kapasitelerin geliştirme ve işletme maliyetlerini desteklemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu amaçla AB, Avrupa Sivil Koruma Havuzunda kayıtlı olan kapasiteler için mali desteğin artırılacağını ve bu desteğin onarım, işletme ve nakliye maliyetlerini kapsayacağını taahhüt etmiştir.

Sivil Koruma Mekanizması bugün 28 Üye Ülke ve İzlanda, Makedonya Eski Yugoslav Cumhuriyeti, Karadağ, Norveç, Sırbistan ve Türkiye'den oluşmaktadır. Sivil koruma Birliğin “destekleyici yetkileri” ne ait alanlardan biri olduğundan, tüm bu Katılımcı Ülkelerin kendi ulusal sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip olduklarını belirtmek önemlidir. Mevcut sistemde, Mekanizmanın hazırlık, önleme ve müdahale olmak üzere üç ana bileşeni bulunmakta olup, bu üç alan kapsamında birçok alt bileşen yer almaktadır.

Yerellik ilkesine uygun olarak, AB düzeyinde sivil koruma esas olarak Üye Ülkelerin ulusal kapasitelerine bağlıdır. Bu nedenle, sivil koruma, AB düzenlemelerinin bağlayıcı bir güce sahip olmadığı bir alandır ve Birlik, Üye Ülkelerin sivil koruma çalışmalarına destek vermektedir.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, tüm Üye Ülkelerin kendilerine özgü sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip olduğu ve AB düzeyindeki koordinasyonun temelde ulusal sistemlere ve kaynaklara bağlı olduğu sivil koruma alanında Avrupalılaşma imkânlarını ortaya koymaktır. Başka bir deyişle, bu çalışma, AB'nin görünür bir bağlayıcı güce sahip olmadığı mevcut sivil koruma sisteminin hangi yönlerinin Avrupalılaşmaya yol açabileceğini incelemiştir. Tez kapsamında cevaplanması beklenen sorular şunlar olmuştur: “Sivil koruma alanında Avrupalılaşma imkânları nelerdir?”, “Sivil koruma ‘kolaylaştırılmış koordinasyon’ çerçevesinde nasıl incelenebilir?”

Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın temel argümanı, bağlayıcı bir mevzuat olmasa bile, bağlayıcı olmayan yumuşak yönetişimin Avrupalılaşmaya yol açabileceği ve sonuç olarak bu alanda Birlik ve Üye Ülkeler arasındaki güç dengesinin ve var olan sivil koruma perspektiflerinin ve uygulamalarının değişebileceğidir. Sivil koruma alanında Birlik düzeyinde bir politika uyumu beklenmediğinden, çalışma esas olarak bu ülkelerin Avrupa sivil koruma sisteminde hangi vasıtalarla yer aldıklarına ve hangi yumuşak yönetişim yapılarının faaliyete geçtiğine odaklanmıştır.

Araştırma sorularına yanıt bulmak için öncelikle Avrupalılaşma literatürü incelenmiş ve teorik çerçeve çizilmiştir. Sonrasında, teorik çerçevenin AB sivil koruma sistemine nasıl uyarlanabileceğine odaklanılmış ve gerçekleştirilecek analizin temel hatları belirlenmiştir. AB düzeyinde sivil korumaya ilişkin temel koordinasyon birimi olan Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizması'nın (UCPM) detaylı incelenmesi sonrasında ise iki Üye Ülke İtalya ve Hırvatistan bu çerçevede incelenmiştir.

Avrupalılaşma literatüründe farklı politika alanlarına ilişkin çeşitli incelemeler bulunmasına karşın sivil koruma ve Avrupalılaşma arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen

çalışma sayısı sınırlıdır. Çalışma sivil koruma alanı ile Avrupalılaşıma teorilerine katkı sunmayı hedeflemekte olsa da, söz konusu politika alanının Avrupalılaşıma literatürü içindeki yerini inceleyecek daha fazla çalışmaya ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Sivil koruma ve Avrupalılaşıma arasındaki ilişkiyi daha iyi açıklamak ve Avrupalılaşıma literatürünün sivil koruma alanına nasıl uygulanabileceğini anlamak için belirtilmesi gereken bazı önemli noktalar vardır:

-Sivil koruma, doğası gereği hiyerarşik olmayan bir politika alanıdır.

-Sivil koruma, Birliğin destekleyici yetkileri kapsamında yer almaktadır.

-Sivil koruma Antlaşmalarda yer almıştır ve AB düzeyinde sivil koruma alanında hazırlanmış çeşitli mevzuat bulunmaktadır.

- Mevcut mevzuat bağlayıcı değildir ve AB Üye Ülkelerin bu alandaki çalışmalarını kontrol etmek için herhangi bir yaptırım uygulamamaktadır.

-Ancak, sistemin bağlayıcı bir niteliği olmamasından, Birliğin Üye Ülkeler üzerinde güç kullanmadığı anlaşılmamalıdır,

-Bu çalışma, yumuşak yönetim mekanizmalarını daha belirgin hale getirerek AB'nin sivil koruma sistemini içinde Üye Ülkelerin Avrupalılaşıma imkanlarını incelemektedir. Bu nedenle, teorik çerçeveyi oluşturmaya çalışırken, bağlayıcı olmayan hukukun baskın olduğu politika alanlarını ve Avrupalılaşımanın bağlayıcı olmayan sistemler kapsamında nasıl deneyimlendiğini inceleyen araştırmalar yararlı olmuştur.

Çalışma Avrupalılaşıma literatüründeki iki yaklaşımdan faydalanmış ve bu iki yaklaşımı birleştirerek sivil koruma alanına uyarlanabilecek bir çerçeve çizmiştir. Bu yaklaşımlardan ilki Bulmer ve Radaelli'ye aittir. Araştırmacılar bağlayıcı olmayan politika alanları için, “kolaylaştırılmış koordinasyon” olarak adlandırılan yaklaşımı

geliştirmiş ve Avrupalılaşıma açıklamaları “öğrenme” tartışması etrafında şekillenmiştir.

Diğer yandan, De Flers ve Müller literatürde var olan “yukarıdan aşağıya” ve “aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaşıma yaklaşımlarını birleştiren ve yine AB’nin bağlayıcı bir güce sahip olmadığı bir politika alanı olan dış politikaya odaklanan bir çerçeve çizmişlerdir. De Flers ve Müller, bu çalışmalarında dış politikayı incelerken iki boyuta odaklanmışlar ve ülkelerin politika tercihlerini AB düzeyine “yüklerken” deneyimledikleri ana mekanizmanın “sosyalizasyon” olduğuna dikkat çekmişlerdir. Birlik düzeyinde geliştirilen politikaları ulusal düzeyde uygulama sürecine atıfta bulunan “indirme” işlemi sırasında ise De Flers ve Müller tarafından ortaya konulan ana mekanizmalar “sosyalizasyon ve öğrenme” olmuştur. Tez kapsamında bu iki yaklaşım birleştirilmiş ve ortaya sivil koruma sistemine uyarlanabilir yeni bir çerçeve çıkarılmıştır. Çalışma sivil koruma alanında “yukarıdan aşağıya” ve “aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaşıma süreçlerini birlikte incelemiştir. Bu iki sürecin bir arada verilmesindeki temel neden bütünsel bir analiz sunabilmektir.

Bu çerçeveye göre sivil koruma alanında “aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaşıma iki farklı bağlamda incelenebilir. Bunlardan ilki geniş bağlamda AB karar alma süreçlerine katılımdır. Karar alma süreçlerinden kasıt Üye Ülkelerin sivil koruma alanında Birlik düzeyinde farklı platformlarda yürütülen çalışmalara katılımlarıdır. Çalışma kapsamında Üye Ülkelerin Sivil Koruma Mekanizması mevzuatında gerçekleştirilen değişikliklere katılımları bu sürece örnek olarak verilmiştir. Bahsi geçen ikinci bağlamda ise, daha küçük çapta, AB sivil koruma sistemi içerisinde yer alan çalışma grupları, teknik ve üst düzey toplantılar tanımlanmıştır. “Aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaşıma sürecinde “sosyalizasyon” temel mekanizma olarak ortaya konulmuştur.

Çalışma kapsamında “yukarıdan aşağıya” Avrupalılaşıma ise AB sivil koruma sisteminin mevcut bileşenleri kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Buna göre “yukarıdan aşağıya” Avrupalılaşıma, sistem içerisindeki teknik ve üst düzey irtibat noktaları

(ulusal irtibat noktaları, ulusal eğitim koordinatörleri gibi), öğrenilen dersler sistemi, ortak AB dokümanları (kılavuzlar, yol haritaları gibi), eğitim ve tatbikatlar, uzmanlık değişimi imkânları (uzman değişim sistemi ve akran değerlendirmesi sistemi gibi) ve ortak projeler vasıtasıyla deneyimlenmektedir.

Teorik çerçeve ve Birlik Sivil Savunma Mekanizması bileşenleri ışığında, çalışma iki örnek vakayı, yani İtalya ve Hırvatistan'ı, Avrupalılaşma imkânları bağlamında analiz etmiştir. Örnek vaka seçimi gerçekleştirilirken, sivil koruma alanındaki farklılıkları nedeniyle bir Batı ve bir Doğu Avrupa Üye Ülkesi seçilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Bu noktada temel argüman kendi sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip olan her iki ülkenin de AB Üye Ülkeleri olmaları nedeniyle sadece AB düzeyinde belirlenen politika ve uygulamaları “indirmek” değil, kendi tercihlerini Birlik düzeyine “yükleme” imkanına da sahip olmalarıdır. Bu nedenle, Avrupalılaşma deneyimleri iki yönlü bir süreç olarak düşünülebilir.

İlk örnek olarak belirlenen İtalya, AB sivil koruma sistemindeki güçlü konumu nedeniyle seçilmiştir. İtalya, AB'nin sivil koruma sistemi alanındaki lokomotiflerden biri olarak adlandırılabilir. Ülke, Sivil Koruma Mekanizmasının kuruluşundan bu yana sisteme üye olup ve Mekanizma ile güçlü bir işbirliği içerisinde. AB'nin en son üyesi ve UCPM ile işbirliğine önem veren bir ülke olarak Hırvatistan ikinci örnek vaka olarak seçilmiştir. Bu iki örnek, sivil koruma yaklaşımı, ulusal sivil koruma sistemleri ve Mekanizma içindeki konumları gibi birçok alanda birbirinden farklılık göstermektedir. Her iki ülke de “yukarıdan aşağıya” ve “aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaşma yaklaşımlarını içeren ve yumuşak yönetim yapılarına odaklanan bir analize tabi tutulmuştur.

Çalışma kapsamında öncelikle her iki ülkenin sivil koruma geçmişleri ve mevcut sivil koruma sistemlerinin özellikleri incelenmiş ve bir karşılaştırma sunulmuştur. Sonrasında ise belirlenmiş teorik çerçeve kapsamında her iki ülkenin mevcut AB sivil koruma sistemi bileşenleri kapsamındaki yeri ve Avrupalılaşma imkanları ele alınmıştır.

Birçok afet riskine sahip olan İtalya afet riskleri açısından “yüksek riskli” bir ülke olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Depremler, seller, toprak kaymaları, volkanik patlamalar, yangınlar doğa kaynaklı afetlerden bazıları iken, insan kaynaklı afetler de gözlenmektedir. İtalya'daki sivil koruma tarihine bakıldığında, sistemin zaman içinde dikkate değer değişikliklerden geçtiğini söylemek mümkündür. Geçmiş afet deneyimleri ve bu afetlerden bazılarıyla başa çıkmada yaşanan başarısızlıklar İtalya'yı, afet yönetimi yaklaşımında bir değişiklik gerçekleştirmeye götüren temel nedendir. Yaşanan afet deneyimleri sonrasında politika yapıcılar sivil korumanın sadece “müdahale” ile ilgili olmadığını, hazırlıklılık ve önlemenin hayati öneme sahip olduğunu fark etmişlerdir. Bu anlayış değişikliği sistemsal olarak radikal değişikliklere yol açmıştır.

Bugün, İtalya için sivil koruma kavramı dayanışma ve işbirliği temellidir. İtalyan sivil koruma sisteminin ana ilkesi de tıpkı AB sivil koruma sisteminde olduğu gibi yerellik ilkesidir. İlkeye göre, bir afete veya acil duruma ilk müdahale edenlerin yerel kapasiteler olması gerekmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, ilk müdahalenin etkilenen kişilerin en yakınında olan sivil koruma birimleri tarafından gerçekleştirilmesi gerekir. İtalya'nın sivil koruma sisteminde bazı merkezi unsurlar olmasına rağmen, Çek Cumhuriyeti, Finlandiya, İrlanda, İsveç ve İngiltere gibi yerinden yönetim anlayışına daha yakın olduğu söylenebilir. İtalya Sivil Koruma Departmanı, merkezi düzeyinde sivil koruma yönetiminden sorumludur, bölgesel ve yerel kuruluşlarla işbirliği yapar ve onların sivil koruma çalışmalarını koordine eder. Üye Ülkelerin Mekanizmanın doğal Katılımcı Ülkeleri olması nedeniyle, İtalya 2001'deki kuruluşundan bu yana Mekanizmanın bir üyesidir. Bu nedenle, ülkenin Birlik sivil koruma sistemi ile güçlü bağları vardır.

AB içinde bir afet olduğunda, İtalya sivil koruma operasyonları çoğunlukla UCPM tarafından koordine edilmektedir. AB dışında bir afet meydana geldiğinde ise ülke operasyonlarını UCPM veya diğer ülkelerle yaptığı anlaşmalar kapsamında yürütmektedir. İtalya bugüne kadar hem AB içinde hem de dışında birçok sivil koruma operasyonu yürütmüş, ihtiyaç sahibi topluluklara yardım sağlamıştır. AB'nin sivil

koruma sistemi içinde “güven” ve “işbirliği” arasındaki ilişkileri anlamak için Widmalm ve arkadaşları tarafından gerçekleştirilen bir araştırmaya göre, İtalya Mekanizmanın en güvenilir ülkelerinden biridir.

Hırvatistan Cumhuriyeti nüfusu yaklaşık 4 milyon olan ve çoğunlukla orman yangınlarına maruz kalan bir ülkedir. Hırvatistan aynı zamanda sel, deprem, kuraklık ve sıcak hava dalgaları gibi doğal tehlikelere ve endüstriyel kirliliğe oldukça yatkındır. 2005'ten önce, sivil koruma görevleri farklı yasa ve yönetmeliklerle koordine edilen Hırvatistan'da söz konusu yasalar ile sivil koruma planların içeriklerinin belirlenmesi, sivil korumaya ilişkin temel metodolojilerin ve operasyonel düzenlemelerin gerçekleştirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Tüm bu yasaların yerini 2005 yılında yürürlüğe giren Koruma ve Kurtarma Kanunu almıştır.

Hırvatistan'da mevcut sivil koruma mevzuatının 2019 yılında yürürlüğe giren Sivil Koruma Kanunu ile yeniden değiştiği gözlenmektedir. Bu yasa ile “Koruma ve Kurtarma Kanunu” yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır. Bugün Hırvatistan'daki sivil koruma yönetimi devletin sorumluluğundadır ve ana aktörler İçişleri Bakanlığı (sivil koruma yönetiminden sorumlu ana makam olarak), diğer merkezi ve yerel kamu kurumları ve silahlı kuvvetlerdir. Yeni yasada, yetki ikamesi ilkesine atıfta bulunarak, sivil koruma kararları ve tedbirlerinin öncelikle yerel ve bölgesel yetkililer tarafından alınması ve uygulanması beklenmektedir. Yeni yasada, bölgesel ve yerel makamların mevcut kaynaklarını ve kapasitelerini kullandıktan sonra merkezden destek alacağı açıkça belirtilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, sistem yetki ikamesi ilkesine değer verse de, merkezi özelliklerinin ağır bastığını söylemek mümkündür.

Hırvatistan'ın Birlik sivil koruma sistemi ile işbirliği, 2007'de “Sivil Koruma Mali Aracı”nı kullanmak için Komisyon ile imzalanan bir mutabakat zaptı aracılığıyla kurulmuştur. Sonrasında, Hırvatistan 2008'de Sivil Koruma Mekanizmasına katılmış ve sistemin 31. Katılımcı Ülkesi olmuştur. Diğer bir deyişle Hırvatistan, AB Üye Ülkesi olmadan önce Katılımcı Ülke olarak Mekanizmaya katılmıştır. Ancak, sisteme resmi olarak katılmadan önce bile Hırvatistan'ın, aday ülke olarak AB sivil koruma

sisteminden faydalanmakta olduđu bilinmektedir. Mekanizmaya katılımı sonrasında Hırvatistan sivil koruma faaliyetlerini mevcut AB sivil koruma perspektifi dođrultusunda yeniden şekillendirmeye önem vermiştir. Bu dođrultuda, ulusal sivil koruma sisteminin gözden geçirilmesi, Ulusal Risk Deđerlendirmesi (NRA) çalışmaları ve Ev Sahibi Ülke Desteđi (HNS) gibi Birlik kılavuzlarına uyum sağlanması ve uluslararası kapasitenin geliştirilmesi yolunda çalışmalar yürütülmüştür.

Hırvatistan, AB sivil koruma sistemi ile işbirliğine önem veren bir ülkedir. Hırvatistan AB'nin sivil koruma sistemi içinde “güven” ve “işbirliği” arasındaki ilişkileri anlamak için Widmalm ve arkadaşları tarafından yürütölen araştırmada “en güvenilir ölkeler” figüründe zayıf kalmış olsa da Mekanizma ile işbirliğine verdiđi önem ön plana çıkmıştır.

Hırvatistan sivil koruma sistemi, İtalya'dan farklılık göstermektedir. İtalya sivil koruma sistemi Çek Cumhuriyeti, Finlandiya, İrlanda, İsveç ve İngiltere gibi merkezi olmayan, yerinden yönetim ilkesini benimsemiş bir sistemdir. Diđer yandan Hırvatistan sistemi, yerinden yönetim özellikleri göstermekte olsa da daha merkezidir. Bu nedenle, Hırvatistan'ın sivil koruma sisteminin Estonya, Fransa ve Polonya'ya daha yakın olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Bununla birlikte, iki öлке de tamamen merkezi sivil koruma sistemlerine sahip ölkeler olarak adlandırılmaz. Ölkeler arasındaki benzerliklerden biri, her iki ölkede de sivil korumanın İçişleri Bakanlığı'nın ana sorumluluğunda olmasıdır. Bunun yanı sıra, her iki ölkede de sivil koruma sistemi hiyerarşik olup, açık emir komuta zincirleri ve standart operasyonel prosedürler (SOP) ve protokoller vasıtasıyla yürütölmektedir. İki ölkenin sadece sivil koruma sistemi deđil, aynı zamanda Mekanizma üyeliđi süreci de farklılık göstermektedir. Potansiyel bir aday öлке olduktan sonra Hırvatistan, çeşitli politika alanlarında kaydetmiş olduđu ilerlemeyi takip edebilmek adına AB tarafından izlenmiş olup ve takibe alınan alanlardan biri sivil koruma olmuştur.

İki ülkenin sivil koruma sistemlerinin incelenmesi sonrasında, çalışma kapsamında belirlenmiş olan teorik çerçeve ülke örneklerine uygulanmıştır. Buna göre, “Aşağıdan yukarıya” Avrupalılaştırma kapsamında her iki ülkenin, geniş çerçevede AB karar alma süreçlerine katılımları, daha sınırlı çerçevede ise AB düzeyinde çalışma grupları, teknik ve üst düzey toplantılara katılımları incelenmiştir. Geniş çerçevede aşağıdan yukarıya Avrupalılaştırma kapsamında ele alınan temel husus ülkelerin yenilenen sivil koruma mevzuatı çerçevesinde AB düzeyinde karar alma süreçlerine katılımları olmuştur. Buna göre hem İtalya hem de Hırvatistan’ın sivil koruma alanında AB’nin pozisyonunu güçlendiren yeni mevzuata ilişkin karar alma süreçlerini destekledikleri gözlenmiştir. Diğer yandan, tez kapsamında çerçevesi belirlenen küçük çerçevede aşağıdan yukarıya Avrupalılaştırma kapsamında ise her iki ülkenin “Sivil Koruma Uzmanlar Grubu”na katılımları ele alınmıştır. Birlik sivil koruma politikalarının geleceğini belirleyen söz konusu çalışma grubunda her iki ülkenin de sivil korumadan sorumlu kurumları nezdinde temsil edildiği gözlenmiştir. Çalışma kapsamında belirlenen “Yukarıdan aşağıya” Avrupalılaştırma çerçevesinde ise her iki ülkenin AB düzeyinde belirlenen politika ve uygulamaları ulusal düzeye “indirme”lerini sağlayan Mekanizmanın belirli bileşenlerine katılımları incelenmiştir. Her iki ülkenin de çalışma kapsamında belirlenmiş olan “teknik ve üst düzey irtibat noktaları (ulusal irtibat noktaları, ulusal eğitim koordinatörleri gibi), öğrenilen dersler sistemi, ortak AB dokümanları (kılavuzlar, yol haritaları gibi), eğitim ve tatbikatlar, uzmanlık değişimi imkânları (uzman değişim sistemi ve akran değerlendirmesi sistemi gibi) ve ortak projeler” bileşenlerine farklı düzeylerde de olsa aktif katılımları gözlenmiştir.

İnceleme sonucunda ortaya çıkan diğer sonuçlar şunlardır. AB Sivil Koruma Mekanizması, Ulusal Temas Noktaları (NCP) ve Ulusal Eğitim Koordinatörleri (NTC) yardımıyla faaliyete geçen bir sistemdir. Bu temas noktaları, ulusal ve uluslararası kurumlar arasında bilgi akışını ve alışverişini sağlamakta olup bu süreç bir “sosyalizasyon ve öğrenme” sürecidir. Öğrenilen dersler sistemi ile Üye Ülkeler sadece Avrupa sisteminin bir parçası olmayı daha verimli bir şekilde öğrenmekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda birbirlerinden de öğrenirler. Dolayısıyla bu sistem

“sosyalizasyon ve öğrenme”nin özelliklerini göstermektedir. Sivil koruma çalışmalarına ortak AB belgelerinin kılavuzluk etmesi iki ülke örneğinde de Ulusal Risk Değerlendirmesi (NRA) kılavuzu ve Ev Sahibi Ülke Destek Yönergeleri (HNSG) kılavuzları bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Her iki ülke de sivil koruma alanında ortak kılavuzların kullanılmasına önem vermiştir ve bu kılavuzlar Üye Ülkelerin bu alanda AB çalışma yöntemlerini öğrenmeleri için bir araçtır. Eğitim ve tatbikat sisteminde yer almak, uzman değişimi ve akran değerlendirme mekanizmalarının bir parçası olmak ve ortak projeler yürütmek, “yukarıdan aşağıya” Avrupalılaştırma mekanizmasının sivil koruma alanında nasıl çalıştığını gösteren diğer önemli araçlar olarak görülmektedir. Her ne kadar çalışma “yukarıdan aşağıya” ve “aşağıdan yukarıya” süreçler kapsamında Avrupalılaştırma imkanlarını ortaya koysa da, Üye Ülkelerin “sosyalizasyon” ve “öğrenme” mekanizmalarını nasıl deneyimledikleri yürütülecek diğer araştırmalarla analiz edilmelidir.

Bazı araştırmacılar Avrupalılaştırmayı “adaptasyon baskısı” ile tartışmakta ve “arabulucu faktörleri” ulusal düzeyde değişimin tetikleyicisi olarak ele alınmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, “adaptasyon baskısı, arabulucu faktörler ve ulusal düzeyde değişim” Avrupalılaştırma sürecinde “üç aşamalı bir çerçeve” olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu araştırmacılara göre, AB politikaları bağlayıcı hukuk yardımı ile daha bağlayıcı hale geldiğinde, ulusal politikalar adaptasyon baskısı ile karşı karşıya kaldığında ve bu süreçte AB politikalarını desteklemek için arabulucu faktörler işlevsel hale geldiğinde, değişim daha güçlü ve hızlı bir şekilde gerçekleşmektedir. Bu çalışmada, bağlayıcı hukukla düzenlenmeyen bir politika alanı incelenmiştir. Sivil korumanın tüm yönlerine bakıldığında, çalışma sonuçlarının Avrupalılaştırma literatüründe yer alan “üç aşamalı çerçeve” ile tutarlı olmadığı söylenebilir. Belirlenen örnek vakalar, Hırvatistan ve İtalya, farklı üyelik süreçlerine sahip iki Üye Ülkedir. Farklı afet risklerine sahip bu ülkelerin, farklı sivil koruma sistemleri, farklı sivil koruma kapasiteleri ve farklı yönetimsel yaklaşımları vardır. Ulusal sivil koruma yönetimi açısından farklılıklarının yanı sıra, Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizması içinde de farklı pozisyonlardır. Mekanizma ile ilgili algıları, sisteme duydukları güven, bağlılıkları ve hem kapasite

hem de insan kaynağı açısından katkıları da farklılık göstermektedir. Ortak olan ise, bu çalışmanın gösterdiği gibi, her iki ülkenin de Mekanizmanın tüm bileşenlerine eklemlenmiş olmalarıdır.

AB sivil koruma sistemi içinde “güven” ve “işbirliği” arasındaki ilişkileri anlamak için Widmalm ve arkadaşları tarafından gerçekleştirilen araştırmaya göre Mekanizmanın işleyişine ilişkin en şüpheli ülke olan Almanya bile, sistemin merkezinde en güvenilir Üye Ülke olarak yer almaktadır. Bu durum, sistemin yararlılığı noktasında ciddi endişeleri olan ülkelerin bile, sisteme katılmaya, katkıda bulunmaya ve diğer Üye Ülkelerin desteğini ve güvenini kazanmaya devam ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, en şüpheli ülkelerin bile mevcut sistemde kalmayı tercih etmelerinin arkasındaki nedeni anlamak için başka açıklamalara ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu çalışma, bu noktada Üye Ülkelere yumuşak yönetim vasıtasıyla AB tarafından uygulanan görünmez baskının en iyi sosyolojik kurumsallaşma perspektifinden açıklanabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Sosyolojik kurumsalcılık, Üye Ülkelerin sosyalizasyon ve öğrenme ile bir “norm içselleştirme” süreci yaşadıkları ve yeni kimlikler geliştirdikleri fikrini savunmaktadır.

Mekanizmanın ortaya çıkmasıyla sivil koruma işbirliği ilerlemeye başlamış ve bu işbirliğini güçlendirmek için AB düzeyinde ortak normlar ve değerler belirlenmiştir. “Avrupa dayanışması” yaklaşımı bugün, TFEU 222. Maddesinde yer bulan “dayanışma şartı” ile güçlü bir şekilde desteklenmekte ve AB sivil koruma sisteminin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Bu “Avrupa ailesinin” bir parçası olma ve sistemde kalma tercihi, Birlik sivil koruma sistemine eklemlenen yumuşak yönetim araçları ile sağlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla “sorunların ortak tanımları” ve “sorun çözme için kolektif yönelim” sosyalizasyon süreci boyunca Üye Ülkeler tarafından içselleştirilmektedir. Sivil koruma bağlamında, içselleştirilen bilgiler sistem bileşenleri aracılığıyla tekrar tekrar deneyimlenmektedir. Sivil koruma sistemin bileşenleri ve fiili uygulama mekanizmaları, AB tarafından uygulanan yumuşak gücün Üye Ülke eylemlerini şekillendirmede belirleyici olduğunu göstermektedir. Ülke örneklerinden görülebileceği üzere, her iki Üye Ülke de Birlik Sivil Koruma Mekanizmasına üye

olmalarına rağmen, sivil koruma yaklaşımları ve sistemleri farklılık göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, analizin gösterdiği gibi, yumuşak yönetim sayesinde, Birlik bu ülkeleri ortak bir zemine çekmekte ve AB düzeyinde sivil koruma sistemi içinde yer almalarını sağlamaktadır. Bu uygulama, zaman zaman yetki ikamesi tartışmalarına neden olmasına rağmen, doğrudan ve görünür bir baskıdan bahsetmek mümkün olmadığından önemli düzeyde tartışmaya yol açmamaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada bağlayıcı mevzuat ile yönetilmeyen sivil koruma alanında Avrupalılaştırmanın yumuşak yönetim yoluyla ve Birlik sivil koruma sisteminin mevcut bileşenleri aracılığıyla deneyimlendiği gözlenmiştir. Avrupalılaştırma dinamikleri ve imkânlarını daha iyi analiz etmek adına bu alanda daha fazla çalışma gerçekleştirilmesine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

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