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Minority Rights in Turkey

Analysis of the Impact of Europeanization

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Declaration of Authorship

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Abstract

This research tries to identify how, and to what extent, engagement with the European Union (EU) changes the political behavior of civil society actors and minority groups in Turkey. It is argued that the EU assistance changes the availability of political and financial resources for minority civil society organizations in Turkey, which is a critical component of Europeanization and constitutes a significant test for the EU's enlargement strategy. The key objective is to identify how, and to what extent, engagement with the EU changes the political behavior of civil society actors and minority groups in Turkey. It examines the fluctuations in the level of civil society activism in Turkey among minority organizations and consider the extent to which the interaction with the EU explains the variation in their political efficacy through the availability of different financial, political and human resources. In a broader context, this thesis will contribute to the general research on Europeanization by elaborating on the transformative impact of the EU on civil society activism. To achieve this, this research employed a mixed methodology. Surveys were conducted with civil society organizations representing twenty-three different ethnic, linguistic and religious minority groups. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with different actors representing the minority groups in question. In conclusion the results showed that the Europeanization process allowed EU actors to promote EU ideas, norms and standards in their interactions with civil society organizations causing a differential empowerment of these organizations. It also demonstrated that empowering civil society organizations through capacity-building mechanisms and political dialogue triggered the mobilization of civil society organizations in Turkey, however their empowerment is still contingent upon a number of other factors. While situating itself within the existing literature that tries to explain the effects of international institutions and norms on civil society organizations, this thesis shows that unlike other external actors, the EU strengthened the civil society activism in Turkey particularly in a contentious area such as

minority rights and in the presence of resistant political elites. In return, these actors were able to represent themselves in other national and international platforms, which yielded increased political efficacy.

CONTENTS

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List of Acronyms

ABF	Alevi Bektasi Federation
AKAD	Alevi Cultural Research Association
AKD	Alevi Culture Association
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
ARAP-DER	Arab Solidarity and Culture Association
ASALA	Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
AVF	Alevi Foundations Federation
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party
BP	Solidarity Party
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CFCU	Central Finance and Contracts Unit
CHP	Republican People's Party
CoE	Council of Europe
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDKO	Revolutionary Cultural Hearths of the East
DEP	Democracy Party
DISK	Revolutionary Labor Unions Confederation of Turkey
DIYANET	Presidency of Religious Affairs
DTK	Democratic Society Congress
DTP	Democratic Society Party
EC	European Community
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EDROM	Edirne Roma Association
EEC	European Economic Community
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union

EUMC	European Monitoring Center for Racism and Xenophobia
FCNM	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
HADEP	People's Democracy Party
HADIG	Hamshen Culture Research and Promotion Association
HBVAKV	Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Cultural Foundation
HCNM	High Commissioner on National Minorities
HEP	People's Labor Party
HP	Populist Party
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IHD	Human Rights Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
KACED	Black Sea Environment Association
KAFDAV	Caucasian Research, Culture and Solidarity Foundation
KAFFED	Caucasian Federation
KESK	Public Laborers' Unions Confederation
KURD-KAV	Kurdish Research Foundation
KURDI-DER	Kurdish Language Association
MDP	National Democrat Party
MEYA-DER	Mesopotamia Association for Solidarity and Assistance with Mourning Families
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
MKM	Mesopotomia Culture Association
MP	Member of Parliament
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OMC	Open Method of Co-ordination
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OZDEP	Freedom and Democracy Party
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
RP	Welfare Party
RUMVADER	Greek Orthodox Minority Foundation Association

SETA	Economic and Social Research
SODES	Social Support Program
SPO	State Planning Organization
STEP	Civil Society Index Project
TEPAV	Turkish Economic and Political Research Foundation
TESEV	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
TIHV	Turkish Human Rights Foundation
TIP	Turkish Worker's Party
TKDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party of Turkey
TTB	Turkish Medical Association
TUHAD-FED	Federation of Legal and Solidarity Associations for the Families of Prisoners and Convicts
TUSEV	Turkish Third Sector Foundation
TUSIAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization
WVS	World Values Survey

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The core objective of this thesis is to identify how, and to what extent, engagement with the EU changes the political behavior of civil society actors and minority groups in Turkey. It looks at how engagement with the EU serves as a catalyst for civil society organizations increasing their mobilization capacities through the availability of different financial, political and human resources. The aim is to examine the fluctuations in the level of civil society activism in Turkey among minority organizations and consider the extent to which the interaction with the EU explains the variation in their political efficacy. This thesis mainly seeks to illustrate the transformative impact of the EU on civil society activism in Turkey particularly in a contentious area such as minority rights and in the presence of resistant political elites. However, the data collected as part of this thesis revealed that even though EU assistance changes the availability of political and financial resources for minority civil society organizations in Turkey, their empowerment is still contingent upon a number of other factors: the level of interaction and the nature of the relationship with national political actors, how the organizations are established and access resources, the extent to which these organizations are connected to national and international networks, the population of the minority group, the region where the minority groups is mainly settled, how these minority groups are able to represent themselves in other national and international platforms as well as their attitudes towards enlargement and the EU.

Such a point of view posits that civil society organizations are involved in an interactive process at the domestic level induced by their engagement with the EU and where EU norms are internalized by these organizations. It is discovered that such an engagement with the EU in turn yields increased political efficacy, which shows variation from one minority group to another and between groups within the same minority. This research defines engagement with the EU as the process through which European rules and practices penetrate the domestic context while at the same time providing the civil society organizations with the ability to connect with financial and political networks at the EU level. The outcome of this process varies from the increased ability to access funding to establishing credibility and legitimacy and leverage within the domestic context. These outcomes also depend on the minority group in question. While some minority groups such as the Roma use the EU to access financial grants and sustain their civil society activities, others such as the Kurds acquire credibility for their advocacy activities through their increased relations with EU representatives. Yet others as in the case of Christian minorities are able to become a part of a pan-European network, which delivers connectivity, collaboration opportunities with other European civil society organizations and exchange of information on key areas related to minority rights among other things.

The thesis studies the civil society organizations established by the minority organizations in Turkey and the changes in their behavior as a result of their engagement with the EU. However, it does not include other actors such as the religious institutions, business organizations, other international organizations and donor institutions. The civil society organizations are important in the Turkish case since after the adoption of the EU reform packages by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, the number of the civil society organizations increased significantly and they actively opposed the practices of the government and state institutions.

Secondly, the minority issue has been a contested issue throughout the history of the Turkish Republic and the state's approach has always been hostile towards the minority groups. Therefore, civil society organizations provided these minority groups to form associations and act collectively while struggling with the oppressive policies adopted by the state.

The accession of the Central Eastern European (CEE) countries to the EU encouraged a greater theorization of the phenomenon of Europeanization. Indeed, the experience of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements encouraged scholars to acknowledge that Europeanization is a complex process that does not necessarily follow a direct correlation with enlargement.[1] It also became evident that it was necessary to conceptualize the EU's impact on accession states in terms of the restructuring of domestic institutions as well as national policies. Following this, three broad perspectives on Europeanization have formed whose common focus was transformation, while diverging on how this change was manifested or achieved. Firstly, Europeanization refers to the direct transfer of norms, rules, regulations and standards from the EU level to the national level also referred to as a top-down process.[2] Secondly, it is conceptualized through the interactions between member states both at the national and the supranational level and the outcomes of Europeanization. The main focus of this approach is related to the process of integration and convergence at the European level and less attention is paid to how

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[1] See Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2004. "Governance By Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Public Policy* 11(4): 661-679; Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds. 2005. *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe.* New York: Cornell University Press; Heather Grabbe and Kirsty Hughes. 1998. *Enlarging the EU Eastwards.* London: Pinter; Heather Grabbe. 2006. *The EU's Transformative Power Europeanization Through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Christian Haerper. 2002. *Democracy and Enlargement in Post-Communist Europe.* New York: Routledge; Claudio Radaelli. 2004. "Europeanization: Solution or Problem?" *European Integration Online Papers* 8(16): 1-23; Maria Green Cowles et al, eds. 2001. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change.* New York: Cornell University Press.
[2] George Kazamias and Kevin Featherstone. 2001. "Introduction: Southern Europe and the Process of Europeanization." in George Kazamias and Kevin Featherstone, eds. *Europeanization and the Southern Periphery.* London: Frank Cass Publishers, 4-5.

Europeanization influences the domestic politics of member states.[3] Finally, a third understanding of Europeanization emphasizes the extent to which transformation occurs as a purely domestic process whereby the EU provides the context and the resources for cooperation among domestic actors, which in turn impacts upon the domestic setting.[4] Such a conceptualization of Europeanization tries to capture a more nuanced understanding that encompasses both top-down processes, transfer of rules from the EU level to the national level and interaction between different actors occurring at the domestic level[5], which resonates most closely with the approach adopted in this thesis. This is also related to the impact of external actors on domestic contexts through linkages and leverages as argued by Levitsky and Way.[6] According to the authors, in terms of democratization, there are two ways international actors can influence domestic contexts: leverage which refers to the exertion of pressure on the national governments and linkage which points to the reinforcement of political, economic, cultural and organizational relations with the West. Levistky and Way conclude that linkage facilitates democratization more compared to leverage even under unfavorable domestic conditions. This is particularly relevant to the Turkish case and the impact of Europeanization on the protection of minority rights in Turkey. Turkey has been an EU candidate since 1999 however the formal progress attained with regard to democratization and human rights is still significantly insufficient. On the other hand, the linkages or the dialogue established with the

[3] Jim Buller and Andrew Gamble. 2002. "Conceptualizing Europeanization." *Public Policy and Administration* 17(2): 15; Vivien Schmidt. 2009. "The EU and its Member States: From Bottom Up to Top Down." in eds, David Phinnemore and Alex Warleigh-Lack. *Reflections on European Integration. 50 Years of the Treaty of Rome*, New York: Palgrave.
[4] See Johan Olsen. 2002. "The Many Faces of Europeanization". *ARENA working paper*; Hughes et al. 2004. "Conditionality and Compliance in the EU's Eastward Enlargement: Regional Policy and the Reform of Sub-national Government". *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42(3): 523-551; Commission of the European Communities. 2001. *European Governance, A White Paper,* COM(2001) 428 (Luxembourg: OOPEC)*;* Beate Kohler-Koch and Rainer Eising, eds. 1999. *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union.* London: Routledge; Ian Bache and Adam Marshall. 2004. "Europeanization and Domestic Change: A Governance Approach to Institutional Adaptation in Britain." *Queen's Papers on Europeanization* 5: 1-17.
[5] Radaelli 2004, 5.
[6] Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2006. "Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 379-400.

EU along with the political and economic resources provided, led to the mobilization of minority civil society organizations and granted them credibility and leverage in the domestic context.

This research defines Europeanization as the process through which European rules and practices penetrate the domestic context causing a transformation at the domestic level. The outcome of this process is identified as formal and informal compliance with EU requirements. In terms of EU's transformative power and the mechanisms of Europeanization, Turkey stands apart given its difficult history of relations with Europe and the EU in particular.[7] However, a closer look at Turkey-EU relations allows us to offer a more substantial explanation of the EU's role in the recent reform process that has seen the implementation of some of the long-awaited minority protection reforms.[8] The challenging nature of the minority issue arises from the oppression exerted towards minority groups in the name of nationalism and the perception that the recognition of different minority groups would fuel the separatist inspirations of these groups.[9] Turkey is home to a variety of religious, ethnic, and linguistic minority groups. However, these groups are denied the rights specified in different international and European instruments, including "group specific cultural and linguistic rights, power-sharing arrangement, and socio-economic rights that are central to the accommodation of minorities,

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[7] Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin, eds. 2003. *Turkey and the European Union, Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics,* London: Frank Cass; Atilla Eralp. 2004. "Turkey and the European Union", in eds. Lenore G. Martin and Dimitris Keridis, *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy,* Cambridge: MIT Press: 63-82; Kristy Hughes. 2004. "Turkey and the European Union: just another enlargement? Exploring the implication of Turkish accession." *Friends of Europe paper*; Sevilay Elgun Kahraman. 2000. "Rethinking Turkey-European Union Relations in the light of Enlargement." *Turkish Studies* 1(1): 1-20; Meltem Muftuler-Bac and Lauren M. McLaren. 2003. "Enlargement preferences and policy- making in the European Union: impacts on Turkey." *Journal of European Integration,* 25: 17-30.
[8] Baskin Oran. 2007. "The Minority Concept and Rights in Turkey: The Lausanne Peace Treaty and Current Issues" in ed. Zehra Arat. *Human Rights in Turkey,* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 52.
[9] Ibid, 53-54.

while at the same time highly controversial and contested"[10]. This arguably places minority

communities in Turkey at a distinct disadvantage vis-á-vis the ethnic Turkish majority.[11]

Minority protection has been a critical issue throughout the history of the Turkish Republic for

a number of reasons. First, minority rights and the definition of a minority in Turkey is based

on the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which does not recognize the ethnic, linguistic, and religious

minorities except the three non-Muslim minority groups.[12] Second, the lack of official and

public acceptance of all groups as minorities and equal citizens, regardless of religion,

language, or ethnicity, remains a significant barrier to improving the human rights regime in

Turkey. On this basis alone, the minority rights issue provides a good opportunity to measure

the transformative power of Europe in Turkey. The existing literature on Europeanization and

conditionality studies the divergent minority rights standards within member and candidate

countries.[13] However, adopting a top-down approach, the majority of these studies fails to

consider the impact at the domestic level, as well as how the EU affects non-state actors. A

more detailed examination of the EU's transformative power with regard to minority rights

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[10] James Hughes and Gwendolyn Sasse. 2003. "Monitoring the Monitors: EU Enlargement Conditionality and Minority Protection in the CEECs." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 1: 3.

[11] Oran 2007, 36-37.

[12] Ibid, 36; See also Ioannis Grigoriadis. 2008. "On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey." *Mediterranean Politics* 13(1): 23-41; Ahmet Icduygu and B. Ali Soner. 2006. "Turkish Minority Rights Regime: Between Difference and Equality." *Middle Eastern Politics* 42(3): 454.

[13] See James Hughes et al. 2004. *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: the Myth of Conditionality*, London: Palgrave; Gwendolyn Sasse. 2008. "The Politics of Conditionality: The Norm of Minority Protection before and after EU Accession." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(6): 842-860; Frank Schimmelfennig et al. 2003. "Costs, Commitment and Compliance: The Impact of EU Democratic Conditionality in Latvia, Slovakia and Turkey", *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 41(3): 495-518; Bernd Rechel. 2009. *Minority Rights in Central and Eastern Europe.* New York: Routledge; Kelley, Judith G. 2004. *Ethnic politics in Europe. The power of norms and incentives.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press; Guido Schwellnus. 2005. "The adoption of nondiscrimination and minority protection rules in Romania, Hungary and Poland." in eds. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe.* Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press.

needs to focus beyond formal compliance and top-down analysis, and deconstruct what limits and helps Europe's transformative power in the context of a challenging issue like minority rights.

Even though, the issue of minority rights constitutes a good opportunity to test the transformative impact of Europe in Turkey, there are certain challenges related to the Europeanization of minority rights. First of all, even though minority protection has become more emphasized in EU documents and instruments related to human rights, European minority groups are still not recognized and sufficiently protected by the member states. Put differently, Europeanization of minority rights cannot be shaped through general European policies because it is not a part of the acquis communitaire but the protection of minority groups is left to the discretion of national states. Secondly, the Europeanization of minority rights is usually state-oriented and do not follow a uniform pattern among different member countries while the candidate countries are expected to comply with the Copenhagen criteria and are subject to harsh criticisms due to the lack of a sufficient minority protection regime. Therefore, Europeanization policies neglect the minority issue and give the nation-states the exclusive decision-making power when it comes to minority rights. This is also related to the perception of the minority question in Europe as an issue of security and instability, rather than being related to rights and freedoms.

1.1 The Broader Literature: Europeanization

The initial research on Europeanization was dominated by attempts to explain the willingness of member states to be bound by EU directives.[14] These studies considered Europeanization as

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[14] See Jeffrey T. Checkel. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55(3): 553-588; Klaus H. Goetz and Simon Hix, eds.

identical to integration, and therefore examined it through the lens of integration theory.[15] In this early phase of the literature, Europeanization was seen as equivalent to institution building at the European level, which took place through the progressive transfer of power from the member states to the EU.[16] This approach defined Europeanization as a function of European integration and was mainly concerned with the impacts of enlargement.[17]

One of the key changes in the understanding of Europeanization was the shift from its perception as the transfer of competencies from national to the European level, in other words a one-way process, into a two-way process that saw the outcome of Europeanization as transformation of the domestic context.[18] Moreover, in a quest to explain variation in levels of domestic transformation, the importance of adopting both a top-down and bottom-up approach was recognized[19], which mainly diverge in the way they explain the role of the EU within the domestic transformation processes.

In this respect, whilst a top-down approach considers the EU as the independent variable

2001. *Europeanized Politics: European Integration and National Political Systems.* London: Frank Cass; Robert Ladrech. 1994. "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France". *Journal of Common Market Studies* 32(1): 69-88; Helen Wallace. ed. 2001. *Interlocking Dimensions of European Integration.* Houndmills: Palgrave.

[15] Klaus H. Goetz and Simon Hix. 2001. "Introduction: European Integration and National Political Systems." in Goetz and Hix 2001, 6; Dietrich Rometsch and Wolfgang Wessels, eds. 1996. *The European Union and Member States: Towards Institutional Fusion.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

[16] Buller and Gamble, 11; James Caporaso et al. 2001. "Europeanisation and Domestic Change: Introduction", in eds. James Caporaso et al. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 3.

[17] Diana Bozhilova. 2008. *Bulgaria's Quest for EU Membership,* Bloomington: Author House, 17.

[18] Borzel 2002, 193.

[19] Elizabeth Bomberg and John Peterson. 2000. "Policy Transfer and Europeanization: Passing the Heineken Test?" *Queen's Papers on Europeanization* 2: 1-43; Tanja Borzel. 2002. "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 193 – 214; Jeffrey Anderson. 2002. "Europeanization and the Transformation of the Democratic Polity." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 40(5): 793-822; Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz, eds. *Germany, Europe and the Politics of Constraint.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

causing domestic transformation, the bottom-up approach regards Europeanization as starting and ending at the domestic level and views the EU as an intervening factor.[20] The bottom-up approach on the other hand entails involving a multiplicity of actors in domestic processes as a result of the EU's impact. The crucial difference between the two approaches is the way that the relationship between Europeanization and enlargement is considered: the bottom-up approach is based on an understanding of Europeanization as an interactive process instead of a unidirectional, top-down impact of the EU on the domestic politics of member countries. Such a difference is grounded in the way domestic actors can make use of the Europeanization process in accordance with their own interests.[21] Therefore, bottom-up Europeanization argues that domestic change and adaptation of European rules is more complex and includes a variety of actors other than the policy makers at the elite level, which directly translate European rules into the domestic legislation.

As Europeanization was no longer perceived as an outcome, but started to be regarded as an interactive process, the different conditions that affect the levels of compliance in member states were more frequently and carefully analyzed.[22] It was argued that the prescription of certain institutional requirements by the EU to the member states does not lead to convergence but the adoption of the same rules and regulations may be manifested differently at the domestic level across different policy issues.[23] In this regard, it was underlined that one of the main driving forces to trigger domestic change was the level of discord between European rules and

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[20] Radaelli 2004, 4.
[21] Tanja Borzel and Thomas Risse. 2000. "When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change." *European Integration Online Papers* 15(4): 1-2; Caporaso et al. 2001, 11.
[22] Caporaso et al. 2001, 11; Featherstone. 2003. "Introduction: In the Name of Europe." in eds. Kevin Featherstone and Claudio Radaelli, *The Politics of Europeanization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 7.
[23] Christoph Knill and Dirk Lehmkuhl. 2002. "The National Impact of European Union Regulatory Policy: Three Europeanization Mechanisms." *European Journal of Political Research* 41: 255-256.

domestic structures.[24] The harmonization of national policies with EU rules and regulations was suggested to be a responsive and unpremeditated process that takes places as a result of a lack of convergence between European and domestic structures.[25] In addition to this, there are five other factors—"multiple veto points; facilitating formal institutions; the organizational and policy-making culture; the differential empowerment of domestic actors and learning"[26]—that also determined the outcome of the pressures exerted by the EU for compliance at the domestic level. According to this model, EU pressure generates new opportunity structures for the domestic actors so that they can use these resources in pursuit of their interests. In other words, domestic transformation either occurs directly through policy goals or indirectly through the power resources provided for the domestic actors.[27]

For the top-down approach, the common thread is that the EU definitely has an impact on national policies, through a unidirectional process whereby states are expected to adopt the EU policies. One of the key variables determining the EU's impact on domestic changes and rule application is the character of pre-existing structures or institutional capacities. Domestic structures and institutions are significant for explaining the variation among member states as they determine how and to what extent European practices will permeate the domestic context.[28] Also called the resource dependency approach, this view is exemplified through the diversified impact of European integration on the regional administrations in France and

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[24] Borzel and Risse 2000, 5.

[25] Christoph Knill and Dirk Lehmkuhl. 1999. "How Europe Matters: Different Mechanisms of Europeanization." *European Integration Online Papers* 3(7): 2; Kerry Howell. 2004. "Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization: Synthesizing Methodological Approaches." *Queen's Papers on Europeanization* 3, 6.

[26] Caporaso et al. 2001, 9-12.

[27] Radaelli 2000, 18.

[28] Borzel and Risse 2000, 6. Also see Tanja Borzel. 2002. *States and Regions in the European Union, Institutional Adaptation in Germany and Spain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 18-19.

Germany.[29] The main empirical variables—institutional capacity and legal structures—are identified as allowing or constraining the extent to which domestic institutions are able to make use of the opportunity structures provided by the EU.[30] In addition to this, the existence of veto players and pro-reform formal institutions also play an important role in determining the levels of compliance in member states as they oppose or facilitate the transformation processes.[31] However, the effects of Europeanization on domestic transformation for the top-down approach are not limited to the formation of new opportunity structures, but also to the internalization of EU practices through other means including "socialization, learning or persuasion"[32]. In this case, the existence of actors that may mediate the transformation process and progressive informal institutions act as facilitating factors.[33] In other words, Europeanization transforms domestic structures by altering the preferences and strategies of the domestic actors causing them to internalize European practices and beliefs, or through mobilizing European support for domestic pro-reform actors that have the capacity to implement the necessary changes within the designated institutional structures.[34]

The bottom-up Europeanization approach emphasizes that domestic transformation occurs through the changes in the redistribution of power resources, which opens the way for the involvement of various domestic actors in the reform process. The bottom-up approach provides that "the concept of Europeanization refers to the processes of construction, diffusion and 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 public policies and politics, and then incorporated in the logic of domestic

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[29] Borzel 2002, 22.
[30] Tanja Borzel. 1999. "Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeanization in Germany and Spain." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(4): 577-579.
[31] Tanja Borzel and Thomas Risse. "Conceptualising the Domestic Impact" in eds, Featherstone, Kevin and Claudio Radaelli. *The Politics of Europeanization.* New York: Oxford University Press, 58.
[32] Borzel and Risse 2000, 7-9.
[33] Ibid, 9.
[34] Featherstone and Radaelli 2003, 3-4.

discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies"[35]. For advocates of the bottom-up approach, Europeanization leads to domestic transformation through the reconstruction of the political space to the degree that national politics becomes permeated by European dynamics causing the transformation of the "organizational logic of politics and policy-making"[36]. Such an understanding implies that the political opportunities will be available so that participation of both state and non-state actors can be ensured.

The main feature that distinguishes the bottom-up approach from the top-down perspective is the identification of the level at which Europeanization occurs. For the bottom-up approach, transformation that comes as a result of the Europeanization process is both initiated and ends at the domestic level. The significance of this is that the bottom-up perspective does not see Europeanization as depending directly on accession or entail the formal integration of a state as the ultimate measure of progress.[37] Domestic transformation might come as a result of the changes within the domestic opportunity structures irrespective of the progress in the enlargement process. Moreover, a member state might be less Europeanized in certain issue areas, or an applicant country might go through domestic transformation prior to and regardless of the progress in the enlargement process.[38] Thus, the bottom-up approach allows for the fact that Europeanization may occur due to the restructuring of the opportunity structures irrespective of the progress towards full membership. This distinction is also significant as it challenges the notion that enlargement is always a rational process that takes place based on the extent to which an applicant state meets the accession criteria.

While the approaches that discuss Europeanization in the context have been instrumental in explaining variation in the implementation of certain policies in a cross-national context, they

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[35] Claudio Radaelli. 2003. "Europeanization of Public Policy" in eds. Featherstone and Radaelli, 30.
[36] Ladrech 1994, 69.
[37] Adam Fagan. 2010. *The EU and the Western Balkans.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 21.
[38] Ibid, 22.

have generally failed to account for the external governance model that formed during the pre-accession periods of the CEE countries. Indeed, the underlying logic simply assumes that the EU is a platform for bargaining among the member states, where they would try to pursue their interests determined in accordance with the domestic structures and institutions.[39] However, the EU does not only provide new opportunities for the actors within the member states or does not only yield compliance within member countries but also candidate states and even third and neighboring countries, and therefore Europeanization cannot only be associated with the member countries. This approach does not reflect universality and limits the impact of the EU as an external actor. In this regard, the accession of the CEE countries and their domestic transformation in line with European rules has given rise to a broad array of research to examine the differentiated impacts of Europeanization in a different context than member countries and on diverse policy areas.[40]

The Europeanization of the CEE countries prior to their formal accession date was mainly associated with the unique characteristic of these countries as they had experienced a recent regime change and were determined to adopt European rules and regulations. Therefore, the questioning of the variation in rule adoption within member states was replaced with an examination of the factors and mechanisms that caused compliance and domestic transformation within candidate countries.[41] The previous understanding of integration as the

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[39] Ladrech 1994, 71-72. See also Bache, Ian. 2003. "Europeanization: A Governance Approach" *Paper presented at the 8th EUSA International Biennial Conference,* 2.

[40] See Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005; Grabbe, 2006; Heather Grabbe. 2002. "Power and Uncertainty in the EU Accession Process" in eds. Featherstone and Radaelli; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2003; Bozhilova, 2008; Frank Schimmelfennig. 2009. "Europeanization Beyond Europe." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 4(3): 1-28; Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2006. "Europeanization in New Member and Candidate States." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 1(3): 1-23; Thomas Diez et al. 2005. "File: Turkey, Europeanization and Civil Society." *South European Society and Politics* 10(1): 1–15.

[41] See Antoaneta Dimitrova, ed. 2004. *Driven to Change: the European Union's Enlargement Viewed from the East.* Manchester: Manchester University Press; Laszlo Bruszt. 2002. "Making Markets and Eastern Enlargement: Diverging Convergence?" *West European Politics*, 25(2): 121–140; Kenneth Dyson, ed. 2006. *Enlarging the Euro Area: External Empowerment and Domestic Transformation in East Central Europe.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; Adam Fagan. 2005. "Taking Stock of Civil-Society Development in Post-communist Europe: Evidence from the Czech Republic." *Democratization* 12(4): 528–

independent variable could no longer be applied when testing for the impacts of the Europeanization process in candidate countries. In this respect, the underlying reasons and motivations for the adoption of EU-compliant policies and politics within the CEE countries were examined from an external governance perspective.

Conditionality, which in essence refers to a system of rewards for compliance[42], was identified as one of the main mechanisms triggering domestic transformation in the CEE countries. According to the conditionality argument, transformation in candidate countries is ensured through the use of rewards or punishments where full membership becomes the final reward.[43] The examination of rule adoption in the CEE countries demonstrates that Europeanization has a direct influence on domestic policies, politics, and polities. These impacts can be explained through three different explanatory models either driven by domestic forces or by the EU itself. The "external incentives model" corresponds to a rationalist bargaining model and manifests the underlying logic of EU conditionality in which rule adoption is a precondition for receiving certain rewards from the EU.[44] The rewards range from technical and financial assistance to institutional ties and full membership. In this framework, conditionality aims to transform the national practices by providing rewards for compliance with the rules that need to be adopted into the national legislation prior to full accession. Conditionality might operate through intergovernmental bargaining where the national political elites calculate whether the incentives provided by the EU "exceed the domestic costs"[45]. It might also cause transformation through the differential empowerment of domestic actors who believe the

547; Heather Grabbe. 2001. "How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity." *Journal of European Public Policy* 8(6): 1013–1031.

[42] Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 9-10.

[43] Sedelmeier 2006, 12; Karen Smith,. 2003. "The Evolution and Application of EU Membership Conditionality" in ed. Marise Cremona. *The Enlargement of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Judith Kelley. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58(3): 425-457.

[44] Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 10-11.

[45] Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2004. "Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(4): 664.

adoption of EU rules would help to solve certain domestic problems in their favor and to increase their influence within the domestic political system.[46] From a bottom-up perspective, EU conditionality changes the domestic opportunity structures and reinforces the "bargaining power of these actors against their opponents"[47], leading to change at the domestic level. However, the impact of conditionality is not homogeneous for every candidate state and depends on a variety of factors. These factors range from the determinacy of conditions to the size and speed of rewards and domestic costs for adoption. Domestic transformation occurs prior to enlargement with the expectation that the candidate countries will be Europeanized before they become a part of the Union and before they start taking part in the policy-making processes at the European level. However, these rewards can only be provided once the accession negotiations start with the states in question and they are more credible if there is a definite timetable for full accession. Therefore, Europeanization is in essence connected with the enlargement process even though progress may not follow the same sequence or level.

However, even though it was recognized that Europeanization is a complex process rather than just a direct consequence of enlargement, the CEE countries were not as Europeanized as they were expected. Conditionality was found to be most effective when the costs for deviation were relatively small and the benefits from membership were still high.[48] Moreover, since the announcement of the Copenhagen criteria and Madrid Council decisions, accession has transformed into a multiple step process that include a number of monitoring mechanisms and incentives. These mechanisms range from annual progress reports or various financial

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[46] Diez et al. 2005, 5; Also see Philippe Schmitter. 2003. "Democracy in Europe and Europe's Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* 14(4): 79-80; Christina Elena Parau and Jerry Wittmeier Bains. 2008. "Europeanization as Empowerment of Civil Society: All Smoke and Mirrors?" in eds. William A. Maloney and Jan W. van Deth. *Civil Society and Governance in Europe, From National to International Linkages.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 110-111.
[47] Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004, 664.
[48] Antoaneta Dimitrova and Bernard Steunenberg. 2007. "Compliance in the EU enlargement process". *European Integration Online Papers* 11(1): 3-4.

assistance programs that depend on the levels of compliance with the requirements of the *acquis communitaire* or the Copenhagen criteria. The effectiveness of the conditionality mechanism was closely tied to the opening of the negotiations and the determination of the final date of accession in the case of the CEE countries.[49]

The external incentives model designates that conditionality will be most effective if the rules and conditions regarding the rewards are determinate; conditional rewards are high and delivered quickly; conditionality is credible; adoption costs are low and the number of veto players is few.[50] The alternative explanations to the external incentives model are identified as the social learning model and the lesson-drawing model. The social learning model dictates that a candidate state will internalize EU rules and regulations if it believes that the EU practices correspond to domestic norms, discourses and identities.[51] The lesson-drawing model on the other hand suggests that third countries will adopt EU rules into their national legislation in the absence of any rewards and as a result of their satisfaction with national practices. In this case, policy transfer happens voluntarily depending on the expectation that EU practices might help solve domestic policy problems.

In sum, all of these mechanisms try to reflect upon the reasons for domestic transformation within the CEE countries prior to their accession to the EU and aim to account for the variation in compliance levels. Domestic transformation is associated with three models identified as external incentives, social learning, or lesson drawing. The common emphasis for all of these models is that domestic transformation occurs prior to accession. For these models, the EU acts as an intervening variable. However, the majority of the existing studies neglect to examine

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[49] Grabbe 2006, 86-87.
[50] Antoaneta L Dimitrova. 2005. "Europeanization and Civil Service Reform in Central and Eastern Europe." in eds Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 72-73; Wade Jacoby. "External Incentives in Regional Policy and Health Care" in eds. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 101.
[51] Jeffrey T Checkel. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55(3): 553-588.

how domestic actors actually benefit and make use of the accession process. The literature provides an extensive assessment of the impacts of Europeanization at the domestic level in terms of the redistribution of resources however it does not specify the conditions under which or to what extent the domestic actors actually exploit these new opportunities provided by the EU in order to pursue their demands. Therefore, these studies fail to explain which factors influence the participation of domestic actors in the decision-making processes and what drives the domestic actors to get involved in the accession process.

1.2 EU-Turkey Relations: Literature Review

The formal relations between Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) date back to 1959, when Turkey first applied for association membership and consequently signed the Ankara agreement in 1963. However, a major turning point in Turkey-EU relations took place as a result of the transformation of the EU into a political entity. Following this, the agenda of Turkey-EU relations revolved around a number of issues in relation to democratization, human rights and minority rights, which proved to be major stumbling blocks in Turkey's EU accession process. Given this, the literature on Turkey-EU relations expanded considerably parallel to the rapid development of events in Turkey's accession process, especially from 1999 onwards. In this regard, two strands were formed within the literature, focusing either on the impact of the accession process or the motivations of both Turkish and European actors to endorse or oppose to the process. This booming literature is characterized by its aim to highlight the changes within the Turkish context as triggered by the EU.[52] However, these studies were still limited as they adopted a top-down approach that was constrained to

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[52] Nathalie Tocci. 2005. "Europeanization in Turkey: Trigger or Anchor for Reform?" *South European Society and Politics.* 10(1): 73-83; Mehmet Ugur. 1999. *The European Union and Turkey: an Anchor/Credibility Dilemma.* Aldershot: Ashgate; Ziya Onis. 2007. "Conservative Globalists versus Defensive Nationalists: Political Parties and Paradoxes of Europeanization in Turkey." *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 9(3): 241-267; Hakan Yilmaz, ed. *Placing Turkey on the Map of Europe.* Istanbul: Bogazici University Press; Cizre, Umit. 2004. "Problems of Democratic Governance of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey and the EU Enlargement Zone." *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(1): 107-125.

examining the direct policy transfer from the EU to Turkey neglecting to consider Europeanization as a broader, transformative process.

EU-Turkey relations still remain to be one of the most debated themes within the literature on enlargement generating a vast amount of research on the subject of Turkish membership to the EU. The existing literature on Turkey-EU relations tends to focus on the actors involved, good governance, foreign and security policies, trade agreements, migration, and the environment, which are salient both in the European and in the domestic context.[53] In regard to governance, particularly in relation to political reforms and human rights, the approaches of Turkish and European actors towards Turkey's European integration, as well as foreign and security policy in the context of EU integration, are highly researched.[54] In addition to these, trade agreements, particularly those of the Customs Union and Turkish migration to the EU, are also among the areas of research contemplated within the literature.[55] However, until the early 2000s, literature mostly provides a general overview of the relations, focusing on the strategic importance of Turkey in the post-Cold War international context.[56]

When examining the impacts of the accession process, some of the literature tends to review the institutional history of relations while others explore the different aspects of candidacy

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[53] Mehmet Ugur and Nergis Canefe. 2003. *Turkey and European Integration: Accession Prospects and Issues,* London and New York: Routledge; Meltem Muftuler-Bac. 2000. "Turkey's role in the EU's Security and Policy" *Security Dialogue* 32(3): 379-382; Chris Rumford. 2001. "Human Rights and Democratization in Turkey in the Context of EU Candidature." *Journal of European Area Studies* 9(1): 93-105; Spyros Sofos. 2000. "Reluctant Europeans; European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Politics" *South European Society and Politics* 5(2) 243- 260.

[54] William Hale. 2002. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000.* London and Portland: Frank Cass; Rumelili, Bahar "Transforming Conflicts on EU Borders: The Case of Greek-Turkish Relations." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(1): 105-126; Harun Arikan. 2002. "A lost opportunity? A critique of the EU's Human Rights Policy Towards Turkey" *Mediterranean Politics* 7(1): 19-50; Cigdem Nas and Yonca Ozer, eds. 2012. *Turkey and the European Union, Processes of Europeanization.* London: Ashgate.

[55] Mine Eder. 2003. "Implementing the Economic Criteria of EU Membership: How difficult is it for Turkey?" in eds. Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin. *Turkey and the European Union, Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics,* London: Frank Cass;

[56] Canan Balkir and Allan Williams, eds. 1993. *Turkey and Europe.* London: Pinter.

using the legal, political, and economic criteria defined by the EU.[57] After Turkey was granted

official candidacy status, more attention was given to issues such as human rights, minority

rights, and democratization as these were identified as potential sources of conflict in the

accession negotiations.[58] In accordance with this, particular emphasis was placed on the

impacts of the accession process on different actors including parliamentarians, military,

political parties, general public, economic actors, and the Islamist movement and the different

views adopted by these actors.[59] These studies mostly delve into the discrepancies between

Turkey's foreign policy, which aspires to become a full member of the EU, and the domestic

policies that are characterized by anti-democratic practices.[60] These studies have also expanded

the scope of Europeanization to analyze a wide range of issue areas. While most of them

concentrated on the changes in the domestic context as a response to the introduction of the

Copenhagen criteria in a more general sense, such as the efforts of democratization by the

political actors[61], the military's role in national politics[62], the characteristics of the Turkish state

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[57] Ziya Onis and Fuat Keyman. 2003. "A New Path Emerges." *Journal of Democracy,* 14(2): 95-107.

[58] Nas, Çiğdem and Yonca Özer (eds). 2012. *Turkey and the EU: Processes of Europeanisation*, Aldershot: Ash- gate; Külahci, Erol. 2005. "EU Political Conditionality and Parties in Government: Human Rights and the Quest for Turkish Transformation", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 7(3): 387-402; Ergun, Ayça. 2010. "Civil society in Turkey and Local dimensions of Europeanization", *Journal of European Integration* 32(5): 507-522; Faucompret, Eric and Jozef Konings (eds). 2008. *Turkish Accession to the EU: Satisfying the Copenhagen Criteria*, London: Routledge.

[59] Claire Visier. 2009. "Turkey and the European Union: The sociology of engaged actors and of their contribution to the candidacy issue." *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 9: 1-10.

[60] Hasan Basri Elmas. 1998. *Turquie-Europe: une relation ambiguë* (Turkey-Europe: an ambiguous relationship). Paris: Syllepse.

[61] Aydın, Senem and Fuat Keyman. 2004. "European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Democracy", *CEPS EU-Turkey Working Papers* 2(1), Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies and Istanbul: Economics and Foreign Policy Forum; Baç, Meltem Müftüler. 2005. "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union", *South European Society and Politics* 10(1), 17-31; Faucompret and Konings, 2008; Keyman, Fuat and Ziya Onis. 2007. *Turkish Politics in a Changing World: Global Dynamics and Domestic Transformation*, Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press; Ulusoy, Kivanc. 2005. "Turkey's Reform Efforts reconsidered: 1987-2004", *EUI Working Paper 28, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Mediterranean Programme Series*, Florence: European University Institut.

[62] Gürsoy, Yaprak. 2011. "The Impact of EU-Driven Reforms on the Political Autonomy of the Turkish Military", *South European Society and Politics* 16(2): 293-308; Heper, Metin. 2005. "The EU: Turkish Military and Democracy", *South European Society and Politics* 10(1): 33-44.

with regard to secularism[63] and the relations between the state and civil society organizations[64].

However, there are still only limited number of empirical studies focusing on the domestic transformative effects of the EU with regard to particular policy areas in Turkey.

These earlier studies also remain constrained to the interactions between the EU and the Turkish state and the impact of Europe is not examined by taking different domestic actors into account, which interpret and translate EU differently into the domestic context depending on their expectations from the EU process. In addition, the studies examining the factors that facilitate or limit the transformative power of the EU at the domestic level are rare.[65] They are mostly confined to the levels of formal compliance with EU rules and the reasons for the lack or presence of formal transformation whereas this study investigates how civil society actors translate the EU accession process into the domestic context on a particularly controversial issue as minority protection, which leads to an increase in their mobilization capacities.

The increased interest in EU-Turkey relations was further amplified after the start of the accession negotiations in 2004. Even though the membership negotiations were pushed back in the agenda of the Turkish government particularly after 2007, Turkey-EU relations still continued to be a topical issue for the scholarly literature. In particular, the expansion of the European studies literature to the impact of the EU on accession states enabled a more

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[63] Grigoriadis, Ioannis. 2009. *Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the EU*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Bardakçı, Mehmet. 2008. *Political Reforms in Turkey and the Impact of the European Union Post-Helsinki Era*, Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.
[64] İçduygu, Ahmet. 2011. "Interacting Actors: The EU and Civil Society in Turkey", *South European Society and Politics* 16(3): 381-394.
[65] Borzel, Tanja and Didem Soyaltin. 2012. "Europeanization in Turkey Stretching a Concept to its Limits?", *KFG Working Paper Series 36*, Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) "The Transformative Power of Europe", Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin; Nas and Ozer, 2012.

enlargement focused perspective on EU-Turkey relations.[66] Following the Helsinki Summit, there was a gradual increase in academic literature that examined the consolidation of democracy in Turkey, including the electoral system, civil-military relations, the situation of the Kurds, cultural rights, the situation of religious minorities, and respect for human rights. Moreover, there was an increase in the number of studies that provided a costs/benefits analysis concerning Turkey's EU membership. One of the key studies by Mehmet Ugur highlights the tensions between EU and Turkey and the latter's failure to meet the requirements of membership.[67] In his framework, which he calls The Anchor/Credibility Dilemma, Ugur suggests that Turkey is not a credible candidate because it cannot adopt the majority of legal reforms required by the EU, whereas the EU in turn is not acting as an effective anchor since it does not provide enough sanctions or incentives that would motivate Turkey to adopt the required reforms. According to the author, the Anchor/Credibility Dilemma led to a vicious circle in EU-Turkey relations, which could only be broken after 1999 when Turkey was granted candidacy status and EU could have a certain degree of leverage.[68] However, Ugur fails to consider the role heterogeneous character of the society and the presence of pro-reform actors that might guide or push for the reform process. Ugur's study does not refer to the increased mobilization of civil society organizations as a result of Turkey's accession process and their role to create a dynamism at the domestic level as they internalize the EU standards and norms.

Some recent studies have tried to examine the transformative power of Europe on Turkey by examining the variety of actors involved in the process.[69] In this regard, Tocci and Kaliber

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[66] See Kivanc Ulusoy. 2009. "The Changing Challenge of Europeanization to Politics and Governance in Turkey." *International Political Science Review* 30(4): 363-384.
[67] See Ugur, 1999.
[68] Ibid.
[69] See Thomas Diez et al., 2005; Taner Bora. 2000. "Professional chambers and non-voluntary organizations: the intersection of public, civil and national", in eds. Stefanos Yerasimos et al. 2000. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism,* Istanbul: Orient-Institut; Stefanos Yerasimos et al. (eds). 2000. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism,* Istanbul: Orient-Institut; Paul Kubicek. 2005. "The European Union and Grassroots Democratization in Turkey", *Turkish Studies* 6(3): 361-377.

highlight the role of the NGOs asking how much of the current constitutional and political changes can be attributed to civil society actors and how the opportunities, identities, aims, and strategies of these actors changed and whether it is possible to attribute such a change to the Europeanization process.[70] However, Diez et al. argue that the vocal actors for Turkey's EU membership are limited to business organizations and the private sector. While it is true that at the beginning of the 2000s, the main non-state actors pushing for EU membership were business organizations as in the case of TUSIAD; following the adoption of the reforms that govern the civil society organizations there was a significant boom in the number of the civil society organizations and more importantly a diversification of the interests represented by these organizations. Therefore, as the EU provides political opportunities for the non-state actors other than business actors, they use these resources to push for more formal compliance from the government. Tocci and Kaliber on the other hand portray the different civil society organizations that hold an interest in the Kurdish question – both securitizing and non-securitizing – extensively however they give an account of the activities of these organizations and their contributions to the securitization or desecuritization of the issue rather than explaining how the Europeanization process actually transformed these organizations. They only take domestic factors into account to explain the transformation of civil society that impact the Kurdish question while they neglect the impact of the EU. They underline the limited dialogue between the pro-Kurdish organizations and the Turkish state, however fail to explain the role of the EU for the empowerment of these organizations.

The majority of the literature on EU-Turkey relations fails to investigate the changes in the engagement of the minority civil society actors with the EU comprehensively but rather focuses

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[70] Nathalie Tocci and Alper Kaliber. 2010. "Civil society and the Transformation of Turkey's Kurdish Question", *Security Dialogue,* 41(2).

on the reforms adopted by the Turkish government and the formal compliance achieved so far. In this regard, Grigoriadis looks at the impact of EU conditionality on minority rights in Turkey from a formal compliance point of view and in comparison to the situation in Greece.[71] Grigoriadis investigates how Turkey and Greece responded to the pressures exerted by the EU to reform the minority protection rules however while doing that traces the development of EU conditionality towards Turkey. The author provides an encompassing examination of the minority issue in Turkey and the recent reforms as a response to EU conditionality however fails to diverge from the rest of the literature by neglecting the role of the non-state actors and domestic pro-reform coalitions. In a similar manner, Yilmaz only focuses on the formal compliance of Turkey with European minority rights standards from both rule adoption and implementation perspectives.[72] The author gives a detailed outline of the EU demands from Turkey and how the Turkish government responded to these demands by providing the legislation that correspond to the issues prioritized by the EU. However, similar to Grigoriadis, Yilmaz also focuses on the institutional changes rather than the impact of the Europeanization process on domestic actors that shape the minority rights policies at the domestic level. She portrays the reforms adopted by the state only as a response to EU pressure while failing to explain the involvement of domestic actors in the adoption of those reforms. To give an example, she provides that there was EU pressure for the improvement of cultural rights of the Kurds and claims that in response the government adopted a development plan.[73] However, she fails to explain how the Kurdish civil society organizations have become more mobilized as a result of their interaction with the EU while having no relations with the government. Instead she portrays the positive developments related to minority rights only as a response to EU conditionality dismissing the role of civil society organizations completely. Other studies

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[71] Grigoriadis 2008, 31-41.
[72] Gozde Yilmaz. 2011. "Is There a Puzzle? Compliance with Minority Rights in Turkey (1999-2000)." *KFG Working Paper* 23: 1-32.
[73] Ibid, 25.

tend to analyze the role of civil society and the transformative impact of the EU on pro-reform actors in Turkey; however, none of these go beyond conditionality and institutional compliance.[74] The changes in the civil society organizations' mobilization levels as a result of Europeanization is lacking from the analyses.

Even though a variety of issues are tackled within the literature on EU-Turkey relations with an especially increased amount of studies after the end of the 1990s, little attention is given to consider Turkey within the broader literature on enlargement. In this sense, there is an important gap in terms of the increased political efficacy of civil society actors and their interaction with the EU. Most of the studies remain state-centered focusing on institutional compliance adopting a top-down approach. However, studies that reflect upon the experience of different civil society organizations and the heightened activism of these organizations as a result of the Europeanization process is largely missing. Therefore, the potential for EU's transformative power is only explained through a simple institutional compliance perspective without investigating the particular characteristic of the Turkish case, where informal and formal change does not follow a rigid sequence. In this sense, this thesis tries to fill this gap by examining how minority groups in Turkey benefit from interaction with the EU through civil society and how the dialogue sustained between these civil society organizations and EU officials act as a source of leverage and ensure their access to more political resources.

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[74] Bahar Rumelili. 2005. "Civil Society and the Europeanization of Greek-Turkish cooperation." *South European Society and Politics* 10(1): 45-56; Stefanos Yerasimos. 2000. "Civil Society, Europe and Turkey." in eds. Stefanos Yerasimos et al. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism.* Istanbul: Orient Institut and Enstitut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes; Diba Nigar Goksel and Rana Birden Gunes. 2005. "The Role of the NGOs in the European Integration Process: The Turkish Experience." *South European Society and Politics* 10(1): 57-72.

1.3   Identifying Research Questions

The over-arching objective of this research is to identify whether the engagement of minority organizations with the EU increased their social mobilization levels and to what extent they were able to benefit from the availability of EU resources delivered as part of enlargement and EU aid. It questions the degree to which the EU resources are utilized by civil society organizations. In other words, what is under examination here is how, and to what extent, the EU process has changed the political efficacy levels of civil society organizations in Turkey at the domestic level. It is on such a theoretical premise that this empirical research project is undertaken: should the impact of the EU on the minority civil society organizations in Turkey be studied through the lens of how civil society is affected by international assistance and how the Europeanization process is increasing the mobilization capacities of civil society organizations.

To realize this objective, this thesis will test for the impact of the EU on domestic civil society actors and whether it has led to their mobilization. This is significant since shortly after the granting of candidacy status, the Turkish government at the time initiated a series of reforms for lifting the ban on civil society activities allowing civil society organizations to obtain international funding and form networks with other international organizations.[75] This caused the Turkish political scene to be divided into two camps with respect to the trajectory of Turkey-EU relations. For the pro-reform political and civil society actors, Europeanization signified an opportunity to exert pressure for the adoption of the long-awaited human rights reforms. On the other hand, state elites who associated EU with modernization and economic development were unwilling to adopt the EU-compliant legislation on more controversial

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[75] Prime Ministry Secretariat General for EU Affairs. 2007. *Avrupa Birligi Uyum Yasa Paketleri* (European Union Harmonization Packages); http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/pub/abuyp.pdf, accessed 10/10/2009.

issues such as minority rights. As the accession process moved forward with the involvement of civil society actors, the vetoing state actors were forced to concede to the new rules and regulations relating to minority rights. In this context, I set out to examine the changes of civil society activism in the Turkish pre-accession period that was initiated in December 1999 at the Helsinki Summit. Drawing on an important strand of the Europeanization literature, I investigate whether transformation is occurring in the realm of minority rights protection as a consequence of increased mobilization capacities of civil society organizations even in the presence of political resistance.

This thesis will investigate whether, how, and to what extent Turkey's Europeanization process mobilized the pro-reform civil society actors causing a transformation of collective understandings at the domestic level. It will be argued that the differential empowerment of civil society actors in Turkey as a result of the EU accession process has had several ramifications on minority rights. Empowerment as used in this thesis refers to making use of the opportunities and resources provided by the EU for civil society organizations as well as the ability to participate in decision-making processes at different stages. Building on this, this research in particular examines the civil society actors among the minority groups in Turkey and whether the interaction with the EU shapes the variation in their mobilization capacities. Taking all these developments into account, this research proposes to ask the following questions:

- How has the engagement with the EU empowered and changed the behavior of minority civil society organizations in Turkey?

- How have minority organizations benefited from the availability of EU resources?

- Which factors explain the differentiated impact of the EU on minority organizations in terms of political efficacy and mobilization?

- What are the effects of other means of influence on the empowerment of the minority groups in Turkey such as the distinction between ethnic/linguistic and religious minorities or the parliamentary representation of some of the groups?

This thesis analyzes the Turkish case in depth to test the hypothesis that Europeanization has altered the opportunity structures of the minority civil society actors in Turkey leading to their involvement in an interactive process at the domestic level with state actors. The minority groups or the civil society organizations representing these groups and their interaction with the EU sit at the core of the proposed research question. In this respect, the thesis broadly examines whether civil society actors and minority groups are individually and collectively mutating in the course of the EU accession process. It is argued that the ability of the minority groups to engage with the EU are dependent on a number of contingent variables accounting for the differentiated impact of the EU on minority organizations in terms of mobilization. Therefore, the Europeanization process arguably increases the political efficacy of minority civil society organizations in Turkey. The Turkish case is important because it provides an opportunity to test the transformative effects of the EU on a highly contested issue such as minority rights and in the presence of high political resistance. Additionally, as Turkey has been a candidate state for a long time, the limited progress achieved in formal compliance with respect to minority issue also provides an opportunity to test the extent to which the EU had an impact on the civil society mobilization and the formation of an interactive domestic process through the availability of political and financial resources. In light of these, the significance of the Turkish case lies in the levels of domestic change that led to the participation of civil society actors in decision-making processes even though formal accession process has not progressed in a similar pace and direction due to high political costs. However, the examination of the Turkish case also poses certain limitations especially as the engagement of the civil

society actors with the EU is contingent upon a number of other factors. Most importantly, the ban on the establishment of minority civil society organizations have recently been lifted therefore almost all of the minority organizations examined, had been recently established. Secondly, these civil society organizations could only cooperate with foreign organizations and obtain funding from international donors after the elimination of the ban in 2002, making the engagement with the EU a very recent concept. Given this, most of the civil society organizations were still at the initial stages of forming international partnerships. Finally, the Turkish case diverges from previous enlargements as the relations with the EU were stalled at several points throughout the history due to a number of conflicts between Turkey and EU member states such as the Cyprus issue or the recognition of the Armenian genocide.

1.4   Research Methods

This research employs a mixed methodology including both qualitative and quantitative research methods. It uses classic content analysis to examine the documents mapping out EU-Turkey relations and the legislation in Turkey and in Europe pertaining to minority rights and civil society actors. These documents include European Commission progress reports, opinion papers and European Parliament resolutions as well as the legislation and reform packages passed by the Turkish government between 2002 and 2006. This type of content analysis offers a definitive and detailed analysis of the formal compliance achieved in Turkey so far. It also helps to portray the responses at the formal level of EU institutions and the Turkish state. It also uses process tracing to identify how the mobilization of civil society organizations and their involvement in the decision-making processes evolved as well as the adoption of the reforms regarding the civil society and minority rights throughout the years since the beginning of the accession negotiations in 2004.

The core aim of the empirical data is to answer the question whether one can really talk about an increase in the mobilization capacities of civil society organizations induced by their interaction with the EU. As part of the qualitative research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the objective of understanding the reactions of different actors towards the role of the EU in the improvement of minority rights in Turkey. The interviewees were selected according to their affiliation with the minority groups and the civil society organizations. These selections were then classified into three main groups. The first group of interviewees included the opinion and religious leaders representing the minority groups in question such as the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul or the Jewish Minority Presidents in different cities. These interviewees were included as they constitute a bridge between the decision-makers and the minority group that they represent and therefore they were able to provide insight to the general perceptions of both sides with respect to the role of the EU. The second group included the political actors representing the minority groups such as the parliamentarians or the mayors from the pro-Kurdish Political Party, BDP as well as the presidents/secretaries of the main civil society organizations that have close relations with the national government. It was believed that these actors could explain how their interaction with the EU contributed to their relations with the government and the adoption of the reforms for the improvement of minority rights. Finally, the last group included the staff of the civil society organizations that represented different minority organizations or worked on minority rights while operating at the national level. Such interviews are also believed to enrich the study for getting insight about how these civil society organizations individually contribute to policy making. As most of these non-state actors and civil society organizations were based in larger cities, Istanbul, Ankara, Diyarbakir were selected as the pivotal points. Depending on the characteristics of the minority organization smaller cities were also included. These were selected as Mardin where the Assyrians predominantly reside, Edirne where the largest Roma organization is located and the

Roma are most populated and finally Antakya which is home to several minority groups instead of a predominant group.

The quantitative analysis on the other hand provides a descriptive statistical analysis of the impact that interaction with the EU has on civil society organizations in Turkey and the level of mobilization of these organizations. It also acts as a means to identify which variables are significant in the differentiated impact that the EU has on these civil society organizations while trying to distinguish the effects of the EU from other international organizations. These analyses were not only used to comprehend the varied levels of empowerment of the civil society actors as well as their ability to make use of the resources and opportunities resulting from their engagement with the EU. The data to test the research questions were collected through electronic and telephone surveys with 106 different civil society organizations around Turkey between July 2011 and September 2012. In total surveys and interviews were conducted with 126 respondents representing the minority groups or working on the minority issue in Turkey. They were recruited through e-mail or telephone correspondence and selected as a result of online analyses of the websites of main minority federations or the website of the European Delegation in Ankara. The civil society organizations that responded to the surveys were chosen depending on a number of factors. The first of these was related to the activities organized by the civil society organization in question. Only those organizations that were active, in terms of organizing advocacy activities, training courses, seminars and meetings or published publications etc. were included instead of the CSOs that were mostly considered as a place of gathering for the members of a minority group. For instance, there were a lot of Caucasian or Roma organizations that were merely used as a place to bring together the members of a certain minority group in that location and did not organize any activities or did not have a budget. These types of organizations were not included in the study. Secondly, the

civil society organizations were chosen based on the minority group in question. For those minority groups that are more populated and widely represented, those organizations that were located in larger cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakir and had larger budgets or conducted more activities were included along with those branches in smaller cities that were more active than the rest regardless of their location. For example, even though the head of the Roman federation was located in Ankara, the organizations in Edirne, which is a small city in the Thrace region were also surveyed because they were able to obtain funding from the EU for three different projects they implemented in collaboration with other domestic and European organizations. On the other hand, for those minority organizations that have a much smaller population and have lower number civil society organizations such as the Lom fraction of the Roma or the Mhellemis, all of the minority organizations representing these groups and that were organizing activities and implementing projects were included. Given this, in terms of associational structure, some of the groups have only one minority organization representing them as in the case of Loms whereas others such as the Alevis not only have a multilevel structure composed of federations and confederations but also different fractions representing various perspectives, such as Kurdish Alevis. The final group of survey respondents were selected based on their activities within the field of minority protection. These were selected from the major foundations, associations and professional/sectoral organizations that were also active in the field of minority rights. These include human rights organizations, institutes, think-tanks, professional and business organizations, sectoral associations or chambers, research units, and umbrella organizations.[76] The Human Rights Association (IHD) is an example to this, with branches scattered all over Turkey. Among the IHD branches, those located in larger cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Adana and Diyarbakir were surveyed. In the

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[76] Hakan Seckinelgin. 2004. "Contractions of a sociocultural reflex, Civil Society in Turkey." in eds. Marlies Glasius et al. *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts.* Oxon and New York: Routledge, 153-154.

same manner, even though the Union of Educators (EGITIM-SEN) was an organization focusing on education policies in Turkey, the branches in Adana and Diyarbakir were included due to their activities organized on education in mother-tongue languages. In total, civil society organizations representing 23 different minority groups were surveyed. The survey respondents were identified through the websites of these organizations. While the interviews and surveys provided an investigation of the varied mobilization patterns among minority organizations, they were limited in terms of providing a more comprehensive understanding of how the EU changed the behavior of each minority group specifically and how the attitudes of these minority organizations towards the EU were altered over time. Additionally, even though the surveys shed light on the increased political efficacy of minority organizations as a result of the interaction with the EU, they were constrained in terms of explaining how significant the other factors were. The interviewees on the other hand, sometimes felt less inclined to answer the questions related to their relations with national political actors due to fears of prosecution.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of seven chapters including the current conceptual and methodological introduction. Chapter 2 *(Civil Society and Europeanization)* develops the theoretical frame of reference for the thesis by tracing how the EU conceptualizes civil society and how it compels candidate countries to strengthen the civil society organizations. It also provides a detailed analysis of how the concepts of civil society are used within this thesis explaining it from a historical, international and European perspective. Additionally, the civil society organizations are discussed in detail within this Chapter. Chapter 3 *(Minority Rights in the Context of Modern Turkey)* presents a discussion of minority rights in the context of modern Turkey. This chapter explores how minority rights are used in the European context and analyzes the reasons for its

complicated and controversial character. In addition, it looks into the role of civil society organizations in relation to the development of minority rights schemes in Europe and how or why the minority issue has been a critical issue in Turkey. Finally, it provides a detailed examination of the minority groups in Turkey that represent different dynamics in terms of mobilization and activism. The following chapter, Chapter 4 *(EU Conditionality Towards Turkey)* discusses the use of conditionality in EU-Turkey relations from a thematic perspective. In this sense, it highlights the critical junctures in EU-Turkey relations that mark the use of conditionality for minority protection and civil society.

Chapter 5 *(Minority Rights and EU Compliance in Turkey)* provides a detailed discussion of the civil society organizations representing the minority groups in Turkey while presenting an empirical examination of the factors that explain the variation in the associational structures of these minority organizations. Examination of ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities in a particular country touches upon one of the most controversial domestic issues because it infringes on the "traditional statist tenets of international relations, such as state sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention, and the like"[77]. Since its foundation, the Republic of Turkey granted official minority status to only three non-Muslim minority groups, namely Jews, Greek-Orthodox, and Armenians.[78] Accordingly, the Republic of Turkey signed and ratified various European and international treaties for the protection of minority groups with the reservation that the minority rights granted through these treaties do not contradict the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty.[79] For the purposes of this thesis and contrary to Turkey's official stand, a wider conception of minority groups is adopted. The list of minority groups

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[77] Jennifer Jackson-Preece.1997. "National Minority Rights Versus State Sovereignty In Europe: Changing Norms In International Relations?" *Nations And Nationalism* 3(3): 354.

[78] Oran 2007, 36-37; Baskin Oran. 2007. "The Minority Report Affair in Turkey." *Regent Journal of International Law* 5(1): 21.

[79] Naz Cavusoglu. 2001. *Azinlik Haklari* (Minority Rights). Istanbul: Su, 28; Also see CSCE Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting 1992. HM/*Journal No. 30,* 3.

used in this thesis is non-exhaustive; it includes the main minority groups that are represented by non-state actors. The key minority groups referred to in this thesis are summarized in Table 1. Given this, the chapter provides a selection of groups representing different dynamics and an in-depth discussion of these groups in terms of their organizational profile and the changes they have undergone with respect to public/political presence.

Minority Groups in Turkey[80]

Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities	Religious Minorities
Kurds: officially not recognized as a minority. Comprised of two different linguistic groups, namely Zazaki and Kurmanji speakers, and three religious groups, namely Sunnis, Alevis and Ezidis.	*Alevis*: officially not recognized as a religious minority. Comprised of people of both Turkish and Kurdish ethnic descent as well as Arab-speaking Nusairis.
Arabs: officially not recognized as a minority. Comprised of Muslim and Christian groups.	*Greek Orthodox Christians*: officially recognized as a religious minority
Georgians: officially not recognized as a minority.	*Armenians*: officially recognized as a religious minority.
Abkhazians: officially not recognized as a minority.	*Jews*: officially recognized as a religious minority.
Circassians: officially not recognized as a minority.	*Latin Catholics:* officially not recognized as a religious minority.
Roma: officially not recognized as a minority. Comprised of people of Kurdish and Turkish descent and Sunni Muslims, Alevi Muslims, Christians and Ezidis.	*Assyrians:* officially not recognized as a religious minority. Comprises of Assyrians and Chaldeans.
Laz: officially not recognized as a minority.	*Ezidis:* officially not recognized as a religious minority.
Hamshen: officially not recognized as a minority.	*Protestants:* officially not recognized as a religious minority.
Mhelmis: officially not recognized as a minority.	
Molokans: officially not recognized as a minority.	
Bosnians and Albanians: officially not recognized as a minority.[81]	
Pomaks: officially not recognized as a minority.	
Africans: officially not recognized as a minority.	

The following Chapter 6 (*Empowerment of Civil Society Organizations: Position on the Ground*) will analyze the role of civil society organizations in the pre-accession period. It will

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[80] As previously mentioned in this chapter, the minority groups provided in the table above cannot provide an exhaustive list of all of the minorities groups residing in Turkey but rather includes those minority groups that are relevant to this thesis.
[81] Bosnians and Albanians are officially not recognized as a minority group by the Turkish state and they do not demand any specific cultural, socio-economic or linguistic rights. The civil society representative interviewed clearly stated that they refer to themselves as "Turks" and their only demand is with regard to bilateral relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania as well as the improvement of the situation in these countries.

test for the increased mobilization of these different civil society organizations. This chapter will include the data collected through the interviews conducted in Turkey with civil society actors and representatives of the minority groups as well as the results obtained from the statistical tests that were used to test for the empowerment of these civil society organizations as a result of the political and financial opportunities provided by the EU. Finally, the thesis will conclude with a summary of the major research outcomes regarding the minority rights in Turkey in general and the transformative power of Europe on civil society organizations in particular. It will also discuss future research and the limitations of the thesis as well as further conceptual implications.

1.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to present the major research questions and the methodology employed in this thesis. The mechanisms of Europeanization to conceptualize the relationship between enlargement and domestic transformation were identified, while drawing on a strand of literature on Europeanization and civil society. The existing studies on Europeanization emphasize the role of the enlargement perspective in shaping domestic reactions to adaptational pressures. However, these studies fail to account for the limited progress in Turkey's formal compliance and the continuing transformation of the strategies, aims, identities and opportunities of domestic actors. At the same time, limiting their examination of EU's transformative power to formal compliance, they neglect the increased civil society activities induced by their engagement with the EU. In contrast, this thesis seeks to demonstrate how Europeanization actually shapes the civil society actors and facilitates their involvement within an interactive policy-making process at the domestic level. Therefore, I employ a bottom-up approach to examine the domestic impact of the EU on the civil society organizations in Turkey

specifically relating to minority protection. I question whether their engagement with the EU can be used to explain their increased political efficacy and mobilization levels.

This approach should allow us to account for the outcomes of the EU accession process in Turkey. The EU's goal to transform domestic politics within candidate states and to ensure compliance with EU standards have been restructured at the domestic level in Turkey. In this context, the aim to anchor the democratization process in Turkey first through the application of conditionality and later through engagement with domestic actors was inapplicable before the granting of candidacy status in 1999. This thesis challenges the idea that formal and informal change should always display a linear, sequential relationship and that domestic transformation should occur parallel to the progress achieved in the formal accession process. In other words, it fills the gap in the literature firstly by investigating how the EU continues to increase the mobilization capacities of the civil society organizations in Turkey despite the interruptions in the formal accession process and secondly how EU's transformative power continues to yield an impact on minority groups in the presence of political resistance and despite the controversial character of the issue. In particular, it puts into question the capacity of the EU to contribute towards the goals of democratization and improving minority rights in different contexts, including the candidate states. The significance of the Turkish case lies in the levels of domestic change that led to the participation of civil society organizations in the decision-making process even though formal accession process has not progressed in a similar pace and direction due to the high political costs and resistance.

Chapter 2

Civil Society and Europeanization

The recent break from the state-centered view of governing required finding more flexible and indirect forms of governance to respond to the new economic and social conditions. In these new forms of governance, civil society assumed a central role as it started to be viewed as the place and mechanism where consensus is found and generated and a source of legitimacy for the policies implemented by the decision-makers. As new democratic opportunities emerged as a result of these new political structures within the EU, civil society organizations could participate in decision-making more actively. In this regard, the divergence from the state-centered political structure created a democratic potential where the traditional roles of the state had to be reconsidered. Even though European understanding of civil society does not break this state-centric tradition, it refers to an intermediate area between the state, the market and the private sphere. The core of this new role assumed by the civil society lies in a decentralized decision-making system that includes shifting actors networked across countries and across levels of decision-making structures.

At the Madrid Summit in 1995, the EU added a new criterion to the Copenhagen criteria that was announced in 1993.[82] The candidate countries were required to have the necessary administrative and judicial institutions in order to be able to effectively adopt the *acquis communitaire*.[83] The institutional capacity criteria was particularly significant for the CEE countries, as their candidacy created an excessive work load for the adoption of the required

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[82] The European Council [Madrid Summit 1995], *Madrid, 15-16 December 1995,* Bulletin of the European Communities No.12/1995.
[83] Elsa Tulmets. 2005. "The Management of New Forms of Governance by Former Accession Countries of the European Union: Institutional Twinning in Estonia and Hungary." *European Law Journal* 11(5): 658.

policies, which became problematic in light of their limited resources. The concept of civil society was central for these debates and essential for the Europeanization of these candidate countries due to two reasons. First of all, since the candidate countries are not member states, the EU is not able to hierarchically impose the adoption of the acquis. The relations between the EU and the candidate states are strictly confined to methods of bargaining and diplomacy. Therefore, the only method that the EU can use to ensure the adoption of the acquis is the external incentives model and conditionality.[84] Secondly, the adoption of the acquis created a significant burden on the CEE countries, which were already going through regime transition. As both the EU and the candidate countries did not have sufficient capacities and resources for the adoption and the adaptation of the acquis, state actors started searching for ways to collaborate with civil society organizations both at the national and European level so that they could delegate some of the tasks related to accession to these external actors. The European Commission also encouraged accession countries to involve civil society organizations in order to achieve effective adoption of the acquis as well as legitimacy.[85] In return, the civil society organizations were able to influence policy outcomes in those areas that were particularly salient for them. In other words, the civil society organizations were used as an instrument to mitigate the challenges of accession.

At the same time, the concept of governance acquired significance as it pointed to the inclusion of a variety of actors in decision-making processes. However, in spite of its popularity, there is no single definition or understanding related to the concept of governance and depending on whether it refers to national, European or international systems, the meaning of the term covers

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[84] Tanja Borzel and Vera van Hullen. 2013. "The EU's Governance Transfer: From External Promotion to Internal Protection?" *SFB-Governance Working Paper Series* 56, 7.
[85] European Commission. 2001. "European Governance: A White Paper", COM(2001) 428 final 25 July.

a broad array.[86] According to Pierre, the growing interest on governance was mainly based on the necessity to redefine the role of the state within society and to explain the transformation of the nation-state in light of the erosion of the traditional power structures.[87] Employed both by international relations and comparative politics literature, the concept of governance is analyzed within a wide spectrum of studies ranging from state-centered views equating governance with government to the broader understanding that concentrates on the interaction of a plurality of actors.[88] It is this latter conceptual framing of governance that forms the basis of the EU's approach towards civil society organizations that will be applied to the Turkish case within this thesis. In its most basic form, the position of civil society within EU governance refers to a new and broader role, which is characterized by continuing interactions among actors from public and private spheres that can be involved in the decision-making processes as a result of the shift in the boundaries of the traditional state.[89]

In this regard, this chapter will firstly present the conceptual development of civil society and how the understanding related to the role of civil society transformed throughout history. Secondly, the conceptualization of governance by the EU will be discussed by presenting a theoretical discussion of the new modes of governance. It mainly explores the model of governance that the EU aims to transfer to candidate countries. This is of interest particularly because it places considerable emphasis on the engagement of civil society organizations and an apparent subtle shift from hierarchy to networks. In light of this, it will discuss how the EU

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[86] See Jon Pierre and B. Guy Peters. 2000. *Governance, Politics and the State.* Basingstoke: Palgrave; Jon Pierre and Guy Peters. 2005. *Governing Complex Societies: Trajectories and Scenarios.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan; James Caporaso and Joerg Wittenbrinck. 2006. "The New Modes of Governance and Political Authority in Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(4): 471-480; Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger, eds. 2007. *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union.* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield; Jon Pierre, ed. 2000. *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Jan Kooiman. 2003. *Governing as Governance.* London: Sage.
[87] Pierre 2000, 2.
[88] Kohler-Koch and Ritterberger, 5-6.
[89] Rod Rhodes. 1996. "The New Governance: Governing without Government." *Political Studies* 44(4): 660.

attempts to impact upon accession states by requiring the civil society organizations in these countries to assume a more active role in the adoption of EU norms and rules. This is especially relevant for the Turkish case because the increased dialogue between civil society organizations and European Union not only changed the behavior of minority civil society organizations but also consequently transformed the Turkish context through the redistribution of power resources. The following section will discuss the research surrounding EU's approach to civil society and the emergence of a European civil society as a result of the changing structures in EU governance. Finally, the last two sections will present the data collected about the civil society in Turkey and its transformation in the post-Helsinki period after Turkey has been granted candidacy status. The main objective is to shed light on whether the EU's renewed understanding of civil society yield better results in terms of transformation in accession countries.

2.1   Emergence of Civil Society

Civil society is not a new concept. In fact, it dates back to Aristotle's *koinonia politike* which as political society/community. In this original use of the term, there was no distinction between the political and civil society, but it rather pointed to all human beings coming together under a political order. Historically, the emergence of civil society can be traced back to three significant turning points: the works of John Locke, the Scottish enlightenment and Hegel. Locke did not make a contrast between civil and political societies and therefore, there was no distinction between the state and the society contrary to the current conceptions of the term. Instead, civil society was equated with a legitimate political order that would be formed with the consent of the citizens.[90] In contrast to Locke, during the Scottish enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century, the theorists of civil society prioritized another form of

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[90] Seligman, Adam. 1992. *The Idea of Civil Society,* Maxwell Macmillan: New York, 22-23.

human association that is based on the dichotomy of individual interests and the need for fulfilling collective goals, which they named as the commercial society.[91] However, the actual distinction between the state and the society was first put forth by Hegel. Hegel is actually considered pivotal for the contemporary approaches to civil society. Hegel's understanding, which was based on the works of Locke and the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, was grounded in the search for solving the problem of distinguishing between the state and civil society. The most striking aspect of Hegel's work was it no longer equated civil society to political society but separating it from both the family and more importantly, the state. Hegel defined civil society not only as a product of needs but as a platform for recognition, which was a horizontal rather than a vertical model.[92] This dichotomy of the state and the civil society was later taken up by Marx, who identified civil society primarily with economic interaction through the market. However, in Marx's view civil society was an instrument of class exploitation by granting freedom of action to individual citizens.

Finally, Tocqueville formed the grounds for the modern 'liberal-individualist' approach to civil society by distinguishing political society, which refers to the acts of the populations as they participate actively in the matters of government and the state from civil society. Tocqueville defines civil society as the private relations between citizens and the non-political associations formed by these citizens.[93] The recent literature on civil society, which was especially revitalized during the 20th century, was dominated by the liberal understanding of the civil society instead of the Marxist approach. Whereas the Marxist approach pointed to the use of civil society in order to disguise class exploitation, the liberal understanding highlighted the

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[91] Hall, John (ed). 2013. *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison.* Polity Press: Cambridge.
[92] Cohen, Jean L. and Andrew Arato. 1994. *Civil Society and Political Theory.* MIT Press: New Bakersville, 91-94.
[93] Cohen and Arato, 221.

associations formed by freely acting individuals.[94] For the liberal theorists, the notion of civil society was articulated based on the dichotomy between the private and the public. Accordingly, they designated civil society as a public sphere that is occupied by private individuals. Even though both of these approaches situate civil society outside the domain of the state and emphasize the freedom of action for the individuals, they diverge from each other in terms of the goal of civil society. As reiterated by Cohen and Arato[95], the current understanding of civil society that has reemerged over the recent years differentiates it both from the state and the capitalist market economy, where the focus is on "non-class based forms of collective action that is linked to the legal, public and associational institutions of the society"[96].

From this outline of the historical development of civil society, it can be seen that the current discourses related to civil society are different than those when the concept first emerged. Most importantly, as it is understood today, civil society is neither a component of private sphere, which includes the individual and the family nor is it the equivalent of a state. Civil society generally refers to the "realm of organized social life that is distinct from society in the sense it requires citizens acting collectively in a public sphere and has to be voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order to set of shared rules"[97]. Given this, civil society may be located midway "between the private sphere and the state"[98] and is composed of a number of formal and informal organizations ranging from "economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest-based, developmental, issue-

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[94] Cohen and Arato, 102-107.
[95] Cohen and Arato, 2-3.
[96] Ibid, 2.
[97] Diamond, Larry. 1994. "Toward Democratic Consolidation: Rethinking Civil Society", *Journal of Democracy* 5(3): 4.
[98] Ibid, 4.

oriented to civic organizations"[99]. Business organizations or partnerships make up the economic organizations that aim profit maximization through various means including lobbying for shaping policy outcomes in their favor, whereas cultural civil society organizations represent different religious, ethnic, and other community-based groups and lobby for the establishment of a national or an international regime granting them collective rights. Informational and educational civil society organizations provide and offer expertise, information and knowledge. Interest-based organizations primarily intend to pursue the interests of the members of their organizations regardless of them being for-profit or related to social issues. Developmental organizations seek to ameliorate the living conditions of their members whether through developing the infrastructure or strengthening public institutions, whereas issue-oriented organizations are those that advocate and defend specific issues, such as women's rights, environment, human rights, and minority rights. Finally, civic organizations refer to those that try to contribute to the democratization of the political system and good governance in a given country through various means and activities.

Diamond argues that, contrary to the literature, civil society cannot be described as comprising of all of those organizations that do not operate on behalf of the state. He claims that civil society organizations have distinct features that distinguish them from other social organizations.[100] Firstly, civil society organizations are established based on the interests of their members and strictly at their own discretion. Secondly, they are independent from the state and they are not established through a top-down process, but rather originate from within the society. Moreover, civil society organizations are motivated to transform the state and to shape the decisions or the actions of the state in line with their interests. Janoski defines civil

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[99] Ibid, 6.
[100] Diamond, 6.

society as the "sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere, consisting of voluntary organizations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions".[101] Therefore, civil society is synonymous neither with the state nor with society, and it is located between these acting as a mediator. It is the interaction of voluntary groups in the non-state sphere.[102] In addition to these, civil society should represent a broad range interests as well as different segments of society. Hall's definition divides society into four interactive components: state, private, market and public spheres. Contrary to Habermas, Hall argues that there is an overlap among these spheres and this overlap forms the basis of civil society. In this regard, civil society is considered as a platform for the articulation of interests other than political parties and therefore it creates a check and balances system against state power. According to this point of view, civil society consists of the public sphere of associations and organizations engaged in debate and discussion for political choice.[103] The White Paper on Governance prepared by the European Commission in 2001 depicts civil society consisting of the following groups: trade unions and employer's organizations identified as social partners by the EU; organizations representing social and economic players; non-governmental organizations that bring people together for a common cause, such as human rights organizations, environmental groups, and grass roots organizations; and finally, organizations that facilitate local participation of citizens including churches and religious communities.[104]

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[101] Janoski, Thomas. 1998. *Citizenship and Civil Society, A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional and Social Democratic Regimes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 12.
[102] Lipset, Martin Seymour. 1981. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics,* Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.
[103] Hall, 12.
[104] Commission of the European Communities. 2001. *European Governance, A White Paper,* COM(2001) 428 final, 25 July (Luxembourg: OOPEC); Also see Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on "The role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe", OJ C329, 17.11.99, 30.

The main function of civil society is to challenge the monopoly of the state over the decision-making processes and limit its powers and authorities. Such a function can imply both the monitoring and constraining the exercise of state power, which in turn strengthens democratic institutions and provides new platforms for the marginalized groups. For example, for Tocqueville civil society provides a "counterbalance to the increased capabilities of the modern state"[105]. Therefore, instead of replacing it, civil society forms a platform where it supplements and improves the acts of the state, making them more efficient.[106] In addition to these, participation in civil society organizations enhances political activities of citizens in areas other than those determined by political parties and creates opportunities for them to express themselves through other means than political activities. Put differently, civil society generates channels other than political parties for the representation and articulation of interests.[107] In a similar vein, civil society creates alternatives for participation in policy making by providing the means for influencing local, national and supranational levels of governance. Civil society accommodates a variety of interests within the EU decision-making system since civil society organizations act as transnational structures that allow different actors across and beyond national borders to express themselves. The main motivation behind the objective of involving civil society in EU affairs is usually linked to the democratic deficit problem of the EU. In 2001, the Commission declared that there is a growing need within the EU to create a bridge between EU institutions and the citizens of member countries.[108] Particularly, the increasing emphasis on old forms of governance as a result of the ratification of Maastricht Treaty caused the citizens to be disconnected from European governance processes. In addition to these,

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[105] See Alexis de Tocqueville. 1835. *Democracy in America,* a summary of which can be found in Keane, John. 1988. *Civil Society and the State,* Verso: New York and London; Keane. 1998. *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions,* California: Stanford University Press; Whaites, Alan. 1996. "Let's get civil society straight: NGOs and political theory", *Development in Practice* 6(3): 240-249.
[106] Whaites, 242.
[107] Diamond, 7-9.
[108] Commission of the European Communities. 2001. *European Governance, A White Paper,* COM(2001) 428 final, 25 July (Luxembourg: OOPEC);

strengthening of civil society has been identified as one of the major components of an enlarged EU as civil society has the power to legitimize EU policies within national contexts. According to the Commission report, "The Role and Contribution of Civil Society Organizations in the Building of Europe", the EU reinforces the collaboration among various state and non-state actors and institutions, which is expected to increase their influence on policy outcomes and create a dynamism in terms of cooperative networks.[109]

In an effort to provide an all-encompassing definition, Kohler-Koch and Quittkat[110] surveyed scholars working on civil society and have come up with four different definitions based on their functions as representation, self-constitution, public discourse and public well-being. The first definition which serves the function of representation and takes the governance approach as the basis, describes civil society as including all voluntary and non-profit organizations, which play an important role in giving voice to the demands and needs of the citizens. This is the definition also utilized by the European Commission and the European Economic and Social Committee.[111] According to the authors, these definitions yield two distinct conceptions of civil society. The first of these, also employed by the EU, points to a civil society representing the social and economic interests of the citizens, which is membership-based and reflect the views of a larger constituency. This definition is also easily integrated into the governance approach and it is in line with the principles of representative democracy. Therefore, the EU's understanding of civil society points to a functional relation between the civil society organizations and national and European governing structures. In this regard, civil

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[109] European Economic and Social Committee, *The role and contribution of civil society organisations in the building of Europe,* CES 851/99 D/GW.

[110] Kohler-Koch, Beate and Christine Quittkatt. 2009. "W hat is civil society and who represents civil society in the EU?—Results of an online survey among civil society experts", *Policy and Society* 28(1): 11-22.

[111] Commission of the European Communities. 2001. *European Governance, A White Paper,* COM(2001) 428 final, 25 July (Luxembourg: OOPEC): 14; Economic and Social Committee (1999). The role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe. Brussels: OJ C329: 30.

society has been transformed from a defensive role against the state into a partner in political power when considered from the perspective of the EU.[112]

This understanding is particularly relevant to the reemergence of civil society in the context of the transformation of Eastern Europe. This is also spelled out in John Keane's definition, where the civil society is regarded as the opposite of authoritarianism, a platform for social groups to interact and exist under more acceptable conditions.[113] Therefore, civil society is seen as the mutual existence of consensus and conflict in a balanced manner, exhibiting social diversity while constraining political power.[114] The concept's recent and frequent use in reference to CEE countries is also reflected in Gellner's definition, depicting civil society as "a set of diverse non-governmental institutions that can counterbalance the state while supplementing it in its role as an intermediator between the interests of the society"[115]. Therefore, contrary to the old definitions, in the context of Eastern Europe, civil society has come to be seen as fulfilling two roles: as a tool of information for the actors involved and as an instrument to shape policies and norms. Both of these roles taken up by the civil society reflect the transformation of the governing structures into new modes of governance in the EU that are more flexible and participatory and the role of the civil society in the EU governance system as collective agents representing citizens.

2.2   Contemporary Debates on European Civil Society

The current conceptualization of civil society by the EU considers a vibrant civil society as vital for a well-functioning democracy. The White Paper on Governance published by the

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[112] Kohler-Koch and Quittkatt, 15.
[113] Keane 1988, 3-4.
[114] Ibid, 4.
[115] Gellner, Ernest. 1994. *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals,* New York: Penguin Press, 5; Rosenblum, Nancy and Robert Post. 2002. *Civil Society and Government.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 124.

European Commission in 2001 states that the involvement of civil society in policy processes was one of the most underscored aspects of the White Paper as it indicated that the diversity of the participants of policy processes increase the validity of the EU's actions.[116] Within this framework, an active civil society is considered essential for facilitating the transition to democracy and for the consolidation of the accession process. Therefore, the key objectives of a European civil society are based on increased capacity and involvement in decision-making. This framework is not only important to understand how the EU conceptualizes civil society in member and candidate states, but it is also significant for understanding how the civil society organizations in candidate countries like Turkey can get more actively involved in decision-making as a result of their increased engagement and dialogue with the EU.

The European Union approach to civil society allowed civil society organizations to play a mediating role between actors of different levels, national or European. Even though Ruzza and Bozzini found that the Europeanization of civil society varied across countries and policy sectors, their central finding pointed to the relevance of the EU governance system for the European civil society organizations. While in some sub-sectors such as environmentalists, civil society organizations perceived EU to be highly relevant to their activities at the national level, those working on minority languages found the EU to be less prevalent for their efforts at the domestic level. However, the Europeanization of these civil society organizations indicated certain tasks common to all such as information providing, monitoring, contribution to policy deliberation, representation of the marginalized groups within the population and their potential to connect with these groups.[117] In addition to these, the ability of the civil society organizations to impact upon the media and communicate their ideas through media outlets,

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[116] White Paper on Governance, 11.
[117] Ruzza, Carlo and Emanuela Bozzini. 2008. "Organised civil society and European governance: routes of contestation", *European Political Science* 7: 299-300.

they are also considered as an instrument of legitimization of policies in the public sphere. Ruzza and Bozzini attribute four different routes that civil society organizations can follow to get involved in politics: traditional, European-up, European-down and national.[118] The traditional route emphasizes affecting national policies and therefore participating in domestic policy processes. This is also relevant to the civil society organizations in the candidate states as well as Turkey because it refers to the civil society organizations acquiring information on existing EU directives to open up new opportunities. The authors exemplify Hungary, where the environmental civil society organizations were able to shape local politics by giving references to EU's environmental regulations.[119] In addition to these, the civil society organizations act as a source of information for the European Commission to monitor how these policies are being implemented in member and candidate states.

Another way of getting involved in politics is the European route down, which implies participating in European politics in order to influence national policy-making processes.[120] For the issue of minority protection, in the case of member states, this method does not prove to be useful as the EU's competences related to minority rights is limited. Therefore, the civil society organizations consider getting involved in European politics under two conditions. The first of these is the perception that such an engagement will allow activists to put pressure on national governments. Secondly, it is considered useful if it will allow them to transform national communities that are closed otherwise. Ruzzo and Bozzini argue that in the minority case, the civil society activists focus on national or regional institutions rather than European ones, because of the limited competences of European institutions.[121] They also argue that the impact varies across countries and minority groups. Even though, EU's competences with

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[118] Ibid, 297-299.
[119] Ibid, 298.
[120] Ibid, 299.
[121] Ibid, 297.

regards to minority protection is limited for the member states, approaching the EU proves to be a more useful strategy in the case of candidate states. This is due to the fact that the EU can still use political conditionality towards the government of the candidate state for the non-compliance with Copenhagen criteria. Therefore, it can be argued that instead of approaching their national governments, the civil society organizations in candidate states might find it more useful to approach the EU in order to instrumentalize the pressure exerted by the EU as a means to defend the minority groups that they represent.

The acknowledgement of the significance of civil society by the EU and attributing a more prominent role to civil society organizations by the EU institutions mainly took place during the 1990s. The Maastricht Treaty is considered as the turning point in that sense for the greater engagement of civil society organizations.[122] At the beginning, European civil society was introduced as a remedy to the challenges of European integration. Therefore, it had a more functional role that aimed to overcome the problems related to integration. For instance, Sutherland report published in 1992 as a response to the European Commission's request for assistance in its preparations for the Single Market and the following correspondence in this respect point to the role of civil society actors for obtaining better results in policy-making.[123] Over time, it has acquired a more progressive meaning not replacing national formations but as an additional sphere where a partnership model can be applied. The difference from the traditional civil society within the nation-state, stems from the configuration of the EU, pointing to different levels of governance and therefore allowing these partnerships with civil society to be found across policies, countries and levels of governance. As a result of the expansion of civil society which was encouraged by the EU itself, these organizations started

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[122] Treaty on European Union (Maastricht text), July 29, 1992, 1992 O.J. C 191/1.
[123] World Trade Organization. 2005. "The future of the WTO: Addressing institutional challenges in the new millennium", Geneva: World Trade Organization. Available at
https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/publications_e/future_wto_e.htm.

to take over certain tasks otherwise attributed to the states, such as delivering services, providing information and participation in decision-making. Therefore, such a transition in turn required the increase of the role, resources and the number of civil society organizations.

This transition especially occurred during the accession of Central and Eastern European countries concurrent with the introduction of Copenhagen criteria. It became apparent that the EU started to regard the Union more than an economic unity. These led to the development of a new discourse regarding civil society considering it as an essential element of participation in democratic processes. Even though until the 1990s, the civil society had a more functional role, this started to change and as mentioned previously, the relationship with civil society actors pointed to not only better policy-making but also the establishment of democracy. Within this framework, civil society has played a significant role as the European civil society emerged as a platform for the representation of the citizens of member countries in EU decision-making. In fact, according to a study by Dür and Mateo[124], certain groups lobbying for EU legislation find it easier to advocate for their interests at the EU level. In fact, it can be claimed that the European Commission gave legitimacy to civil society by encouraging new modes of governance and by prioritizing consultation that takes participation as basis[125]. Civil society participation became a guiding principle of EU governance and this principle was applied through material support provided to civil society[126]. This process entailed the formation of national, regional, European and international organizations and networks, all seeking to shape, influence and assess the decision-making mechanisms within the new EU

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[124] Dür, Andreas and Mateo González, Gemma. 2013. "The Europeanization of Interest Groups: National Associations in Multilevel Europe", Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2268605 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2268605.

[125] Kohler- Koch, Beate and Finke Barbara. 2007. "The Institutional Shaping of EU-Society Relations: A Contribution to Democracy via Participation?", *Journal of Civil Society* 3(3): 212.

[126] Greenwood, Justin. 2007. "Organised Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the EU", *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(2): 333-357.

system. This was also mentioned within the White Paper on Governance published by the European Commission in 2001.

The role and significance of civil society organizations became more prominent within this framework. This new approach highlighted that civil society organizations were able to influence norms and values leading social change, while providing the basis for transition to democracy. Along with other factors such as national governments, economic conditions, education that are believed to shape norms and values, civil society organizations were also regarded as having the ability to influence these values. This was especially the approach taken up during the Eastern enlargement. During this period, civil society organizations were assigned with other tasks such as serving as a platform for citizens to get involved in politics and to obtain information about the decisions adopted by the decision-makers. The significance of this role attributed to civil society organizations is that it enables citizens get involved in the issues that concern their daily lives therefore not only contributing to European integration but also ensuring the engagement of the citizens in member countries within EU decision-making processes. Moreover, the legitimacy of EU policies also depend on the capacity of EU institutions to voice diverse opinions from different member states. Therefore, it is believed that the participation of the citizens in EU member states will also contribute to the consolidation and legitimization of the policies adopted by the EU institutions.[127]

Given the significance attributed by the EU to the participation of civil society organizations in decision-making, EU institutions follow different approaches for including civil society organizations. In this regard, whereas the European Council has fairly limited relationship with civil society organizations, the European Commission tries to have an open and direct

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[127] Schutter, Olivier. 2002. "Europe in Search of Its Civil Society", *European Law Journal*, 8(2): 199.

relationship.[128] In fact, the European Commission highlighted the need for systematic consultation with civil society organizations in its Communication on Voluntary Organizations published in 1997, which was further acknowledged within the White Paper on Governance.[129] In comparison, the European Parliament has developed contacts with civil society organizations and channels of consulting as it facilitates the relations with lobbyists and interest groups more frequently.[130] Given these, it is apparent that the EU has undergone significant transformation with respect to the relationships established between civil society organizations and EU institutions. Even though the initial aim was obtaining better policy outputs regarding the economic integration of the union, EU's approach towards civil society was replaced with a more progressive understanding depicting civil society organizations as partners in and building blocks for democratic transition as well as a means for achieving democracy at the EU level. As these civil society organizations operating to speed up the integration process started forming networks, they also highlighted the importance they have in shaping and influencing the decisions adopted both at the national and European level.[131] As a result of this, the European Commission also developed financial instruments that would support civil society organizations in their endeavors to shape and evaluate EU policies and programs.

Respectively, the functional role of the civil society as it was seen initially was also acknowledged during the accession of CEE countries and onwards. The integration of the new candidate countries required a significant workload for the national governments while keeping the public opinion informed and supportive of the harmonization process. Not only did this

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[128] European Commission White Paper on Governance, 2001.
[129] European Commission. 1997. "Promoting the Role of Voluntary Organizations and Foundations in Europe", COM (1997) 241.
[130] Smismans, Stijn. 2002. "Civil Society in European institutional discourses", Paper presented to the ECPR Joint Sessions 2002; March 22-27, Torino Workshop 7: Rescuing Democracy: The Lure of the Associative Elixir. Available at http://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/d72a8633-1fd1-47bb-9124-6f6df4c21e89.pdf.
[131] Diamond, 2004.

require the adoption of a large legislation but these new rules had to be legitimized and accepted by the public opinion. It is in this context that the role of the civil society organizations became more apparent and they were acknowledged also as the essential elements of a successful transition.

2.3 European Civil Society Policy and Enlargement

As mentioned above, the Eastern enlargement had the most profound impact on the European civil society policy. It has shaped the EU's approach towards civil society not only during the pre-accession period of these countries but also in the post-accession period. The most significant result of such an impact was the development of the PHARE program in 1989 to support the transformation of these countries first starting with Poland and Hungary. Afterwards, the PHARE program which was also used by Turkey as well, was the main instrument for the technical and financial assistance provided by the EU to these countries. Moreover, conditionality tool was integrated to this financial assistance program where the financial support was tied to compliance with accession rules and legislative adaptation. However, as the EU aimed for a fast legal harmonization in these candidate countries during the enlargement of CEECs, it was observed that this did not entail implementation at the same levels. This led to the inference that sustainable results that can be carried over into the post-accession process with regard to the adoption of the acquis and democratization were contingent on ensuring the support of the society. In this context, civil society organizations have emerged as key stakeholders in the accession process. They did not only provide the national states with the capacity to reach out to the citizens in a more effective manner, but they were also able to consolidate the decisions adopted by the national decision-makers with the public opinion and inform them about these decisions so that there would be a general consensus. Therefore, as mentioned previously, civil society acquired a role that revolved

around both consensus and contestation. Within this framework, it can be said that the EU expected the civil society organizations in these candidate countries to have a bottom-up effect for democratization and institutional reform complementary to the top-down formal accession process. In other words, EU's understanding of the role of civil society organizations accompanied the conditionality applied by formal institutions directed at the national governments.

The most fundamental critiques of European civil society pertain to its restricted role to monitoring instead of decision-making. It is argued that as the civil society's role transformed from an opposition to authoritarian regimes to a partner in governance, its role has been confined to monitoring the activities of the state because it does not have a vote but only a voice. Secondly, the influence of civil society varies across sub-sectors and across countries. As the EU's competence on certain issues such as minority protection is limited, civil society organizations find it more useful to try to influence regional and national governments in order to defend their interests. Therefore, the partnerships established between civil society and national governments and regional and local authorities are not uniform across member states. Moreover, it is argued that the EU considers civil society organizations as homogeneous and neutral and it does not consider a diverse composition. For instance, it is believed that all of the civil society organizations provided with the financial and technical instruments will use these in an equally efficient and beneficial manner. In return, the EU expects all of these organizations to contribute to the accession process at the same level. However, as clear from the previous experiences both in other candidate countries and in Turkey, the financial and technical assistance provided by the EU to these civil society organizations do not yield the

same results.[132] In fact, civil society actors have their own ideological preferences and views, which affect their engagement with both national and European political actors.

Another criticism of the EU's approach towards civil society organizations is the rather naïve conceptualization that equates civil society organizations with further democratization.[133] This understanding stems from the earlier definitions of the civil society as a set of actors opposing the state. However, as in the Turkish case and some of the minority organizations in Turkey, the civil society organizations do not always stand in opposition to the state but they might stand by the state. Therefore, not all civil society organizations can be expected to act as a monitoring mechanism towards the undemocratic practices of the state. As a result, conceptualizing the civil society as a homogeneous set of actors and definitely as a force of opposition to the state cannot be applied to all cases as it might be seen from the Turkish case in the following chapters. Additionally, the undemocratic and threatening practices of some of the civil society organizations also depicted as the uncivil society is also highly debated. In the most simplistic form, the uncivil society refers to all of those elements of society often exemplified by the extremist right and radical groups that are threatening to the public sphere. In addition to this, although some of the civil society organizations function as a civil society organization, they do not always have a democratic internal structure creating a paradox that even though they are considered as means of bringing democratization, they are not democratic in their own internal structures. Finally, it might be argued that the role of civil society organizations particularly in non-Western societies might be determined by the state ideology itself, which results in these organizations to compromise from their own interests and become dependent on official funding. However, as in the Turkish case, the EU funding and assistance provides an outlet for these organizations making them at least financially independent so that

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[132] Icduygu, Ahmet and Fuat Keyman (eds). 2005. *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences,* London: Routledge.
[133] Heper, Metin and Senem Yildirim. 2011. "Revisiting Civil Society in Turkey", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 11(1): 1.

they do not always have to rely on official state funds to carry out their activities. Nevertheless, the state still plays a pivotal role through political pressures and auditing mechanisms as in the Turkish case, limiting the space for maneuver for these civil society organizations. It is in this context, the political instruments of the EU become more significant for these civil society organizations as the engagement with the EU become a source of leverage, which will be further discussed in the following chapters.

2.4 European Union Civil Society Policy in the Turkish Context

Despite these challenges and critiques of EU's civil society policy, financial assistance has been an important tool for the capacity-building and development of civil society organizations. Turkey has been receiving pre-accession assistance since 2001 under the Turkish Financial Instrument however prior to 2001, the level of financial assistance was much lower and consisted only of some programs related to the European Neighborhood Policy. In 2001, the European Commission prepared a single heading under which all financial assistance provided to Turkey including MEDA and Customs Union regulations, were presented. A further adjustment to the Turkish Financial Instrument was adopted causing a progressive increase in the level of financial assistance.

After the accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU began in 2004, the Commission highlighted the importance of the role attributed to the civil society in order to ensure the development of a dialogue between different actors in Turkey and the EU.[134] Moreover, the Commission pointed to the important role of such a dialogue for experience sharing, lesson learning and fostering the involvement of a multiplicity of actors on debates related to social

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[134] European Commission. 2004. "Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey's progress towards accession." Brussels: European Commission. COM (2004) – 656.

and political issues in Turkey.[135] Within the civil society dialogue framework, the EU defines the civil society as consisting of "the labour-market actors, i.e. the social partners (trade unions and employers federations); organizations representing social and economic players at large (consumer organizations for instance,); non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations, i.e. organizations at grassroots level through which citizens participate in local and municipal life (e.g. youth or family associations); religious communities and media"[136].

The European Commission identifies civil society as a key stakeholder within the accession process even though civil society actors do not participate directly in the accession negotiations. In this context, the main role attributed to civil society organizations is the representation of various interest groups in order to facilitate involvement in the decision-making processes. In this sense, the engagement of civil society is of paramount importance to the EU and there are a number of EU instruments designed for the civil society in Turkey ranging from individual grants to funding programs, from community programs to IPA assistance and the civil society dialogue framework disseminated by the European Commission in Brussels, the European Commission Delegation in Ankara or various national institutions in Turkey.

Until 1999, the scope of financial assistance to Turkey was based on the objective of assisting and enhancing structural adjustment under the MEDA program, as in the case of other Mediterranean partners of the program.[137] Given this, until 2002 the financial assistance to

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[135] European Commission. 2005. "Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions, Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries." Brussels: European Commission, 29 June 2005, COM (2005) 290.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU). "EU-Turkey Financial Cooperation." Downloaded from http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/program.php, on 21.11.2012.

Turkey was mainly comprised of the MEDA program and two regulations governing the financial aid provided as part of the Customs Union as well as economic and social development.[138] In 2001, the Council's regulation on pre-accession financial assistance for Turkey underlined the Commission's aim to start a pre-accession financial assistance program for Turkey identifying €177 million assistance on average per year.[139] In addition to this, the Commission Strategy Paper published in 2002 predicted a gradual increase in the level of financial assistance.[140] Between 2004 and 2006, the priority areas for pre-accession financial assistance to Turkey were set as institution building, which includes twinning programs as well as financial aid allocated to the NGOs for "the consolidation and further development of democratic practices, the rule of law, human rights, equality for women and men and the protection of minorities"[141]. The second priority area was determined as investment, which aimed to launch or to enhance the governing structures necessary for the adoption of the acquis requirements and investment that will eliminate regional gaps between the regions and the disparity between Turkey's national income and the EU average by fostering economic and social cohesion.[142]

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[138] Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "What is EU funding for?" Downloaded on 21.11.2012 from http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/which-are-the-priorities/what-is-eu-funding-for.html.
[139] Economic Development Foundation (IKV). "Turkey-EU Financial Cooperation." Downloaded on 21.11.2012 from http://www.ikv.org.tr/icerik_en.asp?konu=maliisbirligi&baslik=Financial%20Co-operation.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU). "EU-Turkey Financial Cooperation." Downloaded from http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/program.php, on 21.11.2012.
[142] Ibid.

Figure 1.   Pre-accession Financial Assistance to Turkey (2004-2006)[143]

Pre-accession Financial Assistance (million Euros)

Year	Pre-accession Financial Assistance (million Euros)
2004	250
2005	300
2006	500
Total	1050
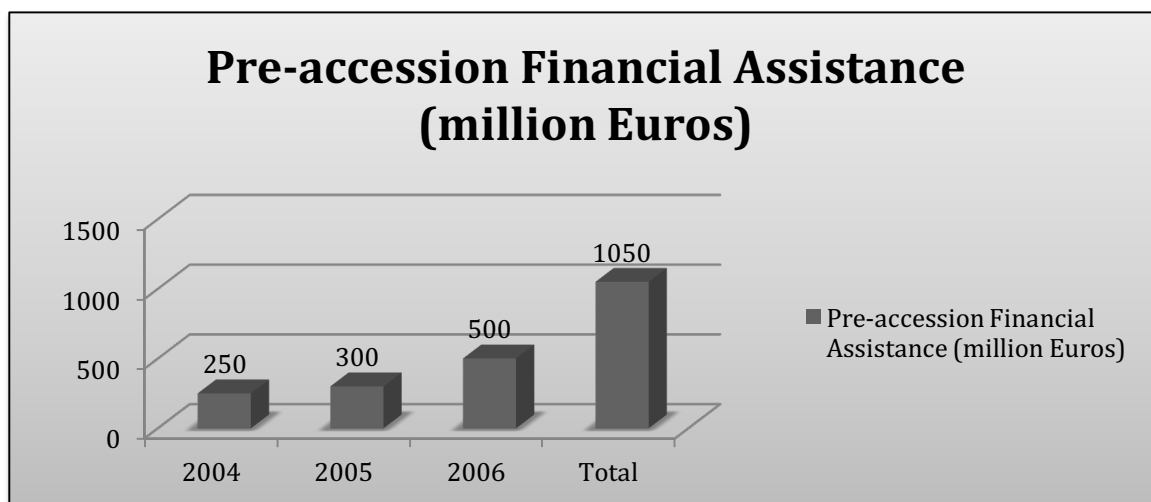
As of 2007, the pre-accession Financial Instrument for Turkey has been replaced with the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) as in the case of other candidate and potential candidate countries. The importance of the IPA program is related to the changes in the extent of financial assistance and the new issue areas included within the scope of the program. In this context, the European Commission identifies IPA's aim as to "be a bridge between external assistance and internal policies".[144] IPA objectives for Turkey include providing Turkey with assistance to implement the necessary reforms for accession and assisting Turkey with the administration of structural assistance.[145] The IPA program provided over 2 billion Euros of financial support to Turkey between 2007-2010.[146]

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[143] Ibid.

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

[145] European Commission. IPA Regional Development Programs in Turkey, "Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)" downloaded from on 21.11.2012. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/thefunds/ipa/turkey_development_en.cfm.

[146] Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "What is EU funding for?" Downloaded on 21.11.2012 from http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/which-are-the-priorities/what-is-eu-funding-for.html.

Figure 2.   Total IPA Support to Turkey (2007-2011)[147]
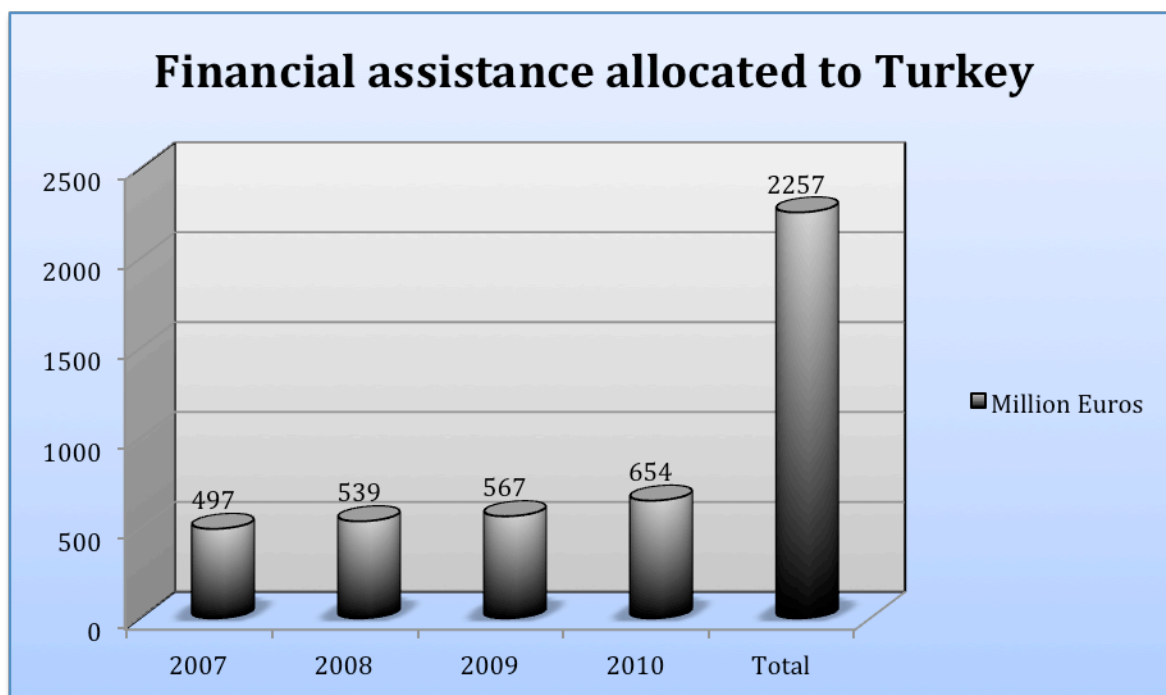
The IPA program for Turkey has five different components; "Transition Assistance and Institution Building, Regional and Cross-Border Cooperation, Regional Development, Human Resources Development and Rural Development"[148]. Civil Society Dialogue is financed under the Transition Assistance and Institution Building component. The IPA funds are coordinated by the EU Secretariat-General, the State Planning Organization, Central Finance and Contracts Unit and various ministries. Between 2007 and 2013, 4.908.900.000 Euros were allocated to various bodies, institutions, and organizations in Turkey within the framework of the IPA program.[149]

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[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU). "EU-Turkey Financial Cooperation." Downloaded from http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/program.php, on 21.11.2012.

Table 1.   IPA Funds for Different Components (Million Euros)[150]

COMPONENT	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	TOTAL
Transition Assistance and Institution Building	257	256	240	211	229	234	238	1665
Cross-border Cooperation	2,1	2,9	3	9,6	9,8	10	10	48
Regional Development	168	174	183	238	293	368	378	1801
Human Resources Development	50	53	56	63	78	90	96	486
Rural Development	21	53	86	131	173	198	213	874
TOTAL:	497	539	566	654	782	900	936	4873

Within the context of the IPA, Turkey also benefits from various Community Programs that are partially financed by the IPA instrument. The European Community Programs are cooperation programs designed to stimulate collaboration between EU member states and candidate countries under different headings covering a variety of community policies.[151] Turkey actively participates in the following community programs: 7th Framework Program, Lifelong Learning Program, Jean Monnet Program, Youth in Action, Culture Program, Community Action in the field of Public Health, Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Program and European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights.[152] The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights is a community program that was initiated in 1994 for providing support to civil society organizations with the aim to promote human rights and democracy.[153] Turkey is a beneficiary to the Democracy and Human Rights program since

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[150] Ibid.
[151] Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "What is EU funding for?" Downloaded on 21.11.2012 from http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/which-are-the-priorities/what-is-eu-funding-for.html.
[152] Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU). "EU-Turkey Financial Cooperation." Downloaded from http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/program.php, on 21.11.2012.
[153] Ibid.

2002 and 2 million Euros was allocated to different organizations in Turkey annually on average for macro-grants which are selected by the European Commission in Brussels and an average of 500.000 Euros per year for micro-grants which are selected by the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey in Ankara.[154] The EIDHR has two components, first of which is related to reinforcing the capacities of civil society organizations so that their participation in policy processes can be expanded.

In 2001, 3 million Euros were allocated to Turkey and until 2008, funding was provided for more than 100 projects with different scopes including freedom of expression, access to justice, prevention of torture, women's rights, protection of refugees and asylum-seekers, minority protection and rule of law.[155] The support is provided either through calls of proposals published on the website of the Europe Aid Cooperation Office in Brussels or the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey which is located in Ankara.[156] For instance, one of the micro grants was granted to the Diyarbakir Branch of Human Rights Association to contribute to the promotion and protection of cultural diversity and respect for different ethnic, cultural and religious minorities in Turkey.[157] The total project budget was 93,745 Euros and the project lasted for 12 months.[158] Another project that was selected for a micro grant within the framework of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights was submitted by the Boyacikoy Surp Yerits Mangans Armenian Church foundation in collaboration with the Lions Association in Beykoz.[159] The objective of the project was to raise awareness on the

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[154] Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "What is EU funding for?" Downloaded on 21.11.2012 from http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/which-are-the-priorities/what-is-eu-funding-for.html.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] European Union Delegation to Turkey. 2008. "European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Program List of the Micro Grants." Ankara.
[158] Personal interview with Human Rights Association Diyarbakir Branch in Diyarbakir on 11.01.2012.
[159] Personal interview with Nazar Sahakyan, Head of the Boyacikoy Surp Yerits Mangans Armenian Church foundation in Istanbul on 13.05.2012.

social problems of the minorities in Istanbul.[160] The total project budget was 68.100 Euros and the duration was 12 months.[161] The main reasoning for EU support to civil society is grounded in the aim to strengthen the dialogue and cooperation between state and non-state actors while increasing the resources of these organizations so that they can be involved in decision-making processes at the domestic and national level.

The European Commission also uses political tools for supporting civil society in Turkey in addition to the financial instruments.[162] The political tools used by the European Commission include political meetings with government authorities, progress reports to provide annual reviews on the achievements of the candidate states, IPA component that includes activities such as supporting local civil society actors, coordinating the dialogue between various non-state actors from Turkey and the EU, supporting the partnerships and networks between civil society organizations from Turkey and the EU for the transfer of know-how and experience-sharing.[163] Apart from these, the European delegation in Ankara corresponds with non-state actors through meetings, panels, workshops and other means of communication.[164] The EU representatives from the European Commission, European Parliament and various EU countries' embassies and consulates also visit civil society organizations and non-state actors on a regular basis in order to obtain objective and accurate information in relation to Turkey's accession process.[165] Finally, different civil society representatives from Europe visit the civil

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] "Guiding Principles for EC Support of the Development of Civil Society in Turkey", http://www.avrupa.info.tr/fileadmin/Content/Files/File/CSD/Guiding_Principles_for_EC.pdf first downloaded on 21.11.2012.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Personal Interview with Assyrian Archbishop of Mardin in Dayrulzaferan Monastery in Mardin on 15.01.2012.
[165] Personal and telephone interviews with Adana Jewish Minority President, Mardin Assyrian Archbishop, Mhelmi Association President, Mayor of Diyarbakir Osman Baydemir, Mayor of Sur Abdullah Demirbas, Diyarbakir Protestant Church Association President.

society organizations and opinion leaders as well as politicians in Turkey in order to obtain objective information about the various social and political issues.

2.5 Civil Society in Turkey

There are many factors for choosing Turkey as a case study. First of all, Turkey provides a striking example of EU's civil society policy. In the same line, part of the literature argues that following the granting of the EU candidacy for Turkey in 1999, one can observe significant pace in the developments related to the Europeanization process and the reforms associated with it.[166] The Helsinki decision can be viewed as a cornerstone as the EU acquired a formal role for monitoring and pressuring for reforms only after Turkey was granted candidacy status while at the same time providing civil society with the resources so that they contribute to the resolution of the problems standing before Turkey's full accession.[167] Since the beginning of the formal negotiations for accession, the EU viewed the role of the civil society organizations as pivotal in the accession process and expressed the significance of these organizations on several occasions. It is also argued that the incompatibility of the state ideology in Turkey with a vibrant and active civil society, which form the building blocks of EU democracy, also compelled the EU to take a closer look at its civil society policy in Turkey. Given this and the minority question being one of the most contested issues in Turkey's history, makes the Turkish case even more interesting because a consolidation of the public opinion with respect to the minority issue and the active involvement of minority civil society organizations in

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[166] See Ziya Onis. 2000. "Luxembourg, Helsinki and beyond: towards an interpretation of recent Turkey-EU relations", *Government and Opposition,* 35(4): 463-483; Paul Kubicek. 2005c. "The European Union and Democratization from Below in Turkey", paper presented at the European Union Studies Association, Austin TX; Sefa Simsek. 2004. "The Transformation of Civil Society in Turkey: From Quantity to Quality" *Turkish Studies,* 5(3): 46-74; Nathalie Tocci. 2005. "Europeanization in Turkey: Trigger or Anchor for Reform" *South European Society and Politics,* 10(1): 73-83; Chris Rumford. 2001. "Human Rights and Democratization in Turkey in the Context of EU Candidature" *Journal of European Area Studies,* 9(1): 93-105. Meltem Muftuler- Bac. 2005. "Turkey's Political Reforms and the European Union" *South European Society and Politics,* 10(1): 17-31.
[167] Bahar Rumelili. 2005. "Civil Society and the Europeanization of Greek-Turkish Cooperation", *South European Society and Politics,* 10(1): 46; Omer C Vardan. 2009. "Turkey-EU Relations and Democracy in Turkey: Problems and Prospects." *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 8(1): 51.

politics was one of the most difficult objectives to achieve. However, at this point, before a more in-depth analysis of the civil society in Turkey, it should be noted that the EU was not the only mechanism that influenced the minority civil society organizations in Turkey. There were other mechanisms and developments that had an impact on the minority groups and the civil society organizations representing these minority groups. In the post-1980 context, it was easily detectable that a body of civil society had started to be formed.[168] The most important among these were the loss of the legitimacy of the strong state tradition concurrently with the political liberalization after the 1980s, the Habitat conference in 1996 that brought together civil society organizations and the Marmara earthquake in 1999, which fostered the dialogue and collaboration between Turkish and Greek civil society organizations.[169] Moreover, not only the EU but also other international donors such as the United Nations and World Bank frequently underlined the significance of civil society organizations for social and economic development and stressed the need for capacity-building of the civil society organizations in Turkey.[170] All of these developments contributed to a vivid civil society sphere in Turkey however, it was the EU accession process that had the most profound effect. This is because the EU accession negotiations led to the changes in the legislation related to the civil society organizations and eliminating the restrictions on the freedom of organization and assembly. Additionally, the constraints on the international relations and international funding of these civil society organizations were removed, resulting in the flourishing of these civil society organizations both with respect to number and capacity. Finally, the technical and especially the financial assistance provided by the European Union for the civil society organizations in Turkey contributed to their capacity-building more than any other international donor as it can be seen in the following section.

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[168] Gole 1994; Toprak 1996; Yerasimos et al. 2000; Keyman and Icduygu 2003; Simsek 2004a and 2004b; Alemdar 2008; Zihnioglu 2012; Kuzmanovic 2012.
[169] Keyman and Icduygu, 2003.
[170] Kuzmanovic 2012, 2.

The three military coups hampered the development of civil society in Turkey seriously. In fact, until the reform packages passed after the Helsinki decision, the civil society is depicted as passive and weak.[171] Looking at the historical context, the first instance concerning the development of civil society organizations in the Turkish Republic can be traced back to 1946. The 1938 Law on Associations amended in 1946 introduced civil rights allowing for an increase in the number of associations, chambers and unions.[172] Along with the newly established multi-party system, from 1950s onward many groups previously not represented within the political sphere found a voice within the new governance structures. Nevertheless, the civil society organizations established during the 1950s could not flourish as they were severely constrained by the government at the time. In fact, most of the time the state institutions preferred to follow a hostile policy towards these organizations following their criticisms of the government about the economic policies.[173]

During the period 1960-1980, state control and oppression over civil society organizations continued in an increasing manner and reached its peak during the 1980 military intervention. Even though the 1961 Constitution reinforced the grounds for democratic practices and broadened the extent of fundamental freedoms, the positive atmosphere could not be maintained for long.[174] In fact, the civil society organizations in the 1960s were mainly composed of professional chambers and trade unions that could be partially independent from

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[171] Paul Kubicek. 2005b. "The Earthquake, Europe and Prospects for Political Change in Turkey", *The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 5(2): 4.
[172] Law No. 4919 of 5 June 1946, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 10 June 1946, No. 6329: p. 10729-10730; Sakallioglu-Cizre, Umit. 1992. "Labor and State in Turkey: 1960-1980." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28(4): 713.
[173] Tanil Bora. 2000. "Professional Chambers and Non-voluntary organizations: The Intersection of Public, Civil and National" in ed. Yerasimos et al. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism*. Istanbul: Orient-Institut, 100-101.
[174] Metin Heper and Fuat Keyman. 2006. "Double-faced state: political patronage and the consolidation of democracy in Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies* 34(4): 265.

the state.[175] This period is also characterized with the left-right polarization both within the general public and within the social movements. The 1961 constitution also included township or solidarity organizations along with professional chambers and trade unions as part of the civil society however after the military interventions of 1971 and 1980, civil society organizations once again lost their autonomy and only those organizations that adhered to the interests of the state could be established.

The 1980 military coup was a significant setback and disruption in Turkey's democratization process. The military regime had an adverse impact on all layers of society including the civil society organizations composed of youth organizations, students' movements, unions, workers' associations and social movements. Following the military coup, almost all civil society activities were prohibited and a significant segment of the organizations were closed down.[176] The 1982 constitution that is still in use today significantly constrained the capacities and the resources of civil society organizations.[177] For example, the 1982 constitution authorized the government to suspend and close down civil society organizations if it deems appropriate. Prior to the military intervention in 1980, there were around 40.000 active civil society organizations in Turkey and the military regime closed down more than half of these in less than two years.[178]

The strong and coercive attitude of the state towards the civil society organizations in the 1980s caused them to remain underdeveloped and dependent on the state until the late 1990s. It is argued that such increase in the quantitative and the qualitative properties of civil society can

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[175] Bora, 104.
[176] Ahmet Icduygu et al., eds. 2011. "Civil Society in Turkey: At a Turning Point, CIVICUS Civil Society Index Country Report for Turkey." *TUSEV*, Istanbul: TUSEV, 26.
[177] Ibid, 27.
[178] Simsek, 46.

be tied to three factors: free market based economy, globalization and the identity claims of minorities.[179] Yet, a number of developments in the second half of the 1990s can also be identified as important junctures that shaped the civil society in Turkey. The first of these is the 1996 Habitat Conference that took place in Istanbul with the participation of several civil society organizations from abroad. This conference is believed to have an awareness-raising effect on the Turkish public with respect to civil society activities. Secondly, the 28 February 1997 coup strengthened the Islamist-secularist conflict causing even more fragmentation within civil society organizations. Finally, the twin earthquakes of 1999 in Turkey and Greece led to the implementation of the Turkey-Greece Civil Society Development Program by the EU. This program allowed for Greek-Turkish civic cooperation through the channeling of EU funds up to 8 million Euros until 2002.[180] Additionally, the reemergence of the concept of civil society during the second half of the 1990s in Turkey cannot be evaluated independently from the global resurgence of the concept in the 1980s and 1990s. In this regard, both the academic and policy-oriented interest in civil society were influenced by each other.[181] In conclusion, the economic and political liberalization policies in the post-1980 period, the dismantling of the strong state, the global interest in the concept of civil society and the discourses of international donors such as the EU, UN and World Bank all contributed to the reformation of the civil society sphere in Turkey as well.[182] In this regard, particularly the second half of the 1990s and the post-Helsinki period is characterized by the upsurge of the civil society, establishment of new civil society organizations, increase in the number and resources and broadening the agendas of existing civil society organizations and the depiction of civil society as a key stakeholder in Turkey's transition.[183]

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[179] Icduygu, 26.
[180] Rumelili, 49.
[181] Seckinelgin 2002; Beckman 1997.
[182] Diez et al. 2005; Kuzmanovic 2010, 2012; Alemdar 2008; Heper and Yildirim 2011; Cenker and Carkoglu 2011; Ketola 2011, 2012.
[183] Seufert 2000; Seckinelgin 2002; Simsek 2004a and 2004b; Icduygu 2007 and TUSEV 2006.

2.6 Civil Society: Post-Helsinki Period

In the post-Helsinki period after the adoption of the reform packages, the number of civil society organizations increased visibly along with the instruments provided to them by the EU. From the mid-1980s onward, the discourse developed in Turkey regarding the civil society reflected political dissent and opposition. In fact, it was one of the few means available to voice criticisms regarding the state practices.[184] However, it can be argued that the EU accession process also changed the notion of civil society in Turkey. Over time, some of the civil society organizations started to consider that civil society is not only an opposition to the strong state but it can also contribute to policy-making. Onis argues that even though civil society organizations have become particularly active in pushing the government for further democratization, these efforts remained limited to business associations and corporations.[185] In a similar vein both Seufert and Bozarslan claim that the civil society in Turkey was being used as a slogan and it is not possible to talk about a clear definition that is accepted by all segments of the society.[186] Instead, groups located at different points in the political spectrum, such as the nationalists or the minority organizations and even minority groups, interpret the use of the term civil society differently from each other. TUSEV report portrays the civil society in Turkey with low levels of engagement, membership and donations however the participation of those involved in these civil society organizations are characterized as intense.[187] This might be related to the history of the civil society in Turkey and the strong state tradition, high levels of oppression and pressure applied to civil society organizations both institutionally and

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[184] Gole 1994; Toprak, Binnaz. 1995. *"Civil Society in Turkey", in Norton,* Civil Society in the Middle East*, EJ Brill, Leiden*, 95; Kuzmanovic 2012, 16 and Kaliber and Tocci, 2010.

[185] Ziya Onis. 2003. "Domestic Politics, International Norms and Challenges to the State: Turkey-EU Relations in the post-Helsinki Era", *Turkish Studies* 4(1): 12-13; Also see Ziya Onis and Umut Turem. 2001. "Business, Globalization and Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of Turkish Business Associations." *Turkish Studies* 2(2): 94–120.

[186] Seufert 2000; Bozarslan in Tourmakine (ed.) 2005.

[187] TUSEV 2011, 70.

individually on the basis of the members. This is most apparent in the case of Human Rights Association, which had most of its members, administrators and those families reporting disappearances to the organization tortured and imprisoned during the 1990s.[188] In fact, during the interviews IHD executives indicated that during the 1990s, they had their members lined up for administrator positions because each week someone would be taken into custody and they did not want to leave these managerial positions empty to show the Turkish state that they did not give up their struggle.[189]

In spite of these different interpretations, after 2002 in accordance with the reform packages and the reforms regarding freedom of association not only the number of civil society organizations increased significantly but also the type of organizations and the content of their activities were particularly diversified.[190] In fact, Yildirim and Heper argue that gradually the state and political / economic actors also acknowledged the significance of the civil society organizations for Turkey's political and economic development.[191] The perception developed from the 1980s onward regarding the civil society as a means of challenging the authoritarian state was complemented with the emergence of new claims of different groups marginalized in the past by the Kemalist state tradition to get involved in politics.[192]

The legislation in Turkey specifies six major civil society organizations; foundations, associations, trade unions, chambers, cooperatives and federations and confederations. However, a detailed list of civil society organizations would also include faith-based organizations, human rights organizations, educational organizations, non-profit media,

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[188] Personal interview with IHD Diyarbakir branch.
[189] Personal interview with IHD Diyarbakir and Ankara branches.
[190] Grigoriadis 2009, 58; Yildirim and Heper 2011, 7.
[191] Yildirim and Heper 2011, 7; Keyman and Onis 2007, 283.
[192] Keyman and Icduygu, 222; Kuzmanovic, 13; Seufert, 2003.

women's organizations, youth and student organizations, professional organizations, community groups, economically oriented organizations, cultural organizations, environmental organizations, ethnic minority organizations, religious minority organizations, grant-giving organizations, networks, platforms and initiatives and social movements. Some of these minor organizations such as platforms, initiatives, networks, movements or advocacy groups cannot be officially registered with the Department of Associations, as there are no current legal frameworks that govern the activities of voluntary organizations.[193]

Both the associations and the foundations are subject to the Turkish Civil Code as well as the Law on Associations and Foundations in addition to Article 33 of the Constitution. There is no definition corresponding to civil society organizations in Turkey. Given the lack of a special categorization of civil society organizations within the legislation, those organizations founded by the state or that require involuntary membership are evaluated in the same manner as other voluntary, non-profit organizations. Other legislation governing the civil society organizations include the Law on Fund-Raising, the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations, Provisions on the Relations of Associations and Foundations with State Institutions and Organizations, the Press Law, related provisions within Turkish Penal Code and Law of Misdemeanor and all related tax laws.[194] Regardless of the recent reforms enacted through the harmonization packages, there are still significant barriers before the free and effective functioning of civil society.

The provisions of the Law on Associations stipulate that associations are membership-based organizations that can be established by at least seven real or legal persons who are required to work towards a legal and non-profit goal.[195] In 2000, the total number of active associations in

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[193] Icduygu et al., 28.
[194] Tevfik B. Ersen et al. "Sivil Toplum Izleme Raporu 2011 (TUSEV Civil Society Assessment Report 2011)." *TUSEV*. Istanbul: TUSEV Publications.
[195] Icduygu et al., 28.

Turkey was 60,931 whereas in 2013 the total number of active associations is 94,124.[196] According to this, the total number of associations increased approximately 50% during the last 10 years. As indicated in Figure 1, there is an increasing trend in the number of associations throughout the decade. The decrease in the number of associations in 2004 is related to the dissolution of a number of associations as required by the amendments to the Law on Associations.[197] The data obtained from the Department of Associations indicate that the highest percentage of associations is registered in the Marmara region, followed by the Central Anatolian region where the capital is located. The lowest number of associations is in the Southeastern Anatolian region, parallel to the low levels of development in the region and the lowest population percentages. In addition, both southeastern and eastern regions where the population is predominantly Kurdish are characterized by police harassment, torture, unidentified murders and village evacuations which caused more than 2 million people internally displaced people to migrate to the Western cities throughout the 1980s and the 1990s.

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[196] Department of Associations, Statistics for Associations in Turkey, Yıllara Göre Faal Dernek Sayısı (The Number of Active Associations Across Years), first downloaded on 10.11.2011 http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12 &lang=tr.
[197] Ibid.

Figure 3.　　Total Number of Associations in Turkey (2000-2012)[198]
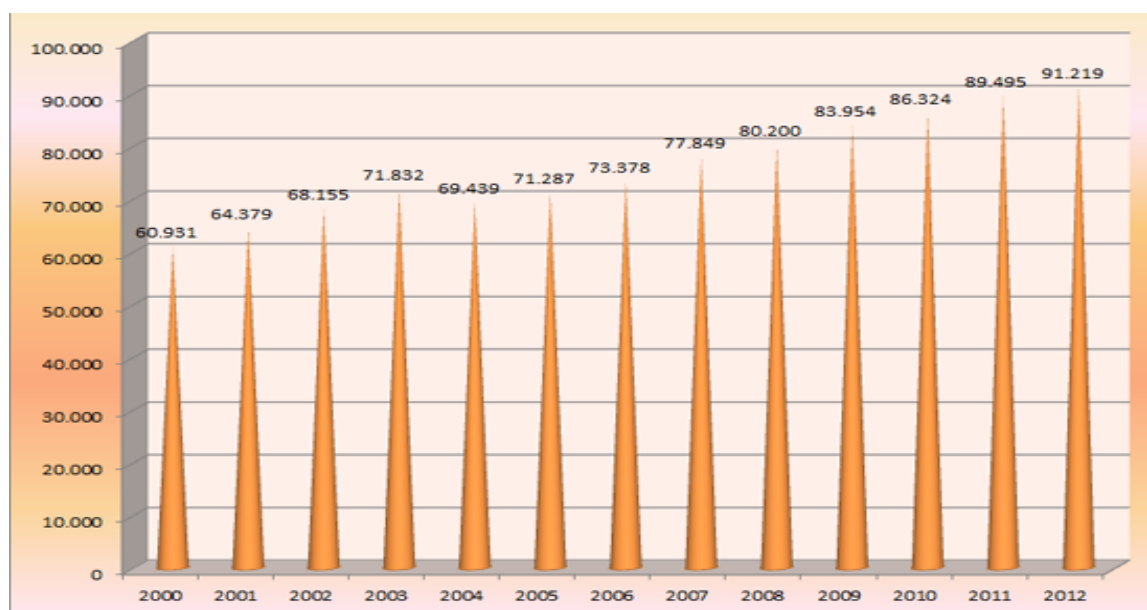
The research conducted as part of this thesis demonstrated that the number of associations in Turkey significantly varies among different minority groups. According to the data collected, the total number of Roma associations is around 210 with 11 different federations[199], whereas the Alevis have three different federations and the number of member associations in total is over 200 together with the branch organizations.[200] The Caucasian groups, also one of the most populated groups, established two federations with member organizations up to 80.[201] In addition, the Circassians recently established a separate Circassian Federation with 6 member associations.[202] In addition, nine Abkhaz organizations established the Abkhaz Federation in

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[198] Ibid.

[199] Nurcan Kaya. 2011. "Freedom Through Association. Freedom of Association of Groups Defending Minority Rights in Turkey", *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network,* 21. Email correspondence with Hatice Cetinkaya, Zero Tolerance Association on 27.05.2013.

[200] Ibid, 24; Alevi-Bektasi Federation has 195 member associations together with their branches, Alevi Foundations Federation has 12 member foundations and Alevi Associations Federation has 10 member associations.

[201] Caucasian Associations Federation (KAFFED) has 55 member associations and United Caucasia Federation has around 35 member associations.

[202] Circassian Associations Federation (Cerkes-Fed) was established in April 2013 in Istanbul with six different Circassian associations.

2011. The Laz associations comparatively are only four, whereas the Assyrians have five associations and there is only one Hamshen association that was recently established. In addition, there are also organizations that do not denote themselves as representing any minority group although they mainly focus on the issues of the Kurdish population living in the southeast. In fact, even though the Kurds have the biggest population in Turkey, the number of organizations that include the word "Kurdish" in their names does not exceed 20. In the same line, the number of Circassian organizations is 59 but most of them call themselves Caucasian organizations and the members include Georgian and Abkhazian groups as well. According to a recent decision given by the Caucasian Federation, the local Circassian organizations started changing their names from Caucasian to Circassian however the name of the federation stayed as the Caucasian Federation.[203]

According to a study conducted in 2011 by the Turkish Third Sector Foundation (TUSEV) as part of a Civil Society Index Project (STEP), the total number of associations constitute 56.01% of the total number of the major civil society organizations defined by the Turkish legislation where as the total number of foundations correspond to 2.96%.[204] These include both the newly established foundations and the non-Muslim minority foundations that will be discussed below.

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[203] Telephone interview with Bursa Circassian Cultural Association President Filiz Celik on 25.08.2011.
[204] Icduygu et al. 28.

Table 2. Civil Society Organizations in Turkey[205]

TYPE OF CSOS	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF THE TOTAL
Associations	86,031	56.01
Chambers	4,749	3.09
Foundations	4,547	2.96
Trade Unions	94	0.06
Civil Servant Trade Unions	93	0.06

The difference in the number of associations and foundations can be tied to the differences between the conditions for establishing an association and a foundation. Foundations can be founded by real or legal persons, on the condition that private resources are allocated to public benefit.[206] Therefore in order to establish a foundation, the founders are required to register a certain immovable property under the name of that foundation. The foundations in Turkey can be divided into two groups: new foundations established after 2002 and non-Muslim minority foundations that were established prior to 1923.[207] Furthermore, the new foundations cannot be established with the aim of supporting a certain racial or religious group.

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[205] Ibid, 28.
[206] Law No. 4721 of 22 November 2001, The Turkish Civil Code, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 08 December 2001, No. 24607.
[207] Law No. 4721, Article 101.

Table 3.   Total Number of Foundations in Turkey (1999-2011)[208]

YEAR (1999 – 2011)	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS
1999	4,471
2000	4,556
2001	4,563
2002	4,530
2003	4,501
2004	4,443
2005	4,416
2006	4,402
2007	4,404
2008	4,450
2009	4,471
2010	4,526
2011	4,603

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[208] Directorate General of Foundations, New Foundations Statistics, "New Foundations Across Years", http://www.vgm.gov.tr/icerik.aspx?Id=192. First downloaded on 24.01.2012.

Figure 4.   Total Number of Foundations in Turkey (1980-2011)[209]
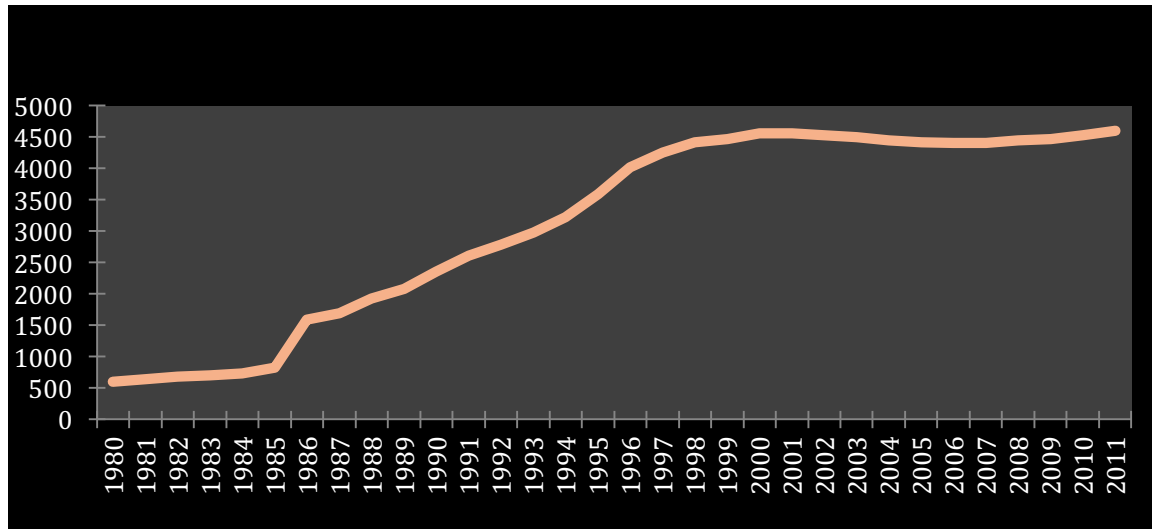
As evident from Table 3 and Figure 4, the total number of foundations increased during the

last 30 years even though the slope of the line is much more steep between 1987 and 2002. The

foundations demonstrated in these figures are established after 1980 in accordance with the

Turkish Civil Code. In addition there are also non-Muslim religious minority foundations

established in line with the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. The non-Muslim

minority foundations refer to those foundations that were established by the Greek Orthodox,

Armenian, Jewish, Bulgarian, Maronite, Chaldean and Assyrian minorities prior to the

establishment of the Republic of Turkey. After the Turkish Republic was founded, these

foundations went under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Foundations with the adoption of

the new Law on Foundations in 1935 and they were registered with the Directorate through a

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[209] Ibid.

declaration stating their private resources and the list of immovable property in 1936.[210] They are legal entities and they can acquire property. They can also hold their own elections for board members. As mentioned above, currently the Law on Foundations does not allow the non-Muslim minority groups to establish new foundations in the same manner as it is still forbidden to establish foundations with the aim to support any racial or religious group.

Table 4.   Total Number of Non-Muslim Minority Foundations in Turkey[211]

City Name	Maronite	Assyrian	Chaldean	Armenian	Greek Orthodox	Jewish	Bulgarian
Mersin	1						
Ankara						1	
Canakkale					6	1	
Sirnak		1					
Bursa						1	
Diyarbakir		1	1	1			
Mardin		6	1	1			
Edirne							1
Kirklareli						1	
Antakya				3	7	2	
Istanbul		1	1	47	63	12	1
Izmir						1	
Kayseri				1			
Elazig		1					
Total	1	10	3	53	76	19	2

As shown in Table 4, the total number of non-Muslim minority foundations currently registered with the Department of Foundations is 164. The Greek Orthodox foundations have the highest

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[210] Grigoriadis, 33; Law No. 2762 of 5 June 1935, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 13 June 1935, No. 3027.
[211] Directorate General of Foundations, Religious Minority Foundations Statistics, "Minority Foundations According to Type of Minority and City/Towns", http://www.vgm.gov.tr/icerik.aspx?Id=192, first downloaded on 24.01.2012.

number, making up approximately 46% of the total number of non-Muslim foundations. The Greek Orthodox foundations are ranked just above the Armenian foundations with 32.3%. 135 of these non-Muslim foundations are established in the Marmara region, 13 in the Mediterranean region and 12 in the southeastern Anatolia. These numbers can be explained by looking at the current situation of non-Muslim minorities. As it will be elaborated further in the second section of this chapter, almost 90% of the non-Muslim minorities living in Anatolia left Turkey mostly involuntarily between 1915 and 1965 as a result of the oppressive practices of the Turkish state including the executions during the 1915 Armenian Genocide. Most of the remaining population either originally resided in Istanbul or migrated to Istanbul following the attacks and looting by the Turkish authorities or the majority Turkish population in the cities where they originally lived.[212]

Figure 5.   Total Number of Non-Muslim Minority Foundations in Turkey[213]

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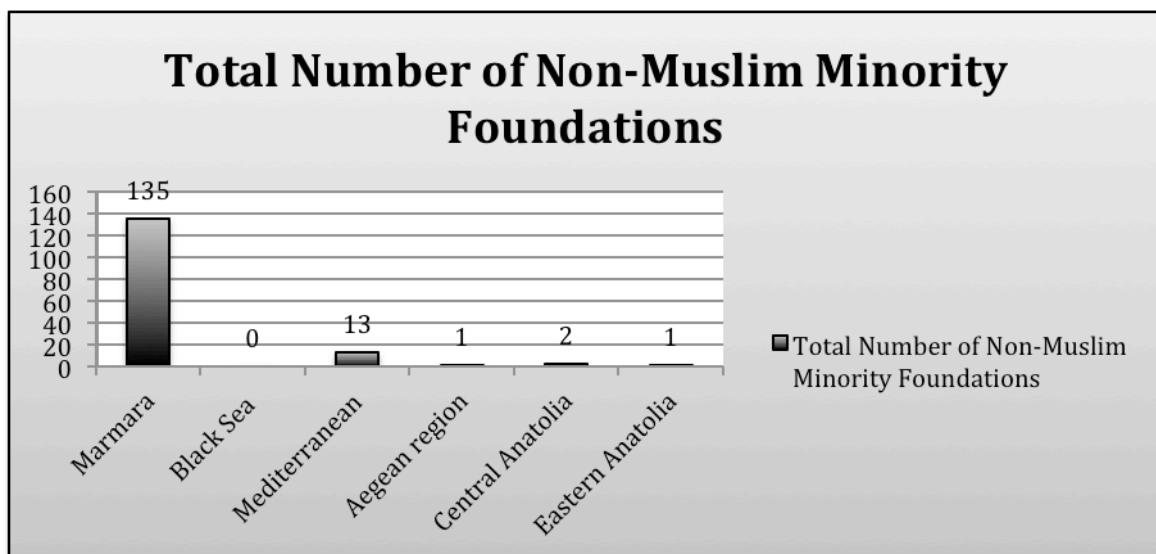
[212] The critical junctures for the mass deportation of non-Muslim minorities can be summarized as the 1915 Genocide, 1933 attacks on Jews in Trachia, 6-7 September 1955 attacks on Greek Orthodox, 1948 foundation of Israel and escalating anti-Semitism throughout 1940s, 1945 Tax Law and labor camps of Askale, 1933 and 1968 attacks towards the Assyrians living in Mardin.
[213] Directorate General of Foundations, Religious Minority Foundations Statistics, "Number of Non-Muslim Minority Foundations across Geographical Regions", http://www.vgm.gov.tr/icerik.aspx?Id=192, first downloaded on 24.01.2012.

Finally, the other types of civil society organizations included in this research are federations, confederations, platforms, initiatives, networks, trade unions, professional unions, chambers, business associations and think tanks. According to the Law on Associations, federations are legal entities that can be established when five organizations come together with same objective. Confederations can be formed when three or more federations sharing the same objective come together. Both the federations and the confederations have the same legal status with the associations. Currently in Turkey there are around 19 confederations and 432 federations, with 7348 member associations.[214] The Law on Associations and the Law on Foundations also state that the associations, foundations or other civil society organizations may come together with other civil society organizations to form platforms in order to realize a common objective.[215] However, platforms are not legal entities therefore they are identified as temporary organizations.

Unlike the foundations, human resources and membership numbers determine the characteristics of the associations in Turkey. In fact, most of the associations especially the branch organizations reported membership fees as their main source of income during the interviews conducted as part of this research. Nevertheless, the percentage of members of an association is extremely low when compared with EU member states such as Sweden where more than 85% of the population is a member of a civil society organization.[216] In Turkey the total percentage of the members of associations to the population of Turkey is 11.85% and of these 2.15% are women and 9.7% are men.[217]

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[214] Icduygu et al., 42.
[215] Ibid, 29.
[216] Government Offices of Sweden. "Policy for civil society: Research and Statistics", http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/14291/a/173356. First downloaded on 25.01.2012.
[217] Department of Associations, "Statistics for Associations in Turkey: The Ratio of Association Members to the General Population in Turkey", downloaded at http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12 &lang=tr. First downloaded on 24.01.2012.

Figure 6.   Membership in Associations[218]
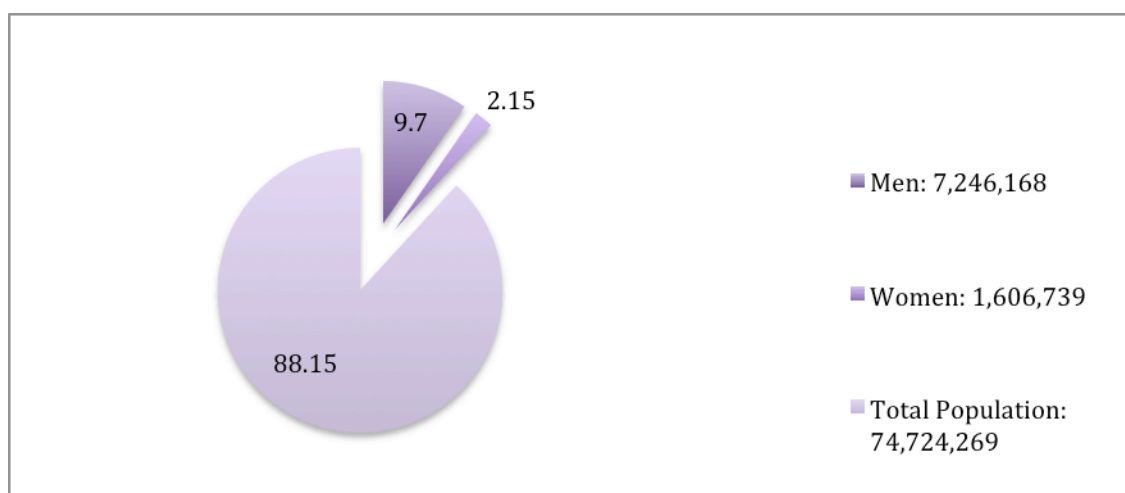
According to the TUSEV survey conducted with members of different civil society organizations, the membership of women and minorities as well as lower income groups in civil society organizations is much more limited when compared with higher income groups.[219] 57.4% of civil society representatives surveyed described the membership levels of different ethnic minorities as below normal where as 13% think they do not exist at all and that they are marginalized from the civil society spectrum.[220] According to the same study, 52.9% of the surveyed civil society organization representatives think that the membership levels of religious minorities are below normal where as 15.1% think that they are marginalized and are almost invisible within these organizations.[221]

On the other hand, according to a World Values Survey (WVS) conducted in 2007 with a sample group of 1346 people, the majority of the population in Turkey does not actively

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[218] Data gathered through the official response of the Department of Associations, Ministry of Internal Affairs in response to the request to obtain information about associations in Turkey upon the Law on the Right to Obtain Information. Official reply received from the Department of Associations on 18.05.2012.
[219] Filiz Bikmen and Zeynep Meydanoglu, eds. 2006. "The Civil Society in Turkey: An Era of Transition." *TUSEV*. Istanbul: TUSEV Publications, 48.
[220] Bikmen and Meydanoglu, 51.
[221] Ibid, 51.

participate in the civil society.[222] The data collected show that the levels of volunteering, membership, activism and engagement are fairly low. According to the surveys conducted with the minority organizations as part of this thesis, an important portion of the minority organizations surveyed stated that they do not have paid employees but rather operate on a volunteer basis and almost 90% of their annual budget is composed of membership fees and donations. In other words, the levels of membership in minority organizations are comparatively higher when compared with other civil society organizations. This might be tied to the fact that most of these organizations represent a certain group and their members are also the members of that particular minority group. Moreover, the CIVICUS Country Report published in 2011 shows the level of engagement of ethnic minorities in civil society organizations in Turkey. The data within the study reveals that ethnic minorities prefer to participate in civil society activities in an individual capacity and therefore demonstrate high levels of involvement in solidarity organizations.[223]

The civil society organizations in Turkey are not only fragmented in terms of their types but also in terms of their concentration areas. Table 5 shows the different concentration areas for the associations and the changes in their numbers over the years.

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[222] For more see World Values Survey. 2007. "Turkey Online Data Analysis, Section Perception of Life" at http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAnalizeIndex.jsp. First downloaded on 28.03.2011.
[223] Icduygu et al., 46-47

Table 5.   Concentration Areas of Associations (1999-2012)[224]

Concentration Area	1999	2004	2007	2012
Social services to enhance religious services	13774	14143	14590	15890
Social solidarity associations	4718	8303	12760	15881
Sporting clubs	8703	10279	13187	15708
Development	5924	8215	8547	10266
Professional Associations and Education	5314	7000	7671	9215
Improving and Supporting Social Life	12470	9258	5921	6468
Friendship associations	1423	2096	3577	4181
Culture	1630	2552	2805	4000
Health	2059	1812	1824	2071
Environment	473	781	1192	1671
Social	760	920	1139	1665
Construction	1674	1675	1515	1377
Civil rights and advocacy	396	641	744	854
Youth	90	207	495	780
Other	2263	1192	256	445
Women's organizations	60	82	150	358
Student organizations	180	210	284	339
International activities	27	45	68	76

On the other hand, most of the foundations in Turkey focus on social solidarity and education while the number of foundations concentrating on democracy and human rights is as low as 0.6%. This might be related to the pressure exerted by the government on those organizations that work on human rights and also the fact that only recently, as a result of the reforms it was

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[224] Data gathered through the official reply of the Department of Associations, Ministry of Internal Affairs in response to the request to obtain information about associations in Turkey derived from the Law on the Right to Obtain Information. Official reply received from the Department of Associations on 18.05.2012.

possible to establish civil society organizations that can concentrate on the minority issue. In fact, during the fieldwork most of the organizations refrained from describing themselves as a minority organization but rather claimed that they concentrate on cultural issues.

Table 6.   Concentration Areas of Foundations[225]

CONCENTRATION AREA	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS
SOCIAL SOLIDARITY	2540
EDUCATION	2236
HEALTH	1029
CULTURE	997
RELIGION – RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	749
ARTS	378
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT	371
SPORTS	355
SOCIAL SERVICE	329
ECONOMIC	255
SCIENCE – TECHNOLOGY	234
SOCIO HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL	202
ENVIRONMENT	186
EMPLOYEE SUPPORT	156
TOURISM	96
DEMOCRACY – RULE OF LAW – HUMAN RIGHTS	59
DISABLED GROUPS	49
AGRICULTURE	45
CHILDREN	38
FAMILY	29
KEMALIST PRINCIPLES AND REFORMS	27
PRESS – JOURNALISM	24
WOMEN	14
MARITIME	12
INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT	11
ARCHITECTURE – ENGINEERING	10
TRAFFIC	9
MARTYRS – VETERANS	8
LIBRARIANSHIP	6
HUNTING	3
MINING	3
CONSUMER PROTECTION	3

In addition to this, both the Department of Associations and the General Directorate of Foundations do not distinguish between minority rights and human rights, the numbers of civil society organizations working on minority rights or representing different minority groups are

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[225] Directorate General of Foundations, New Foundations Statistics, "The Distribution of New Foundations According to Their Aims", http://www.vgm.gov.tr/icerik.aspx?Id=192. First downloaded on 24.01.2012.

not fully accurate.[226] Moreover, there are no extensive studies concerning the membership levels in these organizations. As part of the surveys conducted for this thesis, the data concerning the number of volunteers in the organizations surveyed is provided in Chapter 5 of this thesis demonstrating the participation levels among different minority groups.

The type of activities organized and the projects implemented by civil society organizations differ according to their concentration areas. For example, while social solidarity or charity organizations mostly prefer to organize social gatherings and activities, advocacy organizations hold press conferences and petition drives. According to a study conducted by the Yasama Dair Foundation (YADA) between 2007 and 2010, the type of activities organized by different civil society organizations and their percentage levels are shown in Table 7. The minority groups surveyed within this research mostly expressed that the type of activities they organize aim to preserve and promote the culture, language and the identity of their communities. In order to achieve this objective, the type of activities includes concerts, language courses, cultural activities, demonstrations, press conferences, publications and festivals. In addition, they also reported organizing panels, conferences and meetings with European civil society organizations, delegations, journalists and politicians.

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[226] The findings related to the number of minority organizations in Turkey will be provided in the Fifth Chapter of this thesis. The data presented are collected throughout the fieldwork conducted between June 2011 and February 2012.

Table 7.   Types of Activities Organized by Foundations and Associations[227]

Type of Activity	Percentage (%)
Social activities	66.1
Dinner party for members	63.1
Meetings with renowned people	50.1
Meetings with local newspapers	41.6
Meetings with parliament members	39.3
Panel, conference, symposium events	38.3
Meetings with local TV channels	33.7
Press conferences	30.0
Sending activity reports to public authorities	27.2
Meetings with national TV channels and newspapers	24.8
Sports activities	24.8
Commemorations	24.6
Arts and culture activities	18.9
Scientific publications	17.7
Scientific research	15.5
Charity sales	13.3
Petition drives	12.3
Constructing schools, mosques, parks	10.1
Demonstrations and marches	9.2
Other street events	6.7

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[227] Mesut Yegen et al. 2010. "Civil Society Culture in the Voluntary Organizations", *YADA Publications:* 62-63; Icduygu et al., 100.

For civil society organizations in Turkey, the lack of financial capacities and human resources may be identified as the most important problem. Not only the financial resources are scarce and hard to obtain but also the number of paid employees is really low. According to the Department of Association Statistics of 2009, 57% of civil society organizations do not have any paid staff.[228] The number of civil society organizations with 1-5 paid staff is 23% where as only 14% of the total number of organizations stated they employ paid staff between 6-20.[229] Almost all minority representatives interviewed for the purposes of this research suggested that they only operate on principles of volunteerism and that they do not have any financial resources to hire paid staff. In addition to this, most of the grant-giving institutions do not allow civil society organizations to use the allocated funding for human resources.[230] Therefore, the organizations are particularly dependent on volunteers and members.

Following this, it should be highlighted that perhaps the most urgent problem faced by the civil society organizations is the issue of sustainability. The main source of funding for the Turkish civil society organizations is the European Union. As it will be elaborated further in the following sections, the EU grants are hard to obtain as they require certain skills including competence in English, previous experience and capacities that would ensure the effective implementation of the project activities such as paid project coordinators, treasurer, project advisors etc. Secondly, the financial resources other than EU funds are really scarce and the process for grant applications is not transparent as indicated by many interviewees.[231] Thirdly, the lack of human resources and limited experience is a major disadvantage during the application process that turns into a vicious circle as expressed by many civil society

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[228] Icduygu et al., 40-44.
[229] Ibid, 44.
[230] Personal interview conducted in Istanbul with Mesopotamia Culture Association, 25 September 2012.
[231] Personal interviews conducted in Diyarbakir with the mayor of Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality Osman Baydemir and the mayor of Sur Municipality in Diyarbakir, Abdullah Demirbas. 11 January 2012.

representatives.[232] In order to overcome these challenges, some civil society organizations hire external advisors or consulting companies to prepare project applications but these external companies charge between 2000 and 5000 Euros, which makes it harder for civil society organizations to pay their fees. In addition to this, the qualified staff competent in English and that has in-depth knowledge of EU processes demand high salaries that the civil society organizations are again unable to pay.

According to the results of a survey conducted by TUSEV with 146 civil society organizations within seven cities around Turkey, it was discovered that 34% of their financial resources are membership fees, 18% are individual donations, 18% are received from foreign donors, 8% are private sector funds, 6% are government funds and 5% are service fees.[233] Similarly, according to the findings of the YADA survey, 44.6% of the voluntary organizations surveyed indicated that their annual budget is below 5,000 Euros while 28.3% of the organizations stated their annual budget is between 5,000 and 25,000 Euros.[234] According to the surveys conducted with minority organizations as part of this thesis, the minority associations and foundations except the major federations and those organizations that obtained one or more EU grant from the European Commission denoted their annual budget as below 10.000 Euros. In addition to this, since the local branches of Alevi or Caucasian federations are required to send 70% of the collected membership fees to their main branch office while some of these organizations are not allowed to apply for EU funding.[235] Therefore, most of the time their human resources and financial resources remain below the average numbers and their activities are confined to advocacy.

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[232] Personal interviews conducted in Adana, Mersin, Mardin and Diyarbakir with civil society organizations.
[233] Third Sector Foundation (TUSEV). 2010. "Sivil Toplum Değerlendirme Raporu Ekim 2009 – Eylül 2010" (Civil Society Evaluation Report October 2009-September 2010), TUSEV Publications: 3.
[234] Mesut Yegen et al., 147.
[235] Personal interview with Isa Elagoz, Adana Circassian Cultural Association on 20.07.2011 and with Adana Alevi Cultural Association on 18.07.2011.

The funds available for civil society organizations in Turkey can be classified into two groups: national and international grants. International grant giving institutions provide a significant amount of funding for the civil society organizations in Turkey. In fact, the total amount of foreign funding obtained by the associations in Turkey between 2008 and 2009 is 31 million Euros, 1.48 million US Dollars, 4.300 Norwegian Krone, 40.500 Australian Dollars, 376.000 British Pounds, 142.000 Swiss Francs, 1.8 million Swedish Krona, 4.9 million Danish Krone and 291.000 Canadian Dollars.[236] In addition to this, the total amount of foreign grants secured by the foundations in Turkey is approximately 34 million Euros in 2009 and around 15 million Euros in 2010.[237] For the Turkish case, the highest amount of funding to the Turkish civil society is allocated by the European Union. In addition to the European Union, various embassies and consulates, private international foundations including the National Endowment for Democracy based in USA or the German foundations such as Freidrich Ebert Foundation or Konrad Adenauer Foundation, United Nations, the World Bank and other international grant giving institutions (Olof Palme Center, Open Society Institute, Anna Lindh Foundation, Global Dialogue Foundation etc.) are among the organizations that provide large scale funding to the civil society organizations in Turkey.

The total amount of EU funding provided to the foundations and associations within the framework of civil society dialogue between 2003 and 2010 is 11.264.479,82 Euros,[238] while the EU allocated a total of 21.5 million Euros within the framework of the Civil Society Dialogue Program since 2006.[239] Comparatively, in 2011 only nine civil society organizations

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[236] Ersen et al., 38-39.
[237] Ibid, 38.
[238] Ibid, 35-36.
[239] Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue." Downloaded from http://www.avrupa.info.tr/de/eu-and-civil-society/civil-society-dialogue/eu-turkey-civil-society-dialogue.html, on 06.01.2012.

were provided with direct funding by American private foundations and grant giving institutions in the amount of 1,550,776 US Dollars.[240] Among these organizations there are women's human rights organizations, research institutes, organizations working on arts and culture and even charity organizations. The total amount of funding received by Turkish civil society organizations between 2003-2012 from the grant-giving organization located in USA is 4,282,531 US Dollars.[241] As mentioned previously, some of the funding granted to the Turkish civil society organizations is from the foreign embassies and consulates in Turkey. Among these, the most prominent are the Matra-Kap program of the Dutch Embassy, Swedish Development Agency and the smaller scale grants given by Japanese, Australian, American, Canadian, Finnish and British Embassies.

There are significant regional differences in terms of the diversity of foreign funds. While the Marmara region is highest in terms of receiving foreign funding and scores visibly higher than the country average, the Mediterranean region receives the lowest amount of foreign funding. The Black Sea region ranks the second highest due to the funding provided through additional programs such as European Neighborhood Policy or the Black Sea Basin Program in addition to the EU funds generally available. As shown in Figure 5, the lowest percentages of EU funding are received by the civil society organizations in the Aegean and the Mediterranean regions. One explanation for such a discrepancy might be the type of funding provided by the EU. The main programs under the EU funding schemes for Turkey focus on the strengthening of the civil society in order to satisfy the Copenhagen criteria. Moreover, most of the civil society organizations obtain grants targeting issues such as environment, human rights, minority rights, rule of law, democracy, culture and arts, women's rights and civil society

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[240] Foundation Center, Interactive Map of Direct Grants by US Grantmakers to non-US recipients, Turkey, http://fconline.foundationcenter.org/maps/CountryNumber.php?map=TR&unit=Turkey&y0=All.   First downloaded on 01.02.2012.
[241] Ibid.

dialogue. Given this, the civil society organizations concentrating on social and political problems become the recipients of the core amounts of EU funding whereas smaller organizations that tend to focus on social services, vocational training, educational activities, youth and solidarity remain disconnected from these programs. Another explanation related to this might be the EU's emphasis on human rights and democratization as it is one of the major barriers before Turkey's accession and therefore there are specific funding programs dedicated to these issues. Most of the time, the EU funds are received by those organizations that represent the different minority groups or other disadvantaged groups or concentrate on minority rights that can satisfy the necessary conditions and minimum requirements. As minority groups in the Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia are more populated and diverse than those in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, the civil society organizations located in these regions receive grants either as principal organization or partner and associates. In addition to this, the level of relations with international organizations and especially with European Union representatives are much higher for civil society organizations located in southeastern and eastern Anatolia when compared with other cities except Istanbul and Ankara.

Figure 7.   Geographical Distribution of Foreign Funding[242]

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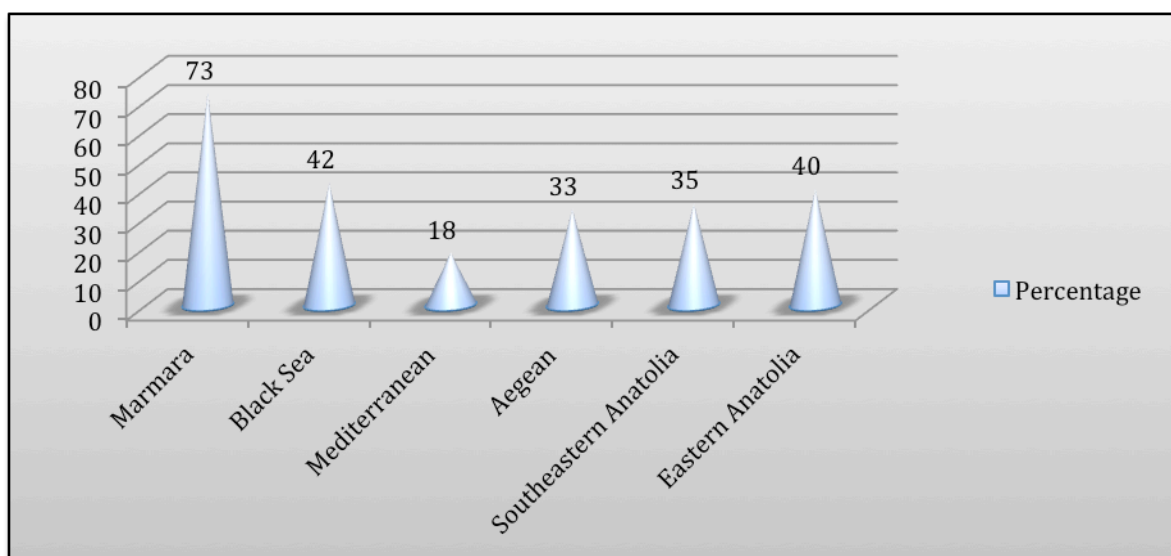
[242] Icduygu et al., 47.

Figure 8.   International Relations[243]
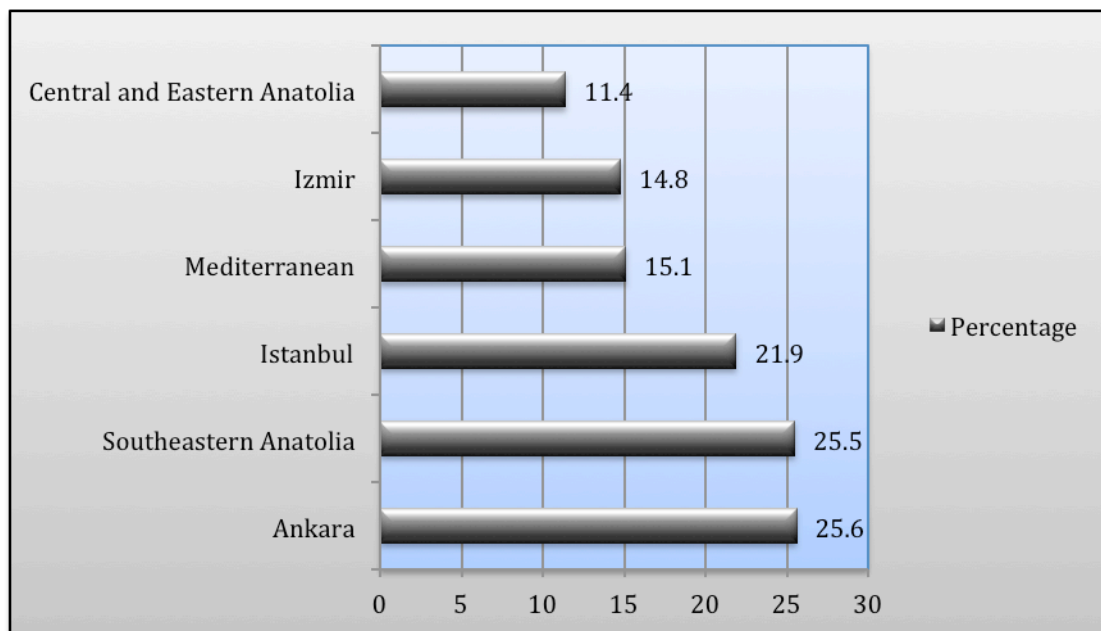
As demonstrated in Figure 6, the highest percentages of international linkages are of those organizations located in Ankara, Southeastern Anatolia and Istanbul. The civil society organizations with the highest capacity and highest levels of financial and human resources are located in Ankara and Istanbul therefore the results obtained for the civil society organizations located within these cities are not surprising. However, the most striking result is of Southeastern Anatolian region that scored lower than the country average for the levels of foreign funding but has the second highest level of dialogue with foreign institutions. The high levels of human rights violations in the region as well as the demographic diversity can explain this. In terms of minority groups, Southeastern Anatolia is the most diverse region hosting minority groups such as the Kurds, Ezidis, Arabs, Mhelmis, Alevis, Zaza, Doms, Mitrips, Assyrians, Armenians and Protestants. Moreover, the Christian minorities, Kurds, Ezidis and Alevis settled in the region have close contacts with diaspora organizations in Europe. In addition to this, since the human rights violations in the region are reported to be much higher than other regions since the 1960s, most of the time European delegations and political party

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[243] Ibid, 48-50.

representatives visit the civil society organizations located in the region for the purposes of obtaining objective and realistic information pertaining to the situation of minorities and the Kurdish question. For instance, in December 2010 ambassadors and delegations of various EU countries visited the civil society organizations in Southern and Southeastern Anatolia for obtaining information about the current problems in these regions.[244] In light of these, it is plausible to conclude that the levels of international linkages of the civil society organizations in Southeastern Anatolia might be higher than most of the other regions. In fact, according to an article published in 2011, the mayors of Diyarbakir and Sur, Osman Baydemir and Abdullah Demirbaş were the most visited two political figures in Turkey, which was also criticized by Prime Minister Erdogan.[245]

Apart from foreign funds there are also smaller amounts of national grants provided by different state and governmental institutions. The most infamous among these is the Prime Ministry Social Beneficiary and Solidarity Fund provided under the auspices of the Prime Ministry for those foundations providing services to distribute social aid. The second type of funding provided by the Prime Ministry is the Social Support Program (SODES), which allocates funding to the civil society organizations and the state institutions registered in eastern and southeastern Anatolia. Within the framework of the SODES program 64.686.785 TL was granted for 516 different projects implemented by civil society organizations between 2008-2010.[246] However, there are many problems related to the SODES program. First of all, the obvious discrepancy between the beneficiaries (public institutions and civil society

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[244] Personal interview conducted with the Minority President of the Jewish Community in Adana, 09.12.2011 and personal interview with Osman Baydemir.
[245] "Yabancilarin en cok sevdigi ikili (The pair loved most by foreigners)", *Gazete Diyarbakır,* 10 January 2012 downloaded at http://www.gazetediyarbakir.com/haber-2324-Yabancilarin-en-cok-sevdigi-ikili.html, on 10.01.2012.
[246] SODES Statistics based on cities and the total amount of funding, available at http://www.sodes.gov.tr/SODES.portal. First downloaded on 05.02.2012.

organizations) makes it harder for small-scale civil society organizations to obtain funding from the program. Secondly, the decision making process is not transparent given that the first elimination is conducted by the Governorships in those cities where the application is made. As underlined by many interviewees, those organizations that have close relations with the government and the local governorships tend to get more than one of their projects accepted whereas those organizations including municipalities that are held by the pro-Kurdish party cannot benefit from the program at all.[247] The data also shows that only 22% of the total funding was received by the civil society organizations between 2008 and 2010 whereas the rest was received by the public institutions such as the provincial directorates for education or police departments as well as mosques, elementary schools and even the governorships themselves.[248]

Other funding provided by national public institutions include grants given by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce as well as the Regional Development Agencies. Nevertheless most of the time, a significant portion of the funding provided by these bodies is granted to other public institutions instead of civil society organizations. In addition to these, some of the EU grants provided within the framework of the IPA program are granted through the Central Finance and Contracts Unit under the auspices of the Prime Ministry Undersecretary of Treasury and the ministries mentioned above. In these cases, civil society organizations are obliged to apply to the national institutions responsible for allocating the funds instead of applying directly to the European Commission or the European Commission Delegation in Ankara.

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[247] Personal interview conducted with Abdullah Demirbas.
[248] SODES Statistics.

The relations between the civil society organizations and the state are still limited due to the history of hostility and oppression towards the civil society organizations. First of all, there are significant problems before the freedom of associations in practice including high rates of fines, the random use of the Anti-Terror Law, problems concerning the inspections of civil society organizations as well as continued harassment of civil society organizations by the police, army and other state institutions. According to a survey conducted by TUSEV for the assessment of the civil society in Turkey, 50% of the organizations surveyed claimed that the state conducts unjustifiable inspections from time to time.[249] In the same study, only 13% of the participating organizations described the civil society in Turkey as free and 26% indicated that they came across illegal restrictions by state institutions during their establishment. In fact, to give an example during the interviews conducted as part of this thesis both the representatives of a Circassian organization in Northwestern Turkey and a Mhelmi organization in Southeastern Turkey were being tried for including the words 'Circassian' and 'Mhelmi' in their founding statutes even though such a use does not breach any of the laws that govern civil society organizations.[250]

According to the TUSEV study, 68% of the participating organizations stated that state-civil society dialogue only exists between the state and some civil society organizations.[251] In the same survey only 3% indicated that there was institutionalized and large-scale civil society-state dialogue.[252] The situation is even more complicated for minority organizations. Among the minority organizations surveyed only Arab and some Roma organizations expressed high

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[249] Ersen et al., 27.
[250] Interviews conducted with Gulay Dogan, Sima Foundation President on 26.08.2011 and Mehmet Ali Aslan, Mhelmi Association President on 14.01.2012 in Mardin.
[251] Ersen et al., 27.
[252] Ibid, 27-28.

rates of cooperation with state institutions.[253] Other organizations such as non-Muslims, Caucasians, Laz and Pomaks pointed to a very limited dialogue mostly at the local level, while others representing Alevis or Kurds claimed that they had no contact at all with state representatives or governmental bodies. Finally, there are significant problems concerning the tax laws applied to the civil society organizations. Only 0.5% of the civil society organizations in Turkey are exempt from paying taxes since they are classified as working for the public interest. Given this, an important amount of the funding received by the civil society organizations is being reduced for taxation purposes while there are high fines for failing to comply with the rules related to tax regulations.

As it has been discussed in this section, the scholarly focus on civil society as an agent of social change in the post-1980 period gradually increased due to the factors explained above. These academic works ranged from the analysis of the sociological aspects of civil society to membership levels in civil society organizations, from the impact of international donors to the specific influence of the EU accession process as well as the different segments of Turkish civil society sphere.[254] These studies consider the civil society as separate from the state and most of them tend to focus on the civil society as a key stakeholder in social and economic development of Turkey parallel to the EU accession process. In terms of the challenges faced by the civil society organizations in Turkey, the previous literature mostly concentrates on the autonomy and capacity of these organizations by evaluating the resources available to them, their impact on the legislation, their relations with other organizations, European and international actors, local, regional and national governments as well as their levels of

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[253] Interviews conducted with Sukru Kirboga, Arab Association President on 08.05.2012 and Mediterranean Roma Associations Federation Representative in Adana on 15.12.2011.

[254] For more see Gole 1994; Toprak 1996; Yerasimos et al. 2000; Kubicek 2002 and 2005; Keyman and Icduygu 2003; Seckinelgin 2004; Simsek 2004a and 2004b; Diez et al. 2005; Duran and Yildirim 2005; Ozerdem and Jacoby 2005; Icduygu 2007; Alemdar 2008; Toros 2007; Kaliber and Tocci 2010; Onbasi 2010; Ketola 2011, 2012; Bozarslan 2005; Seufert 2000; Kuzmanovic 2012.

institutionalization. In all of these studies, civil society and state are considered as distinct from each other as forces of representation. However, as argued by Ruzza and Buzzini, also in the Turkish case, the institutional and representation capacities of civil society organizations and their approach towards the national and international actors vary. For example, while trade unions and business associations find it more useful to establish direct relations with the national government, most of the minority organizations examined in this thesis, find it useful to approach European actors. In contrast, some of the minority organizations such as the Arabs in Urfa and the Roma in general prefer to contact the national government about their problems. Another important critique of the civil society in Turkey was the vague use of the concept by different set of actors. This is also relevant to the criticism of the EU's civil society policy, which considers all civil society organizations as homogeneous. The civil society sphere in Turkey is highly fragmented and heterogeneous in terms of ideological preferences, aims, attitudes towards the Turkish state and the EU as well as their institutional and representation capacities. While some organizations are merely established as hometown associations with the aim to disassociate themselves from political parties[255], other organizations such as the Human Rights Association or Turkish Human Rights Foundation have specific objectives to change the legislation regarding the human rights policies in Turkey and therefore try to get involved in politics.[256]

In relation to the autonomy problematique, while Gole argued that an autonomous civil society points to the eradication of state power leading to a political sphere that is not identical to state actors only, Navaro-Yashin proposed that the growth of civil society in Turkey might not necessarily mean autonomy from the state but a change in the form of the relationship between

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[255] Hersant and Toumarkine 2005, p.5.
[256] Personal interview with Human Rights Association in Adana and Turkish Human Rights Foundation in Diyarbakir.

the state and civil society.[257] This argument is relevant for the purposes of this thesis and the Turkish case because it prioritizes taking the way that these actors mobilize as the basis of the assessment of the relationship between state and civil society. Following this, I argue that the civil society in Turkey especially with respect to minority organizations should be considered from the perspective of the mobilization of these minority actors and their engagement with European actors. This entails focusing not only on the state-civil society relations but also on the EU as an additional axis influencing this relationship therefore leading to the inclusion of civil society organizations in decision-making through consultation and lobbying. This is why the minority issue constitutes a good example because of the state's historical stance against the minorities. Such a position requires looking at the mobilization of minority organizations not only focusing on their relations with the state but also with other actors, national or international. Secondly, examining minority organizations in Turkey constitutes an interesting case because of the cleavages and stratifications within these minority organizations. Even though existing studies concentrate on human rights organizations[258], women's organizations[259], environmentalist organizations[260] as well as Kurdish organizations[261] and religious minority organizations[262], there is still a need to reflect upon the mobilization of minority groups through the civil society sphere as a result of their increased engagement with the EU and their role in decision-making, which varies across minority groups. I argue that the cleavages among those civil society organizations working on the same issue, which is minority rights in this case, would contribute to understanding which factors determine the levels of mobilization, the scope of the relations with national and international actors and the

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[257] Gole 1994, 203; Yashin-Navaro 2002, 132.
[258] Plagemann 2000.
[259] Arat 1994.
[260] Adaman and Arsel 2005; Adem 2008.
[261] Kaliber and Tocci 2010.
[262] Grigoriadis 2009.

participation in decision-making for these minority civil society organizations as a result of their engagement with the EU.

2.7   Conclusion

This thesis is based on the assertion that a greater role for civil society has been the main component of the EU accession process. In this chapter, I identified the conceptual and historical development of the civil society, especially in the European context and how this framework is related to the role of civil society organizations that aspire to be a part of the decision-making processes. The increasing role of civil society are particularly significant given that the EU itself sees civil society and non-state or private actors as a mechanism that facilitates the diffusion of European norms to the domestic level much faster. Such an enhanced role of the civil society organizations is also evident in the White Paper on Governance published by the European Commission in 2001. In this regard, this chapter identified the distinguishing characteristics of civil society organizations that have emerged; particularly, in the 2000s to overcome the legitimacy and democratic deficit problems of the EU.

The mobilization of the civil society organizations in Turkey is particularly relevant to the availability of new political resources as a result of the Europeanization process. In this sense, the EU tries to generate change and transformation in Turkey through the mobilization of civil society organizations by providing them with the financial, political and the professional capacities. In this context, the issue of minority rights provides an opportunity to illustrate the empowerment of civil society organizations and whether these organizations have a practical role within domestic interactive processes. Derived from this, the empirical findings provide a good case to test for the transformative effect of Europeanization in Turkey and its impacts

particularly for the mobilization of and increased role for civil society organizations. The minority issue is especially of relevance given its controversial character and the diversity of the actors within the civil society spectrum.

Chapter 3

Minority Rights in the Context of Modern Turkey

The first time that the term 'minority', which in essence refers to linguistic, ethnic, religious, or racial groups, was mentioned in an international setting was at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. However, the minority issue could gain a universal character only after the Second World War following the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. Nevertheless, none of these developments were able to produce the outcomes that would lead to the creation of an international minority rights regime until the end of the Cold War, when the salience of the subject increased once again. Despite such a historical background that can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, the international minority protection rules and standards are still much less developed in comparison to other human rights issues.

By contrast, the attempts to develop new minority protection mechanisms particularly across Europe during the 1990s along with the increased deliberation on the minority issue in Eastern Europe did not have an immediate impact on Turkey. Instead, the oppressive attitude of the Turkish state continued contradicting the common practices in Europe. Even though the new instruments to guarantee minority protection were being built across Europe, the pressure towards the minorities in Turkey increased visibly resulting in violent clashes between the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) and the Turkish military along with continued discrimination in all aspects of everyday life.[263] The contrast of the advancement of new minority protection

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[263] See Ioannis Grigoriadis. 2008. "On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Turkey and Greece", *Mediterranean Politics*, 13(1): 23-41; Ayla Kilic. 1998. "Democratization, Human Rights and Ethnic Policies in Turkey", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs,* 18(1): 91-110; Nicole Watts. 1999. "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-1994", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 31(4): 631-656.

tools in the European context with the repressive minority policies of Turkey as an aspiring EU candidate was especially significant after the introduction of the Copenhagen political criteria in 1993, which made EU membership conditional upon the respect for and the protection of minorities.[264] Faced with harsh criticisms during the 1997 Luxembourg Summit, it was only after the Helsinki Summit of 1999 when Turkey was granted candidacy status that the minimum level of formal compliance with minority protection norms could be achieved through legislative changes and reforms packages adopted between 1999 and 2007.[265]

Given this background, I set out to examine minority rights in the context of modern Turkey in this chapter. Drawing on an important strand of the literature exploring minority rights, I investigate how the introduction of new mechanisms for minority protection within Europe was reflected in the transformation of the domestic context in Turkey in the form of civil society activism. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the impact of Turkey's integration and interaction with the European minority rights regimes at civil society level. The overarching objective of this chapter is to clarify how minority rights are used in this thesis and analyze why and how the minority issue has been critical both in Turkey and Europe to the extent that it provides a good opportunity to measure the transformative power of Europe. Therefore, I first discuss the relationship between the current situation of minority rights and the mechanisms providing minority protection in Europe, as well as the turning points that can be identified as significant for this relationship. Secondly, I present a chronological overview of the development of these mechanisms and instruments by introducing the different approaches

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[264] Copenhagen criteria, also called the accession criteria, which were established by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993, basically denotes that to join the EU, a new member state must meet three criteria; political criteria referring to stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; economic criteria that refer to the existence of a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union; and the acceptance of the community *acquis*. Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council, 22 June 1993.
[265] See Meltem Muftuler-Bac. 2005. "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union", *South European Society and Politics,* 10(1): 17.

and debates that characterized the minority rights analyses. In other words, I will investigate the previous literature to support the argument that the developments in Europe concerning minority rights shaped the understanding of minority rights in Turkey principally after Turkey was granted candidacy status. I examine whether the domestic construction of the EU's minority protection norms empowered the civil society organizations in Turkey in such a way that they were able to challenge the monolithic understanding of Turkish citizenship. I highlight the use of conditionality by the EU to ensure compliance with minority protection norms within candidate countries even though the EU does not provide clear definitions, demands, or templates on minority rights and there is no unified minority standard within the Union itself. The third part constitutes an assessment of the contemporary situation of minority groups in Turkey and the existing legal instruments in Turkey for the respect for and the protection of minority rights. I investigate the overlooked aspects of the previous research on minority rights in the context of modern Turkey, especially in regard to the impact of Europeanization in order to discuss the changing behaviour of civil society actors in the realm of minority rights through the availability of different political and financial resources as would be presented in the final section of this chapter.

3.1 Minority Rights: Global Developments

Ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity are a common aspect of many countries around the world. Therefore, the domestic debates on the treatment of national, ethnic, religious, or linguistic minority groups are heavily influenced by the international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), or the Council of Europe (CoE). This is mainly due to the challenging character of the issue, particularly as it manifests itself in the efforts of the minority groups to redistribute power

resources so that some degree of multilevel governance can be attained.[266] The international character of minority rights is based on the objective to secure stability and avoid majority/minority conflicts, while in return the minority groups are expected to give up their claims for self-determination and secession.[267]

Nonetheless, despite the efforts to establish a universal minority protection regime, the national practices are quite divergent even within the EU. The particular difficulties encountered when trying to come up with universally accepted standards for minority protection are especially related to the lack of a definition for the term 'minority'. The lack of a legal definition also allows some states to deny or limit minority rights, while also feeding into the individual and collective dilemma. Granting collective rights is particularly an issue of disagreement, as most states fear that the recognition of collective rights will fuel the separatist ambitions. Furthermore, the content of the rights granted to the minority groups across different countries differ significantly. In accordance with this, domestic legislations aiming to protect minorities vary significantly across states depending on the characteristics of the minority groups in that country and whether they are ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities.[268]

Despite the challenges and the absence of a universally agreed definition of minority, the efforts to establish an international set of rules for minority protection were not abandoned completely. Since the domestic legislations diverge significantly, the international instruments adopted by the UN, the OSCE, and the CoE make up the only possible common platform for

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[266] Vernon Van Dyke. 1995. "The Individual, The State and Ethnic Communities in Political Theory." in ed. Will Kymlicka. *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, 31, 36.
[267] Manuela Riedel. 2009. "The EU as a Promoter of Minority Rights." in eds. Timofey Agarin and Malte Brosig. *Minority Integration in Central Eastern Europe: Between Ethnic Diversity and Equality.* Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 27-28.
[268] Michael Johns. 2003. "Do as I Say, Not as I Do: The European Union, Eastern Europe and Minority Rights", *Eastern European Politics and Societies,* 17(4): 693; Florence Benoit-Rohmer. 1996. *The Minority Question in Europe,* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 15.

creating a minority protection scheme on a global scale. The first of these international attempts was Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) that was adopted in 1966.[269] Following the adoption of the ICCPR, the CSCE published the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, which stated that the participating states of the CSCE should respect the rights of people belonging to minority groups in terms of equality before law and are obligated to provide them with the opportunity to fully exercise their fundamental freedoms.[270] However, it was after the end of the Cold War that the OSCE's commitment to the protection of minorities extended. At the beginning of the 1990s, the OSCE started to refer to minority rights in all of its official publications. The OSCE also established the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) that would help OSCE member states to resolve minority problems through the adoption of the acknowledged minority protection rules. In 1990, the OSCE published the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE and in addition to the provisions of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, the Copenhagen Document required states to adopt the necessary measures that would ensure full equality before the law for people belonging to national minorities.[271] With the Copenhagen Declaration, positive measures targeting minority groups were introduced for the first time as part of an international instrument. The Declaration also contained specific rights to be exercised individually or collectively with other members of the minority group.[272] These specific rights included the "right to use mother tongue freely in private and public sphere, the right to establish and maintain educational, cultural and religious institutions, organizations, or associations, the right to profess and practice their religion freely, the right to establish and

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[269] United Nations. 1966. *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR),* adopted by General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966. New York: United Nations.
[270] Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. 1975. *Helsinki Final Act,* adopted by the CSCE in Helsinki.
[271] Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. 1990. *Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE,* adopted by CSCE on 09 February 2012; Also see Benoit-Rohmer, p. 24-26.
[272] Copenhagen Document, 19.

maintain cross-frontier contacts with citizens of other states with whom they have a common ethnic or national origin, a common cultural heritage or common religious beliefs, the right to disseminate, have access to and exchange information in their mother tongue, to establish organizations and associations in their own countries, and to participate in non-governmental organizations".[273]

The CoE in the 1990s adopted three important consecutive instruments for the protection of minorities: the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992, Recommendation 1201 on an additional protocol on the rights of national minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) in 1993, and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) in 1995. The main reasoning behind the attempts of the CoE was the idea that the minority issue impeded the democratic, economic and social development of the CEE countries while there were concerns that these problems would spill over to other European countries.[274] The FCNM is clearly a result of the CoE's active engagement in the efforts to prevent conflicts and constitutes one of the most comprehensive documents on minority protection. It is the first legally binding multilateral treaty that addresses the protection of national minorities in general.[275] Its characteristic as a framework convention implies that it will be adopted by the states and translated into their own domestic legislation. However, at the same time, member states are not bound to apply the provisions of the FCNM directly within administrative and judicial frameworks.[276] National minorities are the beneficiaries of the Framework Convention while it emphasizes the exercise of individual

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[273] Benoit-Rohmer, 25.
[274] Peter Vermeersch. 2003. "EU Enlargement and Minority Rights Policies in Central Europe: Explaining Policy Shifts in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 1: 13-14.
[275] Marc Weller, ed. 2005. *The Rights of Minorities: A Commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2-3.
[276] Ibid, 5.

rights together with the other members of the minority group. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages adopted in 1992 on the other hand specifically aims to preserve and promote regional or minority languages.[277] However, the Charter only encourages states to protect the status of the languages in question rather than granting specific rights to the members of the linguistic minority groups.[278]

The abovementioned international documents determine the international minority protection standards that can be applied universally for guaranteeing minority rights and the instruments offered by these organizations shape the international minority rights law and the scope of the rights. The most commonly highlighted theme within these documents is the necessity to preserve and promote the distinct identity of minority groups.[279] It is underlined on several occasions that such a task is only achieved if the minorities enjoy the same rights as the majority and if their equality before law is guaranteed. In addition to this, these international documents point to the obligation to ensure full and effective equality for minorities, as well as the support to enable them to develop their identity. Articles 4, 5, 6, and 16 of the Framework Convention dictate the obligations of the states to protect the existence of national minorities.[280] Article 4 requires states to prohibit any discrimination directed towards minority groups on the grounds that they belong to a national minority.[281] Non-discrimination is the most contemplated theme within both international and European documents and is included in the Framework Convention with the intention to reinforce equality before law regardless of race, religion, and

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[277] Council of Europe. 1992. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages,* adopted on 5 November 1992. ETS 148. Strasbourg: Council of Europe; Also see Woehrling, Jean Marie. 2005. *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, A Critical Commentary.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
[278] Woehrling, 27.
[279] See Council of Europe. 1993. *Recommendation 1201/EC on an Additional Protocol on the Rights of Minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights*, adopted on 1 February 1993. Strasbourg: Parliamentary Assembly to the Council of Europe, Article 3; Council of Europe. "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities", Article 4.
[280] Council of Europe. 1995. *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the Explanatory Report*, adopted on 1 February 1995. ETS 157, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
[281] Ibid, Article 4.

ethnicity. Article 6 requires states to take the necessary measures to protect members of the national minority groups against threats or acts of discrimination, hostility, or violence based on their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious identity.[282] This article is aimed to prevent "any acts that would constitute a threat to the existence of the minorities including extermination or expulsion"[283]. Article 5 on the other hand requires states "to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions, and cultural heritage".[284] Similarly, Article 4.1 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities prescribes states to take the necessary measures to ensure that members of minority groups can exercise their legal rights and fundamental freedoms fully and effectively.[285] This is also reiterated in the OSCE Copenhagen Document and added the phrase "equal rights and equal status for all citizens".[286] Besides in attempt to preserve those areas commonly inhabited by national minorities, Article 16 of the Framework Convention obligates states to abandon any attempts to demarcate the minority populations from those areas where they reside as a community.[287]

Religious freedom encompasses both the freedom to manifest one's belief or religion and the protection against discrimination on the basis of beliefs or religious association. Freedom of religion is usually perceived as a universal right when it is used within international documents instead of being applied to religious minority groups as a collective right.[288] Article 18 of the

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[282] Ibid, Article 6.
[283] Geoff Gilbert. "Article 6." in ed. Weller, 177.
[284] Gilbert, 153.
[285] United Nations. 1992. *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*. New York: United Nations, Article 4.1.
[286] Copenhagen Declaration, paragraph 30-31.
[287] Jennifer Jackson-Preece. 2005. "Article 16" in ed. Weller, 464; Also see European Center for Minority Issues. 1999. "Implementing the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities." Flesburg: ECMI, 17.
[288] Peter Danchin. 2002. "Religion, Religious Minorities and Human Rights: An Introduction." in Peter Danchin and Elizabeth Cole. *Protecting the Human Rights of Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press, 6-7.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 18 of the ICCPR both affirm "every individual's right to change their religion or belief and the right to manifest their religion or belief individually or in community with others, both in public and private sphere in teaching, practice, worship, and observance"[289]. As for those international documents specifically referring to national minorities, Article 2.1 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities states that persons belonging to minority groups should be granted the right to profess and practice their religion while Paragraph 32 of the Copenhagen Declaration also includes the right to establish and maintain their own religious institutions.[290] Article 8 of the Framework Convention reiterates the right to manifest religious beliefs and to establish religious institutions, organizations, and associations.[291] In addition, the prohibition of discrimination against any religion or belief is underlined within all of these documents as well as with a separate document, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

Freedom to use minority languages is essential for the preservation of identity for minorities, but it is also the subject of many conflicts. Linguistic rights are not only linked to the freedom of expression but they are related to the demands for instruction and education in mother tongue languages. Freedom of information is considered as one of the fundamental freedoms of the persons belonging to minorities and the right to use minority languages forms an integral part of the right to information. The Framework Convention obliges states to recognize the freedom

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[289] United Nations. 1948. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*, adopted by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948. New York: United Nations, Article 18; United Nations *ICCPR*, Article 18.
[290] United Nations. 1992. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,* adopted by General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992. New York: United Nations, Article 2.1; Copenhagen Document, paragraph 32.
[291] Zdenka Machnyikova. "Article 8" in Weller (ed.), p. 227.

of expression and the freedom of information in the minority language with Article 9 and the right to use the minority languages freely in private and public sphere, both orally and in writing with Article 10. Article 2.1 of the UN Declaration and Paragraph 32 of the Copenhagen Document each affirm the provisions of the previous documents on linguistic rights and recognize the right to use mother tongue languages freely in public and private spheres.

Another generally recognized concept within these international documents is the freedom of association. The Copenhagen Document and the UN Declaration both recognize the right to participate in public life along with the right to establish and maintain educational, cultural, and religious institutions, organizations or associations, whereas CoE does not grant any collective rights with the Framework Convention. Article 15 of the Framework Convention acknowledges the right to effective participation in cultural, social, and economic life and in public affairs while Article 17 provides the right to take part in the activities of national and international non-governmental organizations. In addition to these generally acknowledged freedoms and rights, there are other specific rights granted for the accommodation of minorities in a particular country on which general consensus could not be reached. These include the right to representation, the right to use names and surnames in the minority language, the right to display topographical information, street names, and place names in minority languages, and finally the right to establish and maintain schools operated by the minority groups.

Even though minority protection became an essential element of the EU's democracy promotion that is reiterated within the official documents of the CoE and the OSCE in the 1990s, the question of a definition for the term minority still remains controversial. Today, there is still no universally agreed definition of the term minority and most of the international

documents on minority rights do not provide a general definition.[292] Therefore, in most cases

it is not possible for the minority groups to claim that they are entitled to the rights included

within these documents. At the same time, it was difficult to categorize all minorities into one

single, uniform group.

However, there had been efforts by the international community to come up with a standard

definition in the past. The first of the attempts to draft a definition was by the Sub-Commission

on Human Rights under the UN Economic and Social Council. However, soon these efforts

were abdicated given the intricacy of the issue and as a result, the Declaration on the Rights of

Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities that was adopted

by the same Sub-Commission did not contain a definition of the term 'minority'. Around the

same time, another international intergovernmental organization, the OSCE tried to come up

with a definition, but similar to the experience of the Economic and Social Council it was soon

abdicated.[293] Likewise, during the drafting of the Framework Convention for the Protection of

National Minorities, it was concluded that obtaining a consensus on a definition that would be

supported by all of the member states was impossible at this time; therefore, given that it might

hinder the real task of drafting the Convention, such an attempt was discarded.[294] The European

Commission for Democracy through Law, also known as the Venice Commission, included a

definition of minority groups within its Proposal for a European Convention for the Protection

of Minorities in 1991.[295] Article 2.1 of the Proposal defined minorities as "a group which is

smaller in number than the rest of the population of the State, whose members, who are

nationals of that state, have ethnical, religious, or linguistic features different from those of the

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[292] John Packer. 1993. "On the Definition of Minorities." in eds. John Packer and Kristian Myntti. *The Protection of Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities in Europe.* Turku: Abo University Institute of Human Rights.
[293] Benoit-Rohmer, 13.
[294] Ibid, 13.
[295] European Commission for Democracy Through Law. 1991. *Proposal for a European Convention for the Protection of Minorities.* Adopted 8 February 1991 12 HRLJ (1991) Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 270-273.

rest of the population, and are guided by the will to safeguard their culture, traditions, religion, or language".[296]

The only definition included in an international document was within Recommendation 1201, an additional protocol on the rights of national minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights prepared by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. However, the Committee of Ministers rejected Recommendation 1201 without granting it a binding character. Nevertheless, the Parliamentary Assembly requires that the legislation of member states and of those states aspiring to become members of the CoE conform to the Protocol.[297] The additional protocol defines a national minority as "a group of persons in a state who reside on the territory of that state and are citizens thereof; maintain longstanding, firm, and lasting ties with that state; display distinctive ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic characteristics; are sufficiently representative although smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state; are motivated by a concern to preserve together that which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion, or their language".[298]

The definition adopted by the CoE within the additional protocol to the ECHR reiterated the criteria proposed within the working definition by the Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Francesco Capotorti, with the only exception being the Protocol's restriction of minority groups to

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[296] Ibid, Article 2.1.
[297] Rohmer, 37-38; Council of Europe. Order 484. 1993. On an Additional Protocol on the Rights of Minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights, Appendix No. 6; Council of Europe. Order 508. 1995. On the Honoring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe, Appendix No. 7.
[298] Council of Europe. *Recommendation 1201/EC,* Article 1.

national minorities.[299] Capotorti defined minorities as "a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members—being nationals of the state—possess ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion, or language".[300] However, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities did not endorse the definition drafted by Francesco Capotorti.[301] Another member of the Sub-Commission Jules Deschenes drafted a second definition in 1985, which defined a minority group as "a group of citizens of a State, constituting a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position in that state, endowed with ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics, which differs from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive, and whose aim it is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law".[302] During the fifth session of the UN Working Group on Minorities in 1999, it was concluded that coming up with a definition was not possible due to the disagreements over issues including the dilemma of including non-citizens or phrases such as the "collective will to survive".[303]

Both the objective criteria including numerical size, ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics, the non-dominance of the group in question, and the subjective criteria

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[299] Francesco Capotorti. 1991. *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,* New York: United Nations, par. 568.
[300] Ibid, par. 568.
[301] Vukas Budislav. 1998. "Protection of Minorities." in ed. Martin Ira Glassner. *The United Nations at Work.* Praeger Publishers: Westport, 87.
[302] Jules Deschenes. 1985. *Proposal concerning the Definition of the Term 'Minority'.* New York: United Nations, UN Doc.E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/31; Thornberry, Patrick. 1989. "Self-Determination, Minorities, Human Rights: A Review of International Instruments", *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 38(4): 867, 878.
[303] United Nations. 1999. *Report of the Working Group on Minorities.* Adopted by the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights on its Fifth Session, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1999/21.

including the will to preserve group identity used in these definitions are problematic. Numerical criterion is problematic because of the population numbers for some groups are really low as in the case of the Ezidis in Turkey and for some highly populated groups as the Alevis. Moreover, identifying minorities through ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics automatically excludes other minority groups, such as economic and sexual minorities or non-citizens and immigrants. The subjective criterion may also be criticized since the shared will to preserve collective identity mentioned within these definitions cannot be measured quantitatively and there is no criteria determined as the benchmark. Moreover, the concept of a 'national minority' mostly used within the documents prepared by the CoE also varies due to the divergent use of the term 'nation' by states.

Such a disagreement on the definition of the term minority and the lack of an encompassing definition provides the individual states with their own interpretations of who would constitute a minority; thus, leading the way to the denial of ethnic and linguistic minorities as in the case of Turkey. Following the OSCE's Moscow, Copenhagen, and Helsinki Meetings and after the adoption of the Copenhagen document and the Helsinki Decisions, the Turkish state declared that all citizens are equally treated in Turkey and exercise their rights on an equal footing.[304] Contrary to the formal definition of minorities as used by the Turkish state, the concept of minority used in this thesis will reiterate the definition proposed by Capotorti and Deschenes and refers to those citizens of Turkey that "represent a numerical minority and are in a non-dominant position, showing different ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics than the Turkish majority and have a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated by a collective will to survive, and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law"[305].

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[304] CSCE Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting. 1992. *Journal No. 50,* 3.
[305] Capotorti, para. 568; Deschenes, para. 181.

In conclusion, one can say that the international minority rights instruments originated within multilateral treaties and international documents and expanded to the global arena. The most dominant organizations in this sense were the UN, the OSCE, and the CoE. Among these, the only legally binding minority rights document is the Framework Convention of the CoE. Moreover, the OSCE broadened the scope of minority protection to a wider region other than Central Europe and HCNM addressed the issues within the participating states related to the accommodation of minorities and assisted them in their efforts to establish effective minority protection regimes within their territories. Nevertheless, the Council of Europe still contains the most comprehensive minority rights standards especially after the adoption of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages and the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

3.2 Minority Protection in Europe

For a long time, the universal rights claims and the focus on non-discrimination within international human rights documents were used to justify the attempts to avoid the recognition of minorities within the EU as well. It was clear that when universal human rights rules failed to enforce the adoption of the standards that ensures equality and the protection of minority rights, it was necessary to launch an encompassing and universally acknowledged minority protection scheme. Especially the EU candidacy of the CEEC and in response to the 2004 and 2007 enlargements, the minority protection issue became an essential element of the EU's external relations. The enlargement of the EU required the adoption of the norms and values that the EU is based on by the candidate states in order to attain further democratization in these countries. Within the official documents of the EC, there isn't any reference to minority rights and there are limited provisions governing fundamental freedoms and rights. However,

particularly during the accession of the CEE countries, compliance with democratic criteria became one of the essential conditions for EU membership. Such a substantive policy shift with respect to EU's policies on minority protection especially came to the fore after the introduction of the Copenhagen political criteria. Copenhagen criteria not only determined the EU's new stance towards candidate countries, but also provided the EU with the power to examine minority issues within candidate countries more closely. However, the EU's appeal to promote democratic values and minority rights did not lead to a clarification of EU standards and benchmarks or the establishment of firm legal bases for minority protection.

Even though the EU's concerns about minority rights predominantly increased after the end of the Cold War, there were still some efforts by the European Parliament (EP), the European Council, and the European Commission for setting standards in relation to minority rights prior to the introduction of the Copenhagen criteria. The main driving force during the 1980s was the EP and most of the resolutions passed were prepared by the EP Committee of Culture and addressed cultural issues. There were two serious attempts between 1979 and 1989 to adopt a comprehensive charter of minority rights by the EP's legal committee; however, these were abandoned before they could become a part of the legal context.[306] The resolutions passed by the EP Committee of Culture were more focused and touched upon issues such as linguistic rights, non-discrimination, promotion of regional cultures, freedom of education, and freedom of information. To name a few, the "Resolution on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities" was passed in 1981, the "Resolution on Measures in favour of Minority Languages and Cultures" was passed in 1983, and a more comprehensive resolution entitled the "Resolution on the Languages and

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[306] Gabriel Toggenburg. 2008. "The EU's evolving policies vis-à-vis minorities: A Play in Four Parts and an Open End." *European Academy,* Bozen: European Academy, 5.

Cultures of Regional and Ethnic Minorities" was passed in 1987. Consequently, as the perspective of Eastern enlargement became clearer, more pronounced EU policies were adopted at the EP, the Council, and the Commission. The most important step in this sense was the adoption of the Copenhagen Criteria in 1993, which included the necessity of the "respect for and the protection of minorities". The minority clause within the Copenhagen Criteria revealed that minority issues had become an integral part of the EU's Accession Strategy and that minority groups living in candidate or applicant countries were also of concern for the EU member states. In addition to this, the minority issue gained a legal dimension in the context of enlargement as Copenhagen Criteria were reiterated in official accession documents. Parallel to this, increasing emphasis was placed on the effective participation of minority groups in public and political life and the prohibition of social and economic exclusion.[307]

The first years following the adoption of the Copenhagen criteria, the norms related to minority protection remained vague. However, the Agenda 2000 adopted in 1997 emphasized that minority problems were a threat to the democratic stability of the Union and therefore protection of minorities should be ensured in candidate countries before full accession takes place.[308] Moreover, the Agenda 2000 presented a broad analysis of the minority issues in applicant countries as well as other official documents adopted by the CoE providing a benchmark for the minority protection rules that need to be included within domestic legislations. To be more precise, it refers to the Framework Convention and Recommendation 1201 highlighting the recognition of collective rights. It also underlines the problems of Hungarian minority in Slovakia with regard to linguistic rights and the absence of sufficient efforts to prevent the exclusion of Roma minority within candidate states.[309]

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[307] Toggenburg, 4.
[308] European Commission. 1997. "Agenda 2000: For a Stronger and Wider Union", Brussels: European Commission. Document COM (97) 2000 Final, 41-42.
[309] Ibid, 41.

The EU's conceptualization of minority protection touches upon a number of issues critical for both candidate and member states. Most of the time, the minority rights clauses are not spelled out explicitly but different concepts and provisions that can be used as a guarantee for minority protection are included within the official documents. A core concept that is reciprocated within the European minority protection documents is the principle of non-discrimination. As one of the EU's fundamental norms, non-discrimination forms an integral part of many internationally recognized human rights documents. The non-discrimination principle was extended to encompass ethnic and racial discrimination after the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 while two framework directives, the Framework Directive on Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation and the Directive on the Prohibition of Discrimination on the Basis of Racial and Ethnic Origin also known as the Race Directive govern the practices related to full equality in fact and in law. The framework directives adopted by the Council required the states to implement the remedies in order to assist those persons that were subjected to discrimination.[310] The Race Directive addresses discrimination and contains provisions related to employment, education, social protection, and social advantages. It mainly targets racism and xenophobia, but also includes articles on discrimination based on ethnic origin, which is especially significant for minorities.

One year after the accession of the CEE countries, the European Commission underlined the necessity to include the policies other than the prevention of discrimination for ensuring the protection of minority groups.[311] Simultaneously, the EP published the Resolution on the

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[310] The Council of the European Union. 2000. "General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation." Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000, *Official Journal L303, 02/12/2000;* The Council of the European Union. 2000. "Directive on the Prohibition of Discrimination on the Basis of Racial and Ethnic Origin." Council Directive 2000/43/EC, *Official Journal L180, 19/07/2000;* Toggenburg, 11.
[311] European Commission. 2005. "Non-discrimination and Equal Opportunities for all. A Framework Strategy." COM (2005) 224 final, 1.6.2005, 2.

Protection of Minorities and Anti-Discrimination Policies in an Enlarged Europe in 2005.[312] This resolution was the most comprehensive EP resolution to date that dealt with minority protection and especially highlighted the necessity of more efforts in the realm of minority rights in response to the demands of the 2004 enlargement. The resolution also stressed the vague character of EU's minority strategy. It stated that even though respect for and protection of minorities is included in the Copenhagen criteria, there is no definitive policy that outlines the rights to be granted to minority groups and a general definition to distinguish the members of a minority group is lacking. More significantly, the EP proposed that a definition of the term 'minority' that will be acknowledged by all member states should be adopted along with the basic principles and aims included within Recommendation 1201. In addition to the issues of non-discrimination and social integration, the official documents also emphasized the protection of and the respect for linguistic rights particularly within educational institutions, media, and public administrative bodies in addition to other cultural and political rights. A key development, in this regard, was the establishment of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA). The FRA was known as the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) until 2007. FRA is not an institution designed with the purpose of minority protection and its conclusions are not binding, but its main task is to assist member states and the candidate countries as well as the EU bodies on a number of human rights issues including minority rights.[313] Another body of the EU, the European Court of Justice (ECJ), also took an active role for addressing the issue of cultural identity within its judgements on several cases. However, as the EU minority protection documents until very recently were part of the EU's secondary law, ECJ rulings were concerned with those issues that were indirectly related to minority

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[312] European Parliament. 2005. "The Resolution on the Protection of Minorities and Anti-discrimination Policies in an Enlarged Europe." *OJ 2006 C 124, 405.*
[313] Council regulation (EC) No 168/2007 of 15 February 2007, in OJ L 53, 22.2.2007, 1-14; Also see Toggenburg, Gabriel. 2008. "The role of the new EU Fundamental Rights Agency" *European Law Review*: 385-398.

protection but were still part of the community law, such as free movement or non-discrimination.

The ratification of Lisbon Treaty or the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) is particularly significant as the persons belonging to minorities are for the first time explicitly mentioned within the primary law.[314] Prior to the TEU, there wasn't any reference to the minorities in the legal context and firm legal bases were lacking to coerce member states to adopt minority protection provisions. The Maastricht Treaty introduced the protection of human rights; however, even though it stressed the significance of democracy and human rights for the EU, it did not explicitly mention minority rights. Since there were no legal provisions dealing with the minority issue previously, minority groups could only benefit from secondary law with a more general scope and they relied mostly on universal human rights provisions. Moreover, around the time the Lisbon Treaty entered into force, the Intergroup for Traditional Minorities, National Communities, and Languages was established at the European Parliament. The Intergroup aimed to translate the legal provisions designed to ensure minority protection into European legislation. Article 2 of the TEU states that the "Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail".[315] The second article not only mentions the respect for persons belonging to minorities but also refers to discrimination separate from minority rights. This article fulfils the European Commission's aim to go beyond the anti-discrimination principle for creating a separate minority protection legislation; furthermore,

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[314] Ulrike Barten. 2010. "Minority Rights in the European Union after Lisbon", *European Center for Minority Issues*. Flensburg: ECMI, 2.
[315] European Union. 2007. "Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEU)." 2007/C 306/1; See also Barten, 5-6.

Article 6 of the TEU grants the European Charter of Fundamental Rights a legally binding character, declaring that the rights, freedoms, and principles contained in the Charter are recognized by the EU and that the Charter shall also be legally binding as other EU treaties.[316] Article 21 of the Charter also includes "membership in a national minority" as part of the prohibited areas of discrimination. Moreover, Article 22 of the TEU indicates that the Union shall respect its cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.[317]

Nonetheless, the EU does not provide an extensive and comprehensive set of instruments that will ensure the resolution of minority issues within diverse settings. In fact, historically, the EU's focus has been more on the principles of discrimination and social integration rather than specific minority rights. Therefore, the EU mostly deals with its shortcomings by referring to the provisions contained in other international intergovernmental documents prepared by the UN and the CoE. As all of the EU member states are also the members of the CoE, the CoE treaties, resolutions and conventions are politically and legally binding for all EU member countries. Secondly, most of the time when dealing with the minority issue or issues related to the promotion of democracy, the EU relies on definitions, instruments, and experiences of other European institutions. Similarly, EU bodies frequently refer to the documents adopted by the CoE within their accession documents.[318] Additionally, the CoE and the EU co-finance joint programs and initiatives including those that support national minorities. An example of such programs is the joint initiative of the CoE and the Directorate-General for Democracy and Political Affairs for a program entitled "Promoting Human Rights and Minority Protection in South East Europe".[319] This way, the EU arguably tries to set minimum objectives and

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[316] TEU, Article 6.
[317] TEU, Article 22; Barten, 6, 9-10.
[318] Sasse, Gwendolyn. 2005. "EU Conditionality and Minority Rights: Translating the Copenhagen Criterion into Policy."*EUI Working Paper Series* RSCAS No. 2005/16, 20.
[319] Council of Europe, Promoting Human Rights and Minority Protection in Southeast Europe. Available at http://www.jp.coe.int/CEAD/JP/Default.asp?ProjectObjectiveID=2746, downloaded on 14.09.2011.

standards for minority protection while at the same time avoiding conflicts between member states.

3.3 EU Minority Policy: Challenges and Shortcomings

Until the TEU, the EU's minority strategy mainly relied on documents adopted by other European institutions and secondary community law. The Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force in 1993, introduced the general human rights provisions into EU primary law but refrained from including minority protection rules, whereas the Treaty of Amsterdam that entered into force in 1999, included all of the Copenhagen political criteria bringing them to the level of EU primary law except the minority protection clause. As a result, neither within the EU nor within applicant states did these instruments yield full and effective minority protection standards.

Even though the new TEU introduces the minority issue into EU primary law, the implementation of the EU's minority policies is mostly problematic. A major setback in this regard is the lack of any generally accepted legal definition of the term 'minority'. The TEU refrains from any discussion in relation to a general definition or the criteria to identify the members of a minority group. Moreover, Article 1a of the TEU only mentions persons belonging to minorities instead of categorizing them as old, new, ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural minority groups. The Framework Convention comparatively refers to national minorities, but does not provide a clear definition of what a national minority is nor does it answer questions such as what is the minimum or maximum population numbers for it to be a considered a national minority, whether these groups have to reside within a specific region within a state or whether they have to practice a separate religion or speak a different

language.[320] In addition to these, none of the EU bodies or organizations treats minority protection as one issue nor do they offer clear guidelines, explicit demands, or specific models to be adopted by the candidate countries or member states leaving the relations between the state and the minority groups to the sole discretion of the national authorities. At the same time, such a lack of clear guidelines for minority protection makes it harder to enforce minority integration within applicant states.

The EU lacks the legal enforcement mechanisms to monitor the situation of different minority groups within member and candidate states. The CoE has the most elaborate minority protection instruments; however, unlike the EU it cannot offer rewards and incentives such as financial assistance for formal compliance. The EU treaties encourage positive state support for minorities but such a support is not dictated as a requirement. The ambiguity coupled with the diverging practices in member states causes a double-standard problem between the member states and the candidate countries. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that a certain degree of compliance is achieved in the pre-accession period. Moreover domestic actors' involvement in the reform processes creates a domestic consensus on minority protection, which can continue after accession takes place. Other shortcomings of the EU's minority policies include the individual and collective rights dilemma, the group rights issue, which still remains unresolved, the inconsistent application of minority protection standards among different member states, lack of a specialized monitoring institution for the implementation of minority protection mechanisms, and the citizenship criteria, which still remains contested as the adopted instruments cannot be applied to non-citizens and immigrants.

3.4 Minority Rights in the Context of Modern Turkey

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[320] Benoit-Rohmer, 14.

Article 88 of the 1924 Turkish Constitution, which was adopted just a year after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and was the founding Constitution of the Turkish Republic, stated that "the people of Turkey regardless of their religion and race would, in terms of citizenship, be called Turkish".[321] This article recapulated the Turkish state's desire to conceptualize the notion of citizenship based on ethnic Turkishness, contrary to practices in the Ottoman Empire. The millet system of the Ottoman Empire provided self-governing arrangements for Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities, which were ranked in a hierarchical manner.[322] The multicultural millet system coupled with the separatist inclinations motivated the government during the early days of the Republic to Turkify these minority groups without leaving any space to the recognition of distinct identities. However, such an objective proved to be extremely difficult triggering even more oppressive and discriminatory policies towards the ethnic, religious, and linguistic minority groups. It is safe to say that throughout the history of the Turkish Republic and still today, minority groups cannot enjoy their universal rights equally as the ethnic Turkish majority.

The minority issue is critical in Turkey both from a historical and a contemporary perspective. Historically, it is significant, because the minority issue has always been an issue of priority for the Turkish state. It is also central to the domestic politics because the history of the Turkish Republic is filled with official policies aiming to oppress the minorities to the degree that it reaches total assimilation. Marginalized minority groups have been banned from using their mother-tongue languages and from exercising their religious rights, or they were subjected to

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[321] 1924 Constitution of the Turkish Republic. Doc 15/1/1945-5905. Law No 4695; also available at http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa24.htm, first downloaded on 25.05.2011.
[322] Will Kymlicka. 1992. "The Rights of Minority Cultures: Reply to Kukathas", *Political Theory* 20(1): 143; also see Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds). 1982. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*. New York: Holmers and Meir.

severe repression aimed at homogenizing the population and in consequence eliminating different languages, cultures, and religions. From a contemporary perspective, the minority issue is critical for Turkey because it is one of the most significant stumbling blocks before its accession to the EU. The minority protection rules including non-discrimination, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression are among the criteria that the EU most frequently gives reference to within its progress reports and other accession documents. It is also vital given that the minority protection has been one of the few issues that triggered the increased civil society activism and mobilization as a result of the interaction of the civil society organizations representing different minority groups with the EU and their use of the political and financial resources provided by the EU. When compared with other areas, such as agriculture or fisheries, the funds provided by the EU in relation to the minority issue is utilized by the civil society organizations more frequently.

3.5 Turkish State Policies Towards the Minorities

The minority rights standards included within various European documents all highlight the necessity of state support for the minority groups to maintain and develop their culture, identity, religion and language. Such a task requires freedom of religion, freedom of language, freedom of association, freedom of expression, adoption of anti-discrimination policies and full equality before law, prohibition of assimilation, right to education, right to representation, freedom of movement, and finally social and economic integration. When compared with such a wide range of minority rights, one can see that the current legislation in Turkey only covers a very small portion of these rights and freedoms. The assimilation policies were so intense especially in the early days of the Republic that most of the minority groups left or were forced to leave Turkey before the 1950s. Such policies were systematically adopted and were required to be executed by state authorities and local administrations. It was in light of this during the single

party period (1923-1945) that the Republican People's Party (CHP) adopted some of the most discriminatory laws in the history of the Republic towards the minority groups in Turkey.

The era that aimed total homogenization of the newly founded Republic started with 1922-1924 Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey. Following the agreement between Turkey and Greece on the exchange of populations, 1.2 million Anatolian Greek Orthodox were deported from Turkey leaving behind their lands, houses, and property.[323] In exchange, around 350.000 Muslims residing in Greece at the time were sent to Turkey as part of the agreement.[324] Suddenly, the areas, which were dominantly occupied by the Greek Orthodox population, were emptied, waiting to be filled with Turkish or other Muslim groups including Bosnians and Albanians. However, there were still significant numbers of non-Muslim minority groups residing in Istanbul and some parts of Anatolia as well as the two Aegean islands Imros and Tenedos. Since the Population Exchange Agreement mainly targeted the Greek Orthodox population living in Anatolia, the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul as well as Imros and Tenedos were excluded from the process. Following the population exchange, the Turkish state concentrated on the ways to 'Turkify' the remaining non-Muslim minority population along with all other non-Turkish Muslim minority groups. The population exchange was not the only way the state played with the population proportions in order to prevent majorities of minority groups to inhabit the same areas. To give an example, in June 1923 the non-Muslim minorities were forbidden from travelling from one place to another within the borders of Turkey.[325] The law was adopted so suddenly that some members of non-Muslim minority groups, mainly Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Jewish, and a small portion of the Assyrians, who were at the time in other cities, were prohibited from going back to their

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[323] Grigoriadis 2008, 24.
[324] Ibid, 24.
[325] Sait Cetinoglu. 2012. "Holokost ve Turkiye (Holocaust and Turkey)." *Birikim* 12.06.2012.

own city where they originally resided. Following this, in September 1923 again with a law adopted by the Parliament the Armenians, who migrated from Cilicia, mainly from Adana, and Eastern Anatolia, were prohibited from returning to these cities.[326] Around the same time, in December 1923 the Jewish population of Corlu, a small town in the Thrace region, was forced to vacate the city in 48 hours. The Ministry of Internal Affairs deferred this decision following an application by the Chief Rabbi of Turkey; however, this did not stop a nearby town to enforce a similar practice and hundreds of Jews were deported from Catalca in 1923.[327] All of these decisions and actions mainly had one objective: to change the population compositions of those areas whose inhabitants were mostly minorities. However, none of these random acts at the time were reiterated within official documents and soon after the Turkish state issued a broader law entitled 1934 Settlement Law of 2510. The first article of the Settlement Law 2510 granted the Ministry of Interior Affairs the right to manage the geographical distribution of minorities based on the loyalty of these minority groups and their historical attachment to the Turkish culture.[328] Article 11 of the Law prohibited non-Turkish speakers to establish villages and districts. The Ministry was also able to apply certain methods such as relocating those persons who did not try to integrate with the Turkish society and insisted on maintaining their culture or speaking other languages.

According to the 1934 Settlement Law 2510, "foreign Kurds, Arabs, Albanians; other Muslims who speak languages other than Turkish, and all foreign Christians and Jews would be deprived of national citizenship documents and would be given the same status as non-citizens"[329]. This

[326] Ayse Hur. 2012. "Cumhuriyet'in Azinlik Raporu (The Minority Report of the Republic)." *Taraf 22.01.2012.* http://www.taraf.com.tr/ayse-hur/makale-cumhuriyet-in-azinlik-raporu.htm downloaded on 23.02.2011.
[327] Bulent Senay. 2007. "The Jews Of Turkey Between The 19th Century And World War II: From Zimmi To Vatandas", *Studia Hebraica* (7): p. 80-98.
[328] 'Iskan Kanunu', (Settlement Law) no: 2510, 14/06/1934, *Dustur*, Tertip: 3, Cilt: 15: p. 1156-1175; Erol Ulker. 2008. "Assimilation, Security and Geographical Nationalization in Interwar Turkey: The Settlement Law of 1934", *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (8): p.7.
[329] Erol, 6.

clause of the Settlement Law was a clear indication of the Turkish state's attitude towards the minority groups during the transition period from the Ottoman Empire. It was obvious that the central authorities perceived them as foreigners instead of citizens of the newly established Republic who were not entitled to enjoy the same fundamental rights and freedoms with the rest of the population. At the same time, the law asserted that Muslim Georgian, Lezgi (Laz), Chechen, Circassian, Abkhazian, and other Muslims would be issued Turkish citizenship.[330] The reason for the double standard between Muslim Caucasian groups and the other minorities is based on the belief that these groups had traits that were closely connected to the ethnic Turks. It could be that the Turkish state at the time believed since the Caucasian groups were mainly immigrants, they would be more inclined to be assimilated into the Turkish culture, whereas other groups such as Kurds, Jews, or Christians who lived in Anatolia for centuries and had their own forms of self-government during the Ottoman Empire, would be resistant to accept the new form of citizenship that was closely tied to ethnic Turkishness during the early days of the Republic.

The second article of Law 2510 dictated that the country would be divided into three parts, also called settlement zones, where the residents were selected based on their commitment to the Turkish culture, Turkish language. As the Turkish majority was Muslim, it also depended on their loyalty to Islamic principles.[331] To be more specific, according to the Settlement Law the first zone consisted of those places composed of populations possessing the Turkish culture, whereas the second zone would be used for those inhabitants whose Turkification processes could still not be fully achieved particularly in relation to the use of the Turkish language.[332] Finally, the third zone referred to those places where settlement was forbidden due to a number

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[330] 'Iskan Kanunu', (Settlement Law) no: 2510, 14/06/1934, *Dustur*, Tertip: 3, Cilt: 15: p. 1156-1175; Joost Jongerden. 2007. *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 175.
[331] Ulker, 7-8.
[332] 'Iskan Kanunu', (Settlement Law) No. 2510, 14/06/1934, *Dustur*, Tertip: 3, Cilt: 15: p. 1156-1175.

of factors including culture or security.[333] In the same manner, Article 12 dictated that those persons that could not speak Turkish within the first zone to be relocated to central areas where the majority was Turkish.[334] Such an undertaking provided for a further assimilation of these minority groups, as they were exposed to the Turkish culture at the highest level, surrounded by the Turkish-speaking majority. The Settlement Law 2510 does not mandate a specific location where the law should be applied however an official circular published in 1939, 'Decree Concerning the Acceptance of an Instruction about Land Distribution in Zone One' designates the eastern provinces as where settlement of non-Turkish speakers should be omitted.[335] By limiting settlement in the eastern provinces, the Turkish state wished to control and to suppress the Kurdish revolts. The 1939 Decree stayed in force until 1951 and settlement in these regions remained prohibited until that time. At the same time, between 1925 and 1950, a state of emergency was declared at the southeastern and eastern provinces, while foreigners were not allowed to enter these regions until 1964.[336] The resettlement laws reached the point that non-Turkish speakers were obliged to reside at a certain distance from highways, railroads and natural resources. In addition to these, according to the Settlement Law the total number of foreigners in a certain settlement area could not exceed 10% of the population of that municipality and non-Turkish speakers were not allowed to establish chambers or unions based on concerns over security.

A close investigation of the 1934 Thrace Pogroms suggests that similar homogenization policies were also applied to the Thrace.[337] The anti-Semitic violence that ended with the

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[333] Jongerden, 177.

[334] Iskan Kanunu', (Settlement Law) No. 2510, 14/06/1934, *Dustur*, Tertip: 3, Cilt: 15: p. 1156-1175, Article 12.

[335] Birinci Iskan Mintikalarinda Toprak Tevziatina Dair Olan Talimatnamenin Kabulu Hakkinda Kararname (Decree on the Adoption of the Bylaws regarding the Territorial Distributions within the First Settlement Zones), no: 2/12374, 24/11/1939 in Eski ve Yeni Toprak, Iskan Hukumleri ve Uygulama Kilavuzu (Guidelines for the Implementation of the Settlement Provisions and Old and New Territories), 166-171.

[336] Ulker, 8.

[337] Rifat Bali. 2008. *1934 Trakya Olaylari (1934 Thrace Events)*. Istanbul: Libra.

exportation of the Jewish population first commenced in Canakkale.[338] The wave of attacks quickly spilled over to other cities in the region and in Edirne, the events heightened turning into a pogrom on 3-4 July.[339] As a result thousands of Jews were expelled from the region and escaped to Istanbul.[340]

The Turkification policies basically targeted two areas: the first was the cultural policies such as the laws on language, religion, and education, whereas the second targeted economic policies including areas of employment, taxes, and participation in public life. The policies in relation to economic affairs mainly aimed to exclude minority groups to the extent that the national economy could be totally Turkified. To begin with, as early as 1923, foreign companies were stipulated to hire employees, of which 75% had to be Turkish Muslim.[341] This was usually instructed orally either by the police or the local administrators.[342] The companies faced closing down if they did not comply with this condition. In order to comply with this new rule, most of the foreign companies were forced to fire their Christian and Jewish employees.[343] At the same time, the non-Muslims were not allowed to work as public servants.[344] In addition to this, a new law was passed in 1924, which stipulated that a pharmacy could be opened only if it was owned and operated by a Turkish citizen of Turkish origin.[345]

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[338] Ayhan Aktar. 2000. *Varlik Vergisi ve Turklestirme Politikalari (Wealth Tax and Turkification Policies)*. Istanbul: Iletisim, 72-73.
[339] Ibid, 73-74.
[340] Haluk Karabatak. 1996. "1934 Trakya Olaylari ve Yahudiler (1934 Thrace Events and Jews)", *Tarih ve Toplum* 146: p. 4; Avner, Levi. 1996. "1934 Trakya Yahudileri Olayi: Alinmayan Ders (1934 Jews of Thrace Event: The Lesson Not Learnt)." *Tarih ve Toplum* 151: 10-17.
[341] Aktar, p. 58.
[342] Faik Oktem. 1951. *Varlik Vergisi Faciasi (The Catastrophe of the Wealth Tax)*. Istanbul: Nebioglu Publishing, 47.
[343] Murat Koralturk. 2011. *Erken Cumhuriyet Doneminde Ekonominin Turklestirilmesi (Turkification of the Economy during the Early Days of the Republic)*. Istanbul: Iletisim, 210-211.
[344] Memurin Kanunu (The Public Servant Law). No. 788, Dustur: 3. Tertip, Cilt: 7, 677.
[345] Law No. 964 "Eczacilar ve Eczaneler Hakkinda Kanun (The Law on Pharmacies and Pharmacists)" of 06 July 1927 adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Turkish Republic on 24 January 1927.

In the same vein, the law on lawyers in 1924 required a morality assessment for lawyers, which resulted in the cancellation of the work permits of 460 non-Muslim lawyers.[346]

Following on the efforts to Turkify the capital and the workforce, Statistics Department under the Ministry of Trade sent a survey to all foreign representations of insurance companies in 1926 asking about the capital structure of their companies, the countries where their headquarters were based and the original foreign company they represented.[347] The second part of the survey included questions on the salary rates of the employees and asked for a detailed classification of these employees as Muslim Turks, non-Muslim Turks, and Foreigners.[348] Again in the same year, another law was passed at the Turkish Parliament, which required all companies within Turkey to keep their books and accounts in Turkish as well as conduct all communications in Turkish. This was obviously an attempt to pressure foreign companies into hiring Turkish employees.[349]

As for the public sector, the hiring of non-Muslim employees were first obstructed with a law passed in 1926. The law stipulated that opportunities to work in the public sector would be provided only to ethnic Turks or those groups who may be Turkified. The law did not imply citizenship but rather made a direct reference to ethnicity and this law was in force until 1965. However, the law only applied to non-Muslims while other groups such as Kurds, Bosnians, Laz, and Caucasians were classified as Turks. In 1928, a new law was issued, which stated that only Turks could become a doctor. As a result, non-Muslims were forbidden from practicing medicine in Turkey. In addition to this, another law was issued in 1932, which dictated that

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[346] Dogu Ergil. 2012. "Turkiye'nin Turk Kimligi Sorunu (Turkey's Problem with the Turkish Identity)", *Heinrich Boell Stiftung Publications*.
[347] Aktar, 116.
[348] Ibid, 116.
[349] Aktar, 117.

only Turkish citizens could practice certain professions.[350] These professions included a long list ranging from photographers to translators, from construction workers to pilots, and even from drivers to waiters. The category of foreigners as referred to within this law mainly intended to exclude the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul who were only given work and residence permits after the 1924 Population Exchange. The law stipulated that the foreigners working in these jobs were required to quit their jobs within six months.[351] As a result by the end of 1935, 17,642 Greek Orthodox left Turkey for Greece because of unemployment and economic hardships.[352] All of these reflected the policies of the government at the time, as echoed in a report entitled "The Reform Plan of the East" prepared by the Minister of Internal Affairs in 1925. The report advised the state to adopt policies that aim to transfer the commercial and trade enterprises in and around Diyarbakir owned by non-Muslim and foreigners to Turks living in the area.

The propositions by the Minister of Internal Affairs in the report along with the attempts for the economic exclusion of non-Muslims and foreigners were gradually adopted throughout the 1930s and reached the most detrimental stage in 1942 with the adoption of the Wealth Tax. However, it was applied randomly mainly targeting minorities in order to take away any wealth they may have acquired. Non-Muslims were taxed almost three times more than the Muslims as a final step to Turkify the economy and those non-Muslims who were not able to pay the taxes, were sent to forced labour camps in eastern Turkey.[353]

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[350] Turkiye'de Turk vatandaslarina tahsis edilen sanat ve hizmetler hakkinda kanun (The Law on Services and Crafts allocated only to Turkish Citizens in Turkey), 11 June 1932, Law No 2007 (13): 519-520.
[351] Ibid, 521.
[352] Aktar, 125.
[353] Ridvan Akar. 2006. *Askale Yolculari Varlik Vergisi ve Calisma Kamplari (Askale Passengers Wealth Tax and Labour Camps)* Istanbul: Mephisto.

The cultural policies on the other hand targeted fundamental freedoms aiming to preserve and promote the cultural identity of minority groups, such as freedom of language, freedom of religion, freedom of education, and freedom of expression. Freedom of language is one of the many fundamental freedoms violated by the Turkish state throughout the history of the Republic until the very recent reform process initiated after the Helsinki Summit. All minority groups living in Turkey suffered gravely from the policies that pursued to eliminate the use of all other languages except Turkish, both in public and private life. In this regard, the first attempt was the prohibition of Kurdish by the municipalities in eastern towns and cities where the majority of the population was still pre-dominantly Kurdish-speakers.[354] In the midst of major Kurdish revolts in the eastern provinces, the government forbade speaking Kurdish, both in public and private spheres, after the publication of the Reform Plan for the East in 1925. Article 14 of the Reform Plan stipulated that Kurds were actually of Turkish origin and had been assimilated into Kurdishness and therefore speaking Kurdish would be prohibited in both public areas and in private.[355] The punishments were determined as five pennies for every Kurdish word. Around the same time, discussions about the population in the eastern provinces escalated within several governmental and non-governmental organizations highlighting the concerns in relation to the inability to break the Kurdish resistance towards integration with the Turks, especially with respect to language. Soon enough, these demands were met when the "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" campaigns started in 1928.

The "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" campaigns significantly increased the tension between Turkish and non-Turkish speaking inhabitants of Turkey. Fights would break out frequently in major cities, which ended with the physical beating of non-Turkish speakers most of the time.[356]

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[354] Aktar, 130.
[355] Vahap Coskun et al. 2011. *Scar of Tongue.* Disa Publications: Diyarbakir, 27.
[356] Rifat Bali. "Citizen, Speak Turkish!", downloaded at http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/turkce_konusma_birgun.pdf on 21 April 2012.

"Citizen, Speak Turkish" banners were hung up in various places and the minority members who took them down or tore them were taken into custody.[357] Following these campaigns, the Jews of Istanbul, who had suffered significantly, were forced to take an oath and to sign a contract stating that they will speak Turkish in synagogues at all times.[358] The "Citizen, Speak Turkish" campaigns escalated during the early 1930s but were terminated with the end of the singular party period. Simultaneously, the Law on the Unity of Education was issued in 1924 and the number of Turkish classes in minority schools was increased substantially while the non-Muslim minority schools were closed except those that belonged to the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Armenian minorities. To give an example, two Assyrian schools in Mardin and Diyarbakir were closed based on the fact that they were not recognized as official minorities within the Lausanne Treaty and in 1927 Greek education was banned at the Greek Orthodox schools in Imros and Tenedos islands.[359] The policies were once again at the top of the agenda after the 1980 military coup. The 1982 Constitution prohibited the use of languages other than Turkish in public and private spheres, and it was strictly forbidden to argue that there are minorities living within the territories of Turkey and to engage in activities aiming to promote and preserve minority culture, identity, religion, or language.

Policies restricting the freedom of religion were fundamentally part of the state policy towards minorities since the early days of the Republic. In January 1925, the newly elected Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate was sent back to Thessaloniki on the grounds that he was not eligible to work in Turkey.[360] Following this, faced with tremendous pressure the Assyrian community moved the Assyrian Patriarchate to Damascus in 1933 and claimed that "it was

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[357] Ibid.
[358] Rifat Bali. "Cumhuriyet'in Ilk Yillarinda Turklestirme Siyaseti (Turkification Policies during the First Days of the Republic)", 3.
[359] Akgonul, 283.
[360] See Elcin Macar. 2003. *Cumhuriyet Doneminde Istanbul Rum Patrikhanesi (The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul during the Republic Era)*. Istanbul: Iletisim.

found necessary" as stated by the Patriarchate officials.[361] The restrictive policies towards the freedom of religion continued throughout the 20ᵗʰ century. Other non-Muslim groups, such as Ezidis, Christians, Jews, or Alevis, faced prosecution for practicing their religion or were simply forbidden to do so. The Christians and Jews were forbidden from building new churches and synagogues or simply repairing the old ones. The Ezidis were not and are still not recognized by the Turkish state; therefore, were not provided with any means to profess their religion. Today, Alevism is still not accepted and the Alevis of Turkey are not allowed to practice their religion in their places of worship or Cem houses, because they are not allowed to build or establish Cem houses in the first place.

The minority issue is contested within Europe, but it is particularly challenging in the case of Turkey as the Turkish state only recognizes three religious minority groups in an official capacity and grants certain privileges to these groups. However, not only the recognized minority groups are extremely limited but also the rights granted are very constrained. Turkey recognizes other religious, ethnic and linguistic minority groups as full and equal citizens of the Turkish Republic. However, the most problematic issue is that while doing this, the Turkish state tries to homogenize all of the different identities forcing them either to accept the Turkish identity or excluding them totally if they cannot Turkify.

3.6 Minority Groups in Turkey

The issue of minority rights has always been a controversial issue for the Turkish state and society but following the 1999 Helsinki decision and particularly the introduction of the Copenhagen political criteria, contrary to the past, it has become an issue of priority in Turkey.

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[361] Personal Interview with Mor Filiksinos Yusuf Cetin, Patriarchal Vicar of the Assyrian Orthodox Church in Istanbul on 12.08.2012.

The historical background to explain the current situation of different minority groups in Turkey can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire. Even though Sunni Muslim Ottomans governed the Empire, it had a specific governance system providing limited autonomy for different religious groups living within the Empire.[362] The millet system consisted of a ranking of different millets or religious groups, while Sunni Muslims retained the highest rank.[363] Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, its founding agreement Lausanne Treaty was signed in 1923.[364] The Lausanne Treaty is the main document that determines Turkey's policy with respect to minority rights and through which it grants certain rights to Jews, Armenians and Greek Orthodox. However, since the beginning the Turkish state excluded the remaining non-Muslim groups while all other remaining Muslim groups were categorized as Turks even though they were not ethnic Turks.[365]

Following the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, as a result of the discriminatory practices and oppressive laws, different minority groups left Turkey either involuntarily or because they felt forced to escape throughout the rest of the 20th century. In the end, the population numbers decreased significantly especially in cities other than Istanbul. Against such a historical background, Turkey faced the requirements of the Copenhagen criteria that explicitly referred to minority protection. Pursuant to the aspirations for full accession to the EU, Turkey was

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[362] For more on the millet system see Roderic Davison. 1982. "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire" in eds. Braude and Lewis, p. 319-337; Yavuz Ercan. 2001. *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler: Kurulustan Tazminat'a Kadar Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Hukuki Durumlar, (The Non-Muslims Under the Ottoman Rule: Their Social, Economic and Legal Situation from the Foundation to the Tanzimat),* Ankara: Turhan Publishing House; Kemal Karpat. 1973. *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations,* Princeton: Center of International Studies.
[363] Minority Rights Group International. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey." London: Minority Rights Group International Publications, 8.
[364] Lausanne Peace Treaty signed during the Lausanne Peace Conference in Lausanne, Switzerland on 23 July 1923 between Turkey, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Greece and Yugoslavia. For more see http://ua.mfa.gov.tr.
[365] Baskin Oran. 2004. *Turkiye'de Azinliklar: Kavramlar, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama (Minorities in Turkey: Concepts, Lausanne, Legislation, Jurisprudence, Application)*, Istanbul: TESEV Publications, 54.

forced to comply with the international norms and standards related to minority rights that was neglected for almost 80 years since the foundation of the Republic.

The Turkish constitution or other legislations in Turkey do not address the issue of minority rights at all. In fact, there is no mention of the word minority within the Constitution and Article 3 of the Constitution states that Turkey is indivisible with its state, country and nation and the language of the Turkish state is Turkish.[366] Until 1991 it was forbidden to express thoughts in a language other than the first official languages of the states recognized by the Republic of Turkey.[367] The first article of Law No 2932 prohibited the dissemination of any ideas in other language except Turkish, while the second article stipulated that "no language can be used for the explication, dissemination, and publication of ideas other than the first official language of countries, recognized by the Turkish state."[368] Given this, minority languages such as Kurdish, Lazuri, Zazaki, and Aramaic were forbidden from use in both public and private spheres for a long period in the history of the Republic. Perhaps the most problematic Article of the Constitution is Article 66, which stipulates that everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk.[369] Article 66 still remains valid today even though there is significant pressure from various democratic forces to change this ethnic categorization of citizenship.

The minority rights regime given its exclusive character, recognizing only three religious minority groups can be discussed from the perspective of the United Nations instruments. In this regard, one of the legal documents that would be relevant for the minority rights regime in

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[366] Republic of Turkey. 1982 Constitution, Article 3. Downloaded from www.anayasa.gen.tr/1982ay.htm on 21.02.2010.
[367] Law No. 2932 of 19 October 1983, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 22 October 1983, No. 18199 repealed with Law No. 3713 (Anti-Terror Law) of 12 April 1991, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 12 April 1991, No. 20843, Article 23(e).
[368] Law No. 2932 of 19 October 1983, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 22 October 1983, No. 18199.
[369] Republic of Turkey 1982 Constitution, Article 66.

Turkey among others is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948.[370] As Turkey has become a member of the United Nations in 1945 and it is a party to UDHR.[371] Article 2 of the UDHR states that, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty"[372]. This article which prohibits all forms of discrimination and grants rights and freedoms to everyone is interpreted in the Turkish context through the comprehensive character of the Turkish citizenship and Turkish ethnic identity. In fact, the Turkish constitution prohibits all kinds of discrimination based on language, race, color, sex, political opinion or religious beliefs and guarantees before the law in Article 10.[373] However, while doing this, the Turkish state refrains from granting any other linguistic or cultural rights to the minority groups living in Turkey. This article in the Turkish constitution regarding the equality before law and the obligation to treat everyone equally are also reiterated in articles 3, 6 and 7 of UDHR. Even though these articles of UDHR dictate equality for everyone as part of customary international law, the Turkish state failed to apply them in practice for the minority groups in Turkey based on the argument that "Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk"[374]. Therefore, while disregarding other minority groups in Turkey, the Turkish state grants the same rights and freedoms to the minorities in Turkey as the other ethnic Turks. This in turn yields several contentious issues.

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[370] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR),* G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. GAOR, 3d Sess., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 10, 1948).
[371] http://www.mfa.gov.tr/universal-declaration-of-human-rights.en.mfa.
[372] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR),* G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. GAOR, 3d Sess., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 10, 1948).
[373] Constitution of the Republic of Turkey [Turkey], 7 November 1982, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b5be0.html [accessed 15 January 2010].
[374] Ibid.

First of all, such an ethnic definition of citizenship implies that the mother tongue language of these minority groups is Turkish and therefore they will not be granted any other linguistic rights. Secondly, the first Constitution stated that the religion of the Turkish state is Islam however this was taken out in 1928.[375] Even though, there are no constitutional restrictions before granting religious freedoms to minority groups, as the only religious minority groups recognized are Armenians, Jews and Greek Orthodox, other religious minorities are deprived of these rights. Moreover, these minority groups are not allowed to build new places of worship as stated in the Lausanne Treaty. Similarly, Article 18 of UDHR states "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance"[376]. This is also not applied in practice in Turkey to other minority groups that are not officially recognized as they are not allowed to even open Cem houses as in the case of Alevis or construct any churches, synagogues and other places of worship. In light of increasing UN activity with regard to human rights instruments and the protection of minority rights, Turkey refused to sign and ratify the 1954 UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, the 1961 UN Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness and the 1965 UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the 1966 UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The different minority groups in Turkey can be classified into two groups: ethnic and linguistic minorities and religious minorities. Most of the time there are overlaps between these two groups as most of the ethnic and linguistic minority groups may also be classified as religious minorities.

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[375] Ibid.
[376] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*, G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. GAOR, 3d Sess., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 10, 1948).

As mentioned above, Turkey only allows the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty to be applied to Greek Orthodox, Jewish and Armenian minorities. However, if one considers the internationally accepted definitions of minority groups as provided in Chapter II of this thesis, it is possible to talk about several groups that may be identified as a minority and that should be granted special rights with respect to their religion, language or ethnic background. In this respect, this thesis examines and classifies the minority groups in Turkey based on their population levels, the variation in their associational structures, diversity of their activities and funding sources and location, whether they are predominant in one city or across different cities. With regard to population, since 1990 the Turkish state stopped asking individuals about their ethnic background, mother tongue or religious denomination during the official censuses. Therefore, the numbers of individuals belonging to these minority groups and their geographical distribution are not officially known. The censuses conducted until 1990 continued collecting data in relation to the mother tongue languages and religious affiliations however the results after 1965 are not disclosed to the general public due to security concerns.[377] Given these, the information concerning the minority groups identified in this research was mostly obtained from the interviews conducted with civil society organizations and non-state actors. However, there is no accurate information concerning the distinctions among these groups, their population numbers or self-identification patterns. Therefore, the list of minority groups provided in this research is non-exhaustive and irrespective of their self-identification as minorities.

In terms of location, while some of the minority groups such as the Alevis or Caucasians are dispersed across Turkey with organizations established almost in every city, other groups such as

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[377] Ali Ozsoy et al. 1992. "Turkiye'nin Etnik Yapisinin Anadil Sorularina Gore Analizi (Analysis of Turkey's Ethnic Structure according to Mother Tongue Questions)", *Nufusbilim Journal* 14: 102; Also see Fuat Dundar. 2000. *Turkiye Nufus Sayimlarinda Azinliklar (Minorities in Censuses in Turkey).* Istanbul: Doz Yayinlari; Minority Rights Group International. 2007. "A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey." London: MRG.

Lom among Roma or Assyrians are predominantly concentrated in one city or region, mainly owing to the low levels of population. These groups also display variation in their associational structure, whereas some groups including the Alevi and Caucasians have set up many and different types of organizations, others such as the Greek Orthodox or Protestants have only few organizations that do not show any variation in terms of structure or location. In addition to this, it was revealed as a result of the research that some of the minority groups behave differently across different cities. For example, while the Roma organizations in Western cities and Thrace[378] have closer relations with the national government, those in southeastern and eastern Anatolia stated that they do not have any contact with the national representatives and that they are instead in close contact with local administrators and especially BDP municipalities.[379] Finally, the minority groups were selected and classified based on the sources of funding and the types of activities that their civil society organizations obtain and carry out. While some minority civil society organizations receive funding only from national sources such as the Arab organization in Sanliurfa or the Roma Federation in Kocaeli[380], other organizations receive funding from both national and international sources such as the Caucasian Federation. Additionally, other minority groups which have stated that they have no contact with the national and local officials such as the Kurds or Assyrians, indicated that they can only secure funding from international sources and primarily European sources. With regard to the types of activities organized by these civil society organizations, data were collected on those civil society organizations that have branches all across Turkey such as the Human Rights Association (IHD) or the Union of Educators and Scientists (EGITIM-SEN) which organize various conferences, seminars and publish books and other publications related to minority rights along with advocacy activities. Moreover, it was found that

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[378] Personal interview with the head of EDROM on 25.06.2012.
[379] Personal interview with the Ezidi representative in Diyarbakir.
[380] Telephone interview with Sukru Kirboga, the head of the Arab Association on 08.05.2012; Telephone interview with Zana Farqini, the head of the Istanbul Kurdish Institute on 20.08.2012; Telephone interview with Erdinc Cekic, the head of the Edirne Roma Associations Federation on 25.06.2012.

some of the minority organizations only organize advocacy activities or act as solidarity organizations while others also publish academic studies on demographics of the minority group that they represent. The following section examines the ethnic and linguistic minorities and religious minorities in Turkey from the perspective of these selection criteria.

3.6.1 Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities in Turkey

The ethnic and linguistic minority groups that were examined as part of this thesis include the Kurds, Arabs, Georgians, Abkhazians, Circassians, Roma, Laz, Hamshen, Mhelmis, Molokans, Bosnians and Albanians and Pomaks. Some of these minority groups are also fragmented among themselves based on religion or language such as the Zazaki and Kurmanji speakers among the Kurds or Sunni, Alevi and Ezidi Kurds, Muslim and Christian Arabs or Alevi, Sunni, Christian and Ezidi Roma. However, none of these are officially recognized as a minority by the Turkish state. The lack of recognition by the Turkish state implies that none of these minority groups are provided with a minority status and therefore they are not granted the rights related to mother-tongue education, property acquisition and freedom of association as in the case of the three religious minority groups officially recognized by the state. These minority groups are only able to exercise the rights related to freedom of religion, freedom of association and linguistic and cultural rights granted with the reform packages adopted after Turkey was given official candidacy status by the EU in 1999.

Based on the selection criteria provided above, the ethnic and linguistic minority groups that will be discussed in more detail as they show variation and represent different dynamics include the Kurds, the Caucasians which include the Circassians, Abkhazians, Georgians and Ossetians, Arabs and Roma. These groups vary with regard to their population levels, associational structures, sources of funding obtained and activities organized by their civil

society organizations and the location where they are concentrated. Kurds represent the highest population number in Turkey however their civil society organizations are mostly concentrated in the southeastern and eastern Anatolia region where they are the predominant population. Moreover, unlike the Caucasian groups which have solidarity associations established almost in every city where these groups live, Kurds are mostly represented through the branches of the Human Rights Organization (IHD), MEYA-DER or TUHAD-FED and the pro-Kurdish political party BDP. In comparison, Arab organization which stated that they do not establish any contacts with European and western organizations because they oppose the enlargement process, are concentrated mainly in southern and southeastern Anatolia but unlike the Kurds, they have close relations with the national government and obtain funding only from national sources. Kurdish organizations on the other hand, obtain funding for their activities from a variety of international organizations and mainly the EU and European sources, claiming that their relations with the national government are almost non-existent. In contrast, the Roma organizations can be found across Turkey in various cities where there is a Roma population however their demands and associational structure are completely different based on their location. For example, the Roma organization in Edirne which also receives funding from the EU, supports the AKP government in the Roma opening whereas the Dom civil society organizations mostly located in southeastern Turkey claim that they are marginalized by the state officials and they prefer to discuss their problems with the local municipalities. In light of these criteria, the main minority groups representing different dynamics and other ethnic and linguistic minority groups, will be presented in the following sections of this chapter.

Georgians

Georgians are one of the Caucasian groups that migrated to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century following the Ottoman-Russian war. According to the census numbers in 1965,

the total number of people who stated their mother tongue as Georgian was 34,330 whereas 48,976 people declared speaking Georgian as a second language.[381] In line with this, the total numbers of Georgians reported in 1965 was 83.306 where as other studies indicate 60,000 people in 1979 and 1982.[382] The president of the Georgian Cultural Association indicated that they believe there are currently 2-3 million Georgians living in Turkey.[383] Most of the Georgian minority are Sunni Muslims however there is also a very small population of Catholic Georgians living in Istanbul as well.[384] 90% of the Catholic Georgians are believed to have left Turkey after the 6-7 September 1955 pogroms targeting the non-Muslims of Istanbul and Izmir. The language used by the Georgian minority is Georgian, which belongs to the Southern Caucasian language family. The Georgians of Turkey mainly live in the cities spread along the Black Sea coast starting at the Georgian border. According to research conducted with respect to Georgian villages, the main settlement places include the Black Sea, Marmara and Aegean regions.[385]

The problems of the Georgian minority are mainly related to reversing the effects of the assimilationist policies exerted by the Turkish state.[386] Today as a result of the bans on the use of, publishing and education in minority languages, most of the Georgians only speak Turkish.[387] Even though there are language courses organized by civil society organizations,

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[381] State Statistics Institution. 1969. *1965 Genel Nufus Sayimi: Nufusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri (General Census: Social and Economic Features of the Population)*. Ankara: DIE. Also see Sinan Zeyneloglu et al. 2011. "Kurt Sorununda Antropolojik ve Demografik Boyut: Sayim ve Arastirma Verilerinden Elde Edilen Bulgular (Anthropological and Demographic Dimension of the Kurdish Question: Findings from Censuses and Research Data)." *Uluslararasi Insan Bilimleri Dergisi* (International Human Science Journal) 8(1).
[382] Peter Alford Andrews. 1989. *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Weisbaden: Hubert&Co, 173-174; Also see Paul Magnarella. 1976. "The Assimilation of Georgians in Turkey: A Case Study." *Muslim World* 66(1): 35-43.
[383] Interview with Fazli Kaya, President of the Georgian Culture Association on 20.09.2011.
[384] Onder Kaya. 2013. "Istanbul'da Gurcu Cemaati ve Katolik Gurcu Kilisesi (The Georgian Community of Istanbul and the Catholic Georgian Church)." *Salom Newspaper* of 09 January 2013.
[385] Andrews, 173.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Interview with Fazli Kaya.

they are not sufficient to revitalize the language. There isn't any legislation mentioning the Georgian community or referring to the Georgian culture, language and ethnicity. The main demand in this sense is public education in mother-tongue languages and equal citizenship discourse within the new constitution. They also demand the return of the Georgian place names and the recognition of their ethnic identity. Moreover, they also highlight that even though there is a state television channel broadcasting in Kurdish, the same right is still not given to the Georgian community. Despite these, as part of the new law passed in 2012, the minority languages can be taught as elective classes given that there are 12 or more students that demand such classes, and the Georgian community is also applying for this right.

Circassians

There are many conflicting views with respect to the origin of Circassians and other Causasian groups including Ossetians, Abkhazian, Dagistanis, Ingush and Chechens. The first point of view is that Circassians are one of the indigenous peoples of North Caucasus and they are originally called Adiges.[388] Secondly, Circassian is the name given to the indigenous peoples of North Caucasus that includes Adige and Abkhaz peoples. The third and final point of view indicates that Circassian is the general name for the peoples of Caucasus including Adige, Abkhaz, Balkars, Dagistanis, Ossetians and Chechens. The generally accepted view is that the Circassians is the name given to the Adige people.[389] It is argued that 90% of the Caucasian groups in Turkey are composed of Circassians while the remaining 10% are Abkhaz.[390] However, in line with the field research conducted concerning the Caucasian peoples Circassian population is almost the same if not less than the Georgian population in Turkey.

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[388] Aytek Namitok. 2003. *Cerkeslerin Kokeni (The Origins of Circassians)* translated by Aysel Ceviker. Ankara: KAF-DAV Publications.
[389] Arsen Avagyan. 2004. *Cerkesler: Osmanli Imparatorlugu ve Kemalist Turkiye'nin Devlet Iktıdar Sisteminde (Circassians: Within the State-Power System of Kemalist Turkey and Ottoman Empire).* Istanbul: Belge, 204.
[390] Minority Rights Group International 2007, 13.

Therefore, it would be wrong to argue that the Caucasian groups in Turkey are only composed of Circassians and Abkhaz.

During the 1965 census 58,339 people declared Circassian as their mother tongue where as 55,030 declared speaking Circassian as a second language.[391] However some indicate that the number of immigrant Caucasians is between 1-1.5 million.[392] As a result of epidemics, wars and catastrophes the population numbers are believed to have dropped as low as 500.000. Recent population numbers point to numbers between 1.5-2 million.[393] In addition, there are around 750 Circassian villages around Anatolia. Circassians were originally settled all around Anatolia except eastern and southeastern regions and Thrace. Circassians are predominantly Sunni Muslims belonging to the Hanefi sect. Their language is Circassian (Adigebze), which belongs to the Northwestern group of the Caucasian family.[394] The Circassian population in Turkey mostly speaks Turkish, even though as in the case of Georgians, there are efforts to propagate the Circassian language among the youth.

Adiges originally settled in Central and Western Anatolia and the Black Sea region. The greatest settlement is in Central Anatolia.[395] The problems of the Circassian minority are also similar to those of the other Caucasian groups. The most problematic issue is the assimilation policies that caused most of the Circassian population to be Turkified and lose their language to a significant degree.[396] The levels of the use of mother-tongue language are especially low among the youth and there is still discrimination directed against these groups both in private

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[391] State Statistics Institution 1969, 166.
[392] Telephone interview with Democratic Circassian Platform representative Sezai Akkus on 18.05.2012.
[393] According to the head of the Circassian Association in Ankara, the population numbers were 1.1 million in 1984. Interview with conducted on 29.09.2011.
[394] Andrews, 167-168.
[395] Izzet Aydemir.. 1973. "Turkiye Cerkesleri (Circassians of Turkey)." *Kafkasya Kulturel Dergi (Caucasia Cultural Journal)* 39-42: 215.
[396] Interview with Sezai Akkus.

and public spheres.[397] However, the Circassian minority is more fragmented in terms of self-identification and political views when compared with other minority groups. There are groups that demand mother-tongue education whereas there are others who describe themselves as Turkish-nationalists and are mostly supportive of the status quo.[398] Given this, the more progressive groups reject the official views related to the Circassian history that humiliate and stigmatize the Circassian minority. Secondly, as declared by the Circassian Rights Initiative, Circassians in Turkey demand mother-tongue languages to be protected both *de facto* and *de jure* allowing the Circassian minority to name their children in Circassian as well as the return of the old village and town names in Circassian.[399]

Abkhazians and Other Caucasian Groups

Similar to the Circassian minority, Abkhazians are also one of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus that were exiled to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century from Russia.[400] According to the 1965 census, the number of persons declaring Abkhaz as their mother tongue or second language is approximately 12.600 where as according to a research conducted in 1975 the number of Abkhazians living in Turkey was found as 39.572.[401] Today there are various claims related to the numbers of Abkhazians living in Turkey ranging from 200.000 to 700.000. There is no fully accurate information with respect to the population numbers however it is argued that the number of Abkhazians living in Turkey today is more than the Abkhazians living in Abkhazia itself.[402]

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[397] Interview with Isa Alagoz, Adana Circassian Culture Association.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.
[400] RE-BA-RB. 1973. "Kuzey Kafkasya (Northern Caucasus)." *Kafkasya Kulturel Dergi (Caucasia Cultural Journal)* 39-42: 11-13.
[401] State Statistics Institution, 1969; Andrews, 168; Zeyneloglu et al., 351.
[402] "Abkhaz Leader: The population of Abkhaz in Turkey is 4 times as much as ours", *Zaman Newspaper*, 18 February 2010, http://www.zaman.com.tr/dunya_abhaz-lider-turkiyedeki-abhazlarin-nufusu-bizim-4-katimiz_953110.html. First downloaded on 26 May 2011.

Similar to the Circassian minority, Abkhazians are also Sunni Muslims and their language is Abkhaz, which is nowadays written in an enlarged Georgian alphabet.[403] Abkhaz language is almost extinct in Turkey as most of the Abkhazians in Turkey only speak Turkish. Abkhazians mostly live in the Marmara, Mediterranean, Aegean and the Black Sea regions. The problems and demands of the Abkhazian minority are different than those of the other Caucasian groups. The main problem for the Abkhazian community in Turkey is the lack of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Turkey and Abkhazia. In a recent meeting with the Foreign Minister, Abkhaz representatives demanded direct flights to Abkhazia, permission for Abkhazian TV channels to be broadcasted in Turkey, allowing the Republic of Abkhazia to open a consulate general in Ankara and progress with respect to the fostering of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries.[404]

Another smaller Caucasian group living in Turkey are the Ossetians. In fact, the population of Ossetians in Turkey is the least when compared with other Caucasian groups. According to the civil society representatives, the population of Ossetians living in Turkey today is around 15-20.000.[405] Ossetians also migrated to the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century and they were placed in cities such as Kars, Erzurum, Mus, Van, Kahramanmaras, Kayseri, Tokat, Sivas, and Yozgat. Ossetians most of the time identify themselves as Circassians to the outsiders. Their religion is Sunni Islam and their language is Ossetic language, which belongs to the Indo-European family.

Arabs

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[403] Andrews, 168.

[404] "Committee and Duzce Abkhaz Culture Association met with Davutoglu and AKP administrators", 25 May 2011, http://www.abhazyam.com/haber/1320/komite-ve-duze-abhaz-dernegi-davutoglu-ile-gorustu.html. First downloaded on 26 May 2011.

[405] Email correspondence with Engin Polat, head of the Alan Culture and Solidarity Foundation on 23.04.2011.

The Arabs in Turkey are usually grouped into three categories by researchers: Sunni Arabs, Alevi Arabs and Christian Arabs.[406] In addition to their religious differences, these three groups also designate themselves as separate from each other. Today around 1 million Arabs or Arab-speaking groups are estimated to live in Turkey predominantly in Southern and Southeastern provinces such as Antakya, Mersin, Mardin, Urfa and Siirt.[407] According to the 1965 census 365,340 people declared Arabic as their mother tongue language, of these 179,309 were registered in cities known to have Sunni population while 170,418 declared speaking Arabic as mother tongue in Antakya and Adana and 9,430 in Mersin of whom most are believed to be Nusayris.[408] Finally, Christian Arabs or Arab-speaking Christian groups cannot be distinguished within the 1965 census as the questions did not include any designation with respect to religion. However, according to other studies the Arab-speaking Christians predominantly living in Antakya and Istanbul are believed to be around 7000.[409]

Sunni Arabs

As evident from the title, Sunni Arabs are Sunni Muslim mainly from the Shaafi'i tradition. Their primary language is Arabic however different dialects were reported in cities where they lived.[410] As in the case of the other minority groups, they cannot use Arabic in official communications, however its private use is much more common and easier when compared with other minority languages. The largest groups of Sunni Arabs live in Mardin, Urfa and Siirt.[411] Also smaller groups are claimed to exist in Bitlis, Mus, Antep and Diyarbakir.[412] There

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[406] Baskin Oran. 2004. *Turkiye'de Azınlıklar: Lozan, Ic Mevzuat ve Uygulama* (*Minorities in Turkey: Concepts, Lausanne, Legislation, Application*), Istanbul: TESEV Publications, 41-42.
[407] Interview with Arap-Der President Sukru Kirboga on 08.05.2012.
[408] Andrews, 148-157.
[409] Personal interview with Fadi Hurigil, President of the Greek Orthodox Foundation in Antakya on 05.11.2011 in Antakya.
[410] Andrews, 147-148.
[411] Interview with Arap-Der President Sukru Kirboga.
[412] Andrews, 149.

are also Arab populations living in urban cities including Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir however their numbers are unknown to the academic community.

Nusayris

Nusayris are Arab-speaking Alevis believed to have come from Syria to the cities located at or close to Syrian border. The majority of the population lives in Antakya, Adana and Mersin. Smaller groups also live in bigger cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. Even though Nusayris also belong to the Alevi faith within Islam, they differ from Turkish and Kurdish Alevis with respect to the doctrines they follow. Their primary language is Arabic, generally Syrian dialect among older generations whereas younger generations primarily speak Turkish with a mixture of Arabic words.

The problems Nusayris face are mostly similar to the challenges faced by other Alevis in Turkey. The main problem is the high levels of discrimination by the majority Sunni population. Discrimination against the Alevi population is most evident within history and religion books. Moreover, Alevis often face verbal or physical attacks by the Sunni majority. Secondly, there are significant obstructions before their religious freedoms. As it will be discussed in more detail below, Alevis are not allowed to open Cem Houses where they can pray and worship. In addition, they would like to hold their funerals at the Cem houses however they are obliged to hold the funerals at the mosques.[413] The Directorate of Religious Affairs does not represent Alevis and they are not exempt from attending high school religion classes where the teachings are only related to Sunni Islam.

Arab-speaking Christians

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[413] Personal interview with Kemal Celik, General Secretary of Adana-Bektasi Federation on 18.07.2011.

The Arab-speaking Christians primarily live in Southern Turkey. The largest population is in Antakya and the surrounding towns and villages while a smaller population lives in Mersin. There are even smaller populations living in Adana, Ankara and Istanbul. Most of the population today lives in European capitals.[414] The Arab-speaking Christians of Antakya are exclusively Greek Orthodox and their primary language is Arabic. The Patriarchate of Antioch that is based in Damascus, Syria represents them. The Patriarchate of Antioch was historically based in Antakya however after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, it was closed down and transferred to Syria.[415]

Roma, Domari and Lomari

The general perception in Turkey with respect to the Roma population is that they are Sunni Muslim and live in Eastern Thrace. However, the reality is that Roma populations are dispersed around Turkey; they are not concentrated in any specific location and are significantly fragmented with respect to religion and language. The history of Roma in Turkey can be traced back to Byzantium times and it is believed they have existed in Anatolia and Thrace ever since.[416] After the founding of the Turkish Republic, many Greek and Greek Orthodox Roma were forced to leave Greece for Turkey as part of the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1924. However, the Roma realized that they were not welcome in Turkey as well following the Settlement Law of 1934, which stated that "those that are not bound to the Turkish culture anarchists, migrant gypsies, spies and those that have been deported are not recognized as migrants"[417] and that "nomads and Gypsies are to be settled in sites designated by the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance with a view to ensure their loyalty to Turkish

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[414] Personal interview with Fadi Hurigil.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Ebru Uzpeder, ed. 2008. "We are here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey", *Report Published by Helsinki Citizens' Assembly,* 5.
[417] Law No. 2510 (Settlement Law) of 14 June 1934, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 21 June 1934, No. 2733, Article 3.

culture and improving the establishment and distribution of the population"[418]. The 1934 Settlement Law remained in force until 2006.[419] The Settlement Law of 1934 suggested that Roma groups should be treated with suspicion and should not be awarded citizenship without sufficient investigation. However, the Law on the Movement and Residence of Aliens 5683 still remains in force today, which states that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is authorized to expel stateless and non-Turkish citizen gypsies"[420].

The Roma population in Turkey includes the Roma, Domaris and Lomaris. Each of these groups has a distinct culture and language as in the case of Domaris and Lomaris. There are no official census numbers with respect to the population of Roma in Turkey and therefore it is still an issue of debate. However according to research conducted by various academic and civil society circles, the numbers are estimated to be between 2-5 million across Turkey.[421] The Roma groups identify themselves as Turkish citizens even though there is an emphasis on Roma identity. Most of the Roma are Sunni Muslims, but there are also reports about nomadic or settled Alevi Roma and smaller populations of Ezidi Roma living in Eastern Anatolia.[422] At the same time, there are also Christian Roma groups among those populations living in Thrace region.[423] They are socially and economically excluded and live in isolated neighborhoods, segregated from the rest of the Turkish society. Their primary language is Romani, which includes some Turkish loan words as well. The Doms are descendants of Doms in the Middle East and currently live in the southern and eastern Turkey and are primarily musicians. Their primary language is Domari while they are also proficient in Kurmanji or Zazaki dialects of

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[418] Law No. 2510, Article 9.
[419] Law No. 5543 of 19 September 2006, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 26 September 2006, No. 26301.
[420] Law No. 2510, Article 9.
[421] Uzpeder, 33.
[422] Ibid, 34.
[423] Ibid, 34.

Kurdish as well as Turkish. Some Doms were also reported to use Arabic. Most of the time, they are described as Kurdified Roma and like the Kurds suffer from random discrimination of the security forces. Most Doms are of Islamic faith; their population is estimated around 500,000. The majority of the population is nomadic. There is not enough research on the origin of Loms but they are believed to have arrived in Turkey from the Caucasus in the 19th century. They are mainly established in Northeastern Turkey and the Black Sea region. Unlike the Doms, they are predominantly settled. Their primary language is Lomavren, which is only spoken by some elderly Lomaris. The numbers are estimated around 150,000 but this information is not fully accurate as it is hard to estimate their population.[424]

The most significant problem of the Roma population in Turkey is related to the prejudices and negative attitudes of the rest of the population and the state. They claim that they experience more discrimination in comparison to other minorities causing them to live in segregated and isolated neighborhoods. They are also constantly facing evictions from their houses due to the urban development projects implemented by the municipalities all around Turkey. Secondly, Roma population is highly prone to violence both by non-Roma populations and state security forces as they are seen as petty criminals by the majority of the non-Roma population. The Roma children are also marginalized in education not only because of the lack of financial resources, but also because of the discrimination by their teachers and other parents.[425] Roma children are frequently forced to sit at the back of the class, in a group that receives little or no attention. To give an example, the Roma association in Adana in cooperation with the public kindergartens tried to implement an EU project for encouraging Roma parents to send their children to kindergarten. Following an inspection visit to the school by the project coordinators,

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[424] Telephone interview with the President of the Lom Association in Artvin on 25.06.12.
[425] Uzpeder, 58.

it was realized that the Roma children were segregated from non-Roma children and were placed in a dark, dirty room with broken windows.[426] In addition to discrimination in access to housing and education, there is also significant prejudice by the employers. They are either not employed because of their identity or are not provided with the social security benefits that the Law requires.

Kurds

Considering all ethnic Kurds in the Middle East, their homeland or Kurdistan is described as the region divided into four between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Perhaps the population numbers of Kurds is the most contested issue among all debates concerning minority populations. There is no accurate information with respect to the total number of Kurds currently residing in Turkey. There are studies that give their population numbers as low as 12 million where as there are also studies claiming that the numbers are as high as 28 million.[427] The more general consensus among academics is that the Kurdish population in Turkey is estimated between 15 million and 22 million. The numbers can be higher if those children with one Kurdish parent are taken into account.

With respect to their religious differences, Kurds can be classified into three groups; Yezidis, Alevis and Sunnis. Pertaining to their linguistic characteristics, Kurds can be grouped into two groups; Kurmanji speakers and Zazaki speakers.[428] Zazaki speaking Kurds or Zazas are also divided into two groups Alevi Zazas and Sunni Zazas. There are also other Kurdish speaking groups such as the Doms, which are the Kurdish speaking Roma populations in eastern and southeastern Turkey. Some studies consider the Zaza as a distinct ethnic identity and Zazaki as

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[426] Personal interview with Mediterranean Roma Federation Representative.
[427] See Altan Tan. 2009. *Kurt Sorunu (Kurdish Question)*. Istanbul: Timas; Andrews, 110-125; Martin van Bruinessen. 1999. *Kurtluk, Turkluk ve Alevilik (Kurdishness, Turkishness and Alevism)*. Istanbul: Iletisim.
[428] Andrews, 110-125.

a separate language but that they did not identify themselves as separate from the Kurds given their original homeland being in the Kurdish region.[429] In fact, they talk about Zazaistan, described as the region where Zaza is spoken.[430] On the other hand, other studies describe Zaza people as part of the Kurds that speak a different dialect that is called Zazaki.[431] There is no distinct research with respect to the population numbers of these different groups. However, the Zaza population is estimated around 3 million whereas Alevi Kurds are estimated between 3-4 million of the total number of Kurdish population.[432] Kurdish population is predominantly concentrated in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey. Sunni Kurds are dispersed all around the region, whereas Alevi Kurds mostly live in Bingol, Tunceli, Erzincan, Sivas, Maras, Malatya, Elazig, Adiyaman and Antep. Sunni Zazas mostly live in Diyarbakir, Mus, Bingol, Bitlis and Malatya whereas Alevi Zazas are concentrated in Tunceli, Sivas, Diyarbakir, Erzincan and some groups in Erzurum.[433] There are also high numbers living in Western cities due to the village evacuations and forced migration in the 1990s as well as economic hardships as a consequence.

During the 1990s, especially between 1992 and 1994, as the armed conflict escalated between the PKK and the Turkish army, the Turkish state forced around 3700 villages to be evacuated and at least 1 million and possibly over 2 million people were internally displaced.[434] The main objective of the state was to prevent the logistical support given to PKK guerillas by these villagers however the state officials blamed PKK for the evictions as well as economic

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[429] Van Bruinessen 1999, 16.
[430] Victoria Arakelova. 2000. "The Zaza People as a New Ethno-Political Factor in the Region", *Iran & the Caucasus* 3(4): p. 405; see also Martin van Bruinessen. 1999. "The Kurds in Movement: Migrations, Mobilisations, Communications and Globalisation of the Kurdish Question", *Islamic Area Studies Project, Tokyo Japan,* Working Paper No. 14: 16.
[431] For a detailed discussion of Kurdish ethnic identity, see Martin van Bruinessen. 1989. "The Ethnic Identity of Kurds", in ed. Peter Andrews.
[432] Van Bruinessen, 117.
[433] Andrews, 115-120.
[434] Bilgin Ayata and Deniz Yukseker. 2005. "A Belated Awakening: National and international responses to the internal displacement of Kurds in Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey* 32: 29.

hardships.[435] The state sources gave the total number of internally displaced people as 378.335

people from 905 villages.[436] According to a study conducted by Hacettepe University Institute

of Population Studies, the majority of the population settled in the Marmara, Mediterranean

and Aegean regions and in cities such as Mersin, Adana, Antalya, Istanbul, Kocaeli, Izmir and

Manisa as well as the capital city Ankara.[437] Not only, the internal displacement created

widespread human rights violations but also it triggered a myriad of social problems. The

problems experienced by the internally displaced Kurds included widespread poverty,

unemployment, access to healthcare, access to education, housing along with discrimination

by the Turkish majority.[438] In a similar vein, a study conducted by the Prime Ministry Office

of Family Affairs states that poverty and unemployment are the most common problems faced

by the IDPs.[439]

The primary language used by the Kurds in Turkey is Kurdish and its Kurmanji and Zazaki

dialects. In addition, Turkish is also widely used especially among the younger generations

however the elderly and rural populations do not speak Turkish at all. Surprisingly even though

Kurdish was banned both in public and private spheres almost throughout the 20th century, the

Kurds could not be assimilated and Turkified as much as the other groups. This might be tied

to their high population numbers, the use of oral tradition among Kurds and to the fact that the

primary source of identification for the Kurds is language. Language is a major source of

identification for the Kurds to the extent that some call themselves 'Kurmanjis'.

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[435] Ibid, 29.
[436] There isn't any general consensus with respect to the number of Internally Displaced Persons. According to a report prepared by Hacettepe University commissioned by the government the number is between 950.000 and 1.2 million however civil society representatives claim that the numbers are much higher.
[437] Ayata and Yukseker, 16.
[438] Ibid, 20-21.
[439] Ahmet Turkyilmaz. 1998. *Dogu ve Güneydogu Anadolu'dan Teror Nedeniyle Goceden Ailelerin Sorunlari (The Problems of Families Migrated from East and Southeast Anatolia due to Terror)*, Ankara: Prime Ministry Famlily Affairs Research Institution Publications, No. 115.

The problems faced by the Kurdish population in Turkey are multifaceted. The human rights violations including ill treatment, torture, unidentified killings, psychological abuse, missing persons, random detainees and many more are a common practice by the state security forces in the region.[440] The state of emergency that was declared in 1987 in the Kurdish cities was only lifted in 2002.[441] The state of emergency laws and practices mostly pointed to severe human rights violations and still today mass graves within old police department buildings are found during excavation works.[442] According to the Human Rights Association data, it is argued that the total number of mass graves in southeastern and eastern Turkey is 253 and the total number of bodies buried is more than 3000, however only 29 of these mass graves have been opened until today.[443] Another system introduced by the Turkish state with the intention to form a local security force was the village guards system that was established in 1985.[444] The village guards were selected in each village and were provided with the means to fight the PKK guerillas. The total number of village guards, still active today, is around 80.000, of which 59.000 are temporary and around 23.000 are volunteers.[445] Between the 1990s and the 2000s, the Turkish constitutional court closed down 5 pro-Kurdish political parties, HEP, OZDEP, DEP, HADEP and DTP.[446] In addition to these, the 10% election threshold forces Kurdish MPs

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[440] Kevin Boyle et al. 1997. "Gross Violation of Human Rights: Invoking the European Convention on Human Rights in the Case of Turkey", *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 15(2): 161-173; see also Amnesty International, 1991, "Turkey: Still waiting for change: Information on Continuing Human Rights Abuses"**;** Helsinki Watch, 1992, "Kurds Massacred: Turkish Forces Kill Scores of Peaceful Demonstrators" and "Broken Promises: Torture and Killings continue in Turkey"; Helsinki Watch, 1994, "Forced Displacement of Ethnic Kurds from Southeastern Turkey*"*; Amnesty International, 1995, "Turkey: A Policy of Denial"; Amnesty International, 1996, "Turkey: No Security without Human Rights".

[441] Statutory Decree No. 285 of 10 July 1987, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 14 July 1987, No. 19517.

[442] Human Rights Association Diyarbakir Branch, Interactive Map of Mass Graves in the Kurdish Region, can be found at http://www.ihddiyarbakir.org/Map.aspx. First downloaded on 14.01.2012.

[443] Ibid.

[444] Law No. 3175 of 26 March 1985, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 04 April 1985, No. 18715; see also Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP). 2011. "Turkey's village guard system." *KHRP*. London.

[445] KHRP 2011, 5.

[446] For HEP see Constitutional Court HEP Closure Decision, E. No. 1992/1, K. No 1993/1 of 14 July 1993, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 18 August 1993, No. 21672; for OZDEP see Constitutional Court OZDEP Closure Decision, E. No. 1993/1, K. No 1993/2 of 23 November 1993, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 14 February 1994, No. 21849; for DEP see Constitutional Court DEP Closure Decision, E.No. 1993/3, K. No 1994/2 of 16 June 1994, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 30 June 1994, No. 21976; for HADEP see Constitutional Court HADEP Closure Decision, E.No. 1999/1, K. No 2003/1 of 13 March

to run in the elections as independent candidates as the threshold does not apply for the independents. The 10% threshold results in much lower numbers of Kurdish MPs than they would have if the threshold were lower.

At the time this research was conducted, the pro-Kurdish political party, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) held 32 seats at the National Parliament. In addition to this, 4 elected MPs from the BDP group were in prison due to allegations for participating in terrorist activities. Furthermore, the BDP held 99 municipalities in the region and 1 municipality in Mersin that is located outside the Kurdish region.[447] Kurdish demands are mostly related to bringing an end to the armed conflict, which brings along a vast number of human rights violations by the state security forces. Following the peace talks between PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan and the Turkish government, the PKK announced a ceasefire in April 2013 and the PKK guerillas started to move out of Turkey as of 8 May 2013. In this process, formal talks between BDP parliamentarians and Abdullah Ocalan continue and one of the main demands of the Kurdish political elites is Abdullah Ocalan's freedom.[448] The issue of Ocalan's freedom is one of the most sensitive issues in Turkey both for the Kurds who demand freedom for him and for the Turkish ultra nationalists as they strongly reject the idea of his release and want the death penalty brought back. The Kurds claim that there are still assimilationist policies being applied towards the Kurdish language and the main obstacle is the lack of public education in Kurdish. In fact, even though a state TV channel that broadcasts in Kurdish was opened in 2009, the

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2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 19 July 2003, No. 25173; for DTP see Constitutional Court DTP Closure Decision, E.No. 2007/1, K. No 2009/4 of 11 December 2009, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazete of Turkey), 14 December 2009, No. 27432;
[447] Higher Election Board, 29 March 2009 General Local Administrations Elections Results, List 3, total municipalities won by DTP is 96, total percentage of votes is 3.31%, can be found at http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2009MahalliIdareler/ResmiGazete/BelediyeBaskanligi.pdf
[448] "BDP's Newroz Declaration: Freedom for Ocalan, Status for Kurds", 06 March 2013, Radikal Newspaper; also BDP Press Statement, "Historical Newroz Call from BDP and DTP", published on the website of Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) at http://bdp.org.tr/Devam/62-haberdetay-dtk-ve-bdpden-tarihi-newroz-cagrisi.aspx. First downloaded on 22.03.2013.

government also dictates the way Kurdish is spoken within the programs broadcasted in that TV, forbidding some of the words.[449] The main demand concerning language is public education in Kurdish starting at the kindergarten level. It can be argued that the Kurds are the pioneers among other minority groups for the public education demands in mother tongue languages. As voiced by many Kurdish politicians and actually declared by the Democratic Society Congress (DTK) as well as the PKK, the Kurds demand democratic autonomy.[450] Autonomy for the Kurds symbolizes establishing their own regional courts, security forces, electing their own local administrators and education in mother-tongue languages and multilingual public services. They would like the notion of citizenship to be changed in a way that is becomes inclusive of all groups living in Turkey and they want Kurdish to be included in the new Constitution as one of the official languages of the Republic of Turkey.[451] Finally, they want rehabilitations centers for the full integration of PKK guerillas into the society once peace is established.

Other Ethnic and Linguistic Minority Groups

Apart from the groups discussed in the preceding section, other ethnic and linguistic minority groups, examined as part of this thesis, include the Mhelmis, Molokans, Africans, Laz, Pomaks, Bosnians, Albanians and Hamshens. These minority groups have comparatively smaller population numbers or they have only a few minority organizations established. Molokans are a group who arrived in Turkey in the 19th century founding approximately 35 villages in Kars, a city in Eastern Anatolia.[452] Today there are only a few families living in Kars as around

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[449] "TRT6 forbids 60 words", published at Haber Diyarbakir http://www.diyarbakirhaber.gen.tr/haber-281-TRT-Seste-60-Kurtce-kelime-yasaklanmis.html and also on Firat News Agency website http://www.firatnews.com/index.php?rupel=nuce&nuceID=37059. First downloaded on 20.04.2013.
[450] Personal interview with Selahattin Demirtas, the President of Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in Mersin on 16.06.2012.
[451] Telephone interview with Sirri Sureyya Onder, Member of Parliament, BDP, on 10.10.2012.
[452] Andrews, 135.

10.000 Molokans left Turkey due to pressure from the Turkish state. Molokans are Christian and their mother-tongue language is believed to be Russian. There was only one Molokan organization established in Kars that was dissolved in 2011.

The Hamshens are a minority originally settled in the Black Sea region in Rize and Artvin as well as the surrounding towns and cities. Hamshens in Turkey are divided into two groups: Eastern and Western Hamshens. The language used by the Hamshens depends on their location.[453] The eastern Hamshens speak the western dialect of Armenian called *Homshetsma* as well as Turkish while the western Hamshens speak Turkish only. Today the Hamshens in Turkey predominantly live in the Black Sea region while smaller populations live in the Marmara and Central Anatolian regions.[454] Hamshens are Sunni Muslims while some of them are claimed to be converts, who converted to Islam from Christianity. Today the numbers are estimated between 80.000 and 100.000.[455] As the civil society organizations are almost non-existent, the problems of the Hamshen minority are not often voiced. However, the main demands and problems are close to the problems faced by other minority groups. The basic demand as expressed by the Hamshen Culture Research and Promotion Association (HADIG) President is to preserve and protect the Hamshen culture and language. There are also some demands voiced by HADIG recently for mother-tongue education in solidarity with other minority groups.[456] Bosnians and Albanians are Muslim immigrants from Balkan countries who arrived in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century. According to the 1965 census, 17,627 people declared speaking Bosnian. However, today the numbers are estimated much

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[453] Andrews, 130-131.
[454] Cemil Aksu. "The Hopa Hamshens Social and Political Life", 14 April 2012 published by HETQ, http://hetq.am/eng/articles/13063/the-hopa-hamshens-social-and-political-life.html. First downloaded on 18.04.2012.
[455] Interview with Hamshen Culture Association President Hikmet Akcicek on 22.08.2012.
[456] "Halklar Anadilde Egitim Istedi" (People Demanded Mother Tongue Education), 19 February 2012, Yuksekova News Agency, http://www.yuksekovahaber.com/haber/halklar-anadilde-egitim-istedi--67474.htm. First downloaded on 20 February 2012.

higher than 17.000. The total number of Balkan immigrants today is believed to be around 5-7 million. Unlike other minority organizations examined in this thesis, their only purpose is to ensure solidarity between the Bosnians and Albanians in Turkey and in other countries.[457] When asked about minority rights and the demands of other minority groups, the civil society representatives stressed that they do not have any demands with respect to minority rights and in fact when approached by the government for a state television channel broadcasting in Bosnian, they rejected the offer claiming that they are Turks.[458]

Pomaks are also described as Muslim immigrants from Balkan countries that sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the 19th century.[459] According to the 1965 census, 50.148 people declared speaking Pomak as their mother tongue or second language in Turkey while 51.180 people declared speaking Bulgarian as their mother tongue or second language.[460] Given this, the total number of Muslim immigrants from Bulgaria was registered as 101.328 based on language only.[461] There are also estimates by various sources that the numbers are around 320.000.[462] The primary language used by the Pomaks of Turkey is Turkish. Nonetheless, they prefer to talk to their close relatives and family members in Pomak, which is a language described as Bulgarian spoken by Pomaks because of its similarity to Bulgarian. It is argued that the Laz minority shares the same origin with the Migrels that live in Caucasus today.[463] According to the 1965 census, 85108 people declared speaking Laz as mother tongue or second language whereas a German linguist Feurstein claims that the number of Laz-speakers in 1983 in Turkey was over 250.000.[464] According to one source the number of the

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[457] Ibid.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Deniz Bulut. "A Case Study of Identity Formation among Pomaks in Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey", Unpublished paper, Boston University. Downloaded from www.pomak.eu on 25.03.2012.
[460] State Statistics Institution, 1969.
[461] Andrews, 93.
[462] Bulut, 4.
[463] Minority Rights Group International Report, 13-14.
[464] Andrews, 176-177.

Laz living in Turkey is estimated between 750.000 and 1.5 million whereas a Laz researcher claims that the objective studies conclude that the population numbers of Laz are around 400-500.000.[465] Given these it would be safe to say the numbers are between 500.000 and 1 million. The Laz are Sunni Muslims even though it is also claimed that previously they were Christians who converted to Islam during the 16th century. The primary language of the Laz minority is Lazuri nena, which is categorized within the same group as Mingreli and is related to Georgian.

Mhelmis are one of the ancient peoples of Anatolia originally settled in Mardin and Batman. There isn't any extensive research on the Mhelmis but the population living in Turkey today is estimated between 500-800.000.[466] The primary language of the Mhelmis is the Mhelmi language, which is a dialect of Arabic called Qiltu.[467] Mhelmis in Turkey are Sunni Muslims but there are Jewish or Christian Mhelmis in different countries. There is also a significant Mhelmi population that migrated to European cities from Turkey between the 1960s and the 1980s. The Turkish citizens of African descent as they prefer to call themselves, are people of African descent in Turkey. They first arrived in Anatolia through slave trade or other means during the Ottoman Empire. There are also some Africans who arrived in Izmir from Crete during the 1924 population exchange between Greece and Turkey. Today Africans in Turkey mostly live in the Marmara and Aegean regions. The population numbers are around 5000 and almost all of them are Sunni Muslims.

3.6.2 Religious Minorities in Turkey

Unlike the ethnic and linguistic minority groups, three religious minority groups in Turkey are officially granted minority status and certain rights by the Turkish state due to Lausanne Treaty

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[465] Sadik Varer. 2008. "Asimilasyon ve Lazlar" (Assimilation and the Laz), published on lazuri.com. Downloaded at http://www.lazuri.com/sadik_varer/s_v_asimilasyon_ve_lazlar.html, on 05.08.2011.
[466] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Aslan.
[467] Ibid.

of 1923. These are the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish minority groups. Due to their official recognition, they have their own foundations dating back to the Ottoman Empire and their own schools providing education in their mother tongue languages. However, other religious minority groups such as the Assyrians or Alevis are not granted the same rights. Other religious minority groups examined in this thesis include the Protestants, Alevis, Assyrians, Latin Catholics and Ezidis. Among these, Alevis have the highest population numbers compared to other religious minority groups. They have numerous civil society organizations around Turkey and these organizations vary in terms of structure ranging from foundations to federations and from associations to initiatives. They also vary in terms of their demands, numbers, activities and sources of funding. Other religious minority groups on the other hand, have considerably lower population numbers and their civil society organizations are much more scarce compared to Alevis. In terms of the selection criteria, the religious minority groups that will be examined in more detail are the Alevis and the Assyrians. Even though, the Assyrians are concentrated predominantly in the southeastern region of Turkey, they have several organizations including a federation and they obtain significant amount of funding for their activities from international and European donors. Given the number of Assyrians living in European cities, they are also represented through diaspora organizations established in various capitals around Europe. In light of these, Alevis and Assyrians have high levels of dialogue with European representatives even though their population levels and associational structure vary.

Assyrians

The Assyrians are among the ancient Christian peoples of Anatolia. They are also called Syriacs or Syrian Orthodox Christians within some sources. They can be divided into two groups, Eastern and Western Arameans. The Assyrians together with Jacobites belong to the

Eastern Aramean group while Nestorians and Chaldeans belong to the Western Aramean group. The main difference between the two groups is the way Christianity is practiced. They are not listed within the 1965 census data. It is believed that there are around 25.000 Assyrians living in Turkey today.[468] There aren't any Chaldeans, Nestorians or Jacobites left as they migrated from Turkey mainly to Western capitals because of persecution and displacement. The Assyrians are historically settled in Southeastern Turkey, in the Turabdin region covering Mardin, Sirnak and Hakkari. Today the majority of Assyrians live in Europe while the remaining are settled in cities like Istanbul, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Sirnak, Elazig, Malatya and Adiyaman. Around 10.000-13.000 lives in Istanbul and the rest in Mardin, Diyarbakir, Adiyaman, Elazig, Sirnak and Malatya.[469]

The Assyrians in Turkey are predominantly Orthodox Christians, but there are also smaller Catholic and Protestant groups in Diyarbakir and Mardin. The primary language spoken by the Assyrians is Neo-Aramaic as well as Turkish however some of the members of the minority also speak Kurdish. The problems faced by the Assyrian minority are slightly different than those of the officially acknowledged non-Muslim minorities. The Assyrians are not recognized as a minority by the Turkish state. Even though their foundations are still open, most of the property that belongs to the foundations were seized by the state and had been transferred to the treasury. Moreover, they have difficulty in providing mother-tongue education since they are not allowed to establish minority schools. The clergy education is also obstructed most of the time, they are not allowed to establish seminaries while frequently they report facing discrimination and being subjected to violence and attacks by the state security forces in the region. Assyrians are also distinct from other non-Muslim minority groups because during the

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[468] Minority Rights Group International Report, 15.
[469] Andrews, 161-163.

last elections they were able to elect an Assyrian Member of Parliament from Mardin from BDP. Given this, unlike other groups they are represented at the Parliament and with regards to the preparation of the new constitution, they were able to conduct a series of meetings with the Assyrian MP and his political party (BDP) to explain their problems and point out their demands.

Alevis

Alevi is the name given to the heterodox Muslim Shi'a communities that have different features.[470] Alevism is categorized under the Shi'a denomination of Islam however their interpretation and practice are visibly different that those followed by Shi'a groups outside Turkey. Alevis are the most populated religious minority in Turkey, however there are many debates concerning their population numbers. The population estimates are between 7 million and 32 million. According to a study conducted in 2006, the numbers are given as 11.4% of the total population, which corresponds to a number slightly over 9 million.[471] According to the Alevi-Bektasi Federation, the numbers of Alevis in Turkey are around 25 million.[472]

There are four linguistic groups within the Alevi minority; Kurmanji, Zazaki, Turkish and Arabic.[473] The Kurmanji and Zazaki speaking Alevis are Kurdish including Alevi Zazas, while Arabic speaking Alevis are also called Nusayris. Alevis are dispersed all around Turkey, they are not concentrated in one major area. However, the Nusayris are mostly concentrated around Antakya and Mersin whereas Zaza Alevis are mostly in Tunceli (Dersim) and Diyarbakir.[474] Kurdish Alevis live in various cities around the Eastern and Southeastern Turkey as well as

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[470] Ibid, 15.
[471] KONDA Research and Consultancy, 2006.
[472] Interview with Alevi-Bektasi Federation Secretary Kemal Celik.
[473] Andrews, 116-117, 123-124.
[474] Ibid, 124.

smaller groups in Central Anatolia. There are also reports of Alevi Roma that live in eastern Turkey but there is no research conducted on them.

The problems of the Alevi minority are diverse and mostly related to their persecution and ignorance by the Turkish state. First of all, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which is a state institution, only represents the Sunni Muslims ignoring Alevis and their demands completely. The main problem is the state policy that does not recognize Alevism as a faith. Given this, Alevis are not granted any religious rights including freedom to open Cem houses where they worship and they cannot obtain funds to establish or maintain places of worship. Therefore, most Cems take place within their civil society organizations, which is perceived as disrespectful by the Alevis.[475] The most commonly shared demand by all Alevis regardless of their ethnic background or language is the recognition of Alevism by the Turkish state. Secondly, they request freedom to open their own Cem houses with the support of state institutions. Thirdly, they would like all discriminatory phrases taken out of textbooks and they would like their children to be exempt from religion classes. Alevi faith representatives are denoted as Alevi dedes. Even though the Alevi dedes are religious leaders of Alevis, they are not provided any rights as religious workers. Given this, they would like to have official state protection against physical attacks towards their community members and civil society organizations.

Other Religious Minority Groups

As discussed at the beginning of this section, other religious minority groups, whose civil society organizations were examined as part of this thesis include the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Jewish, Ezidis, Protestants and Latin Catholics. The Greek Orthodox minority in

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[475] Interview with the Alevi Dede of Alevi Cultural Association in Adana on 18.07.2011.

Turkey consists of the ethnic Greek Orthodox that live in Istanbul, Gokceada (Tenedos) and Bozcada (Imros) as well as the Arab-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians that live in Antakya.[476] According to the 1965 census 73,725 people declared they were Orthodox Christians while 48,096 people declared that Greek is their mother tongue language and 82,144 people declared speaking Greek as a second language. Due to the oppressive policies of the Turkish state and the discrimination they face, majority of the Greek Orthodox population was forced to leave Turkey between the 1930s and 1980s. Today the population of the Greek Orthodox living in Istanbul is estimated between 3000-4000 while the Arab speaking Greek Orthodox living in Antakya are believed to be between 8000 and 10000.[477] There are also around 200-250 Greek Orthodox living in Gokceada and around 20 in Bozcaada.[478] The Greek Orthodox minority still uses a regional version of modern Greek, mixed with Turkish words and most members of the minority including the younger generations are bilingual.[479]

Armenians like the Greek Orthodox are one of the ancient peoples of Anatolia as well, originally settled in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Turkey. Under the Ottoman rule, the Armenians had a high degree of autonomy and high population numbers until faced with the atrocities of the 1915 Genocide. According to the 1965 census 56,286 people declared speaking Armenian while 69,526 people identified themselves as Gregorian Christians.[480] Today the Armenian population is believed to be between 60-80.000. In fact, it is estimated that the total number of Armenian citizens is 82.000 however around 10.000 of these live abroad leaving a population of 72.000 people in Turkey, of which only 5% live outside Istanbul.[481] Primarily

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[476] Gokceada (Imros) and Bozcaada (Tenedos) are two islands on the Aegean sea close to Canakkale where there is still a Greek Orthodox population left after the Turkey-Greece population exchange.
[477] Minority Rights Group International Report, 15-16.
[478] Ibid, 15-16.
[479] Andrews, 142-144.
[480] Andrews, 127.
[481] Minority Rights Group International Report, 14.

they live in Istanbul even though smaller populations exist in cities including Antakya, Adana, Ankara, Diyarbakir and Tunceli. The overwhelming majority of Armenians in Turkey are Gregorian Orthodox, which have their own Patriarchate in Istanbul.[482] There are also smaller groups of Catholics and Protestants.

The final minority group granted official minority status by the Lausanne Treaty is the Jewish population, which is predominantly comprised of the descendents of Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain during the 15th century. There is also an ethnic Ashkenazi population however the numbers are much lower when compared with the Sephardic Jews. In 1927 the population numbers were around 80.000 while according to the 1965 census 38,267 people declared they are Jewish while today the numbers are estimated between 17.000 and 26.000.[483] Of these only 500-700 is Ashkenazi while the rest are Sephardic Jews. There are also reports with respect to Karaite Jews however they are dispersed around Turkey and cannot be traced. Following the foundation of Israel half of Turkey's Jews left in the autumn of 1948 and the population fell from 76,965 to 45,995 three years later due to the constant physical and verbal attacks they faced, as well as the state pressure exerted on them. Today the majority of Jewish minority lives in Istanbul while there are smaller groups living in Izmir, Adana, Kirklareli and Antakya. They practice Judaism as Sephardic, Ashkenazic or as Karaites. The languages spoken by the Jews of Turkey are Ladino, Hebrew and Turkish. Historically there are traces of Jewish existence in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia who spoke Neo-Aramaic, Kurdish and Arabic however these groups have all left.[484]

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[482] Andrews, 128.
[483] Andrews, 157.
[484] Personal interview with Adana Jewish Minority President.

The Ezidis are a community that primarily designate themselves through religion and secondly through ethnic identity. Ezidi religion is not acknowledged by Islam and therefore throughout history they were persecuted, discriminated and isolated by the Sunni Turkish majority.[485] The Ezidis were not registered during the 1965 census but according to some sources the population numbers were around 10.000 during the late 1980s.[486] From the 1980s onward, the majority of the Ezidi population left Turkey for Europe in order to escape from state oppression and persecution. Today the number of Ezidis living in Turkey is believed to be between 300-400. They are mostly concentrated in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey in cities such as Mardin, Urfa, Batman and Diyarbakir.[487] The primary language used by Ezidis is the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish and most of the Ezidis are monolingual as they are a rural population, the majority of the elder generation do not speak Turkish.

The Protestants of Turkey are also called the reformist Christians together with Presbyterians. They are not listed within the 1965 census data and there is not any accurate information with respect to their population numbers. Today the number of Protestants in Turkey is estimated as 4000 to 6000.[488] They are predominantly concentrated in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir whereas there are smaller groups in Eskisehir, Diyarbakir and Kocaeli. There are Protestant minorities that overlap with other ethnic and linguistic minority groups such as Assyrians or Armenians. The Latin Catholics of Turkey are dispersed around Turkey, mostly in those cities, where the Christian population resides. There is no academic research on the Latin Catholics of Turkey but their presence in Antakya may be traced before the foundation of the Republic. To give an example, the Latin Catholic Foundation of Antakya was founded in 1922 and was

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[485] Minority Rights Group International Report, 17; Andrews, 118-119.
[486] Andrews, 119.
[487] Ibid, 119.
[488] Minority Rights Group International Report, 15.

re-opened in 2003.[489] There is no exact information about the population numbers but most of the population lives in the Marmara and Mediterranean regions.

3.7 Civil Society Organizations and Minority Protection

Studying issues related to the promotion of democracy, human rights and minority rights entails a thorough investigation of the interaction of civil society actors. Civil society actors are especially significant because they can act as intermediaries between the state and the individuals. They are additionally important in the Turkish case as the minority protection issue is an exceptionally contested issue in Turkey and civil society organizations can be effective in reaching a societal consensus for the adoption of reforms. In the case of the EU, it does not only consult and cooperate with civil society organizations but also provides financial and technical support to these organizations to promote and protect minority groups. EU bodies such as FRA assist both member countries and applicant countries for complying with minority protection criteria. In this regard, the civil society actors are consulted both at the EU and the domestic level in order to address the shortcomings in the reform processes, obtain information on the progress achieved as part of the accession process, exchange experience between member and candidate state governments and facilitate cooperation with the national governments and the EU.

The EU cooperates with civil society actors through a number of platforms and instruments. The European Commission consults and cooperates with civil society organizations when formulating and implementing its policies. The European civil society dialogue scheme specifically aims to ensure cooperation and provides direct support to civil society organizations to promote minority protection. The EU also supports intermediary actors and

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[489] Personal interview with Eli Basari, the Head of the Antakya Latin Catholic Foundation on 05.11.2011.

epistemic communities to take an active role in fighting discrimination and xenophobia. The FRA cooperates with both international and national organizations in European countries in order to collect data, conduct analyses, and engage in research activities on minority rights. In addition to this, the Fundamental Rights Platform founded in 2008 under the FRA establishes contacts with all types of civil society organizations in order to set up partnerships and obtain feedback and suggestions.

Apart from these, the European Commission encourages the civil society organizations for active participation in EU decision-making processes. An example to such attempts of the EU is the EU Platform for Roma Inclusion, which aims to ensure cooperation and knowledge sharing between the EU, the national governments, international organizations, and civil society representatives. The 9th Principle of the 10 Common Basic Principles for Roma Inclusion published by the EU Platform for Roma Inclusion stipulates the involvement of civil society organizations for advancing the situation of the Roma.[490] In addition to these, civil society actors are integral to the reforms implemented in EU candidate states since they help EU bodies to oversee the progress in the accession process. Another tool provided by the EU for promoting minority protection in candidate countries through the involvement of civil society organizations is the pre-accession financial aid. Civil society development and minority rights are fundamental among the key areas of concentration for EU financial support to candidate countries.

The EU's scheme on support for civil society dialogue and development identifies three areas of concentration. Firstly, the EU prioritizes support to local civic initiatives and capacity

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[490] Council of Europe. "10 Common Basic Principles of Roma Inclusion." *Council of Europe,* Strasbourg. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/Source/Resources/Documents/2011_10_Common_Basic_Principles_Roma_Incl usion.pdf, downloaded on 14.04.2012.

building at the grassroots level in order to enforce the civil society's involvement. Secondly, the civil society dialogue programs aim to establish networks between epistemic communities and EU bodies. Thirdly, partnerships are to be formed between civil society organizations at the local and national level as well as the EU level so that the exchange of knowledge can take place and networks can be formed. One of the main tools the EU uses for promoting minority protection in candidate and potential candidate countries is the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).[491] The EIDHR provides financial support for the implementation of projects on democracy, rule of law, human rights, and minority rights. The objectives of EIDHR for supporting projects on minority protection include: decreasing social disparities between majority and minority groups, improving the quality of life for persons belonging to minorities, strengthening social cohesion through the integration of disadvantaged individuals, and preventing discrimination.

The role of civil society actors in the promotion of the EU's minority standards within candidate countries can be multi-faceted. One of the most significant aspects of the transformative impact of the EU is the internalization of EU norms at the national level by the civil society actors. Most of the time, as seen in previous examples, even though formal transformation is complete and the necessary legislation is adopted, the implementation of those laws at the local level does not occur at the desired levels. To begin with, the civil society actors may facilitate the implementation of the minority standards by providing expertise to interpret and apply these norms to the domestic context. This is significant because the EU does not provide explicit and clear benchmarks with respect to minority protection and civil society organizations are particularly essential as they have the knowledge and the expertise in

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[491] European Commission, Human Rights and Democracy. http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/human-rights/index_en.htm. First downloaded on 15.04.2012.

relation to European minority rights standards, which they can disseminate and assist state institutions in adopting these rules into the domestic laws. Moreover, civil society actors often act as a crucial mediating link between the EU and the candidate state when the formal accession negotiations might be blocked. Pertaining to the areas of interest for certain groups, minority civil society organizations also act as sources of pressure and participate in decision-making processes through mutual meetings with national political actors while ensuring that some of the issues otherwise ignored by the state are taken into consideration. However, it should be noted that for minority rights, the role of civil society actors might be especially limited due to the controversial character of the issue and domestic factors such as the high political resistance. In addition, the capacity of the EU in terms of enforcement mechanisms is also constrained. One of the highly discussed challenges on the part of the EU support for minority protection projects is the monitoring process. Most of the time monitoring activities of EU projects are delegated to the civil society organizations active in that specific country. The civil society organizations are important sources of monitoring during and after the implementation of a project. In this sense, these actors not only limit but also legitimize state policies and practices by supporting certain activities or disseminating information to the general public and the minority groups so that it is easier to reach consensus on contested issues. To give an example, it was of utmost importance for the civil society organizations in Turkey to disseminate information about linguistic rights prior to the adoption of the law on the elimination of the ban on languages other than Turkish. The efforts of the civil society organizations and their support to the government provided the general public with an easily accessible source of information as well as expert knowledge through their collaboration with EU information centres and civil society development centres established by the European Commission. The civil society organizations were able to make use of the EU context and the new legislation in order to voice their demands for broadcasting in their mother tongue

languages. Finally, the civil society organizations provide a platform for minority groups where they can be organized as a group. This has proven to be both extremely challenging and progressive in the context of Turkey. As discussed in the preceding and proceeding chapters, the number of civil society initiatives in Turkey representing the minority groups increased significantly following the reforms on freedom of association. Given this, civil society actors were able to organize around various types and levels of organizations, which helped them to make use of the EU instruments and different political and financial resources. They were also able to form networks with other organizations in Europe so that an exchange of knowledge could take place. Such a role attributed to the civil society actors further enabled the internalization of European norms and standards by these organizations so that in turn they could act as pressure groups for their adoption. In addition, it provided the civil society actors with the necessary technical knowledge they might need in their negotiations with the Turkish state.

However, the engagement of civil society actors does not always yield positive results. There are several factors that may impede the transformative impact of the EU on civil society activism. The most important factor for the increase of political efficacy of civil society organizations is the favourable domestic conditions. To give an example, following the 1980 military coup and until the end of the 1990s, the civil society organizations in Turkey could not obtain funding from international institutions. In addition to this, it was a criminal offense to argue that minorities existed within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic. All of these legal and political restrictions caused the civil society organizations and other influential actors to be marginalized from the political spectrum. However, after the start of the accession negotiations and especially following the reforms on the laws governing civil society, more favourable conditions formed for the civil society organizations to take part in public and social

life more effectively. In the Turkish case, civil society actors were particularly important because the formal transformation process did not follow regular pace and sequence and it was interrupted on a number of occasions. Therefore, the civil society organizations increased their mobilization levels making use of available of EU resources, acted as a monitoring mechanism, an important way to disseminate information to the general public and as a means to provide expertise to the state institutions as well as a mediating actor between the government and the EU.

3.8 Conclusion

The civil society organizations in Turkey became a platform for representing the interests and for voicing the demands of the marginalized and disadvantaged groups for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic, after the accession negotiations started in 1999. At the same time, the 1990s was a period when a major and substantive policy shift was witnessed in Europe with respect to minority protection standards. The end of the Cold War was a turning point not only for the EU but also for the international community in terms of the recognition of minority issues as a way to prevent the further escalation of minority/majority conflicts in Eastern Europe.

Still today the EU does not spell out the minority standards explicitly and there are no clear instruments or templates that the member or candidate countries can adopt, emulate and act upon. However, there is an acknowledgement that the minority issue is integral to the European human rights system and is one of the founding principles of the Union. This is evident both from the TEU Article 2, which includes the protection of persons belonging to minority groups as one of the EU's founding principles and also the adoption of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities as a legally binding instrument.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF EU CONDITIONALITY TOWARDS TURKEY

One of the most controversial aspects of the EU debate in Turkey had been its emphasis on the creation of a sufficient minority rights regime. In line with the official stand of the Turkish state, the reforms related to cultural rights sparked heightened nationalist reactions from the general public as a result of the perception that the EU was meddling with Turkey's internal affairs and harmonization reforms threatened the indivisible unity of the nation. This chapter asks how EU conditionality has been developed since 1959 when relations first started between Turkey and the EEC, which can best be characterized by its persistence for human rights and democracy.

I argue that an inquiry into the critical events that marked EU-Turkey relations from the particular perspective of minority rights and the critical junctures in Turkey's history will shed light to this question. Since the beginning of the relations between the EU and Turkey in 1959, one can trace the gradual development of conditionality over the minority question, concurrent with the changing structure and role of the civil society organizations in Turkey. This chapter seeks to show through a detailed examination of the turning points in Turkey's history related to human rights, under which historical circumstances and political conditions EU conditionality was employed towards Turkey on the question of minority protection and its culmination in the 2000s as well as the legislative reforms adopted by the Turkish government as a response to EU conditionality. In other words, I aim to discuss how different events that have marked the turning points in Turkey-EU relations, have also changed the use of EU

conditionality, while the EU continued pressuring candidate states for the alignment of their

political and legal structures with the criteria[492] laid down in Copenhagen in 1993.

In this regard, I try to show that as the minority protection instruments have gradually evolved

in Europe, especially after the end of the Cold War, the character and intensity of the political

conditionality applied to Turkey with respect to minority rights has also changed. This chapter

highlights that the EU pressure towards Turkish political actors regarding the implementation

of minority reforms is most evident in the period 2000-2010. Even though the use of

conditionality by the EU culminated throughout the years, in the case of minority protection in

Turkey, I suggest that it remained almost inconclusive until the early 2000s. Following this, I

argue that only after the Helsinki Summit in 1999, where Turkey had been granted candidacy

status and the implementation of the laws concerning civil society in the early 2000s, EU

conditionality started yielding substantive results with respect to minority rights reforms. I

contend that there are two reasons for this: first of all the candidacy status formalized EU-

Turkey relations while concretizing the prospects for full membership, and secondly it changed

the political efficacy of civil society organizations in Turkey in such a way that they were now

able to participate in decision-making procedures.

In order to investigate the arguments mentioned above, this chapter aims to provide a detailed

discussion of EU-Turkey relations based on critical junctures, starting from Turkey's first

application to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959 until the end of 2009, from

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[492] The Copenhagen criteria announced at the Copenhagen Summit in 1993 state that to join the EU, a new Member State must meet three criteria; political which indicates stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; economic implying the existence of a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union; and acceptance of the Community *acquis*, ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

a particular perspective of minority rights. The chapter will be divided accordingly into four subsections, which elaborate on the critical events shaping the development of EU conditionality towards Turkey and the critical junctures that had an impact on EU-Turkey relations from the perspective of minority rights. Finally, the concluding section will provide the legislative reforms adopted after 1999 as a response to EU conditionality.

4.1 Critical Junctures in EU-Turkey Relations

Throughout the history of the Turkish Republic, the governing elites in Turkey shaped the state policies based on the overarching objective of reaching the standards of Western economies and democracies.[493] In this respect, the first formal attempt to build relations with the West was Turkey's associate membership application to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959 shortly after Greece applied for membership. It is argued that the Turkish government was motivated by the concerns that Greece's membership might change the scope of the bilateral relations between Turkey and Greece.[494] It was also based on the idea that reaching the modernity levels of the Western civilizations could only be attained if the relations with European Community could be strengthened.[495]

However, Turkey's aspirations to become an EC member were interrupted on several occasions based on the developments in Turkey affecting the human rights situation and the restoration of democracy. In this regard, the development of conditionality by the EU towards Turkey was particularly impacted by the military coups d'état declared in 1960, 1971 and 1980. Each of these military coups were followed by the introduction of certain measures by Europe with

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[493] Mehmet Ugur. 2001. "Europeanization and Convergence in Turkey." *South European Society and Politics* 5(2): 233.
[494] Spyros Sofos. 2001. "Reluctant Europeans: European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Politics." *South European Society and Politics* 5(2): 246.
[495] Ibid, 246.

regard to the economic and political relations with Turkey. These measures were grounded in the deterioration of the human rights situation and the anti-democratic practices in Turkey. In addition to the military interventions, other turning points that also influenced the effect of the minority issue on Turkey-EU relations include the Cyprus conflict, formation of the Ozal government which came into power after 1980 coup d'etat, signing of the Customs Union agreement and the Helsinki Summit of 1999 when Turkey was granted candidacy status.

However, the conditionality applied to Turkey by the EU does not follow the same path throughout the course of the relations. Even though the relations were suspended on several occasions, the policies adopted by the EEC during the 1960s and 1970s, differ from the proceeding decades in terms of the use of conditionality. During the 1960s and 1970s, for the most part, the EEC chose to offer incentives ranging from financial aid to tariff concessions and even full membership prospects with the aim to achieve some degree of political and economic cohesion. Moreover, the setback in relations during this period mainly resulted from Turkey's self-exclusion due to economic and political crises going on within the country. Although there were several instances of political violence, human rights violations, and even mass killings of civilians[496], the reactions from the EEC were limited.

During the period 1980s, political relations between the EEC and Turkey developed in a completely different direction than previous decades. More emphasis was placed on the human rights situation in Turkey both by the EEC and the Council of Europe. Moreover, for the first time in this period, the EEC referred specifically to the minority rights situation in Turkey within its official documents. In this context, the analysis reveals the EU conditionality

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[496] On 1 May 1977 during a demonstration in Istanbul 40 people were killed after fire was opened from a nearby hotel.

regarding minority rights developed more rapidly in the 1980s when compared with the preceding decades even though these mostly remained inconclusive. The rapid development can be tied to the increasing number of human rights violations, the waves of immigration into Western Europe especially by the Alevis, Kurds, Ezidis and Assyrians and finally more emphasis being placed on human rights issues in Europe. The European criticisms regarding the political situation in Turkey continued until the end of the 1990s when Turkey was granted candidacy status. Although there were several instances where the reward and punishment system was used previously, the candidacy status granted in 1999, allowed the EU to apply conditionality formally.

In this context, the Turkish state's attitude towards minorities can be examined from two perspectives. The first point of view is related to the continuation of the systematic repression that marked the entire 20th century and is directly reflective of the way the Turkish state consider minorities, as a potential threat to national unity and interests.[497] The second perspective is relevant to the events in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy and how the developments in EU-Turkey relations had an effect on these policies. In light of these, the events concerning the ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities in Turkey during the 1960s and the 1970s were mostly disregarded by EEC officials. In addition, even though there were many instances of discrimination and physical attacks towards the non-Muslim minorities, the EEC failed to express any opinion with regards to these as well. European officials only voiced criticisms regarding the military takeover in 1960 and the death penalty rulings for high-level politicians in 1961. This supports the argument that the conditionality on minority rights developed gradually, and between 1959 and 1979 it was almost inexistent. As will be seen in the following subsections of the chapter, the use of conditionality regarding the minority

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[497] Seyla Benhabib and Turkuler Isiksel. 2006. "Ancient Battles, New Perspectives", Constellations 13(2), 226.

question is more evident in the 1980s and the 1990s especially with respect to the minority issue in Turkey. Finally, the 2000s represent the formalization of conditionality towards Turkey following the start of the accession negotiations.

4.2 Military Coups D'état

The history of the Turkish Republic is marked with three military coups d'etat that took place in 1960, 1971 and 1980. Each of these military coups had different effects on Turkey-EU relations resulting in the deterioration of the human rights situation and the application of anti-democratic practices. The results varied from the suspension of the relations as a whole to the freezing of financial aid and the publication of resolutions criticizing the human rights regime adopted by Turkey and calls for the restoration of democracy. In this regard, these military interventions represent important junctures in Turkey-EU relations for the development of conditionality with respect to minority rights by the EU towards Turkey. They also demonstrate how the Turkish state's attitude towards the EU and the minority groups in Turkey changed over time in light of the emphasis placed by the EU on the formation of a sufficient minority rights regime in Turkey.

1960 Coup D'état

1960 military coup resulted in the suspension of the negotiations regarding Turkey's association membership application in the short term. The 1960 military coup is significant because this disruption in relations can be regarded as the first use of conditionality by the EEC towards Turkey. It also signaled that the future of EU-Turkey relations would be determined to some extent by the respect for human rights and the promotion of democracy in Turkey and that the EEC would react to and take action against the anti-democratic practices in Turkey. Membership negotiations between the EEC and Turkey restarted after a short period and the

talks continued throughout 1961 and 1962. Although the Turkish state was determined to prove that Turkey still retained its aspirations to become a member, two groups that were in favor of or that opposed EEC membership formed among the political elites. On the one side, the State Planning Organization (SPO), which was an outcome of the military regime, was strongly against membership on the grounds that it would hinder economic growth and regarded membership attempts as treason.[498] On the other hand, the Foreign Ministry continued pushing for membership, as they believed that membership would foster economic and social modernization and at the same time prevent the changes in the geopolitical balance in Greece's favor.[499]

In March 1961, Greece signed an association agreement with the EEC, and around the same time, the Council of Ministers, following a recommendation by the Commission, proposed two options including a five-year trade partnership followed by a Customs Union agreement on the condition that certain degrees of economic growth is achieved and financial aid. As a reaction to this, the military government published an official statement declaring that any other option besides the Customs Union agreement will not be acceptable.[500]

In September 1961, the Turkish democracy witnessed a major downturn when three high-level politicians, including a former Prime Minister, were sentenced to death and executed shortly thereafter. Following this, once again relations between Turkey and the EEC were suspended. This was the first time relations were suspended due to the violation of human rights in Turkey and thereby the first substantive use of democratic conditionality. The difference with the

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[498] Sofos, 247. Also see Meltem Muftuler-Bac. (1997) "The Never Ending Story: Turkey and the European Union", Middle Eastern Studies 34(4), 55.
[499] Sofos, 247.
[500] Economic Development Foundation (IKV). "Avrupa Butunlesme Sureci ve Turkiye-AB Kronolojisi (European Integration Process and Turkey-EU Chronology)." *IKV Publications,* Istanbul.

previous suspension of the relations in 1960 was that in 1960 the EEC preferred to observe the domestic developments, whereas in 1961, the EEC reacted to a particular event namely the death penalty decisions.

In October 1961, the first general elections were held and the newly formed government declared right away that they were committed to the amelioration of the relations with the Community and called for the restart of the negotiation talks.[501] In March 1962, the Foreign Minister of visited France in an official capacity and soon after France lifted its veto over Turkey's membership and official negotiations restarted in July 1962. In May 1963, the EEC Council of Ministers decided to grant $175 million as financial aid, which was followed by the signing of the Ankara Agreement. As a result Turkey became an associate member of the EEC in June 1963. The Ankara Agreement was significant in the sense that it prescribed three stages and set the ultimate aim as full accession to the EEC however a definite timetable was not determined. The first stage continued until the early 1970s and Turkey was granted certain privileges and tariff concessions and in return Turkey was obliged to bring its economy to the required standards for moving the next stage.[502]

The policies regarding the minorities in the 1960s were no different than those implemented throughout the history of the Republic. Political and military policies towards the Kurds applied throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were also complemented by economic policies in the 1960s.[503] Also called the 49ers, 50 Kurdish activists and students were arrested in Istanbul and Ankara in 1959 on the grounds that they were pursuing separatist activities and because of their

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[501] Yasemin Celik. 1999. *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy.* Westport: Praeger, 99.
[502] Berdal Aral. 2005. "Making Sense of the Anomalies in Turkish-European Union Relations", Journal of Economic and Social Research 7(1), 100.
[503] Mesut Yegen. 1999. "The Kurdish Question in Turkish State Discourse", *Journal of Contemporary History,* 34(4), 563-564.

support for a prominent Kurdish intellectual Musa Anter.[504] Shortly after the military coup in 1960, 55 Kurdish tribal leaders were exiled to the western parts of the country together with their families.[505] This was related to the modernization ambitions of the Turkish state, which saw Kurdish aghas as elements of backwardness and also wanted to break the Kurdish opposition.

The state discourses on the Kurdish minority in the 1960s frequently alluded to regional backwardness[506] and underlined the concerns for the absence of any kind of cohesion between the Kurdish regions and the Turkish economy. This regional backwardness was often associated with the Kurds depiction and uncivilized and their inability to achieve desired degrees of integration with the Turkish majority. One of the main reasons behind such a conceptualization of the Kurds as uncivilized by the Turkish state was their persistence for speaking Kurdish in their daily lives. To further assimilate the Kurds, the military regime inaugurated the "Citizen, speak Turkish" campaign in 1961 once again, which originally started in the 1930s as mentioned in the previous chapter. The military regime of 1961 also systematically "Turkified" village names in the northern, eastern and southeastern part of Turkey, which were originally Armenian, Kurdish, and Lazuri.[507] By the end of the 1970s, the Turkish state changed almost 12000 village names from Kurdish, Armenian and Lazuri to Turkish.[508] Regional boarding schools were established predominantly in the eastern and southeastern regions to further Turkify the younger Kurdish populations. 60 out of 70 boarding

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[504] Nesrin Ucarlar. 2009. "Between Majority Power and Minority Resistance: Kurdish Linguistic Rights in Turkey", PhD Thesis Submitted to Lund University, Sweden, 128.
[505] Henri Barker and Graham Fuller. 1998. *Turkey's Kurdish Question.* Maryland and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 14; Van Bruinessen, Martin. 1992. *Agha, Shaikh and State.* London: Zed Books.
[506] Yegen, 564.
[507] Kerem Oktem. 2009. "The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey." *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (7); Joost Jongerden. 2009. "Crafting Space, Making People: The Spatial Design of Nation in Modern Turkey." *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 10, 2.
[508] Ibid.

schools that were established were located in the Kurdish cities.[509] The newly established registrars were especially preventing the registration of children's names in Kurdish.

The 1960s represent a new phase for the Kurdish movement in Turkey due to the revival of the Kurdish ethnic identity within both popular and intellectual circles. This intellectual movement, which mainly focused on the language, specifically aimed to create a unified Kurdish language based on the Kurmanji dialect.[510] In addition, the Kurdish movement of the 1960s aligned itself with the Left and the prominent figures in the Kurdish community joined the Turkish Worker's Party (TIP). The demands of Kurdish actors mostly concentrated on integration with the Turkish society than independence.[511] The leftist tendencies were also apparent in the formation of the Revolutionary Cultural Hearths of the East (DDKOs), an association founded by Kurdish university students in 1969. However, not all members of the Kurdish community aligned themselves with the Leftist movement and the traditionalists established their own political party, the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Turkey (TKDP) in 1965. The Constitutional Court closed down TKDP in 1968 on the grounds that the party was plotting a plan with the political elites in the Middle East, particularly in Iraq and Syria for the declaration of an independent Kurdistan.[512] For the Alevi minority, it is possible to speak of a better political environment in the 1960s when compared with the Kurds or the non-Muslim minorities. In the second half of the decade, there were several political journals published by Alevi associations and by the end of the decade the Alevis established their own political

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[509] Ismail Besikci. 1970. *Dogu Anadolu'nun Düzeni: Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller (The Order of Eastern Anatolia: Socio-Economic and Ethnic Foundations)*. Istanbul: E Publications, 154-155; Welat Zeydanlioglu. 2008. "The White Turkish Man's Burden: Orientalism, Kemalism and the Kurds in Turkey." in eds. Guido Rings and Anne Ife. *Neo-colonial Mentalities in Contemporary Europe? Language and Discourse in the Construction of Identities*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 155-174.
[510] Gunay Goksu Ozdogan,. 1999. "The Dynamics of Kurdish Challenge in Turkey in a Historical Perspective", *4th Annual Convention of ASN*, New York USA, 18.
[511] Ibid, 19.
[512] Ucarlar, 129.

party.[513] Solidarity Party (BP), founded by the Alevi activists in 1966, won eight seats in the Parliament during the elections of 1969. The party participated in active politics until the end of 1970s; although, it could not enter the Parliament after the 1969 elections. As the other minority groups were highly oppressed and were not organized as in the Kurds or Alevis, they were further marginalized from the public and political spheres. However, despite this marginalization, systematic repressive policies continued to be exerted throughout the decade.

1970 Coup D'état

In the 1970s, Greece, Portugal, and Spain became full members of the EEC. Even though Turkey and Greece were following similar courses in terms of their relations with the EEC in the 1960s[514], the relations between Greece and the EEC developed closer than that of Turkey's in the 1970s. The relations took a downturn especially due to the Cyprus issue, which escalated in 1974. The relations with Europe deteriorated further following the military takeover in September 1980. The first half of the 1970s was marked with political unrest and economic hardships both in Europe and Turkey. The economic crises had significant impacts not only on the EEC countries due to the oil crisis but also on Turkey.[515] Politically, as Europe moved towards political integration, Turkey was struggling with another political impasse. On 12 March 1971, the Chief of General Staff published a memorandum and declared that "a strong and credible government be formed that would be able to end the 'anarchy' and carry out reforms 'in a Kemalist spirit'"[516]. Shortly after, the government was dissolved after the resignation of the Prime Minister and the military generals formed the new government.

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[513] Alevi Bektasi Federation. "Alevi Bektasi History." Downloaded from http://www.alevibektasi.org/tarihi13.htm on 26.02.2010.
[514] Ziya Onis. 2001. "Greek-Turkish Relations and the European Union: A Critical Perspective." *Mediterranean Politics* 6(3): 35.
[515] Erik Zurcher. 1993. *Turkey: A Modern History*. New York: Tauris, 267.
[516] Ibid, 258.

Shortly after installing the new government, the military was once again driven by security concerns particularly due to the escalation of the armed struggle in the Kurdish region. In April 1971, martial law was declared in eleven cities around Turkey with the stipulation that it would be renewed every two months until 1973.[517] Following the proclamation of martial law, the military prosecuted and arrested around 5,000 people, including leading Kurdish intellectuals and civil society representatives.[518] In spite of the human rights violations in Turkey and the reactions on the side of the EEC, the economic relations between Turkey and the EEC were not suspended and an additional protocol entered into force in 1973.

The military intervention in 1970 took away even the smallest political, cultural, and social rights and liberties the minority groups enjoyed. The members of the DDKOs were imprisoned due to allegations of treason and attempting to divide the nation.[519] Around the same time, on 21 July 1971, the Constitutional Court closed down TIP again on the grounds that it was trying to challenge the indivisible unity of the Turkish state. The Court's decision declared that the party's activities were in violation of Article 81 of the Law on Political Parties; which prohibited arguing that minorities exist in Turkey.[520] Especially after the prosecution of the prominent intellectual figures within the Kurdish movement, two ideological camps formed within the leftist groups of Turkey and in return, the Kurdish movement started moving away from the Turkish left. At this point, the discourse of the Kurdish movement shifted from concerns over integration with the Turkish society and class struggle towards independence and particularly demands related to the recognition of their identity.

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[517] Ibid, 258.
[518] Roger P Nye. 1977. "Civil Military Confrontation in Turkey: The 1973 Presidential Elections." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 8(2): 209.
[519] Ucarlar, 131.
[520] Baskin Oran. 2007a. "Minority Concept and Rights in Turkey: The Lausanne Peace Treaty and Current Issues," *Human Rights in Turkey*, in ed. Zehra F. Arat. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 47.

Such a shift in the Kurdish movement in the 1970s also fed the emergence of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) as national socialist liberation movement under the leadership of Abdullah Ocalan in 1978. The armed struggle between the Turkish army and the PKK guerrillas continued throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and the beginning of the 2000s, resulting in the displacement of millions of Kurdish families and tens of thousands of casualties. Even though the Kurds were particularly targeted by the Turkish military and the political elites, a number of independent Kurdish mayors were elected during the local elections of 1977. This positive atmosphere lasted until the 1980 military coup, which had one of the most severe consequences on the minority groups in Turkey.

At the same time, a decision issued by the High Court of Appeal described minority foundations as "foreigner" and therefore found it dangerous for them to acquire property. During the 1970s tension between the Armenian minority and the general Turkish public also escalated, as the number of campaigns organized by the Armenian Diaspora for the recognition of the 1915 Armenian Genocide increased in Europe. However, the actual conflict started after 1973 when ASALA started organizing attacks against the Turkish state both in Turkey and abroad. ASALA, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, continued its attacks until mid-1990s, which increased the tension between the Turkish state and the Armenian minority and marginalized them further. For the Alevi community, the strained relations with the Turkish state that were already tense further deteriorated when a movie theater was bombed in Maras in 1978, where the majority of the population was Kurdish Alevi. Upon this, the nationalist and right wing groups started violent protests and attacking the Alevis causing the death of more than 100 people. As a result, on 26 December 1978, a state of emergency was proclaimed in 13 cities including Istanbul and Ankara. The Maraş incident,

which represents the highest point of political violence prevalent in the 1970s in Turkey, is regarded as a turning point before the 1980 military intervention.

1980 Coup D'état

By the end of 1970s, both political and financial relations with the EEC were strained until another coup d'état was instigated on 12 September 1980. In May 1981 Turkey's Council of Europe membership was suspended and in July 1982 it was declared that an official investigation about the human rights violations in Turkey would be conducted.[521] The economic relations between Turkey and the EEC, on the other hand, were not influenced by the impasse in the political relations. The EEC continued to be the most important trading partner for Turkey in the 1980s. Human rights violations and anti-democratic practices became the main determinants of the direction of the relations between the EU and Turkey especially after the military takeover in 1980.[522]

After the 1980 military coup, the military regime dissolved the Parliament and lifted the immunities of all parliamentarians while at the same suspending all political and civil organizations and arresting political party leaders. The military generals controlled all social, economic and political decisions and activities, including those related to education, media and civil society organizations. In the first six weeks after the coup, 11,500 people were arrested and by the end of 1982, 122,600 people were prosecuted by the military courts. The issue of human rights violations during this decade significantly hurt the relations between Turkey and Europe. In 1982, the EC froze all formal relations with Turkey, and suspended all formal talks.[523] Despite the suspension of relations, the military reaffirmed its commitment to the EC

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[521] Clement Dodd. 1990. *The Crisis of Turkish Democracy*. London: EOTHEN Press, 61; European Commission of Human Rights. European Human Rights Report. Vol.4, Part 4.
[522] Sofos, 253.
[523] Muftuler-Bac 2005, 19.

membership prospects and declared that Turkey would apply for full membership once the democratic regime was reinstalled.[524]

In order to normalize the political order, a constitutional committee was formed in 1982 with the task to prepare a new constitution. The new constitution increased the authority of the President and the National Security Council excessively. It also limited the freedom of press, the freedom of association and the fundamental rights particularly related to linguistic, cultural and political rights. The new constitution was put to a referendum vote in 1982, which took place under the scrutiny of the military and was accepted with 91.4% of the votes. Following the adoption of the new constitution, a new law on political parties entered into force, which banned the political actors who were active prior to 1980 from participating in political life for 10 years. According to this law, the establishment of new parties was conditional on an approval obtained from the National Security Council while public workers, students, and teachers were prohibited from taking active part in politics. Moreover, it was forbidden for political parties to establish women's or youth organizations, to collaborate with civil society organizations, or to open offices in smaller districts and villages. In the end, only three parties could enter the general elections held in 1983. The National Democracy Party (MDP) and the Populist Party (HP), were established by the military officials themselves, while Motherland Party (ANAP) was a right wing party least favored by the military. During the general elections of 1983, the Motherland Party obtained over 45% of the votes and formed the first civilian government after the military intervention. The EEC published a resolution that condemned the elections stating that the elections did not reflect democratic practices. Shortly after, the European Commission also announced a declaration that the elections did not demonstrate democratic features as only three parties were allowed to enter the elections.

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[524] Sofos, 256.

The period between 1980 and 1989 was a turning point with respect to the EC's use of political conditionality towards Turkey. Not only has it become more visible towards the end of the decade, but also its scope widened including democratization, human rights and more specifically minority rights by 1989. This was in part due to the increased interest of EC member states in Turkey's internal affairs and in part to the escalating human rights violations in Turkey. It was related to the development of minority protection tools in Europe. At the beginning of the 1980s, which was marked by another military coup, there was a wave of arrests targeting all progressive forces. There were significant and widespread allegations of torture in prison. In addition, most of the party closures by the Constitutional Court were executed on the grounds that they were trying the challenge the indivisible unity of the Turkish state by claiming that minorities existed in Turkey.

After the 1980 military coup, the attempts to assimilate the Kurdish identity was intensified through an ideological, institutional, and political emphasis on ethnic Turkish nationalism. The leaders of the PKK including Ocalan left Turkey shortly after the 1980 coup, and in July 1981 the PKK's first official congress was held on Syrian-Lebanese border. On the order of the Chief of General Staff, within the official documents Kurds were described as 'Mountain Turks' and in 1983 a law abolished the use of Kurdish even in daily life depriving the Kurds of all linguistic and cultural rights.[525] In 1984, the PKK published its first manifestation stating that it will pursue an armed struggle with the Turkish state for secession.[526] From 1986 onwards, the Turkish authorities introduced additional security measures including the establishment of a

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[525] Law No. 1932 of 19 October 1983, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey) No: 18199, 22 October 1983, 27-28.
[526] Abdullah Ocalan. 1984. *Kurdistan Devriminin Yolu, Manifesto (The Road to the Revolution in Kurdistan: The Manifest).* 3rd Edition, Cologne: Serxwebun.

'village guard' system and counter-terrorism units.[527] Throughout the decade, a significant number of Kurdish intellectuals fled to Europe, especially to Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden, adding a transnational dimension to the Kurdish issue.

Around the same time, ASALA also escalated its attacks towards Turkish diplomats while the Armenian diaspora pressured the European governments for the recognition of the 1915 genocide.[528] The emergence of ASALA as well as the international recognition of the 1915 genocide increased the isolation and marginalization of the Armenian minority. Although ASALA was dissolved by mid 1980s, the threats towards the Armenian community continued. In the 1980s, following Ozal's democratization policies, there were some improvements in the situation of the Greek Orthodox minority.[529] The government eliminated the law that required Greek Orthodox groups that were forced to leave Turkey in the 1960s and the 1970s to obtain a visa when coming back to Turkey and abolished the ban on the use of the properties that belonged to those extradited; however, most of them did not return.[530] The 1980s is also the decade when most minority migration to Europe took place. In order to escape prosecution and the brutal policies of the military, nearly all Ezidis in Turkey and around 50,000 Assyrians immigrated to Western Europe, most notably Germany, France, Netherlands, and Sweden by the mid-1980s.[531] Over the years, these minority groups started establishing diaspora organizations in Europe providing another form of representation. These alternative platforms were especially useful after the minority organizations in Turkey were allowed to establish partnerships with foreign civil society organizations.

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[527] Law No. 3175 of 26 March 1985, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 04 April 1985, No. 18715.
[528] Michael Gunter. 2011. *Armenian History and the Question of Genocide.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
[529] Akgonul 2007, 330-331.
[530] Ibid, 331.
[531] Mirza H. Dinnayi. 2008. *The Situation of the Yezidi Minority.* Hannover: Yezidi Community in Europe, 5; Personal interview with the President of the Mesopotamia Cultural Association in Istanbul on 25.09.2012.

4.3. Election of Ozal Government

Even though a new civilian government took over in 1983, the military presence within Turkish politics did not disappear. The military followed the actions of the new government through the Presidential Council that was composed of military generals. Moreover, the whole country was still under martial law, military courts were trying activists through mass trials while there were numerous complaints about prison conditions and torture.[532] Right before the elections, the military government enacted a new law prohibiting the use of all languages that were not the first official language of a state recognized by Turkey.[533] This was especially targeting minority languages such as Kurdish, Armenian, Lazuri etc.

One of the most important aspects of the 1980s was that it saw the reawakening of civil society in Turkey. The first social movement in the post-military coup context was the feminist struggle. Following this, the Human Rights Association of Turkey was established in 1986, which later acquired a Kurdish focused character particularly in the 1990s.[534] In 1987, the Turkish Parliament ratified the right to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), opening the way for citizens of Turkey to carry cases related to human rights abuses into the international sphere.[535] The key events regarding Turkey's minority problem during the 1980s mainly determined the frequency and context of EC's political conditionality towards Turkey. First of all, the number of minority groups fleeing Turkey for Western European states increased tremendously in the 1980s. This gave the minority question a transnational character. Moreover, by the end of the 1980s these groups were acting like pressure groups in Europe

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[532] Ihsan Dagi. 1996. "Democratic Transition in Turkey, 1980-1983: The Impact of European Diplomacy." *Middle Eastern Studies* 32(2): 132.

[533] Oran 2007a, 47.

[534] Personal interview with Adana Human Rights Association President.

[535] Cabinet Decision No. 87/11439 of 22 January 1987, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 21 April 1987, No. 19438.

putting an additional pressure on the EC for the use of conditionality. Since most of the immigrants were of Kurdish, Assyrian, Ezidi, and Alevi origin, and they were inclined to speak about the problems of their own communities, and therefore the context of EC's conditionality focused more on the minority issue by the end of the 1980s. Finally, the frequency of the use of conditionality increased as the human rights violations escalated. However, in spite of the increase in the use of conditionality by the EC, Turkey did not improve the situation of the minorities at all. In fact, arguably it could be said that for some it worsened. The democratization efforts were inconclusive as a result of the military's close scrutiny over political activities. The international community had to wait until the end of the 1990s for the conditionality to yield any results in Turkey.

From the moment he came to power in 1983, Prime Minister Ozal aimed to restore democracy and continue the interrupted democratization efforts. The Ozal period is significant in the sense that the government was really determined to improve the deteriorated relations with the European Community. These aspirations were mostly driven by economic motivations. In this regard, the first Ozal government expressed within its program that EC membership was its ultimate aim.[536] However, relations between Turkey and the EC did not turn back to its normal course immediately following the election of a new government. After the suspension of relations in 1982, it was clear that the normalization of EC-Turkey relations depended on the amelioration of the human rights situation in Turkey. In this period, the EC emerged as a significant political and economic stimulant that would shape the human rights policies of the Ozal government.[537] In other words, the first instance when EU conditionality on human rights

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[536] Ihsan Dagi. 2001a. "Transformation of Turkish Politics and the European Union: Dimensions of Human Rights and Democratization." *Journal of Southern Europe and Black Sea Studies* 1(3): 57.
[537] Speech given by Prime Minister Ozal at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. 1989. *PACE Official Report*, 27 September 1989, 505.

yielded results and triggered the implementation of democratic reforms was during the Ozal government in the 1980s.

In order to reactivate the frozen relations, a Turkish delegation visited the European Commission in January 1984 in order to convey the message that Turkey was willing to revitalize the relations. In response the Commission declared that that the normalization of relations depended upon the progress for the restoration of democracy and respect for human rights in Turkey. At the same time, by the mid-1980s, the European Parliament had become the most vocal actor on behalf of the Community for criticizing the human rights violations in Turkey. In April 1984, the European Parliament adopted two resolutions: the first one on the respect for human rights in Turkey and the second one on the continuing violations of human rights.[538] The general elections in 1984 were also highly criticized by the European Parliament and the Commission on the grounds that the limiting character of the law on political parties did not reflect democratic principles.[539] All of these criticisms pointed to the significance attributed to the democratization of Turkey and determined the pace of the developments in the relations. In October 1984, two additional resolutions were adopted that were critical of the death penalties and the imprisonment of a former Turkish ambassador who was also a peace activist. The European Parliament also declared its decision to abolish the efforts for establishing the Turkey-EU Joint Parliamentary Committee.[540] The European Parliament issued four other resolutions during the second half of 1984 revealing that the progress in EC-Turkey relations would be conditional on Turkey's human rights record even though a civilian

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[538] European Parliament (EP). 1984. *Official Journal OJ C* 172/128, 24 April 1984; European Parliament (EP). 1984. *Official Journal OJ C* EC 172/129, 24 April 1984.
[539] Dagi 2001a, 57.
[540] Ihsan Dagi. 2001b. "Human Rights, Democratization and the European Community in Turkish Politics: The Ozal Years, 1983-87." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37(1): 21; Directorate General for Research, European Commission. 1986. *Survey of the Main Activities of the European Parliament, July 1985–June 1986*, PE 106-100, 27.

government was formed. The content of criticisms also showed that the EC started paying closer attention to human rights violations.

In 1985, the European Parliament started criticizing the Ozal government for the way it has been dealing with the Kurdish issue, in particular for the implementation of the policies that led to a systematic genocide of the Kurdish minority. The Kurdish question was included in a number of EP resolutions within the framework of cultural rights. The Parliament adopted another resolution in 1985 criticizing the military trials that still continued since the military takeover and the adoption of a new draft bill that increased the powers of the security forces tremendously. Following this, the EC delegation representative in Ankara stated that the adoption of this bill would be detrimental for Turkey's relations with Europe. By the end of 1985, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament announced the Balfe Report, which stated that Turkey was still far from complying with the human rights standards and recommended extending the suspension of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.[541] This report was followed by another condemning EP resolution that contained detailed references to the violations of the rights of the Kurdish population. The Balfe report and the following EP resolution was a major downturn for the efforts of the Turkish government towards the reactivation of the Association Agreement. In return, Turkey reacted to these two highly critical official documents very harshly that the report included false information. Such a reaction once again escalated the tension between Turkey and Europe.

Domestic political developments in Turkey in 1986 eased the relations to a certain degree. Finally, in 1986 partial financial aid was released from the EC to Turkey while highlighting

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[541] Richard Balfe. Report Drawn Up on Behalf of the Political Affairs Committee on the Human Rights Situation in Turkey, PE 98. 572/fin. Luxembourg: European Parliament, 9 October 1985.

the expectation that Turkey would prevent the human rights violations. In September 1986, the EC-Turkey Association Council met for the first time since 1980 and the EC representatives stressed once again that restoring democracy and respect for human rights were essential for the normalization of relations.[542] However, the European Parliament adopted another resolution in December 1986, declaring that the EC was not yet ready to fully normalize relations with Turkey due to the persistent human rights problems.[543] By the end of 1986, it was clear that any improvement in Turkey's human rights record would be rewarded with normalization while any deterioration related to human rights could lead to another suspension of the relations. From the 1980s onwards, political conditionality especially with regards to human rights had become one of the main determinants in shaping the course of relations.

After almost seven years of impasse in the relations, dominated by the condemnations and criticisms from Europe, it was clear to the Ozal government that the Association Agreement cannot be revitalized as the human rights violations continued.[544] By the beginning of 1986, the Prime Minister declared his intention to formally apply for full membership to the EC. Even though EC member states were implying that Turkey should not hurry in submitting a membership application, Turkey submitted a formal application in April 1987. Through this application, Turkey provided the EC with a leverage and formal authority to investigate its internal affairs closely than before.[545]

Following Turkey's full membership application, the European Parliament adopted another resolution stressing that, "Turkey's policy towards the Armenians, the Kurds, Greece, and

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[542] Dagi 2001b, 23.
[543] European Parliament. 1986. "Resolution on the Relations between EEC and Turkey." 7/109-7/110-7/111, December 1986.
[544] Dagi 2001b, 25.
[545] Harun Arikan. 2002. "A Lost Opportunity? A Critique of the EU's Human Rights Policy Towards Turkey." *Mediterranean Politics* 7(1): 26.

Cyprus, coupled with the lack of true democracy and respect for human rights, were insurmountable obstacles for the consideration of Turkey's accession to the Community"[546]. In addition, the Parliament called on the Turkish government to recognize the 1915 Armenian genocide on an official capacity and claimed that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must become an important aspect of the relations.[547] This explicit declaration underlining the relationship between the minority rights issue in Turkey and Turkey-EC relations demonstrates that by the end of 1980s the EC had started to see the minority question as a separate issue for shaping the future of the relations. Moreover, one might claim that the EC had for the first time openly stated that conditionality on minority rights would be employed separately from other human rights and democratization issues. This was clearly a turning point for the development of conditionality towards Turkey since from this point onwards minority rights had become one of the main conditions for the normalization of relations between Turkey and the EC and a major stumbling block before Turkey's accession to the EU.

The 1989 Commission Opinion on Turkey's accession stated that a variety of issues had to be resolved before Turkey could be given even a chance of membership.[548] The Commission also noted that the current situation of individual human rights, social rights of workers, and minority rights in Turkey did not comply with European standards.[549] Although Turkey's full membership application was refused, the Community agreed to renegotiate the Association Agreement offering Turkey more incentives including financial aid and trade partnerships.[550]

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[546] European Parliament. 1987. "Resolution on a Political Solution to the Armenian Question." 190/119 of 18 June 1987.
[547] Ibid.
[548] Berdal Aral. 2001. "Dispensing with Tradition? Turkish Politics and International Society during the Ozal Decade: 1983-93." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37(1): 83.
[549] Aral, 83.
[550] European Commission. 1989. "The Commission Opinion on Turkey's request for Accession to the Community." of 20 December 1989, Brussels. SEC(89) 2290 Final/2.

In Turkey, the EC's decision to reject the application was highly criticized both by politicians and military officials. At this point, political elites started questioning the EC's good faith about Turkey's membership.

4.4. Cyprus Conflict

Following the adoption of an additional protocol to the Ankara Agreement between EEC and Turkey in 1973, the positive relations once again deteriorated and took a turn for the worse after Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus. The Cyprus crisis broke out in 1974 when the military government in Greece instigated a coup against the Makarios government in Cyprus.[551] As a response Greece's intervention and the Greek claims to 'takeover' the island, there were two consecutive interventions by the Turkish military in Cyprus, and in the end Turkey took control of 40% of the island. The EEC reacted immediately to the developments in Cyprus and two statements were issued in July 1974 and September 1974 consecutively following Turkey's intervention.[552] In these statements, the Community expressed its concern over the events and called for an immediate cease-fire and cooperation with the UN.

In this respect, Cyprus issue constitutes a critical juncture with regard to its repercussions on the Greek Orthodox minority of Istanbul. The conflict in Cyprus had direct and immediate effects on the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey particularly the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul and Izmir. As a result of the 6-7 September 1955 pogrom, the property and houses non-Muslims were raided and looted and significant damage was given to their property.[553] Following this, in 1961 a new law was passed that classified minority schools as "private and foreign

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[551] Meltem Muftuler-Bac and Aylin Guney. 2005. "The European Union and the Cyprus Problem 1961-2003." *Middle Eastern Studies* 41(2): 282.
[552] Ibid, 283.
[553] Baskin Oran. 2007c. "Religious Differences and Human Rights: Historical and Current Experiences from Southeast Europe", 169.

institutions".[554] In April 1961, a publishing house owned by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Phanar was closed down on the grounds that the Patriarchate was not a legal person and only legal persons or private individuals could own private entities.[555] In July 1964, the Ministry of Education closed down all the Greek Orthodox schools in Gokceada and Bozcaada, where the majority of the population consisted of Greek Orthodox.[556] Their properties were confiscated and transferred to the treasuries of the local administrations in these islands.[557] In addition, a new law entered into force, which stated that the vice principles of minority schools should be "Turkish citizens of Turkish origin" was enacted in 1965.[558] In 1964 Turkey unilaterally terminated the Friendship Agreement signed with Greece in 1930, which paved the way for the extraditions that would follow. Following this, until the mid-1960s a total number of 12,592 Greek Orthodox were extradited from Turkey back to Greece.[559] In the end, the total population of Greek Orthodox in Istanbul dropped from 40,000-50,000 to 3,000-4,000 within two years. As a result, along with the extraditions, the censuses showed that approximately 42.000 Greek Orthodox left Turkey.

The EEC preferred to remain neutral to the Cyprus issue during the 1970s and pointed to the resolution of the problem without an intervention and through the involvement of mediators. Nevertheless, Turkey's relations with the Community were put under strain due to the Cyprus crisis and in 1978 Turkey asked for a five-year freeze in regard to its obligations arising from the Association Agreement. Political relations, on the other hand, took an interesting turn when Greece applied for full membership to the EEC. Most importantly, the EEC suggested in 1978

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[554] Law No. 222 of 5 January 1961, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 12 January 1961, No. 10705.
[555] Oran 2007c, 170.
[556] Samim Akgonul. 2007. *Turkiye Rumları (The Greek Orthodox of Turkey)*. Istanbul: Iletisim, 283, 294-296.
[557] Oran, 169-170.
[558] Akgonul, 296. This law was only revoked in 2008 as part of the EU Harmonization Packages and the new law stipulated that the Vice President shall be a Turkish citizen.
[559] Akgonul, 244.

that Turkey should apply for full membership, but Turkey declined mainly due to the opposition by the Islamist party and also due to the concerns of the military.[560]

4.5. Customs Union Agreement

The new international order in the post-Cold War context significantly altered the European discourses on minority rights. In this context, in 1993 the European Community announced the Copenhagen Criteria laying down the conditions for EC membership. Throughout the 1980s, the EC had harshly criticized the human rights situation voicing the reservations about Turkish membership. The EC's 1989 proposal for the reactivation of the Association Agreement could only be realized by the mid-1990s. In March 1995, a Customs Union Agreement was signed between Turkey and the EU, which entered into force on 1 January 1996, creating a customs free zone between Turkey and Europe.[561] However, the Customs Union helped the normalization of Turkey-EU relations only up to a certain degree. The Customs Union Agreement was accepted in the European Parliament with the condition that in case of a deterioration of human rights, the financial aid could be frozen.[562]

The minority issues that existed during the 1950s were still present in the 1990s. However, during the 1990s, new actors including the pro-Islamic political parties who were previously marginalized; emerged within the Turkish political sphere. Allegations about torture continued while closing down political parties was still a common practice. The Chief of Staff published an ultimatum in 1998, which was also regarded as a post-modern coup followed by the resignation of the conservative party from the coalition.

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[560] Yesim Pekiner. 2004. "Turkiye 1978'de Avrupa'yi Neden Reddetti? (Why Did Turkey Reject Europe in 1978?) *Toplumsal Tarih* 130; See also Canan Balkir. 1993. "Turkey and the European Community: Foreign Trade and Direct Foreign Investment in the 1980s." in eds. Canan Balkir and Allan Williams. *Turkey and Europe.* London and New York: Pinter, 140.
[561] Muftuler-Bac and McLaren, 20.
[562] Celik and Rumelili, 210.

By the mid-1990s, the Kurdish problem had reached the climax point and the armed struggle between the PKK and the Turkish army escalated. States of emergency were declared in many Kurdish cities while the number of Kurdish and Turkish casualties reached thousands in 1999. Throughout the 1990s, the Turkish army attacked the local civilians living in the Kurdish cities. The military presence within Turkish politics changed its content from direct intervention to monitoring the civilian politics in the early 1990s. As a consequence, the minority issue became a security concern rather than a human rights problem. The 1990s started with the adoption of the Anti-terror Law, which defined terrorism as all those actions that challenge the unity of the state. The ambiguous wording of the Anti-terror Law allowed it to cover a wide of acts, which mounted to the violation of the basic tenets of freedom of expression.[563] Following the enactment of this law, four Kurdish MPs were arrested for speaking Kurdish during one of the official sessions of the Parliament. The Parliamentarians were accused of separatism and supporting the PKK and they were prosecuted with 15 years. Following this, the Constitutional Court closed down the People's Labour Party (HEP) that the jailed parliamentarians belonged to.

Following this, the members of HEP formed a new pro-Kurdish political party called the Democracy Party (DEP) in an attempt to avoid losing their seats in the Parliament after HEP was banned. Around the same time, the PKK declared a ceasefire for a short term, which also increased DEP's success especially in the Southeast. Another case was opened against DEP in December 1993 at the Constitutional Court and on 16th March 1994, they were prosecuted and placed under arrest.[564] Former members of DEP went on to found a successor party the People's

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[563] Oran 2007a, 45; Law No. 3713 of 12 April 1991, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 12 April 1991, No. 20843.
[564] Muftuler-Bac 2005, 25.

Democracy Party (HADEP), which failed to pass the 10% threshold to enter the Parliament in the 1995 elections. In 1994, the European Parliamentary Assembly condemned the Turkish Parliament's decision to prosecute the DEP members. The European Parliament immediately passed a resolution and on 28 March 1994 suspended the activities of the EU-Turkish Joint Parliamentary Committee.[565] The EU-Turkey crisis reached a dead-end when the Constitutional Court decided to close down DEP in June 1994.[566] The criticisms from Europe continued in the second half of the 1990s and in 1996 the European Parliament once again decided to freeze all financial aid to Turkey with the exception of those that will be used for democratization.[567]

In 1995 general elections, the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP) obtained 21.4% of the votes and became the leading coalition partner. Throughout 1996 and 1997, the RP was frequently criticized by the military as for engaging in activities that did not conform with Kemalist principles and secular ideology of the state. In February 1997, military tanks were sent to a town in Ankara, following a pro-Islamic demonstration organized by the mayor of that town, which resulted in the resignation of the Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan in June 1997. The Constitutional Court banned the RP in 1998.[568]

The positive atmosphere created through the ratification of the Customs Union agreement was reversed already in 1996 when the European Parliament published a declaration that included the stipulation that Turkey should issue a general amnesty for political prisoners and start

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[565] European Parliament. 1994. "Resolution on the Trial of the Members of the TGNA."182/023, adopted on 28 March 1994.
[566] Arikan, 34.
[567] European Parliament. 1996. "Resolution on the Political Situation in Turkey." 252/050, adopted on 19 September 1996.
[568] For RP Closure decision see Constitutional Court RP Closure Decision, E. No. 1997/1, K. No. 1998/1 of 16 January 1998, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 22 February 1998, No. 23266.

negotiations with all Kurdish organizations, including the PKK[569]. Around the same time, the OSCE adopted a resolution on the Kurdish problem that criticized the Turkish government's policies. Finally in September 1996, the European Parliament decided to freeze the financial aid allocated to Turkey except those that will be used for democratization.[570] During the 1997 Luxembourg Summit, a decision to exclude Turkey from the next enlargement round was adopted. This decision was based on the Copenhagen Criteria and the Agenda 2000 Proposals of the Commission and the EU's concerns over the human rights violations, ill treatment of Kurdish citizens, the existence of Turkish troops in Cyprus and the tensions in the bilateral relations with Greece.[571]

4.6 1999 Helsinki Summit

The 2000s represent a major shift in Turkish politics and the democratization efforts as a result of the start of the accession negotiations, which gained a formal structure in 1999. The political agenda along with the dominant actors in the Turkish political spectrum started transforming as early as 2001, while the reform process was gaining significant momentum. More progress was achieved between 2000 and 2010 than in the 40 years after Turkey's first application to the European Economic Community, while the EU became a distinguished and visible driving force on the empowerment of civil society actors and their mobilization.

Turkey entered the 21st century highly fragmented and polarized. Alevis felt increasingly threatened by the conservative Sunni movements and pro-Islamic parties. During an Alevi festival in July 1993, when a Turkish author stated that he was an atheist, a pogrom broke out setting the festival participants' hotel on fire killing 36 Alevi singers, writers, and a Dutch

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[569] Ibid, 210.
[570] European Parliament. "Resolution on the political situation in Turkey." Doc.Pe 252.050, adopted on 19 September 1996.
[571] Muftuler-Bac 2005, 24.

female anthropology student.[572] The tension escalated as the threat towards the Alevis continued, and in 1995 an attack in one of the Alevi districts of Istanbul led to widespread protests, which ended with military control in that neighborhood. During the clashes between the residents of the neighborhood and the military 15 people were killed.

The year 1999 marked an important change both for the Kurdish movement and the Turkish politics. After the dissolution of the government, the new coalition was formed under the strict supervision of the army. During this period, Ocalan was sent out from Syria and in February 1999, he was captured in Nairobi and brought back to Turkey. Shortly after, he was tried and sentenced to death, however his sentence was changed to aggravated life imprisonment in line with the reforms for EU harmonization. Prior to his arrest, Ocalan had declared that the PKK was now ready and willing to seek a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem, which was later reaffirmed by the PKK leadership. The PKK leadership also claimed that Ocalan would still be regarded as the leader of the PKK and that the ceasefire declared in 1998 would remain in force. The most significant aspect of the 1990s was the start of the accession negotiations, which signaled that the Turkish government would implement a number of political reforms for democratization and human rights in the coming years.

Due to the two major economic crises Turkey suffered in November 2000 and February 2001 respectively, the 2000s started with concerns over economic stability. In March 2001, the European Council of Ministers adopted the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership, which highlighted a number of issue areas Turkey needs to improve including minority rights, torture, the role of the military in politics and the Cyprus conflict.[573] Again in March 2001, the Turkish

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[572] Tahire Erman and Emrah Goker. 2000. "Alevi Politics in Contemporary Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies* 36(4): 117; Also see Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden, eds. 2003. *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview.* Leiden and Boston: Brill.
[573] European Council. Council Decision of 8 March 2001, 2001/235/EC. Official Journal L 85/13.

government presented its National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis. The National Program did not propose profound reforms to the dismay of the domestic actors in Turkey and the political elites in Europe but rather highlighted the state-centric perspective of the government.[574] It failed to address the minority problems in general implying that the current practices will persist. For many circles, especially the pro-EU non-state actors, the National Program was a big failure and destroyed the expectations for Turkey's democratization.[575] In May 2001, the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) published a report entitled "Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey" stressing its support for further democratization reforms and the need for a functioning effective civil society.[576] Despite the disappointment with the National Program, the Commission's 2002 Progress Report highlighted the constitutional reforms of October 2001 through which the state of emergency for two more cities in the Kurdish region were lifted and the death penalty was abolished in peacetime. However, in spite of the reforms, the EU did not provide Turkey with an exact date for the start of the accession negotiations unlike other candidate countries. Along with the discontent about the abolishment of death penalty shortly after Ocalan's capture, the lack of a definite date for the start of the negotiations had an adverse impact on the public opinion about the government and the AKP government was elected with a landslide victory in 2002 elections.

For the first time since the 1950s, a political party in Turkey won enough votes to form its own government. The government established by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) displayed its commitment towards the democratization reforms as prescribed by the EU and adopted the required human rights legislation demonstrating its determination to continue the

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[574] Berdal Aral. 2005. "Making Sense of the Anomalies in Turkey-EU Relations." *Journal of Economic and Social Research* 7(1): 112.
[575] Ibid, 112.
[576] Bulent Tanor. 1997. *Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey* Istanbul: TUSIAD.

accession process. In total, eleven harmonization packages and two constitutional amendments were adopted until the end of 2004. Even though by the beginning of the 2000s a significant number of reforms were implemented by the government, continuous criticisms from the EU side along with the escalated tension in Cyprus brought Turkey-EU relations to a crisis point once again. In 2006, the EU decided to freeze eight chapters within the accession partnership agreement especially due to the lack of a solution to the Cyprus problem. Since then, the EU officials declared on several occasions that they were not ready to unblock the chapters until the Cyprus issue was resolved. During the period between 2007 and 2013, Turkey-EU relations and formal progress followed a much slower pace in comparison to informal transformation.

Although the reform process gained considerable momentum by the beginning of the 2000s mainly due to AKP's determination to continue the accession process, progress on minority issue has not been groundbreaking. The 2000s started with the escalation of the tension between the state that sees minorities as a national threat and the new voices in the political sphere like the non-state actors that demanded confrontation with Turkey's past. In 2001, a new bill by the French National Assembly was adopted to recognize the 1915 Armenian genocide. In reaction, the Turkish Parliament adopted Article 301 that stipulated imprisonment for insulting "Turkishness", integrity of the Turkish state and the Turkish Parliament.[577] A significant number of people including civil society representatives were prosecuted based on Article 301 after its adoption. Moreover, although the ban on education or broadcasting in non-Turkish languages had been abolished, the Constitutional Court closed down yet another pro-Kurdish political party HADEP.[578]

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[577] Simon Wigley. 2009. "Parliamentary Immunity in Democratizing Countries: The Case of Turkey." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31(3): 579.
[578] Constitutional Court HADEP Closure Decision, E. No. 1999/1, K. No. 2003/1 of 13 March 2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 19 July 2003, No. 25173.

After the assassination of the Armenian journalist and activist Hrant Dink in January 2007, there was an overwhelming public reaction, particularly due to the connection between the murderer and the state. In 2007, the newly established pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) was able to secure 20 seats in the Parliament and the tension between the DTP and the state escalated especially after declarations from the DTP depicting the PKK as the liberation movement of the Kurdish nation. In December 2007, the Turkish Army launched a series of attacks against PKK camps in Northern Iraq. These operations once again proved that the state saw the Kurdish problem as a security threat.

The 2007 general elections ended with a landslide victory for AKP in spite of the controversies concerning Presidency elections. Concurrently, the Constitutional Court opened two cases against AKP and DTP for their dissolution. Shortly after the elections, both Gul and AKP explicitly declared that the reforms would continue and the EU-Turkey relations, which suffered a recession since the freezing of the chapters, would be put back on track. Following this in February 2008, the new Foundations Law passed from the Parliament remedying some of the property rights violations against the non-Muslim foundations. The closure case against AKP was finalized in August 2008 in favor of AKP; however, the Court still restricted the financial aid the party is entitled to from the Treasury. In January 2009, the first state channel that broadcasted in Kurdish, TRT 6 was established. However, there was still a ban on using other languages within the Parliament and in February 2009 the state television stopped live broadcasting when Ahmet Turk, leader of DTP, started speaking Kurdish in the Parliament.

By mid-2009, the ECtHR concluded several cases in favor of the non-Muslim foundations in Turkey for the violation of their property rights by the Turkish state, ruling for the payment of

compensation fees.[579] In November 2009, the AKP government announced that they were determined and committed to pursue a number of reforms under the Democratic Opening package, which involved different provisions for all minority groups in Turkey. As part of this package in December 2009, a group of PKK members entered Turkey through the Iraqi border upon a call from Ocalan. On the verge of this positive development and the increasing hopes for a solution to the Kurdish problem, the Constitutional Court announced its decision to close down DTP and the prohibition of its three MPs from engaging in political activities for five years.[580] The banned MPs represented the most prominent and constructive members of the party causing this decision to be regarded with even more anger and dismay among the civil society and the Kurdish population. The European Parliament and the Council of Europe both condemned the decision stating that it hurt Turkey's democratic legitimacy. Shortly after in January 2010, a wave of arrests started targeting Kurdish political activists and the members of the Kurdish political party, which ended with the imprisonment of over 12.000 Kurdish politicians and activists.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the government in Turkey displayed a commitment and determination to continue the EU accession negotiations through a significant number of reforms under the harmonization packages although these efforts were interrupted on a number of occasions. However, several points demonstrate that these reforms were initiated as a result of the combined efforts of the EU and the civil society in Turkey. After the adoption of the reforms regulating the activities of civil society organizations, there was a visible increase in the number of civil society organizations. In addition to this, major organizations such as

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[579] Dilek Kurban. 2010. "Protecting Marginalized Individuals and Minorities in the ECtHR: Litigation and Jurisprudence in Turkey." in eds. Dia Anagnostou and Evangelia Psychogiopoulou. *The European Court of Human Rights and the Rights of Marginalised and Minorities in National Context.* Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 169.
[580] Constitutional Court DTP Closure Decision, E.No. 2007/1, K. No 2009/4 of 11 December 2009, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 14 December 2009, No. 27432

TUSIAD started pressuring the government to continue with the EU process and the implementation of the necessary reforms. Coupled with the use of conditionality by the EU especially through Commission Progress reports and official statements by EU members, the Turkish government responded to these pressures by adopting several reforms. This, in turn, allowed the civil society actors to have an even more share from the political resources.

4.7 Turkish Legislation: Political Reforms After Helsinki

The significance of the EU accession process especially in the post-Helsinki period is particularly related to the emergence of new opportunities for the civil society organizations in Turkey.[581] Such a transformation was especially dependent on the reforms, the EU required Turkey to implement in order to satisfy the political criteria. In particular, the requirement pertaining to the existence of institutions that would guarantee democracy, human rights, rule of law and minority rights led to the adoption of the reform packages concerning the freedom of association and the removal of the legal obstacles before the development of civil society organizations.[582] Between 2001 and 2007, important legislative changes concerning civil society organizations were implemented. In total eight reform packages were adopted that included changes to the most restrictive legislation concerning associations, foundations, minority rights, linguistic rights and other fundamental rights.

The first harmonization package entered into force on 19 February 2002 and contained a series of amendments to the Penal Code, the Anti-terror Law, Law on the Establishment of and Proceedings at the State Security Courts and the Code of Criminal Procedure within the framework of the freedom of expression, the reduction of pre-trial detention periods and the

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[581] Ahmet Arabaci. 2008. "Explaining Transformation of Turkish Civil Society in the EU Accession Process." *Insight Turkey* 10(2): 85.
[582] Arabaci, 83.

rights of prisoners.[583] In order to comply with EU requirements on freedom of expression and freedom of association, a second harmonization package entered into force on 9 April 2002.[584] The second reform package amended the Press Law, the Law on Political Parties, the Law on Associations and the Law on Meetings and Demonstration Marches, the Law on Civil Servants and also modified the Law on the Establishment of and Proceedings of State Security Courts, and the Act on the Organization, Duties and Competences of the Gendarmerie and the Act on Provincial Administration.[585] In the context of freedom of expression, the ban on publishing in a language prohibited by law was abolished through Article 16.[586] Article 5 Clause 6 was amended in order to cancel the provision that forbids the establishment of an association with the aim "to protect, develop or expand languages or cultures other than the Turkish language or culture or to claim that there are minorities based on racial, religious, sectarian, cultural or linguistic differences".[587] The annulment of Clause 6 is identified as a major step for expanding the freedom of association as well as the promotion of minority cultures.

The second harmonization package also modified Article 6 of the Law on Associations and cancelled the law that prohibited the use of languages banned by law[588] during assemblies, meetings, conferences organized, or within any written material including brochures, declarations, advertisements, posters and banners as well as visual and audio materials.[589] However it also stipulated that Turkish would remain as the official language of communication.[590] An amendment to Article 34 granted associations with the right to establish

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[583] Law No. 4744 of 06 February 2002, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 19 February 2002, No. 24676.
[584] Law No. 4748 of 26 March 2002, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 09 April 2002, No. 24721.
[585] Law No. 4748.
[586] Law No. 4748, Article 7, Clause A.
[587] Law No. 4748, Article 5, Clause B.
[588] The languages banned by law referred to in Article 6 of the Law on Associations are those languages that are not the first official languages of states recognized by the Republic of Turkey.
[589] Law No. 4748, Article 5, Clause C.
[590] Ibid.

federations and Article 38 was altered to increase the scope of the activities of student associations.[591] Previously, the associations that were not classified as working for the public interest could not establish federations. The amended article also necessitated that associations must notify the governorships of the cities where they are located in relation to their activities.[592] With the amendments to Articles 7, 11, and 12 on the restrictions on international activities and activities conducted abroad as well as the activities of foreign associations were eliminated and these provisions were substituted with those of the Civil Code.[593]

The third harmonization package was adopted on 9 August 2002 and abolished the death penalty, expanded the freedoms of expression and association, addressed the problems related to the property owned by religious minority foundations and amended the provisions on education and broadcasting within the framework of cultural rights.[594] Articles 11 and 12 of the Law on Associations were modified to overcome the problems related to the activities of the associations founded in Turkey and the activities of foreign associations in Turkey.[595] Article 15 substituted the police registration requirement to Ministry of the Interior Affairs.[596] Finally Articles 46 and 73 eliminated the police supervision over associations and appointed the Department of Associations established within the Ministry of Interior Affairs as the sole authority.[597] The third harmonization package also amended the Law on Foundations. Most importantly, Article 1 of the Law was aligned with Article 14 of the European Human Rights Charter and a long awaited problem concerning the property belonging to religious minority foundations was resolved.[598] Moreover, the Decree on the Organizations and Duties of the

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[591] Law No. 4748, Article 5, Clause D-E.
[592] Ibid.
[593] Law No. 4748, Article 7, Clause D.
[594] Law No. 4771 of 03 August 2002, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 09 August 2002, No. 24841.
[595] Law No. 4771, Article 3, Clause A-B.
[596] Law No. 4771, Article 3, Clause C.
[597] Law No. 4771, Article 3, Clause F, H.
[598] Law No. 4771, Article 4, Clause A.

Directorate General of Foundations was issued to legalize the activities of foreign foundations in Turkey.[599] Article 4 of the Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises[600] and the Law on Foreign Language Teaching and Education[601] were both modified to eliminate the restrictions on broadcasting and teaching in the different languages and dialects used within Turkey including minority languages.

The fourth harmonization package was adopted on 11 January 2003 and reformed the issues related to the freedom of association, amending the provisions on the prohibition of torture and mistreatment, the rights of prisoners.[602] In the context of the freedom of association, Article 5 of the Act on Associations changed the limitations in relation to the founding principles of an association.[603] Article 6 was modified granting associations with the right to use foreign languages with their contacts abroad and in their unofficial correspondences.[604] Therefore, it was significant in the sense that these minority languages could also be used during the unofficial correspondences of these associations. Article 44 was amended as part of the fourth harmonization package removing the limitations before publishing declarations and similar publications in those languages banned by law.[605] Furthermore clauses pertaining to the relations with foreign associations in the Turkish Civil Code were amended to facilitate cooperation between Turkish civil society organizations and their foreign counterparts and their engagement in European and international networks.[606] The fourth harmonization package also changed the Law on Foundations partially removing the restraints on religious

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[599] Law No. 4771, Article 4, Clause B, Supplementary Clause 3 to the Decree on the Organizations and Duties of the Directorate General of Foundations.
[600] Law No. 4771, Article 8, Clause A.
[601] Law No. 4771, Article 11.
[602] Law No. 4778 of 02 January 2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 11 January 2003, No. 24990.
[603] Law No. 4778, Article 17.
[604] Law No. 4778, Article 18.
[605] Law No. 4778, Article 21.
[606] Law No. 4778, Article 34-35.

minority foundations and their right to acquire immovable property.[607] This reform package also extended these rights to other civil society organizations besides associations and foundations.[608]

The fifth reform package entered into force on 4 February 2003 and mainly focused on the permissions, supervision, fines and imprisonment.[609] The sixth harmonization package was adopted on 19 July 2003 and contained provisions related to the freedom of expression, religious freedom and the right to life and retrial.[610] The Law on the Establishment and Broadcasts of Radio and Television Stations was amended to eliminate the restrictions partially on private and public radio and television corporations to broadcast in minority languages.[611] An amendment to Supplementary Article 2 of the Law on Construction underlined the need to establish places of worship of different religions and faiths will be considered by the state.[612] Furthermore, Article 16 of the Law on Census was amended to eliminate the clause, which stated that children couldn't be given names that do not suit the Turkish national culture and customs and traditions.[613] Historically, prior to the amendment, minorities were not able to register their children's names in their own languages but were only allowed to give Turkish names to their children.

The seventh harmonization package was adopted on 7 August 2003 and introduced several amendments to the laws concerning freedom of expression, freedom of association, safeguard provisions on the rights of prisoners, religious freedoms, the rights of children, cultural rights,

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[607] Law No. 4778, Article 3.
[608] Law No. 4778, Article 36.
[609] Law No. 4793 of 23 January 2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 04 February 2003, No. 25014.
[610] Law No. 4928 of 15 July 2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 19 July 2003, No. 25173.
[611] Law No. 4928, Article 14.
[612] Law No. 4928, Article 9.
[613] Law No. 4928, Article 5.

civilian-military relations and the functioning of the executive bodies.[614] Article 38 of the Law of Associations was amended for the participation of students registered at institutions of higher education in associations and activities organized by these associations.[615] It also eliminated the ban on establishing associations that work on artistic, cultural and scientific issues.[616] In addition to these, following the amendments associations were allowed to establish more than one branch in provinces, towns and villages.[617] Supplementary Article 3 of the Decree Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Directorate General for Foundations was amended to change the permission requirements for foundations to organize activities and implement projects abroad.[618] The procedure to establish a foreign foundation was also shortened making the Ministry of Interior Affairs the final authority instead of the Council of Ministers as in the past.[619] Article 2 of the Law on Foreign Language Education and the Learning of Different Languages and Dialects by Turkish Citizens was also amended to allow the teaching of different languages and dialects used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives within the facilities of existing language courses, whereas previously such courses could only be opened within new premises.[620] The condition for obtaining the views of the National Security Council when determining the languages to be taught was also cancelled with the amendment, making the Council of Ministers the sole authority pertaining to the issue of languages.[621]

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[614] Law No. 4963 of 30 July 2003, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 07 August 2003, No. 25192.
[615] Law No. 4963, Article 14.
[616] Law No. 4963, Article 17.
[617] Law No. 4963, Article 16 and Article 35.
[618] Law No. 4963, Article 29.
[619] Ibid.
[620] Law No. 4963, Article 23.
[621] Law No. 4963, Article 23, Clause C.

The eighth harmonization package entered into force on 14 July 2004[622] and abolished the death penalty for good replacing it with life sentence[623]. The Law on Higher Education Council was amended to cancel the provision that requires one of the members of the Higher Education Council to be selected by the Chief of Staff.[624] In addition to the EU harmonization packages adopted between 2001 and 2004, a number of constitutional amendments were also enacted. Through the constitutional amendments a number of new provisions were adopted to align the Constitution with the priorities of the National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis. These amendments mainly targeted freedom of thought and expression, the prevention of torture, strengthening of democracy and civilian authority, the right to privacy, the inviolability of the domicile, the freedom of communication, the freedom of residence and movement, the freedom of association and gender equality.

In addition to these amendments and harmonization packages, a number of new laws were also adopted including the Law on the Relationship of Associations and Foundations with Public Institutions and Agencies, which entered into force on 29 January 2004.[625] The law laid down the basic principles in the relationship between civil society organizations and public institutions. Moreover, a new Press Law was enacted on 24 June 2004 and aligned the laws concerning freedom of press with Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights.[626] The Law on the Compensation of Losses Resulting From Acts of Terror and Measures Taken Against Terrorism entered into force on 27 July 2004.[627] The objective of the law was to compensate the damages in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey especially those resulting from

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[622] Law No. 5218 of 14 July 2004, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 21 July 2004, No. 25529.
[623] Law No. 5218, Article 1
[624] Law No. 5218, Article 2, Clause B.
[625] Law No. 5072 of 22 January 2004, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 29 January 2004, No. 25361.
[626] Law No. 5187 of 09 June 2004, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 26 June 2004, No. 25504.
[627] Law No. 5233 of 17 July 2004, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 27 July 2004, No. 25535.

internal displacement and the evacuation of villages. In this framework, damage assessment and compensation committees were established to reimburse the applicants. In the same manner, the Ministry of the Interior issued a circular on 1 July 2005 to facilitate the voluntary return of internally displaced persons within the framework of "Return to Villages and Rehabilitation Project".[628] Following this, a strategy document titled "The IDP Problem and Measures on Village Return and Rehabilitation Project" was adopted on 17 August 2005 by the Council of Ministers.[629] It aligned the current legislation on the IDPs with the UN Guideline Principles. The newly drafted Law on Associations was also adopted by the National Parliament on 4 November 2004 and entered into force on 23 November. Furthermore, Protocol No. 6 to the European Convention on Human Rights concerning the abolition of the death penalty was ratified on 12 November 2003 and entered into force on 1 December 2003. Concurrently, the International Covenance on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were ratified and entered into force on 24 December 2003.

4.8 Conclusion

Celik and Rumelili argue that the EU has led to important changes at the domestic policy level in Turkey with respect to the Kurdish question especially after the acceptance of Turkey's candidacy to the EU.[630] This is not only true for the Kurdish question but also for the many reforms that were implemented by the beginning of the 2000s as part of the EU harmonization packages. Moreover, the Civil Society Dialogue, established in 2005 for channeling EU funds to the civil society organizations in Turkey, pointed to the redistribution of political resources,

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[628] Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Circular issued by Minister of Internal Affairs Abdulkadir Aksu to the Governors of 14 Cities in the context of Return to Villages and Rehabilitation Project" on 05 July 2005, No. 2005/13.
[629] Council of Ministers, Leading Decision of 17 August 2005, Measures Regarding Internally Displaced Persons Problem and Return to Villages and Rehabilitation Project, March 2006.
[630] Celik and Rumelili, 212.

as it required the engagement of academics, journalists, thinkers and writers as well as civil society representatives in Turkey's democratization aspirations. Not only has it facilitated the adoption of the legislative reforms but also allowed the civil society organizations to discuss the issues related to minority protection with decision-makers both from Turkey and Europe.

The use of conditionality on minority rights towards Turkey gradually developed throughout EU-Turkey relations, which started with Turkey's application as an Associate member to the EEC in 1959. As the EEC developed its own tools regarding minority protection and as the relations between Turkey and the EC were formalized, the use and the context of conditionality changed. The tools of conditionality ranged from the suspension of financial aid to the total suspension of formal relations while the context transformed from the reestablishment of democracy to human rights. After the announcement of the Copenhagen criteria and the increased emphasis on minority protection in the 1990s, the EU started using conditionality more frequently when compared with the previous decades. The changes were also connected to the levels of migrations of the members of minority groups from Turkey to Western Europe bringing in a transnational dimension to Turkey's minority problem.

Even though the EU used conditionality on minority rights more frequently over time, this did not yield the adoption of all of the necessary reforms by the Turkish government. The use of conditionality until the 2000s only yielded partial results similar to those in the mid-1980s when the new government needed to speed up the normalization of relations for economic reasons. However, the rejection of Turkey's formal membership application in 1989 interrupted the democratization process and hurt the relations significantly. Only by the end of 1990s and the beginning of 2000s, the government passed the reforms required to comply with the Copenhagen political criteria. This was a result of both the formalization of relations in

1999 through granting Turkey candidacy status and the changing behavior of civil society organizations in the 2000s through the redistribution of financial and political resources. Moreover, the EU now had more instruments for applying conditionality and leverage over the internal affairs in Turkey related to human rights.

Currently, EU-Turkey relations are still in recession since the chapters blocked in 2007 have not been reopened. However, the activities of the civil society organizations still continue even on the most sensitive issues such as minority rights. This is one of the main signs that the EU had transformed the role of civil society organizations in Turkish politics providing them with the resources to participate in decision-making processes through increased political efficacy at the national and the European level. The accelerated reform process of the 2000s that was originally triggered by Turkey's desire to be granted candidacy status allowed the civil society organizations to benefit and make use of the EU process especially in the context of minority protection.

Chapter 5

Minority Rights and Europeanization in Turkey

This chapter presents the first set of results obtained through the closer examination of the impact of interaction of the EU with the civil society actors in Turkey. To be more precise, it studies civil society organizations established after the reform packages were adopted in relation to the EU harmonization process. The overall aim of the chapter is to study transformation in a candidate country like Turkey empirically by mapping out the civil society organizations that use the political and financial resources made available as a result of their interaction with the EU. Following this, the first section gives a detailed discussion of the civil society organizations established by minority groups in Turkey.

The second section of this chapter provides a detailed examination of the minority civil society organizations analyzed as part of this thesis. This section will provide an investigation of the patterns that can be seen among these civil society organizations with regard to their formation, associational structure, the type of minority groups that they represent, location and their resources. It will also provide an account of how these factors affect their formation, links and influence. Finally, the conclusion will provide a brief discussion of the next empirical chapter where the quantitative research findings will be presented and discussed.

5.1 Research Locations

Given the scope of this research, three major cities, Istanbul, Ankara, Diyarbakir were selected as the pivotal points given that most of the civil society organizations or their headquarters are

located in these cities. Additionally, as some of the minority groups are predominantly concentrated in one city, smaller cities were also included. These smaller cities were selected as Mardin where most of the Assyrian population resides, Edirne where the largest Roma population resides and Antakya which is home to a number of different minority groups including Latin Catholics, Arab Christians, Nusayris, Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Doms. These research locations were selected based on the population levels, the number of civil society organizations, the types of minority organizations established in these cities and the presence of different minority groups.

Ankara is the capital of Turkey where all state institutions are established. The main offices or headquarters of several civil society organizations and minority federations as well as research institutes and think tanks are located in Ankara given the proximity to government offices. It is also where the European Commission Delegation to Turkey is established. Diyarbakir on the other hand is located in Southeastern Turkey and it is the biggest city of the region. Along with its population numbers, the significance of Diyarbakir is also related to its multicultural character and its historical importance as it is often referred to as the capital of Turkey's "Kurdistan". The city hosts a number of minorities including the Kurds, Doms, Armenians, Assyrians, Protestants, Alevis, Zaza and Ezidis. Moreover, the European Commission established the second civil society development center in Diyarbakir allowing for different civil society organizations located in the city to enhance their relations with the EU through meetings and conferences. Finally, Istanbul is the biggest and the most crowded city in Turkey. Its population numbers are estimated to be around 18 million, believed to have increased especially due to internal migration or forced displacement from the 1980s onward. The city is home to almost all minority groups and the civil society organizations representing almost each and every one of these groups are located here. These range from non-Muslim minorities to

Kurds, from Hamshens to Alevis, from Caucasians to even Assyrians whose homeland is originally in the Southeast. In this respect, not only are there organizations such as religious minority foundations or Assyrian federation but also other major civil society organizations such as institutes or think tanks that implement projects concerning minority rights are located here.

With regard to smaller cities selected as the research locations, Antakya is rather a smaller city by means of population however its significance is derived from the presence of several minority groups that have set up many organizations. It not only hosts Arab speaking Greek Orthodox minority but also Armenians, Jews, Latin Catholics, Protestants, Alevis (Nusayris), Arabs, Roma (Doms) and Kurds. Edirne on the other hand is located in Thrace bordering Bulgaria. Most of the population is Roma and there is also a small Jewish community. The most numerous Roma Federation in terms of member organizations, has its headquarters in Edirne and the biggest Roma association (EDROM), which implements several European Commission projects is also registered in Edirne. The predominant minority group in Edirne is the Roma population and even though Roma have several organizations across Turkey, EDROM behaves differently compared to these in terms of its structure, international and national linkages and sources of funding. Finally, Mardin, one of the smaller yet most diverse cities in Turkey, is home to large populations of Kurds, Arabs, Mhelmis, Ezidis, Roma, Armenians and Assyrians. Even though, the majority of the population is Kurdish, other minority groups have organizations set up and active in the city.

These cities can be classified into two groups based on their population levels, with Ankara, Istanbul and Diyarbakir representing higher population levels and Mardin, Edirne and Antakya, all home to lower levels of populations. As a result of the high population numbers and the

characteristics of the cities, the highest number of civil society organizations are located in Istanbul, Ankara or Diyarbakir. Istanbul has the highest population in Turkey and the number of associations registered in Istanbul is 21,289.[631] The number of active foundations registered with the Directorate of Foundations in Istanbul, on the other hand, is 1583.[632] Ankara, on the other hand, has 10,252 associations registered and 798 active foundations.[633] As mentioned previously, the higher number of civil society organizations in Ankara are related to the government offices being located in Ankara. Finally, Diyarbakir has 35 active foundations and 1173 associations registered.[634] Even though, the number of civil society organizations located in Diyarbakir are comparatively lower than Istanbul or Ankara, it is higher than most of the other cities across Turkey and in the region. Additionally, the head offices of most of the Kurdish organizations are also located in Diyarbakir. On the other hand, there are several predominant minority groups in Antakya, Istanbul and Ankara, whereas in Diyarbakir and Mardin, the predominant minority group is the Kurds. However, both of these cities are home to other minority groups with smaller populations. Edirne, on the other hand, is predominantly home to Roma populations.

In addition to these, online or telephone surveys with different minority civil society organizations were conducted all over Turkey as some of the minority groups have over 100 member organizations at various cities. The respondents for the surveys and interviews were selected through their websites and the websites of different minority federations. They were classified according to the research locations and also based on their activities. The

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[631] Directorate of Associations. "Number of Associations Based on Cities" (*Illere Gore Dernek Dagilimi*) Available at http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/tr/Anasayfalinkler/IllereGoreIstatistik.aspx.
[632] Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey. "Number of Active New Foundations Based on Cities" (*Yeni Vakıfların İllere Gore Dagilimi*) Available at http://www.vgm.gov.tr/db/dosyalar/webicerik193.pdf.
[633] Ibid.
[634] Directorate of Associations. "Number of Associations Based on Cities" (*Illere Gore Dernek Dagilimi*) Available at http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/tr/Anasayfalinkler/IllereGoreIstatistik.aspx.

organizations that did not organize any activities or acted merely as a place of socialization were not included. Moreover, the minority organizations that received EU funding were also found on the website of the EU Delegation in Ankara and they were included in the research. One of the minority groups representing different dynamics across various cities were the Alevis. Even though, Alevis are settled all across Turkey, the civil society organizations established by the Alevis residing in eastern and southeastern Anatolia differed from those located in the western parts of Turkey. The organizations located in the eastern parts of Turkey where the majority of the population is Kurdish, had more frequent contacts with European and international organizations acting as advocacy organizations whereas their counterparts in western cities, mostly behaved as solidarity associations. Even though in terms of religious freedoms, they had the same objectives, their demands with regard to issues such as education in mother tongue languages, linguistic and cultural rights showed variation. The final minority group that will be examined in more detail, Caucasian groups, have civil society organizations set up across Turkey, in those cities where there is a Caucasian population. The data revealed that the Caucasian organizations established in major cities were more active in terms of the advocacy activities they organized and their associational structure varied as they were mostly federations or larger foundations with smaller member associations. Caucasian civil society organizations in Istanbul and Ankara are mostly federations and foundations with higher budgets which are in close contact with national representatives, whereas those located in smaller cities are merely solidarity associations acting under the umbrella of the head office or the federation in Istanbul or Ankara.

As mentioned earlier, the minority groups identified in this research except the three non-Muslim groups, the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish minority, still remain unacknowledged officially. In addition, since 1990 the Turkish state stopped asking individuals

about their ethnic background, mother tongue or religious denomination during the official censuses. Therefore, the numbers of individuals belonging to these minority groups and their geographical distribution are not officially known. In addition to these, access to the military archives and the archives of the Foreign Ministry that contain the information related to minorities and the policies in relation to the minority groups during the Republican era is prohibited by the state.[635] Therefore academic research concerning the minority issue cannot be conducted using these archives, which makes the academic literature on the minority issue in Turkey particularly limited or dominated by official state views. Moreover, the Prime Ministry archives, which are open to the researchers do not include the reports or documents related to the minority issue at all. Some researchers argue that over the years the Turkish state has destroyed these documents that touch upon the most controversial aspects of the minority issue including the 1915 Armenian Genocide.[636] To give an example, the archival documents to be used in a spatial research on regions or cities provides information in relation to only those regions where the Turkish majority lives, excluding those sections where the inhabitants are minority groups. Given this, most of the academic literature on the historical development of the minority issue includes information obtained from the official archives of other countries.[637]

5.2 Minority Presence within Civil Society

The minority groups in Turkey are represented through various types of civil society organizations including foundations, associations, platforms, religious minority foundations, movements, federations, confederations, professional organizations, bar associations,

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[635] Ekin Karaca. 2011. "Taner Akcam Degerlendiriyor, Genelkurmay Arsivlerine Basbakanin da Gucu Yetmez (Interview with Taner Akcam, Even the Prime Minister Cannot Access Military Archives) ." *Bianet Internet Newspaper,* 29 November 2011. Downloaded from http://www.bianet.org/bianet/diger/134371-genelkurmay-arsivlerine-basbakanin-da-gucu-yetmez on 15.06.2013.
[636] Ibid.
[637] See Fuat Dundar. 2008. *Modern Turkiye'nin Sifresi (The Code for Modern Turkey).* Istanbul: Iletisim.

institutes, think-tanks, and unions. There are also other types of minority non-state actors, including religious leaders, opinion leaders, belief representatives, members of the Parliament, and local administrators. Even though a small portion of these organizations existed prior to the adoption of the reform packages under different names, the number of minority organizations increased significantly after 2002 due to the elimination of the ban on establishing organizations that promote minority cultures. In addition to the specific minority organizations, there are human rights organizations and other major civil society organizations that work on the minority issue including think tanks, research institutes, and business organizations. The level of organization differs in relation to each minority group included in this thesis;[638] however, it was discovered that the types of organizations established by these minority groups does not depend on population numbers entirely, but also on other factors including financial capacities, relations with the state, existence of other means of representation, such as political parties or municipalities, and the problems and the demands of the particular minority group in question.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the minority groups that will be examined in more detail in this chapter in terms of their organizational structure include the Kurds, Alevis, Arabs, Roma, Assyrians and Caucasian groups. The civil society organizations established by these minority organizations were found to represent different dynamics and vary in terms of their associational structure, relations with national, European and international organizations, locations and activities. The following sections will investigate the minority organizations established by these groups in more detail with a discussion of the changes in their organization

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[638] The surveys revealed that some groups such as the Alevis are highly organized with multiplicity of organizations whereas others have much lower numbers of organizations.

profiles and public and political presence as well as the other means of representation available for these groups.

5.3 Minority Civil Society Organizations

In this respect, even though the Kurds have the highest population, the number of Kurdish civil society organizations, aside from the advocacy groups, is visibly lower when compared to other minority groups. Given this, the Kurds are mostly represented through the pro-Kurdish political party, BDP, holding 32 seats in the Turkish Parliament along with 99 municipalities in east and southeast Anatolia. In addition, the Kurds are distinct from other minority groups in the sense that they also have an armed guerilla organization, the PKK which heavily influenced the pro-Kurdish political parties established throughout the 1980s and the 1990s.[639] There are also smaller pro-Kurdish political parties including HAK-PAR and KADEP.[640] However, apart from the political parties and the local administrations, the Human Rights Organization (IHD), which has its headquarters in Ankara along with 41 local branches and representations in different cities around Turkey focused particularly on the Kurdish issue for a long time.[641] IHD was initially established as a solidarity organization for prisoners and their families by 98 human rights activists.[642] However, due to the high levels of human rights violations in the Kurdish region, the Kurdish issue inevitably dominated the agenda of the IHD throughout the years. In addition to this, IHD founded the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV) in 1990, which focuses solely on combating issues related to the prevention of torture and the

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[639] Dogu Ergil. 2000. "The Kurdish Question in Turkey", *Journal of Democracy* 11(3): 9.
[640] For more on pro-Kurdish political parties see Nicole Watts. 2010. *Activists in Office Kurdish Politics and Protest in Turkey.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
[641] Adem Caylak. 2008. "Autocratic or Democratic? A Critical Approach to Civil Society Movements in Turkey", *Journal of Economic and Social Research* 10(1): 123-124; Personal interview with Human Rights Association Diyarbakir Branch Representatives on 11.01.2012 in Diyarbakir, Personal interview with Human Rights Association Adana Branch Representatives on 10.12.2011 in Adana.
[642] Caylak, 123; IHD. 2001. "IHD 15 Yasinda" (Human Rights Association 15 years old), *IHD Publications,* p. 1-3.

rehabilitation of torture victioms.[643] TIHV has its headquarters in Ankara and branch offices in Adana, Diyarbakir, Istanbul, and Izmir. Given this, neither the IHD nor the TIHV branches can apply for EU or other international funds on their own.[644] The only exception with regards to this rule is the IHD Diyarbakir office, which is the only IHD branch that can apply for international funding due in part to the urgency and severe impacts of the Kurdish issue in the region and also the fact that Diyarbakir office is regarded as representing the region as a whole.[645] Apart from these, the Kurds in the region also participate in the activities of the unions and professional organizations such as the bar association, the Turkish Medical Association (TTB), the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK), Public Laborers' Unions Confederation (KESK), and Education and Science Laborers' Union (Egitim-sen). They can also apply for EU funding through these organizations. For instance, the Diyarbakir Bar Association organized a project on the levels of access to the justice system in the region. The press statements in relation to the Kurdish issue are generally prepared or endorsed by union representatives in the region, as they are more actively involved in and vocal about the Kurdish issue than their western counterparts.[646]

The Kurdish organizations established after the adoption of the EU Harmonization packages particularly after the elimination of the ban on the use and teaching of languages other than

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[643] Personal interview with Turkish Human Rights Foundation Adana Branch Representatives in Adana on 15.12.2011.

[644] Personal interview with TIHV Adana branch in Adana on 15.12.2011 and IHD Adana branch in Adana on 10.12.2011.

[645] IHD Diyarbakir branch publishes annual reports that document the human rights violations in the Eastern and Southeastern regions and implements projects that target the region as a whole including a recent project that documents the mass graves around Turkey especially in the Kurdish region. For more on the IHD Diyarbakir branch see http://www.ihddiyarbakir.org/Default.aspx.

[646] The press statements concerning the Kurdish issue are most of the time endorsed by a number of civil society organizations in the region including the Unions such as TTB, KESK, bars, business associations and human rights organizations. To give an example, as part of the recent peace process that started with the negotiations between PKK Leader Ocalan and the AKP government in February 2013, 10 civil society organizations in Diyarbakir formed a commission that will monitor the retreat of PKK guerillas from Turkey. The commission included IHD, KESK, TTB, Southeastern Industrialists and Businessmen Association along with human rights organizations and advocacy groups; "Commission established in Diyarbakir to monitor the retreat of PKK", Radikal Daily Newspaper, 06.05.2013.

Turkish include those associations that aim to protect and promote the Kurdish language and its dialects. The most prominent among these is the Association for the Development and Research on the Kurdish Language (Kurdi-der), which has its main office in Diyarbakir and has local branches in almost every city in the Kurdish region along with other major cities, such as Izmir, Mersin and Adana, where there is a high Kurdish population.[647] The Kurdi-der in Istanbul is also called the Istanbul Kurdish Institute, which was first established in 1992 as a for-profit company engaged in educational activities. Initially, when Istanbul Kurdish Institute was founded, it was not legally possible to organize activities and implement projects for the protection and the development of the Kurdish language.[648] Therefore, they could only establish the civil society organization as Kurdi-der after the adoption of the linguistic reforms in 2002. In addition to these, the Kurdish organizations include cultural organizations such as the Mesopotamia Cultural Center (MKM), which was first established in 1991 to reverse the negative impacts of the assimilationist policies by addressing issues related to the promotion of the Kurdish culture through arts and culture,[649] and also advocacy organizations, such as the Mesopotamia Association for Solidarity and Assistance with Mourning Families (MEYA-DER) and the Federation of Legal and Solidarity Associations for the Families of Prisoners and Convicts (TUHAD-FED). However, these associations do not implement projects,[650] their activities are mostly confined to issuing press statements and organizing panels and conferences for raising awareness on the state-led human rights violations in the Kurdish region or express their support with Kurdish political prisoners.

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[647] Personal interview with Kurdi-Der Headquarter Representatives in Diyarbakir on 12.01.2012, in Diyarbakir.
[648] Telephone interview with Zana Farqini, the head of the Istanbul Kurdish Institute, 20.08.2012.
[649] Onder Elaldi. 2011."Halkın ozgurluk dusleriyle yeniden dogduk" (We were reborn through the freedom ideals of our people), *Ozgur Gundem Newspaper,* 01.09.2011.
[650] Neither TUHADFED nor the MEYADER has websites, however an internet search concerning these two organizations reveals a number of newspaper articles relating to their press releases and demonstrations on Kurdish political prisoners and unidentified murders including those of PKK guerillas. Such a search also points to a close relationship between these organizations and BDP.

There is only one Kurdish Foundation, the Kurdish Culture and Research Foundation (Kurd-Kav), but there are also a number of other bigger organizations located in the Kurdish region as well as bigger cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Adana. These organizations mostly work on issues including torture, random detainments, internal displacement, discrimination, mine clearance, freedom of speech, linguistic rights, cultural rights, children's rights, and women's empowerment.[651] Finally, the Democratic Society Congress (DTK) is an umbrella organization composed of a number of different civil society organizations close to the BDP.[652] It acts as a platform for the civil society organizations and organizes conferences, workshops, and symposiums in order to address the issues related to the resolution of the Kurdish problem.[653] However, since it is not registered as a civil society organization, the DTK does not initiate projects or obtain funding from any national or foreign donor. Despite the urgency of the problem and the high population numbers, the Kurdish organizations do not have a federation or any similar umbrella organization; therefore, they mostly implement projects through their own municipalities in collaboration with other civil society organizations established in those cities. To give an example, the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality was granted funding by the EU for implementing infrastructure projects, landscape planning projects, rehabilitation projects, tourism activities, cultural heritage, and intercultural dialogue projects, as well as other cultural projects such as the promotion of the Kurdish Dengbej tradition, Kurdish culinary tradition, restoration of Armenian and Assyrian churches in

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[651] These organizations include the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), Open Society Foundation in Istanbul, History Foundation, Diyarbakir Social and Political Research Association (DISA), Turkish Economic and Political Research Foundation (TEPAV) and Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) among others.

[652] Email correspondence with DTK representative on 25.06.2012; Further information can be found on the DTK website, available at www.demokratiktoplumkongresi.com.

[653] During a meeting, the DTK administrators indicated that even though DTK is considered as part of the civil society, it is perceived as the local parliament of the region by its founders. In this regard, they emphasize that the main objective of the DTK is to determine the ways in which different peoples of Turkey can live together within the boundaries of Turkey. The meeting notes are available at http://www.islahhaber.com/diyarbakir-dan-baris-arayislarina-tam-destek-36301h.htm, downloaded on 10.05.2013.

Diyarbakir, architectural research on Diyarbakir, and cultural inventory projects.[654] The EU

funding for these projects was allocated through the Central Finance and Contracts Unit

(CFCU), which delegates the selection process to the Regional Development Agencies for

structural funds or allocates the funds itself directly for other subheadings, such as the

development of cultural rights in Turkey.[655] The EU aid obtained is part of the IPA funding

scheme for regional development as well as the Cultural Initiatives Support Program.[656] For

instance, the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality implemented a project regarding Dengbej

tradition in Diyarbakir in collaboration with Dicle Firat Culture Center whereas for projects

such as the restoration of the Surp Giragos Armenian Church, the Diyarbakir Municipality co-

implemented the project with the Surp Giragos Armenian Church Foundation in Diyarbakir.[657]

Apart from these, there is a Zaza association based in Diyarbakir, Ziwan-Kom Association that

organizes research activities on the Zaza language and culture.[658] The activities are constrained

to culture and arts activities as well as events concerning the development of the Zaza language.

The Zazas also have two other organizations one based in Bingol, Eastern Anatolia called the

Zaza Language, Culture and History Foundation and another one based in Istanbul named the

Zaza Culture and Language Association established in 2011.

Given their high population numbers, as the biggest religious minority, the Alevis are more

organized in comparison to the Kurds. They have two major and active federations, the Alevi-

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[654] Armagan Tanrikulu and Adnan Aksoy. 2012. "Diyarbakir Culture and Tourism Projects Report", *Karacadag Development Agency,* 1-119.
[655] Ibid, 2.
[656] Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU), "Support for Cultural Rights in Turkey Cultural Initiatives Support Grant Scheme", Reference Number: CFCU-TR 0401.06.02/CISGS, available at http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/tender.php?lng=tr&action=tender_search&status%5B%5D=closed&type%5B%5D=grants&lspage=4. Downloaded first on 15.03.2011.
[657] Tanrikulu and Aksoy, 15.
[658] Personal interview with Bilal Zilan, Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Ziwan-Kom Zaza Association on 12.01.2012 in Diyarbakir.

Bektasi Federation (ABF) and the Alevi Foundations Federation (AVF).[659] The AVF also founded the Alevi Associations Federation; however, it is currently inactive and has only eight member associations.[660] Finally, there is also a newly established Anatolia Alevi Bektasi Federation, which is arguably closer to the government; however, it only organizes benefit events once a year during Ramadan and does not initiate any projects.[661] The Alevi-Bektasi Federation has the highest number of member organizations, including the Alevi Cultural Association and its 102 branches, the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association and its 61 branches, and 33 other independent Alevi associations.[662] On the other hand, the Alevi Foundations Federation has 12 member foundations.[663] The data revealed that the levels of membership in Alevi associations is higher in contrast to other minority organizations, sometimes the number of members reaching 6.000, as in the case of the Mersin Alevi Cultural Association.[664] This is due to the fact that the Alevi associations are not merely civil society organizations but are actually established as belief organizations where the Alevi population can organize the Cems along with other religious practices and rituals.[665] Therefore, most of these Alevi organizations do not implement projects but act as places of worship for the Alevis who are not allowed to establish Cem houses in the first place. In addition, unlike other minority organizations such as the Circassians, the Alevi organizations usually leave it to their headquarters in Ankara or Istanbul as well as the federations to obtain international funding for

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[659] Email correspondence with Dogan Bermek, the head of the Alevi Foundations Federations on 08.04.2012. There is no prior academic research on Alevi civil society organizations, information can only be collected through the websites of the Alevi federations.

[660] Ibid.

[661] Information on Anatolia Alevi Bektasi Federation is available at http://www.anadoluabf.org, first downloaded on 20.12.2011.

[662] Member organizations of Alevi Bektasi Federation can be accessed at http://www.alevifederasyonu.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=222&Itemid=258, first downloaded on 20.12.2011.

[663] Member foundations of the Alevi Foundations Federation can be downloaded at http://www.avf.org.tr/uye_listesi.asp, first downloaded on 20.12.2011.

[664] Survey completed by Mersin Alevi Culture Association 16.06.2012.

[665] Personal interview with Adana Alevi Culture Association in Adana on 18.07.2011 and Alevi Dede at the Adana Cem House 18.07.2011.

implementing projects that they can be a part of.[666] Given this, the main branch of Alevi Cultural Association implements several EU projects obtained directly from the European Commission as part of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) scheme.[667] In addition to this, the Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Cultural Foundation (HBVAKV) in Ankara has been granteed a project as part of the EIDHR scheme for the monitoring and capacity building of Alevi civil society organizations.[668]

Other Alevi civil society organizations include the Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Cultural Foundation, which has its main branch in Ankara and 39 local branches in various cities around Turkey.[669] There is also an Alevi institute established within the auspices of HBVAKV and with the support of the AKD that conducts research pertaining to Alevism and the problems of Alevis in Turkey.[670] Over time, the Alevi institute has acquired an autonomous character from the HBVAKV; however, the board of directors decided that the institute shall only implement projects that will contribute to the preparation of a New Constitution after January 2012.[671] In addition to these, there are other independent Alevi organizations particularly those established by Kurdish Alevis. The 1st Kurdistan Alevi Conference was organized in February 2013 under the auspices of DTK and the participants agreed upon the foundation of the Mesopotamia Alevi

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[666] Email correspondence with Alevi Bektasi Federation EU Projects coordinator, Cahit Korkmaz on 07.09.2012 and personal interview with Alevi Bektasi Federation Secretary General in Adana on 18.07.2011.
[667] The ongoing and completed projects supported by the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights Scheme. Available at http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-and-civil-society/the-european-instrument-for-democracy-and-human-rights/projects-supported.html.
[668] Ibid.
[669] More information about the Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation and its branches can be found at the foundation's website, downloaded at http://www.hacibektasvakfi.web.tr/vakif%20/subelerimiz, first downloaded on 10.07.2011.
[670] More information on the Alevi Research, Documentation and Application Institute is available at http://www.alevienstitusu.net, first downloaded on 07.05.2011.
[671] The press release concerning the Alevi Institute's decision not to implement any further projects is available at http://www.alevienstitusu.org, first downloaded on 28.05.2012.

Union;[672] nevertheless, this decision was not welcome by all Alevi organizations.[673] In the same manner, the Free Democratic Alevi Movement and the Free Democratic Alevi Associations are particularly close to the Kurdish political movement and act more like advocacy groups, organizing panels and conferences particularly for raising awareness on the human rights of the Alevis and the Kurdish issue. Apart from these, there is also a Nusayri Association named Alevi Cultural Research Association (AKAD) based in Adana, which aims to conduct scientific research on Alevism as well as promote and protect the Nusayri faith while at the same time acting as a pressure group for the prevention of discrimination against Nusayris. To give an example, AKAD actively participated in the Alevi Workshops organized by the government in 2010 to ensure that a description of the Nusayri faith is included within 12th grade religion class books.[674] Despite these, the Alevi faith is still not accepted as a separate religion or an Islamic faith as demanded by different Alevi groups. The Presidency of Religious Affairs (DIYANET) describes Alevis as various political and religious groups whose common feature is their commitment to the Prophet Ali.[675] Therefore, according to DIYANET, it is not possible to distinguish Alevis from other Muslims given that the terms Alevi and Sunni cannot be used as antonyms but share a superordinate identity, which is Islam.[676] This is particularly problematic for Alevi civil society organizations as they cannot be registered as belief organizations but they are compelled to be classified as associations. As evident from these

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[672] The Final Declaration of the 1st Kurdistan Alevi Conference organized by the Democratic Society Congress, downloaded from http://rojpress.com/?p=7682 on 10.03.2013. Under the decisions taken during the Conference, the final declaration indicates the organization of Alevis living within Mesopotamia region under the name 'Mesopotamia Alevis Union'.

[673] Press release by Engin Gunduk, the President of Alevi Culture Associations on 06.02.2013, downloaded at http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/turkiye/02/06/bu.alevi.hareketini.bolmektir/695430.0/, first downloaded on 10.02.2013. In the press release, Gunduk on behalf of the Alevi Culture Associations states that the establishment of a Mesopotamia Alevis Union would divide the Alevi movement and emphasizes that they reject the statements included within the Final Declaration of the 1st Kurdistan Alevi Conference.

[674] "Alevi Workshops and Nusayri Description within School Books", downloaded from http://www.akadadana.org/Calistay.asp, on 15.07.2011.

[675] Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), "Alevism", downloaded from http://www.diyanet.gov.tr/turkish/dy/DiniBilgilerDetay.aspx?ID=688 on 11.03.2013.

[676] Ibid.

examples, the Alevis are united under a number of different civil society organizations with differing political ties; however, the problems voiced by these organizations are almost identical. In spite of their ideological dissimilarities, the Alevis continue to be one of the most highly organized minority groups in Turkey which have close ties to European networks and platforms.

Even though the Caucasian groups, including the Circassians, Georgians, Abkhazians, Ossetians, and Dagistanis, were historically organized under the name Caucasian when establishing civil society organizations, following the harmonization reforms they reorganized based on their own identities instead of a superordinate identity. Most of the member associations of the Caucasian Associations Federation (KAFFED) continue to use the name Caucasian in their title whereas others have changed it to Circassian.[677] KAFFED has 54 member associations. There is only one other Caucasian federation, the United Caucasian Associations Federation (Bir-Kaffed) that is also based in Ankara. In addition to KAFFED and Bir-Kaffed, Circassian Associations Federation was established very recently in April 2013.[678] Comparatively, KAFFED is more active in terms of implementing projects and forming international networks. Over the years, KAFFED has implemented several EU projects in collaboration with its local member branch organizations.[679] Furthermore, some of the Georgian and Abkhazian associations also parted ways with KAFFED in order to establish their own federations. Nine Abkhazian Associations established the Abkhazian Associations Federation (Abhaz-Fed)[680] and the Georgians initiated the efforts to establish a Georgian

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[677] Personal interview with Isa Elagoz, General Secretary of Adana Circassian Cultural Association on 20.07.2011 in Adana.
[678] "Circassian Associations Federation Established", downloaded at http://www.xabze.net/blog/cerkes-dernekleri-federasyonu-kuruldu/, published on 17.04.2013 and downloaded on 06.05.2013.
[679] Electronic survey completed by KAFFED on 29.09.2011.
[680] Information relating to Abkhaz Associations Federation and member organizations was downloaded from http://www.abhazfederasyonu.org on 10.10.2011.

Associations Federation through a workshop in October 2011; however, the efforts remained inconclusive so far.[681] In addition to these, there is only one Caucasian Foundation, the Caucasian Research, Culture and Solidarity Foundation (KAF-DAV). The Caucasians also exhibit diverse patterns of organization. They have established platforms, initiatives, movements, and groups in addition to associations and foundations. For example, the Georgians founded the Georgians from Turkey Platform and the Georgian Cultural Center, whereas the Circassians established the Democratic Circassian Initiative, the Democratic Circassian Platform, the Circassian Rights Initiative, and Circassian Initiative for Democracy. In addition to these, the Caucasus Forum was established in order to organize projects that address the problems of Caucasians in Turkey and act as a pressure group especially in relation to the human rights violations of the Caucasian groups in Turkey including the situation of the Chechen asylum seekers, Circassian genocide, and Karachay exile. Finally, the Ossetians in Turkey have one foundation, Alan Culture and Assistance Foundation, which essentially aims to promote and preserve the culture and identity of the Ossetian minority in Turkey as well as raising awareness on the issues relevant to the Ossetians of Turkey. Caucasian civil society organizations are highly organized as demonstrated by the varying types and levels of organization. However, recently different camps started to form among the Caucasian organizations especially pertaining to the issue of public education in mother tongue languages and cultural rights. Some of the Caucasian civil society organizations sided with the Kurdish political movement in terms of the demand for public education in mother tongue languages whereas others preferred to remain distant from the Kurdish organizations even though they acknowledged the need for mother tongue education.[682] In fact, in 2011 some of the more progressive Circassian civil society organizations organized a demonstration in Istanbul for

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[681] Interview with Fazli Kaya from Georgian Cultural Center Association on 20.09.2011; "Articles on Georgian Workshops on the way to a Georgian Federation", October 2011, available on http://www.gurculerinsesi.net/content/federasyonlaşma-yolunda-gürcü-çalıştaylarına-dair-yazılar6.
[682] Telephone interview with Sezai Babakus from the Democratic Circassians Initiative on 18.05.2012.

raising awareness on public education in mother tongue languages.[683] Yet, others such as the Caucasian Foundation argued that the Turkish language should remain as the primary and official language of education and opening up the way for mother tongue education would lead to chaos and excessive demands that the Ministry of Education cannot accommodate.[684]

The Roma or Gypsy organizations include the Roma, Dom, Lom along with other groups such as Tahtaci, Abdal, or Geygel; however, there is no comprehensive academic study concerning the fragmentations among the Roma in Turkey.[685] There is also no consensus on the different groups within the Roma or Gypsy population, given that some prefer to call them Gypsy in general and categorize Roma as one of the groups within the Gypsies, whereas others consider the word "Gypsy" as a derogatory term and therefore prefer to use the term "Roma" as a general and broad term for describing all groups.[686] There are a number of Roma civil society organizations including federations, associations, and platforms; however, there is no definitive information about the number of Roma associations or federations. According to Hatice Cetinkaya from the Zero Tolerance Association, the number of associations is around 210 with 11 federations.[687] These associations are mostly located in the western and southern parts of Turkey, including the Marmara, Aegean, and Mediterranean regions given that the majority of the Roma population resides in these parts. However, the Dom civil society organizations are established in the southeastern parts of Turkey and the only Lom civil society organization is

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[683] "Cerkesler Anadil icin yuruyor (Circassians walk for public education in mother tongue languages)", *Milliyet Daily Newspaper,* 13 March 2011.
[684] Hulusi Ustun. "Anadilde Egitim ve Cerkesler" (Mother Tongue Education and Circassians), Caucasus Foundation downloaded from http://www.kafkas.org.tr/yazarlar/hulusi_ustun_anadilde_egitim_ve_cerkesler.htm.
[685] Email correspondence with Ali Mezarcioglu, Roma activist, author and the editor of cingeneyiz.org on 08.01.2012.
[686] Ibid.
[687] Email correspondence with Hatice Cetinkaya, Zero Tolerance Association on 27.05.2013. There is no accurate information or academic research concerning the number of Roma organizations in Turkey. Zero Tolerance Association works on Roma issues and conducted extensive research on Roma organizations and concluded that in total in Turkey there are 210 Roma associations.

located in the Black Sea region. There is one Dom association in Antakya and another one in Diyarbakir whereas the only Lom association is established in Hopa.[688] Despite the overwhelming quantity of Roma civil society organizations, most of these associations are far less institutionalized when compared with other minority groups, mostly due to the low levels of financial capacity. Therefore they face significant sustainability problems.[689] This is also evident from the fact that there is no Roma foundation currently established in Turkey, as foundations require a certain property to be donated to the foundation in question. In addition, most of the Roma civil society organizations, even the ones with the largest budgets, do not have websites or other means to communicate with the international and European networks, which makes it more difficult to establish networks while constraining their scope to local activities.

The Roma organizations have closer relations with the government and state agencies when compared with other groups such as the Kurds or Alevis. This is partially due to the Roma opening initiated by the Prime Minister in 2009 where the representatives of five different Roma federations and 80 Roma associations met with the government and the Ministry of Labor to discuss their problems.[690] The Roma organizations are also close to state agencies as most of the time they apply to local governorships for aid from the Ministry of Family and Social Policies Social Beneficiary and Solidarity Encouragement Fund. The demands of the Roma groups are largely in respect to the prevention of discrimination, access to housing, education and health services, poverty, and unemployment, rather than cultural or linguistic

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[688] Surveys completed by the head of the Hatay Dom Tribe Culture Research, Solidarity and Assistance Association, Diyarbakir Dom Association and the head of the Artvin Lom Culture Research and Solidarity Association.
[689] Quantitative data reveals that 7 out of the total 15 Roma organizations surveyed indicated that their annual budget is less than 4000 Euros.
[690] "Turkiye'de Romanlarin Durumu" (The Situation of Roma in Turkey), *Fundacion Secretariado Gitano Report,* December 2010, 20.

rights.[691] Following this, in 2011, 70 different Roma civil society organizations and six federations came together to establish the Roma Rights Forum (Rom-Fo).[692] The aims of Rom-Fo were identified as working towards securing equal rights for the Roma population, struggling with discrimination, and exclusion through multicultural and pluralistic policies, trying to overcome the prejudiced public opinion in Turkey regarding the Roma, while at the same time working towards the recognition and promotion of Roma identity and culture, supporting public agencies, and local administrations in their efforts for improving the living conditions of Roma population, securing the human rights of Roma wherever they reside, standing against all kinds of pressure contradicting international law towards Roma, starting campaigns against any kinds of written or visual documents that insult or exhibit hate towards Roma, collaborating with all kinds of civil society organization that work on the problems of Roma, and finally supporting all efforts that would benefit the Roma youth.[693] In addition to these, there are other civil society organizations such as the Zero Discrimination Association working on issues relevant to the Roma population as well as other institutions with bigger capacities, such as the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. In addition to Rom-Fo, there is a Public-CSO Dialogue Group that is also coordinated by the Zero Tolerance Association, which brings together seven public institutions including the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry for EU Affairs, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, and finally the Employment Agency with 30 Roman civil society organizations including Roma, Dom, Lom, and Abdal organizations registered at different cities around Turkey.[694] Finally, another Roma group

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[691] Ibid, 34.

[692] Roma Rights Forum (Rom-Fo) was established in Istanbul in November 2012 with the participation of around 70 Roma associations and 6 federations. "Turkey's Roma People Unite for Rights", 19.11.2012, http://www.bianet.org/english/minorities/142214-turkeys-roma-people-unite-for-rights.

[693] Hacer Foggo. 2012. "Turkiye Roman Haklari Forumu Kuruldu" (Turkey Roma Rights Forum Established), *Taraf Daily Newspaper* on 22.11.2012.

[694] Email correspondence with Hatice Cetinkaya, Zero Tolerance Association on 27.05.2013.

established at the national level is Turkey Roma Plan.[695] Turkey Roma Plan tries to come up with solutions to the social and economic exclusion problems of the Roma communities.

The Laz minority has relatively fewer civil society organizations in comparison to other Caucasian groups. They have only recently established a Laz Cultural Association in Ankara and they have one foundation in Bursa called the Sima Foundation. In addition to these, they have another association established in Istanbul, AKADER, and finally the Laz Culture, Solidarity and Tourism Association located in Artvin. Finally, the Black Sea Environment Association (KACED), which is located in Rize also implements projects on the Laz language, culture, and literature through the funds granted by the European Commission.[696] KACED also works on other issues including environment, human rights, multiculturalism, EU accession, democratization, culture, and gender and youth issues. The association organized two other projects funded by the British Embassy in Ankara and the Australian Embassy in Ankara on youth issues and environmental problems. In a similar manner, the Laz Culture Association implemented an EU funded project in collaboration with Caucasian Federation (KAFFED) on the accommodation of diversity.[697] In 2011, a number of Laz activists tried to establish the Laz Collective Movement Initiative with the aim to preserve and promote the Laz identity; however, the efforts did not yield concrete results.[698] Recently, after the government initiated the elective classes in mother tongue languages, Laz activists started to work on a Laz language institute.[699] Finally the Lazuri nena school book was completed before the start of the academic year 2013-14 and the Ministry of Education approved their appeal for opening Lazuri elective

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[695] Ibid.

[696] Electronic survey completed by KACED President on 11.10.2011.

[697] KAFFED and Laz Culture Association co-organized an EU funded project titled "We would like to exist without differences" between 2011-2012.

[698] Nilay Vardar. "Lazlar Asimilasyona Direnc Gosteremedi" (Laz People could not resist assimilation), *Bianet,* 25 May 2011, available at http://www.bianet.org/bianet/bianet/130240-temel-lazlar-asimilasyona-direnc-gosteremedi downloaded on 28 May 2011.

[699] Ibid.

courses upon demand. Due to their low financial and institutional capacities, most of these organizations do not implement projects but rather work on linguistic issues and organize panels and workshops for the preservation of the Lazuri language among the Laz population.

The Arab organizations in Turkey are significantly lower in contrast to their high population numbers. There is only one association, the Arab Solidarity and Culture Association (Arap-Der) established in Sanliurfa where they have the highest population, and there is also one Arab Platform established in Siirt, and another Arab platform established in Mardin. The Arap-Der has around 9,000 members, and it has 11 local branch offices around Turkey, mostly within the cities located in the southern and southeastern regions including Mardin, Siirt, Mus, Batman, Hatay, Antep, Iskenderun, Adana, Istanbul, Antalya, and Manisa, as well as an international branch office in Mecca.[700] In addition to this, the Arab activists in Mardin recently established an umbrella organization together with Assyrian, Chaldean, Aramaeic, and Mhelmi civil society organizations.[701] Comparatively, the Arab organizations have the closest relations with the government as they meet with ministers almost every month; however, relations with European Union institutions is almost non-existent.[702] Given this, the Arab organizations act as a pressure group and conduct meetings with government officials and Middle Eastern civil society organizations in relation to the problems of the Arab minority in Turkey along with the developments in the Arab world and the Middle East.[703] Although Arap-Der is located in southeast Anatolia, the head of the Association claimed that they do not meet with the European delegations that visit the region as they find Turkey's progress in the EU accession process satisfying in terms of economic and political stability.[704] In a similar manner, the Mhelmis have

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[700] Telephone interview with Sukru Kirboga.
[701] "Joint Statement from Arab-Assyrian-Aramaic-Chaldean and Mhelmi Organizations", *28 April 2013,* available at http://www.gelawej.net/index.php/yazarlar/faruk-aras/9967-2013-04-28-12-51-50.html.
[702] Telephone interview with Sukru Kirboga.
[703] Ibid.
[704] Ibid.

two associations established in Mardin and Batman; however, they do not have any other type of civil society organization.[705] Even though there are only two Mhelmi organizations, they organize a number of projects funded by the European Union and other international grant-giving institutions including the Global Dialogue Foundation and Olof Palme Center.[706] In addition to this, they have close relations with the European Commission Delegation in Ankara and also with other European agencies, civil society organizations, and networks.[707] At the same time, they collaborate with Assyrian organizations on a number of projects including the Assyrian and Aramaeic diaspora organizations in Europe.[708] In spite of these, the relations of the Mhelmis with the government and especially with local administrators is restricted.[709]

There is only one Hamshen association, the Association for Sustaining and Researching Hamshen Culture (HADIG) established in Istanbul, in 2011.[710] There are also a number of other organizations but they are strictly township organizations, as the name Hamshen refers to a town name as well. HADIG only organizes activities pertaining to the protection of Hamshen culture, identity, and language. The Pomaks on the other hand, have four Pomak associations established in Istanbul, Eskisehir, Izmir, and Biga, as well as a Pomak Associations Federation.[711] Apart from this, there is a Democratic Pomaks Movement and a Pomak Institute, which has its main office in Stockholm and was established by the diaspora Pomak communities in Sweden.[712] The Pomaks, who have been almost invisible in Turkey and continue to be unknown to the majority of the public, established civil society organizations

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[705] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Aslan, the head of Mardin Mhelmi Association on 14.01.2012 in Mardin.
[706] Ibid.
[707] Ibid.
[708] Ibid; Personal interview with Yuhanna Aktas, the head of Midyat Assyrian Culture Association on 14.01.2012, in Mardin.
[709] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Aslan.
[710] Interview with Hikmet Akcicek, the head of HADIG on 22.08.2012.
[711] Telephone interview with Mehmet Demir, head of Pomak Associations Federation on 27.06.2012.
[712] Email correspondence with Ibrahim Kenar, the head of Pomak Institute on 29.09.2011.

with the common goal to preserve and promote the Pomak culture, language, and identity.[713] The Pomak organizations also aligned with other minority groups in the demands for public education in mother tongue languages, arguing that the only way years of assimilation towards the Pomaks could be reversed is through mother tongue education.[714]

Since there are only a few Molokan families left in Kars, which is located in eastern Turkey, civil society organizations are really scarce. There was only one Molokan association, the World's Molokans Friendship Association established in 2008 in Kars by a Molokan activist. In comparison, the Africans have only one association, the Association for Africans' Culture, Solidarity and Assistance (Afro-Turk Association) in Balikesir.[715] The majority of the African population lives in the Aegean region and a small population lives in the Marmara region.[716] However, there is no research on population numbers in relation to or the African minority in general particularly with regard to the number of the second or third generation with either an African father or an African mother and therefore the total population numbers cannot be accounted for.[717] Despite these, Africans in Turkey became more visible, especially in the recent years, mostly due to the efforts of the Afro-Turk Association. The Afro-Turk association implemented an oral history project in collaboration with the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly funded by the European Commission along with two other projects funded by the Global Dialogue Foundation and the Open Society Foundation.[718] These projects are mainly on the

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[713] Telephone interview with Mehmet Demir.
[714] Ibid; Press release by Eskisehir Pomak Culture Association on 23.02.2013 "Pomak dili olmesin, yasasin ana dilimiz" (Pomak language shall not die, long live our language), downloaded from http://www.birgun.net/forum_index.php?news_code=1361610834&year=2013&month=02&day=23.
[715] Telephone interview with Mustafa Olpak, head of the Association for Africans' Culture, Solidarity and Assistance, on 08.12.2012.
[716] Ibid.
[717] Ibid.
[718] Ibid.

problems of the African minority in Turkey and discrimination as well as an in-depth demographic study.[719]

As discussed previously, the only minorities officially recognized by the Turkish state are the Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Armenian minority groups. Therefore, these non-Muslim minority groups were granted certain rights, including maintaining or reopening their own minority foundations that were established during the Ottoman Empire.[720] Yet, other non-Muslim minority groups such as the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Bulgarians, Georgians, and Latin Catholics were denied of this right and their properties were seized.[721] As for the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Armenian foundations, they could register property until 1974. However, upon a decision by the High Court of Appeal in 1974, the property obtained by these minority foundations through acquisition, donations, or inheritance were either returned to their previous owners or were seized by the Treasury.[722] This was only reversed with the Foundations Law passed in 2003. As a result, some of the property that initially belonged to these groups was returned yet most of the cases are still pending before the Foundations Department or the ECtHR.[723] Given this, the civil society organizations representing these non-Muslim minority groups are mostly the minority foundations that were established in the 1920s and were re-opened after 2003 after the adoption of the EU harmonization reforms. However, these minority foundations were only able to obtain foreign funding or open branches after the Foundations Law that was adopted in 2008.[724] Therefore, prior to 2008, it was not possible for minority foundations to get EU funding at all. In addition to this, there is a Greek Orthodox

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[719] Ibid.
[720] Oran 2007a, 38-39.
[721] Ibid, 35-36.
[722] Ibid, 39-40.
[723] The Constantinopolitan Society. 2012. "The Greek Minority in Turkey", *2012 Human Dimension Implementation Meeting,* Working Session 12, 2.
[724] Law No. 5737 of 20 February 2008, Resmi Gazete (R.G.) (Official Gazette of Turkey), 27 February 2008, No. 26800.

Minority Foundations Association (RUMVADER) that works on the problems of the minority foundations and the Greek Orthodox minority. In a similar manner, the Armenians have only one association working on the Armenian minority, which is called the Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association. The Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association organizes panels and workshops along with language courses and oral history projects. There are also other smaller Armenian associations located in eastern and south eastern cities such as the Dersim or Malatya Armenians Association. The Jewish civil society organizations are confined to the religious minority foundations; however, apart from these they are represented through minority presidents.

The Assyrians on the other hand are far more organized when compared with the other non-Muslim minority groups. Given that Assyrians historically resided in the southeast, their organizations are mostly established in these cities. There are three Assyrian associations in Mardin, one association in Sirnak and finally one association in Istanbul. There is also an Assyrian Associations federation based in Mardin. Apart from these, there are also township or village organizations representing the Assyrian minority; however, they merely act as solidarity and beneficiary associations. There is also the Midyat Assyrian Churches Foundation and the minority foundations such as Dayrulzaferan Monastery Foundation, Mor Gabriel Monastery Foundation, and Idil Assyrian Ancient Foundation. Regarding the Chaldeans, there is only one Chaldean Foundation based in Mardin, which is the Mardin Chaldean Foundation and there is an Assyrian-Chaldean Solidarity Association that mainly works on asylum issues and the problems of the Chaldean or Assyrian refugees from Iraq and Syria, among others. As the population of the Bulgarian Orthodox minority is really scarce, Bulgarians have only one minority foundation based in Istanbul, the Bulgarian Exarchate Foundation. The Latin Catholics have churches in Adana, Antakya, Samsun, Tarsus, Mersin, Trabzon, and

Iskenderun, yet there are only a few Latin Catholic minority foundations. In spite of their smaller numbers, the Latin Catholics recently announced their demands from the new constitution specifically highlighting the need for legal recognition.[725] Finally, there is only one Georgian Catholic Foundation based in Istanbul representing a small population of around 200 people.[726]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Ezidis are a rural population mostly residing in southeast Anatolia. There are only a few Ezidi families left,[727] and most of them only speak Kurdish. They have only one civil society organization, the Besiri Ezidi Association, which is based in Batman.[728] However, it mostly acts as a solidarity association. As the Ezidis of Turkey mostly immigrated to Western European countries, they have highly organized diaspora organizations, which keep close relations with the Ezidis in Turkey.[729] The Ezidis also have belief representatives that conduct relations, especially with the local administrators as in the case of the Diyarbakir Ezidi Belief Representative.[730] Finally, the Protestants have one foundation, the Istanbul Protestant Church Foundation and three associations, the Protestant Churches Association, Izmir Protestant Church Association, and the Diyarbakir Protestant Association.

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[725] "Latin Katolikler Anayasal Taninma Istedi" (The Latin Catholics ask for Constitutional Recognition), *T24 Independent Online Newspaper*, http://t24.com.tr/haber/latin-katolik-kilisesi-anayasal-taninma-istedi/201752.

[726] Sule Toktas and Bulent Aras. 2009. "The EU and Minority Rights in Turkey", *Political Science Quarterly* 124(4): 701.

[727] There are extremely conflicting numbers regarding the population of Ezidis, however according to the Ezidi Belief Representative interviewed during the fieldwork in Diyarbakir on 13.01.2012, the total number is between 350-400. Despite this, there are some scholars who argue that the numbers are around 5000, see Toktas and Aras, 701.

[728] Information on Besiri Ezidi Association can only be obtained through internet search on the organization. The association does not have a website. See "Yezidilerin Buruk Bayramı" (The Bittersweet Feast of the Ezidis), *Radikal Daily Newspaper,* 20.12.2008, the article can be downloaded from http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/yezidilerin_buruk_bayrami-913562.

[729] Personal interview with Diyarbakir Ezidi Belief Representative on 13.01.2012, in Diyarbakir.

[730] Ibid.

In addition to these minority organizations, there are a number of other associations and foundations that work on minority issues. These organizations are comparatively larger institutions with greater financial capacities, as well as human resources and are mostly based in major cities including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Diyarbakir. The areas of concentration range from democratization, rule of law, and human rights to specific minority groups, and their problems including the Kurds or the Roma. There are also business organizations such as the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) and the Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD). TUSIAD has only one representation in Ankara and its main office is in Istanbul, whereas MUSIAD has 37 branch offices around Turkey. Both organizations were established in the 1990s; however, MUSIAD stands closer to the AKP government when compared with TUSIAD.[731] TUSIAD has been a strong supporter of Turkey's EU accession and democratization process, and published several declarations and reports pertaining to these issues.[732] Even though MUSIAD is less active on issues pertaining to Turkey's democratization and the human rights problems, it has occasionally published reports on the democratization reforms in Turkey since the 2000s.[733] Most recently, MUSIAD announced a report that includes recommendations for the new constitution.[734] Given that the minority problem is a highly contested issue in Turkey, not only civil society organizations such as associations or foundations, but also organizations including unions, professional organizations, bars, and even chambers publish declarations, organize press conferences, or act as pressure groups at times when necessary. Most of all, such organizations located in the eastern and southeastern Turkey, where the Kurdish issue is a pressing concern, act as advocacy groups often issuing statements related to the problems of

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[731] Dilek Yankaya. 2009. "The Europeanization of MUSIAD: Political Opportunism, Economic Europeanization, Islamic Euroscepticism", *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 9: 5.
[732] Ziya Onis and Umut Turem. 2002. "Entrepreneurs, Democracy and Citizenship in Turkey", *Comparative Politics* 34(4): 439-442.
[733] Yankaya, 4-5.
[734] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Dündar, head of MUSIAD Mardin Branch on 14.01.2012 in Mardin.

the Kurdish minority. To give an example, Egitim-sen published several reports on public education in mother-tongue languages whereas the Diyarbakir branch of the Turkish Medical Association (TTB) published a dictionary of medical terms in Kurdish and organized training for health services in Kurdish.[735] In addition to these, throughout the years, the TTB often made declarations in relation to the Kurdish issue.[736] Yet, the different branches of Unions or professional organizations generally show significant segregation pertaining to the minority issue most of the time and are unable to reach a common ground especially on sensitive issues such as the Kurdish question or linguistic rights.

5.4 Patterns of Organization of Minority Groups

The minority organizations examined in this thesis show varying patterns of association and organization. These fluctuations among the civil society organizations representing different minority groups and the civil society organizations located in different cities representing the same minority group can be tied to a number of factors including population levels, location, number of organizations established, availability of resources and the type of minority group that they represent. In turn, these factors also affect the patterns regarding the formation, links and influence of the minority organizations. For example, while some minority groups predominantly set up civil society organizations in one city, other groups have several organizations scattered across Turkey. Additionally, the structure of the civil society organization has an impact on the links and influence of that particular organization and the minority group that it represents. Moreover, the resources available for that minority group and

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[735] The Turkish Medical Association organized the 1st Mesopotamia Medicine Days in 2009 with the intent to form a common medicine literature in Kurdish, over 300 Kurdish medical professionals participated. Following this in March 2009, the first Kurdish Medical Handbook was published and distributed by the Diyarbakir Medical Association. See "Doktorlara Kurtce Kilavuz Kitabi" (Kurdish Handbook for Doctors), *Radikal Daily Newspaper,* 21.03.2009, the article can be downloaded from http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/doktorlara_kurtce_kilavuz_kitabi-927312.
[736] More information on the press releases issued by the Diyarbakir Medical Association can be accessed at http://www.dbto.org/Aciklama.aspx.

the civil society organizations established by that group affect their relations with other actors, political or civil society, in Turkey and abroad. The number of the civil society organizations established by these minority groups, as revealed by the data, is not directly related to the population of the minority group that they represent but rather a number of factors including the availability of other means of representation. Location is also another significant variable as it leads to variation in the behavior of the civil society organizations. Finally, the activities organized by the civil society organizations and the aspirations of the minority group that they represent constitute important factors for the increased political efficacy of that minority group.

To start with, while population is an important factor for establishing high numbers of civil society organizations as in the case of Roma and Alevis, the number of organizations established by a minority group is still contingent on the availability of other means of representation and the perception of the civil society by that particular minority group. The Alevis establish civil society organizations in Turkey also as belief organizations because they are not allowed to open Cem houses. Therefore, the civil society organizations actually serve as a place where they can carry out religious practices. In this case, the civil society organizations are established in every city where there is an Alevi population even though they do not carry out any activities or engage into dialogue with other civil society organizations or political actors. The Roma on the other hand, establish civil society organizations in the form of solidarity and township associations. This is mainly related to the demographics of the Roma minority as they are the most underdeveloped group in Turkey. Therefore, most of the time the members of the Roma minority apply to local administrators for social aid and benefits. According to the head of the Roma association in Adana, it is easier to apply for benefits and establish relations with local administrators, whether governorships or municipalities, through civil society organizations since these organizations have formal channels to contact these

administrators. On the other hand, Kurds have several possibilities of representation. They have seats in the national Parliament and the pro-Kurdish party also holds several municipalities in the Kurdish region. This provides them with the opportunity to voice their demands and contact European officials also through formal and official channels at the political level. Therefore, even though their population numbers are the highest, Kurds do not have several organizations established.

The variation in the behavior of the minority civil society organizations can also be related to location. As some of the organizations are scattered across Turkey with branches in different cities, they do not always show uniformity in terms of their views and activities. This is most evident in the case of Alevis and national civil society organizations such as EGITIM-SEN. The Alevi organizations in the western cities only act as advocacy organizations concentrating on the discrimination faced by the Alevis in general, whereas the Alevi organizations in the eastern cities also focus on the Kurdish issue and the human rights violations in the region among the problems of their community. Similarly, EGITIM-SEN which is a union with branches in almost every city in Turkey, may carry out activities targeting different issues depending on the location. While the branches in the eastern cities focus on public education in minority languages, the branches in the western cities do not work on this issue and in fact, some of these may totally reject the idea of public education in different languages.[737]

Finally, the organizations established by the minority groups can also affect their relations with other political and civil society actors, domestic and international. For example, the Roma lack the financial resources most of the time to conduct activities at the national and international level confining them to act as local organizations. Therefore, the activities organized by these minority groups only have a local influence compared to other groups such as the Caucasians

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[737] Personal interview with the Secretary of EGITIM-SEN in Adana.

who are able to carry out activities at the national and international level. In turn, the Caucasian organizations are able to participate in meetings with national political actors and EU representatives at various occasions. In conclusion, the variation in the associational structures of the civil society organizations representing the minority groups in Turkey are not directly related to a single factor but a multiplicity of factors. Some of these also impede their ability to establish relations with European organizations such as financial capacities, whereas others may facilitate their engagement with the EU as they consider the EU as a source of legitimacy and credibility as well as the only platform where they can voice their demands.

5.5   Conclusion

This chapter tried to discuss and evaluate the civil society organizations, minority groups and the legislation in Turkey as well as the types of EU funding and relations between the EU and non-state actors in Turkey. In this sense, it was highlighted throughout the chapter that the civil society organizations in Turkey developed at a very fast pace after 1999. Coupled with the increased pre-accession financial instruments and the enhanced level of dialogue between the European representatives and the non-state actors from Turkey, the EU acquired an indirect anchor status in Turkey for the democratization process and the protection and promotion of minority rights. In light of the assessment of civil society and minority groups in Turkey, the following chapter will present the findings of the fieldwork and the position on the ground. The chapter will present an evaluation of the interviews with the non-state actors and the comparison of these findings among different minority groups as well as the assessment of the different variables and their impacts on the empowerment of different civil society organizations in Turkey.

Chapter 6

Civil Society Mobilization: Position on the Ground

Following Turkey's recognition as a candidate country by the EU in 2004 as mentioned in the previous chapter, the legislation that governs the civil society organizations was altered considerably so that these organizations could establish international linkages and obtain funding from foreign donors. The adopted reforms were particularly significant for the minority groups in Turkey. As it was previously forbidden to argue that minorities exist in Turkey, the groups that were analyzed as part of this thesis were only allowed to establish their own civil society organizations only after the adoption of these reforms into domestic legislation. In this regard, not only were they able to establish their own organizations with a specific reference to a minority group, but also they were able to use, teach, publish, and broadcast in minority languages. To give an example, prior to the reform packages adopted by the AKP government after 2002, the Roma associations in Turkey could only be established as township associations.[738] However, after the elimination of the ban on the establishment of minority organizations, associations were founded with the word "Roma" in their title. Similarly, many of the minority organizations surveyed as part of this thesis, indicated that their statutes include their aim to protect and preserve the culture, language, and traditions of the minority group they represented, which they were not able to do previously.

Despite these positive developments, the legislation in Turkey concerning the freedom of association does not comply with European standards completely. Even though Turkey ratified

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[738] Telephone interview with Semih Makaraci, the head of the Istanbul Roma Associations Federation on 20.04.2012.

a number of international human rights treaties, the minority organizations in Turkey still face state-led pressure through police surveillance, detainment, random arrest, and closure on the grounds that they pursue activities that threaten the indivisible unity of the Turkish state.[739] In addition to these, the continuing denial of the existence of minority groups by the Turkish state other than the three officially acknowledged non-Muslim groups considerably endangers the efforts of these minority groups. In addition to these, some minority groups have notably poor relations with the government and state institutions whereas comparatively others have closer relations.[740] Given this, the empowerment of these minority groups becomes especially significant as it provides them with the opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes by holding mutual meetings with government officials. The aim of this second empirical chapter is to provide an exposition of the quantitative and the qualitative analysis undertaken for this thesis in order to present the results pertaining to the impact of the Europeanization process on the minority civil society organizations in Turkey, their empowerment levels measured through the level of dialogue and interaction with EU representatives, their attitudes towards the EU, the type and amount of funding they obtain, the type of projects they implement, and their relations with the government and local administrators, and to offer basic data on the types, size, and capacities of the minority organizations. The results provided in this chapter are drawn from face-to-face interviews with minority non-state actors as well as electronic and telephone surveys completed by 106 civil society organizations around Turkey that represent the 23 different minority groups included in this thesis.

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[739] Nurcan Kaya. 2011. "Freedom of Association of Groups Defending Minority Rights in Turkey", *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network:* 3-7.

[740] The surveys and interviews revealed that whereas some groups including the Alevis or Kurds have almost no relations with the national administrators, others including the Arabs or the Roma have close relations. Personal interview with Kemal Celik, the head of the Adana Alevi Culture Association and the General Secretary of the Alevi Bektasi Federation on 18.07.2011 in Adana; Telephone interview with Sukru Kirboga, the head of the Arab Association on 08.05.2012; Telephone interview with Zana Farqini, the head of the Istanbul Kurdish Institute on 20.08.2012; Telephone interview with Erdinc Cekic, the head of the Edirne Roma Associations Federation on 25.06.2012.

6.1 Minority Civil Society Organizations and Europeanization

In order to evaluate whether the Europeanization process led to an increased civil society mobilization in Turkey, five research questions are constructed. These research questions are derived from the theoretical literature on the Europeanization of candidate states and the emergence of partnerships between the EU, the national government, and civil society organizations. The empirical model does not measure the direct participation of civil society organizations in decision-making processes but rather concentrates on the impact of Europeanization on civil society actors in general and the variation in their political efficacy levels. Therefore, the analysis looks into the soft power of the EU in terms of cultivating interaction between European and civil society actors arguing that the EU accession process may increase the mobilization capacities of minority civil society organizations.[741] Another indicator of the transformative power of the EU is the empowerment of civil society actors and their ability to form partnerships with European organizations by bypassing the state and engage in an interactive process at the domestic level induced by their interaction with the EU.

Given these, the empirical analysis provided in this chapter will combine the approach that looks into the EU's impact on the civil society actors in terms of capacity-building and the ability of these organizations to connect with financial and political networks at EU level. As a result, the main indicator of increased civil society activism in Turkey becomes the extent of actor involvement beyond state and formal institutions, and in turn the changes in the distribution of the political resources as a result of the EU accession process. In other words,

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[741] Adam Fagan. 2010. *Europe's Balkan Dilemma: Paths to Civil Society or State-Building?,* London: I.B. Tauris, 21.

the empirical model tests for the existence of a bottom-up political steering that occurs through the empowerment of civil society actors so that they can form and engage in partnerships beyond the domestic political arena. The model will argue that such a shift in the availability of resources causes civil society to engage in an interactive process at the domestic level where EU norms are internalized. In this sense, the data reveals that additional emphasis should be placed on the political culture, the state attitudes towards the civil society actors, and the specific features of the civil society actors including the minority group they represent, the local versus national divide, and participation in other international networks.[742] When examining the increased political efficacy of minority groups as triggered by the EU, one of the most important determinants can be the minority-state interaction since a hostile state attitude towards minorities and obstructive national political administrators motivate them to look for political opportunities in other platforms.

Drawing on the conceptual framework of Europeanization and the changes in the political efficacy of civil society organizations as a result of their increased interaction with the EU, the following research questions had been developed:

- How has the engagement with the EU empowered and changed the behavior of minority civil society organizations in Turkey?

- How have minority organizations benefited from the availability of EU resources?

- Which factors explain the differentiated impact of the EU on minority organizations in terms of political efficacy and mobilization?

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[742] Tanja Borzel and Aron Buzogany. 2008. "Handle with care: new modes of governance and accession to the EU", *New Modes of Governance Policy Brief* 13, 1-3.

- What are the effects of other means of influence on the empowerment of the minority groups in Turkey such as the distinction between ethnic/linguistic and religious minorities or the parliamentary representation of some of the groups?

Therefore, the following sections will examine the changes in the behaviour of minority civil society organizations as a result of their interaction with the EU, their use of the financial and political resources that were provided by the EU, other factors that the impact of the EU on these minority organizations is contingent upon and the effects of other means of influence on the empowerment of the minority groups examined. In order to answer these questions, descriptive statistics have been used to present the structure of the minority organizations examined. Additionally, qualitative data have been collected through in-depth interviews to comprehend how engagement with the EU, empowered these civil society organizations through the use of the political and financial resources, international and European networks and changed their political presence and participation in decision-making processes.

6.2 Research Findings

This study has focused on a sample of minority organizations and other civil society organizations that work or focus on the minority issue in general. These include research institutes, think tanks, foundations, and associations that work on issues relevant to the problems of minority groups, such as the internal displacement, land-mine problems in the Kurdish region, the mother-tongue language issue, which is prevalent for almost all minority groups, the property issue for the non-Muslim minority groups, the freedom of religion, which is particularly significant for the Alevis, or the social problems and the discrimination faced by the Roma. Given these, the surveys conducted with these organizations were collected through personal or telephone interviews as most of the organizations found completing electronic surveys difficult or simply declined to answer anything online. In addition to these, most of the

minority organizations were reluctant to complete the surveys given their fears towards prosecution. The Kurdish civil society organizations were especially hesitant in this sense due to the heightened number of arrests of Kurdish activists during the time of the fieldwork.[743] In addition to these, some organizations rejected to participate in the study on the grounds that they did not want to participate in an academic research conducted by a Turkish scholar or a study that favors the EU. In a similar manner, some non-Muslim foundations and associations did not want to participate as they were branch organizations and were not allowed to act independent from their head offices.[744] On another note, most of the Alevi branch organizations do not operate as a civil society organization, but call themselves a belief organization even though officially they are registered as associations. Finally, the level of civil society organizations were extremely low in the Eastern Anatolia region and even the organizations that represent the minority groups, such as the Armenians in Dersim (Tunceli), were registered in bigger cities such as Istanbul. Apart from that, the only minority organizations in Eastern Anatolia were those that belonged to the Kurdish and Alevi minorities along with human rights organizations; however, most of these were unreachable as they were registered with the Directorate of Associations but did not have any office and were merely represented by individuals. As most of the Circassian, Georgian, Abkhazian, and Ossetian organizations still identify themselves as Caucasian organizations, these groups were categorized under one label, Caucasian. To be more specific, among the surveyed there is only one Ossetian organization, and there is only one Georgian association called the Georgian Cultural Center Association, which is one of the most active among the three Georgian associations. In addition to these, there are a number of Georgian initiatives; however, none of these organized activities or implemented projects before or at the time of the field study. Among the surveyed, there are

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[743] During the fieldwork over 10.000 Kurdish politicians, mayors, activists and civil society organizations' representatives were imprisoned approximately 6000 waiting for trial. Personal interview with Selahattin Demirtas, Member of Parliament, BDP and Head of BDP in Mersin on 16.06.2012.

[744] Email correspondence with Salih Kurtbas from Eskisehir Protestant Church Foundation on 28.09.2011.

two Abkhazian associations and an Abkhazian federation. Finally, there were three Circassian

organizations surveyed. The official names of the surveyed organizations included the word

'Caucasian'.

Table 8. Minority Groups Represented by the Organizations in the Sample

Minority Group	Frequency	Percent
Kurdish	13	12.3
Greek Orthodox	2	1.9
Arab	1	0.9
Laz	4	3.8
Hamshen	1	0.9
Pomak	5	4.7
Mhelmi	2	1.9
Jewish	2	1.9
Alevi	15	14.2
Other	16	15.1
Latin Catholic	1	0.9
Roma	15	14.2
Caucasian	16	15.1
African	1	0.9
Assyrian	5	4.7
Protestant	3	2.8
Armenian	4	3.8
Total	106	100.0

Since most of the government institutions and main offices of international organizations and European institutions are located in Istanbul and Ankara, the civil society organizations included in the study sample were mostly based in these cities (Table 2). The highest number of the minority organizations included in the sample were located in the Marmara region, followed by southeastern Anatolia where Diyarbakir is located, and thirdly Central Anatolia, where Ankara is located. The lowest number of organizations included in the sample, were from the Black sea region given that the only minority groups in the Black Sea region are small populations of Caucasian, Laz, and Hamshen groups. The third highest number of organizations in the sample are located within the Mediterranean region; however, these organizations are particularly located in eastern Mediterranean cities, such as Adana, Mersin, and Antakya, where there are a number of minority groups including the Armenian, Greek Orthodox, Nusayri, Jewish, Arab, Alevi, Latin Catholic, Kurdish, Roma, and Circassians.

Table 9.   Regional distribution of minority organizations in the sample

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Marmara	42	39.6	39.6
Black Sea	3	2.8	42.5
Aegean	8	7.5	50.0
Southeastern Anatolia	21	19.8	69.8
Mediterranean	15	14.2	84.0
Central Anatolia	17	16.0	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

The total sample of 106 civil society organizations consists of 66 associations, 19 foundations, 6 minority foundations, 8 federations, 3 Unions, and 4 other types of civil society organizations, including platforms, initiatives, and movements (Table 3).

Table 10.   Type of organization

How would you classify your organization?	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percentage
Association	66	62.3	62.3
Foundation	19	17.9	80.2
Religious Minority Foundation	6	5.7	85.8
Federation	8	7.5	93.4
Union	3	2.8	96.2
Other (Platform, Initiative, Movement)	4	3.8	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

Given this, 84.9% of the organizations surveyed reported that they work on human rights or minority rights issues, whereas 52.8% identified themselves as a solidarity and assistance organization. In a similar manner, 65.1% of the organizations surveyed claimed that they work on cultural issues (Table 4). On the contrary, only 13.2% of the organizations reported as working for gender equality and 14.2% on foreign policy. Finally, 42.5% of those organizations surveyed claimed that they organize educational activities. Given the negative perception of the word 'minority' in Turkey, most of the organizations prefer to identify themselves as working on human rights or culture, even though their activities are mostly relevant to minority rights.[745] Their main objective is to promote and preserve the culture and identity of the

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[745] When the organizations were asked if they worked on minority issues, some of the interviewees insisted that they were not minorities but instead autochton groups residing in Anatolia.

minority group they represent; therefore, they mostly categorize themselves as working on culture while refraining from using the term 'minority'. In addition to this, a high number of organizations reported that they work on educational issues on the grounds that they arrange language courses or implement projects on mother tongue education. Finally, almost all of the Caucasian organizations reported working on foreign policy as they consider themselves as diaspora groups and try to foster the relations between their kin states in Caucasia.

Table 11.   **Concentration areas**

Concentration Area*	Frequency	Percent
Foreign Policy	15	14.2
Education	45	42.5
Gender Equality	14	13.2
Culture	69	65.1
Solidarity and Assistance	56	52.8
Human Rights or Minority Rights	90	84.9
Total	106	

The participants were asked to select the areas they work on, and they were told that they could select more than one answer

The surveys revealed that most of the organizations were not highly professionalized in terms of financial capacity, human resources, and the funding they receive (Table 5). The data showed that 50% of the surveyed organizations did not have any full-time, professional, or paid staff at all whereas 34% had less than five professional staff. In addition, only 8.5% of all the organizations in the sample reported having more than 10 full-time paid professional staff.

Even though most of the organizations did not have more than 5 full-time paid staff—16% in total—the number of volunteers was considerably higher for most of these organizations (Table 6). In fact, 46.2% of all organizations reported that they have between 10 and 50 volunteers actively working for their organization. Interestingly, 21.7% indicated that they have more than 100 volunteers. These were mostly Alevi, Roma, or Caucasian organizations located in cities where population numbers were high. To give an example, the head of the Mersin Alevi Culture Association stated that the total number of Alevis living in Mersin is around 300,000, and their association had around 6,000 members and among these around 500 were active.[746] When those organizations with lower capacities implement projects, they hire external professional staff that have the capability and the experience to carry out a project while volunteers support the project coordinator for the tasks and activities related to the project.[747]

Table 12.   Number of professional staff

How many people work for the organization full-time?	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	53	50.0	50.0
less than 5	36	34.0	84.0
between 5 and 10	8	7.5	91.5
more than 10	2	1.9	93.4
more than 20	7	6.6	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

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[746] Interview with the head of the Mersin Alevi Culture Association, on 16.06.2012.
[747] To give an example, the EU projects coordinator for the Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation was also the EU projects coordinator for the Alevi Culture Association and the Alevi Foundations Federation in the following year.

Table 13.   Number of volunteers

How many people volunteer for your organization?	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 10	25	23.6	23.6
between 10 and 50	49	46.2	69.8
between 50 and 100	9	8.5	78.3
more than 100	23	21.7	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

Regarding financial capacities, it was discovered that the sources of funding ranged between national government grants, individual donations and member fees, EU grants, and finally other types of international grants, including those provided by international donor organizations, foreign consulates and embassies, and the international intergovernmental organizations. Among the other types of international donors, it was discovered that the Global Dialogue Foundation in London and the Matra-Kap program of the Netherlands Foreign Affairs Ministry were the two most frequent donors among minority organizations.[748] In addition to that, other international donors included the UN, the Open Society Foundation, Olof Palme Center, German Foundations, such as Friedrich Ebert Stiftung located in Istanbul, and the World Bank.[749] Minority organizations have annual budgets ranging between 10.000 Turkish Liras (TL), approximately €4,000 and more than TL100,000, which is around €40,000 (Table 7). Some foundations reported their annual budgets as high as €400.000; however, most of the minority organizations have their budgets clustered between €20.000 and €100.000. As

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[748] Not only those organizations located in Istanbul with higher financial capacities but also smaller organizations such as the Africans Solidarity and Assistance Association or the Hatay Dom Association were also recipients of funding from Global Dialogue Foundation and the Matra-Kap program. Telephone interview with Mustafa Olpak, Africans Solidarity and Assistance Association; Telephone interview with Hatay Dom Association.

[749] Electronic surveys completed by TESEV, Mardin Mhelmi Association, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Hrant Dink Foundation.

shown in Table 7, 67% of the organizations surveyed reported their annual budgets as less than €40.000.

Table 14.   Annual Budgets of Minority Organizations

What is your organization's annual budget?	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 10.000 TL	24	22.6	22.6
Between 10.000 and 50.000 TL	30	28.3	50.9
Between 50.000 and 100.000 TL	17	16.0	67.0
More than 100.000 TL	35	33.0	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

Table 15.   Funding Sources of Minority Organization

Which of the funds given below did your organization receive?	Frequency	Percent
EU grants	40	37.7
National government grants	11	10.4
Individual donations and member fees	90	84.9
Other international funds	38	35.8
Total	104	

Given these, the total percentage of those that obtain funding from international donors, including the EU, totals 73.5%, whereas 84.9% of the organizations included in the sample also reported individual donations and member fees as their main sources of funding (Table 8). Member fees are especially relevant for those minority organizations with high numbers of members such as the Alevis. It is also valid for 49% of these organizations, which reported that they rely solely on individual donations and member fees and among these 26.9% reported that

they were branch organizations whereas 73.1% of these reported that they were established in smaller cities other than Istanbul or Ankara.

Empowerment of Minority Organizations in the post-Helsinki period:

A series of observations can be drawn from the data in relation to the empowerment and changes in the behaviour of minority organizations in the post-Helsinki period and their use of the EU resources provided to them. As mentioned in the preceding chapters, prior to the adoption of the reform packages, particularly the laws on the elimination of the ban on establishing minority organizations and the ban on foreign correspondences, the minority civil society organizations could not participate in European and international networks. Also, they could not obtain foreign funding without prior permissions. In this regard, the increased political efficacy of minority organizations was measured through the level of dialogue between the minority organizations and EU representatives. According to the findings, 28.3% of minority organizations reported that they meet with EU representatives regularly, four times a year or more, 17.0% reported that they meet twice a year, 18.9% reported that they meet once a year, and 20.8% reported that they meet irregularly (Table 11). On the other hand, 15.1% of the minority organizations reported that they do not meet with EU representatives at all. Given these, 64.2% of minority organizations meet with EU representatives at least once a year and 84.9% meet at various levels. The data revealed that the difference between religious and ethnic minorities in terms of their dialogue with EU representatives was not statistically significant.

Table 16.   Level of dialogue with EU representatives

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Regularly	30	28.3	28.3
At least once every 6 months	18	17.0	45.3
At least once a year	20	18.9	64.2
Irregularly	22	20.8	84.9
Not at all	16	15.1	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

In comparison, the percentage of those minority organizations that meet with the government on a regular basis, 22.6% is lower than the percentage of the organizations that meet with the EU representatives regularly (Table 12). Again, it was reported that only 55.7% of the minority organizations surveyed meet with the government representatives at least once a year or more. Such a difference might be explained through the level of dialogue between the government and those minority groups, such as the Kurds who do not have any relationship at all. In fact, it was discovered that 10 Kurdish organizations out of 13, reported that they meet with EU officials regularly, whereas eight out of 13 Kurdish organizations reported that they do not meet with the national government at all. None of the Kurdish organizations reported that they meet with the national government regularly, whereas only three reported that they meet once or twice a year.

Table 17.   Level of dialogue with government representatives

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Regularly	24	22.6	22.6
At least once every 6 months	14	13.2	35.8
At least once a year	21	19.8	55.7
Irregularly	20	18.9	74.5
Not at all	27	25.5	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

Pertaining to the religious minority groups on the other hand, it was reported that 68.8% of religious minority groups meet with the EU representatives regularly, at least once a year or more, whereas only 28.1% reported that they meet with government representatives at least once a year or more. The chi-square test revealed that the difference between religious and ethnic minorities in terms of their relationship with the national government was statistically significant. The $p = .04$ was significant at the .05 level even though it was not a strong association with the phi coefficient value at .25. It was discovered that the relationships between minority organizations and the local administrators were higher than those with the national government. 50% of minority organizations reported that they meet with local administrators regularly, and 84.9% reported that they meet with local administrators at least once a year or more. This can be explained through a number of factors (Table 13).

Table 18.   Level of dialogue with local administrators

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Regularly	53	50.0	50.0
At least once every 6 months	24	22.6	72.6
At least once a year	13	12.3	84.9
Irregularly	7	6.6	91.5
Not at all	9	8.5	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

To start with, the minority organizations in the south east meet with the municipalities that belong to the pro-Kurdish political party much more frequently than those in the western cities. In fact, out of the 21 minority organizations in south-east Turkey that were included in the sample, 20 organizations reported that they meet with local administrators regularly, whereas only 1 reported meeting irregularly and none of the organizations indicated that they do not meet with local administrators. In comparison, out of 21 in the south east, only 8 reported meeting regularly and 4 reported meeting irregularly with the national government, while 9 indicated that they do not meet with the government representatives at all. In addition to this, as civil society organizations are required to register with the local governorships, they inevitably meet with local officials at least once a year or more and this becomes especially significant in smaller cities, where the total number of civil society organizations is considerably lower than those in bigger cities. In fact, it was reported that 45.9% of those minority organizations in smaller cities meet with the national government regularly, whereas 54.1% of minority organizations in Istanbul or Ankara reported meeting with the national government regularly. On the other hand, 81.5% of those organizations in smaller cities

reported meeting with local administrators regularly, while this was 63.5% for those organizations in Istanbul or Ankara.

On the other hand, the data did not yield a significant relationship between the level of empowerment and the location of the civil society organizations; for example, whether the organization is located in Istanbul or Ankara. This is due to the fact that the percentage of those minority organizations that meet with the EU regularly is particularly high in the Kurdish region. However, the results showed that there was a relationship between the empowerment of minority organizations and the relationships with other international organizations. It was reported that 72.9% of those organizations that meet regularly with the EU representatives also participate in other international networks.

In addition to these, there is a significant relationship between the increased mobilization of minority organizations and the number of EU grants received by the organization. The data shows that all minority organizations—33 in total—that received more than one EU grant reported meeting regularly with EU representatives, whereas six out of seven organizations that regularly met with EU representatives received only one EU grant. However, the amount of EU funding received by minority organizations and the type of projects they implement differ. 33 minority organizations out of the 40 that receive EU funding reported that they received short-term grants whereas only 7 reported receiving long-term EU funding. On the other hand, 16 organizations reported receiving EU funding of less than €75.000, whereas 15 reported receiving between €75.000 and €150.000. Finally, only 9 out of 40 minority organizations that receive EU funding reported receiving over €150.000.

Table 19.   Type of EU grants received by the minority organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Short-term (up to 24 months)	33	31.1	31.1
Long-term	7	6.6	37.7
Total	40		

Table 20.   Amount of EU grants received by the minority organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than €75.000	16	15.1	15.1
Between €75.000 and €150.000	15	14.2	29.3
More than €150.000	9	8.5	37.8
Total	40		

Given these, the data revealed that there is a relationship between the amount of EU funding received and the level of empowerment. As the amount of EU funding received by a particular organization increased, the level of dialogue between that organization and the EU increased as well. This is due to a number of factors. First of all, the civil society organizations that receive funding from the EU are obliged to provide interim reports to the EU body they receive the funding from and organize regular meetings to discuss their progress. Additionally, they are compelled to present the outcomes of the project through various publications, reports, conferences and meetings. This provides an opportunity for the civil society organizations to approach EU representatives on an individual level. Secondly, it is more likely for the civil society organizations that have received EU funding previously, to be considered for other funding schemes. Therefore, an organization that has received EU grants in the past, might find

it easier to obtain another grant in the future. Finally, and most importantly, EU grants provide significant capacity building for the minority civil society organizations in Turkey. The grants obtained are not only used to diversify and expand the human resources used by the organization but also the tools and instruments used to disseminate the outcomes of the projects. Therefore, EU grants provide the resources for the civil society organizations to contact the European officials and the networks in Europe more efficiently.

As part of the questionnaire, the minority organizations were asked which of the EU's aims corresponded to the projects they implemented. In return, 42.5% reported strengthening of democratic institutions and the rule of law, 17.5% reported supporting Turkey's EU accession process, 90% replied as improving human rights and minority rights in Turkey whereas 65% reported capacity-building for civil society organizations.

Table 21.   Scope of EU Funding Received

Which of the EU's aims did your project correspond to?*	Frequency	Percent
Improving human rights and minority rights	36	90.0
Supporting Turkey's accession process	7	17.5
Capacity building for civil society	26	65.0
Strengthening of democratic institutions and the rule of law	17	42.5
Total	40	

The participants were told that they could select more than one answer.

Apart from the capacities of the minority organizations, another way to measure the impact of the Europeanization process could be by looking at the attitudes and opinions of the minority

organizations towards EU funding or the EU accession process in general. The data revealed that the vast majority of the minority organizations that received EU funding believed that the EU grant strengthened their institution whereas more than half of them reported that the EU funding helped them form networks with similar organizations at the national or international level. Only one organization reported that the EU grant did not have an impact on their organization; whereas only 4 out of 40 believed that their organization would not have existed without EU funding. Finally, only one organization reported that the EU application process hindered their other projects and none reported that the EU grant had a negative impact on the organization or on their other projects.

Table 22.   Impact of EU Funding

How would you describe the impact that EU funding had on your organization?	Agree
'EU funding has strengthened our institution'	85%
'Applying for EU funding has been a distraction from our work'	2.5%
'EU funding has helped us connect with local and international organizations'	60%
'We would not exist without EU funding'	10%
'EU funding has weakened our organization'	0%
'EU funding has had no impact on our organization'	2.5%

Given this, the levels of dependency for the minority organizations on EU funding are lower than expected. Only 10% reported that they would not have existed without the EU funding pointing to the fact that the minority organizations in Turkey have other ways of funding themselves. In a similar manner, only 7.5% of minority organizations reported that 90% or more of their budget equal to EU grants, whereas 40% claimed that the grants they receive from the EU make up between 50% and 89% of their budget. On the other hand, 52.5% of

minority organizations in Turkey reported that the level of EU funding only correspond to less than 50% of their annual budget.

Table 23.   What percent of your organization's budget is formed by EU funding?

	Frequency	Percent
less than 10%	12	30.0
between 10% and 49%	9	22.5
between 50% and 89%	16	40.0
more than 90%	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0

Given these, the data revealed that most of the minority organizations believed that Turkey's progress in the EU accession process is insufficient. To be more specific 86.8% felt that Turkey did not make sufficient progress in the EU accession negotiation talks; whereas 9.4% believed that it was neither sufficient nor insufficient and only 3.8% found Turkey's progress as sufficient. On the other hand, 61.3% of the minority organizations reported that the civil society in Turkey has an influence over the shaping of domestic policies, whereas 38.7% believed that it was ineffective. The organizations that did not find the civil society in Turkey effective were especially high among the Alevi organizations, which frequently voiced that they could not meet with the government on a regular basis and the government is not abiding by the ECtHR decisions about the Cem houses and that the levels of discrimination did not decrease when compared with the past. In addition to the Alevi organizations, the data revealed that none of the Protestant organizations surveyed and only one Armenian organization reported that the civil society in Turkey had an impact on the reform process.

Table 24.   Do you believe Turkey's progress with respect to the EU accession process is sufficient?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Definitely insufficient	51	48.1	48.1
Insufficient	41	38.7	86.8
Neither sufficient nor insufficient	10	9.4	96.2
Sufficient	4	3.8	100.0
Definitely sufficient	0	0	
Total	106	100.0	

Table 25.   Do you believe that the civil society in Turkey is influential?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	41	38.7	38.7
Yes	65	61.3	100.0
Total	106	100.0	

The data revealed that the majority of the minority civil society organizations believed that the EU's role is significant for the improvement of human rights and democratization in Turkey, whereas the percentage of those who believe that the EU is significant for cultural and linguistic rights is a little lower. According to the findings, 92.5% of the minority organizations believed that the EU's role is important for improving Turkey's human rights record and 94.3% believed that the EU is significant for the continuation of the democratization process. Comparatively, those organizations that felt the EU's presence and the continuation of the EU accession process are significant for the improvement of cultural and linguistic rights is 88.7%.

Table 26.   EU's role in Turkey

I agree that the EU is significant in Turkey for the improvement of	Frequency	Percent
Human rights	98	92.5
Democratization	100	94.3
Cultural and Linguistic Rights	94	88.7

6.3 Analysis: Patterns of Mobilization of Minority Organizations

The data shows that most of the civil society organizations in Turkey prioritize dialogue with EU representatives more than their relations with the national government. This is also evident from the qualitative data demonstrating the significance of the EU process for the minority groups in Turkey. For the EU, the pre-accession period of Turkey in essence signifies cultivating dialogue and partnerships between minority organizations and European officials in the context of the reform process, especially regarding policy development on controversial issues. However, in the context of Turkey and minority organizations, the presence of the EU, or their access to the EU institutions, means fostering the bottom-up Europeanization process and increased political efficacy. In addition, the participation of civil society actors in decision-making processes yields the possibility of minority protection to be carried over beyond the -accession period instead of formal transformation only that is limited to legislation and cannot be translated into practice more often than not.

This thesis seeks to examine the extent to which the Europeanization process in Turkey has contributed to civil society mobilization in the context of minority rights, through their engagement with EU representatives. The intention of this chapter from the perspective of the

data was to investigate the degree to which minority organizations in Turkey have become more active as a result of the EU accession process, to consider the true nature of the relations between the minority civil society organizations, the national and local administrators in Turkey, and the EU representatives, as well as the impact of a number of factors including professional capacities, funding, international relations, size, and location on the changing behaviour of the minority organizations. In addition, the aim was to evaluate whether such a dialogue between minority organizations and the EU representatives could yield an interactive process at the domestic level where these organizations adopt EU norms and standards.

The research revealed that minority organizations in Turkey have become more active, while gaining increased access to international and European platforms and networks in the post-Helsinki period. It was discovered that such a mobilization also increased their presence within national public and political networks. In fact, the quantitative analysis showed that 67.3% of those organizations that are located in Istanbul or Ankara had regular meetings with EU representatives, while 61.1% of those organizations that are not located in large cities, such as Ankara or Istanbul, could still hold regular meetings with EU officials. The difference between the two types of organizations, those that are located in larger cities and those that are not, is around 6%. Similarly, 54.8% of all organizations in the Marmara region, where Istanbul is located, have frequent contacts with EU officials, while 22.1% of the minority organizations in the southeastern region reported conducting regular meetings with the EU representatives. The findings did not contradict the existing studies on all civil society organizations conducted by Icduygu et al. discussed in the preceding chapters.[750] The scope of the minority organizations in terms of local, national, regional, and international divide also did not make a difference as among those minority organizations that reported having regular meetings with

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[750] Icduygu et al., 47.

EU officials, 14.7% described their scope of activities as local, 14.7% as regional, 29.4% as national, and 41.2% as international. Given this, it may be concluded that the dialogue with the EU officials, in other words the increased political efficacy of minority organizations is not only valid for those minority organizations in larger cities conducting activities at the international level but also smaller organizations in other regions that describe themselves as local. To give an example, the head of the Mhelmi organization in Mardin, which is located in south eastern Anatolia, claimed that even though they are only an association established in a Mhelmi village in Mardin, they were able to conduct meetings with European civil society organizations at 16 different cities in Europe, while their association obtained funding from international and European donors.[751] In addition to this, he stated that they were able to conduct these meetings in collaboration with Midyat Assyrian Culture Association, which is also located in Mardin.[752]

The qualitative data revealed that the level of dialogue with EU representatives depended on a number of factors. Even though, the regional divide was not found to be significant in terms of the dialogue with EU representatives, the percentage of those organizations located in other regions than Marmara, South eastern or Central Anatolia was lower. Such a discrepancy could be explained by a number of differences between the different geographical regions. First of all, Marmara and Central Anatolia are the regions where the head offices of most organizations are located. Therefore, the minority groups, such as the Caucasian or Roma that are mostly residents of the western part of Turkey do not conduct regular meetings with European officials directly, but such networks are usually formed by their federations, as in the case of KAFFED or Alevi Bektasi Federation. On another note, some organizations do not allow their branches

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[751] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Aslan.
[752] Personal interview with Yuhanna Aktas.

to apply for international or European funds without the knowledge and permission of the main office.[753] In fact, it was discovered that the only Human Rights Association branch office that could apply for EU funding was the Diyarbakir office.[754] This is due to the magnitude and the urgency of the Kurdish issue and points to how those civil society organizations in Diyarbakir or the southeastern region could be more active than those in other cities and regions. Moreover, the diversity of minority groups living in some regions is much higher than others comparatively. To give an example, the Black Sea region scored the lowest in terms of the dialogue between minority organizations and the EU. The Black Sea region is originally home to Laz, Hamshen, Lom and some Caucasian groups as well as Alevis. However, if we look closely, we discover that the biggest Laz and Hamshen organizations are located in Istanbul, the Marmara region, and Ankara. In fact, there is only one Hamshen association, which is located in Istanbul. In addition to this, as in the case of Laz Culture, Art, and Tourism Association or the Lom Cultural Research and Solidarity Association, both located in Artvin, they were established in the last three years and could not yet implement any projects. Therefore, unlike those organizations in southeast Turkey, where most of them were established in the early 2000s, those organizations in the Black Sea region are comparably new and less institutionalized. However, the data could not reveal the changes in the level of dialogue between the minority organizations and the EU representatives over time. Given this, the qualitative data pointed to a more visible presence of EU officials before 2007 especially in the southeastern region. As Demirtas explains, the Human Rights Association during the early 2000s would meet with around 300 European delegations in one year, whereas after 2007, as the negotiation process slowed down, the frequency of visits also dropped.[755]

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[753] Personal interview with IHD Adana Office.
[754] Personal interview with IHD Diyarbakir Representatives.
[755] Personal interview with Selahattin Demirtas.

The same uniformity in terms of relations with the EU, both at the local and the national level, cannot be held true for the levels of EU funding received by minority organizations. Neither the relationship between regional divide and receiving EU funding was found significant, nor the location, Ankara or Istanbul, makes a difference. In accordance with this, 48.1% of those organizations in Ankara or Istanbul receive EU funding, whereas the numbers are much lower for other cities and regions, 27.8%. This is due to the fact that organizations in the larger cities have greater budgets and more professional staff able to complete the EU project applications, which is highly complicated as indicated by many interviewees. In addition to this, receiving EU grants is also very much dependent on professional capacities of the organization, which is mostly lacking for those organizations in smaller cities or less developed regions. In fact, 50% of all minority organizations surveyed reported that they have no full-time professional paid staff at all, while 34% reported as having less than 5. Only 8.5% of all minority organizations in the sample claimed that they employ more than 10 paid staff and 7.5% between 5 and 10 full-time employees. In addition to this, it was discovered that receiving EU funding has a highly significant impact on the frequency of meetings with EU officials and the minority organization. Therefore, it is inevitable for those organizations in Istanbul or Ankara to have higher levels of dialogue with EU representatives yet the difference is not as high as in the case of EU funding.

Clearly, the Europeanization process in Turkey changed the behaviour of minority organizations in Turkey. In fact, 53.8% of all organizations surveyed were established in the post-Helsinki period. Those organizations established before 1999 include the religious minority foundations, which were established in the 1920s and Alevi and Kurdish organizations, which were established in the 1980s and the 1990s as a reaction to the heightened human rights violations, as well as Caucasian organizations established as solidarity

organizations in the 1990s. However, the professional capacities of the minority organizations are still extremely low. As indicated above, 50% of all organizations do not have any paid staff and 47% rely solely on individual donations and membership fees. In addition to this, the budgets of the organizations are comparably low especially among associations with low membership numbers. In summary, professionalism is limited and the ability of the minority organizations to establish relations with national political actors as a consequence of EU dialogue is arguably lower than expected. The lack of professionalism and the ability to establish relations with the government are mainly due to the approach adopted by the Turkish state towards the minorities and civil society organizations. As explained in the preceding chapters, the Turkish government provides funding and grants for civil society organizations. However, minority organizations are almost always excluded from these processes. In fact, as stated by some of the Kurdish officials, the local governorships implement these projects proposed by the civil society organizations themselves refusing to provide funding for the civil society organizations. In general, this can be tied to the hostile approach of the Turkish state towards the minority groups and civil society organizations. Both are considered by the Turkish state as the enemies of the state when they oppose or criticize state practices. Therefore, given the scarcity of the national grants available to them, the minority organizations feel compelled to apply for international grants. The problem encountered with regard to international grants is the lengthy application process and the lack of staff that will be able to complete EU project applications and implement the project itself. In light of these, the civil society organizations ask for membership fees to cover their basic expenses.

Furthermore, in terms of dialogue with the EU and building partnerships, there are differences among the different minority groups. Even though the differences in terms of dialogue with EU representatives among different minority groups is not significant, the differences among

minority groups in terms of their relations with national administrators is found to vary significantly. Nevertheless, the qualitative data reveals that the relations with EU representatives is higher for those organizations with more professional capacities and lower for those with less resources, whereas the relationship with the state has an impact on the dialogue with national government. To give an example, few of the Alevi organizations reported having regular meetings with the government, whereas Roma organizations claimed that they have more frequent contacts with both national and local administrators than their European or international counterparts. In addition, the Roma organizations organized under three different platforms, which have frequent contacts at the governmental level while the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of European Affairs, organize meetings and training seminars with the Roma civil society organizations for the 2013 EU grants scheme designed specifically for Roma organizations. In addition to these, the relationship between the concentration areas of minority organizations and the EU dialogue was found to have a noteworthy impact on their level of dialogue with EU representatives. However, none of the areas of concentration are individually important in terms of the relationship with the level of dialogue with EU representatives.

Undoubtedly, the EU is important for the minority organizations in Turkey as it is regarded as a platform for voicing demands and raising awareness on their problems. However, at the same time attention should be paid to the role of other international actors, such as the OSCE, the CoE, the ECtHR, and the UN. In particular, the CoE and the ECtHR are viewed as a means to overcome the resistant political elites in Turkey and remove the barriers before the adoption of the legislation that is in compliance with EU minority protection criteria. To give an example, the Alevi groups regard the ECtHR highly significant, and frequently express their concern over the Turkish government's reluctance to adopt the ECtHR decisions concerning freedom

of religion and the Cem houses. At the same time, the UN and other international donors such as the Global Dialogue Foundation, the Dutch embassy and the Open Society Foundation, along with the US, UK, Australian, and Swedish consulates and embassies are common providers of grants for civil society organizations. The impact of other international intergovernmental organizations, such as the CoE and the UN, is particularly visible within the reports prepared by the minority organizations with respect to the new constitution. Most of these reports refer to European and international human rights documents and minority rights regulations when outlining their demands from the new government. In terms of their demands, the issue of equal citizenship and non-discrimination comes first, followed by linguistic and cultural rights especially in regard to mother-tongue languages and cultural assimilation. Religious freedoms are also prevalent among the demands of the minority groups in Turkey. As for the religious minorities, the issues of property and the problems especially with respect to establishing Cem houses, churches, and synagogues, is a significant challenge.

Almost all minority groups refer to the preservation of their culture and identify themselves as different from the Turkish majority. However, while doing so they do not classify themselves as minority groups but rather autochton groups, which essentially refers to being native to a particular region. Such a classification is especially evident for groups including Kurds and Alevis. Comparably, the Caucasian groups refer to themselves as diaspora communities and emphasize their relations with their kin states in Caucasia. Yet still, they regard those rights classified as minority rights within international and European documents as part of their fundamental rights and freedoms. This is due to the highly controversial character of the term minority in Turkey. In fact, some of the organizations interviewed were particularly sensitive towards the term 'minority' and declined to answer the questions as the survey mainly targeted minority organizations. In a similar manner, most of the interviewees, especially from ethnic

and linguistic minority groups, underlined their self-identification as an autochtonous group instead of a minority several times during the interview.[756] Given these, the surveyed minority organizations did not find civil society in Turkey as influential as would have been expected. Most of the time, when interviewed, they referred to their problems with national and local administrators and claimed that even though they meet frequently, their impact on the policy development should be questioned. Even those organizations, which contributed to the new Constitution preparation process by conducting face-to-face meetings with the Constitution Preparation Committee at the National Parliament were skeptical about the results. The Kurds and Alevis were particularly more skeptical in that sense; however, since the pro-Kurdish party holds 32 seats in parliament and over 90 municipalities in the southeastern region, the Kurdish organizations reported that they could be more involved in decision-making processes. The main demand that stood out was more involvement in the national decision-making processes, which are more qualified rather than just consultation on specific issues.

Given these, the EU is highly regarded as a means of leverage and pressure on the government by the minority organizations. In addition to these, some groups such as the Assyrian, Ezidi or Alevi regard diaspora organizations in Europe equally important in terms of lobbying. To give an example, the Assyrian Metropolitan Bishop of Mardin and Diyarbakir stated that the diffusion of a European vision started the transformation in Turkey and the establishment of an Assyrian Studies department at Mardin Artuklu University is particularly a reflection of the EU process.[757] In addition to these, the municipalities in the southeastern Turkey, which belong to the pro-Kurdish political party, BDP, are especially involved in European networks and have good relations with other minority groups living in the region.[758] Another problem is the lack

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[756] Such a self-identification was particularly high among Alevi and Kurdish interviewees.
[757] Personal interview with Filiksinos Saliba Ozmen in Mardin on 15.01.2012.
[758] Personal interview with Abdullah Demirbas, mayor of Sur in Diyarbakir; Personal interview with Osman Baydemir, mayor of Diyarbakir on 11.01.2012, in Diyarbakir.

of data on the minority groups; however, the EU process in that sense was significant since it increased the visibility of many groups. The African Association President claims that the projects they implemented through EU and other international funds made them visible in the eyes of the Turkish majority,[759] while the Ezidi belief representative in Diyarbakir claimed that they were now more empowered when compared with the past due to three factors,[760] the EU, their diaspora organizations, and the BDP municipalities. Given these, almost all of these organizations regard Turkey's progress in the EU accession process as insufficient. The president of the Latin Catholic Foundation in Antakya stated that even though the impact of the EU on Turkey is extremely positive, the Turkish government does not give as much importance to the process as it should.[761] In a similar manner, the head of the Circassian Association in Ankara claimed that the EU process was moving very slowly and especially the provisions relating to linguistic rights or human rights are not adopted within the national legislation.[762]

Another prevalent opinion among the minority organizations is that the EU is particularly significant for Turkey's democratization as it acts as a source of leverage. To give an example, the head of the Democratic Circassians Platform claims that Turkey becomes more democratized during periods when the government prioritizes the relations with the EU.[763] In addition, as stated by the representative of the TIHV in Diyarbakir, the civil society acts as a bottom-up mechanism for pushing the government to implement the necessary reforms, whereas the EU helps civil society organizations in Turkey to preserve their independence and sustainability.[764] In fact, as the MUSIAD representative in Mardin argued, until the EU process

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[759] Telephone interview with Mustafa Olpak.
[760] Personal interview with Diyarbakir Ezidi Belief Representative.
[761] Interview with the President of the Antakya Latin Catholic Foundation, Eli Basari 05.11.2011.
[762] Interview with the head of the Circassian Association in Ankara on 26.02.2012.
[763] Telephone interview with Sezai Babakus.
[764] Personal interview with IHD Diyarbakir Office.

started, the changes in Turkey had a top-down character; however, more recently the reforms are catalyzed through the initiatives at the domestic level.[765] In a similar manner, the head of Mazlumder in Ankara claims that transformation in terms of human rights can only be achieved if the civil society organizations push for it and the government is almost always reluctant to act on its own.[766] The EU process is, therefore, important since it is another means for civil society organizations to push for change. Another example of the increased mobilization of minority groups in Turkey is related to the BDP municipalities. Abdullah Demirbas, the BDP mayor of Sur in Diyarbakir puts it, the BDP municipalities in Turkey adopted some of the EU standards concerning minority rights although the national government does not do anything about it, and even though they do not have the jurisdiction to implement such practices.[767] To give an example, the Sur Municipality and the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality both provide multilingual public services in Kurdish, Armenian, Assyrian, and Turkish. In that sense, as the DISK representative in Diyarbakir claims, Kurdish local administrations attained more progress in terms of EU reforms when compared with their Turkish counterparts or even the Turkish national government.[768] In addition, the Sur Municipality organizes Kurdish and Armenian language courses, restored the Chaldean church and opened up an Alevi Cem house and Ezidi house for practicing their religion and for organizing social gatherings through the EU funding obtained by the municipality. Given this, as stated by the mayor of Diyarbakir Osman Baydemir, the EU not only changed the domestic legislation in Turkey, but also contributed to changes in perceptions and ideas.[769] In addition, the EU accession process helped both the civil society organizations and the municipalities, such as those owned by BDP for

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[765] Personal interview with Mehmet Ali Dundar.
[766] Interview with Mazlumder Ankara Office on 27.02.2012.
[767] Personal interview with Abdullah Demirbas.
[768] Personal interview with DISK Diyarbakir representative 12.01.2012 in Diyarbakir.
[769] Personal interview with Osman Baydemir.

capacity building as otherwise none of these municipalities would have been able to obtain funding for their projects concerning minorities from the central government.

In light of the data collected, it was revealed that the EU had a differentiated impact on minority organizations in Turkey in terms of political efficacy and mobilization. Such differentiated levels of empowerment can result from a number of other factors: the level of interaction and the nature of the relationship with national and local political actors, how the organizations are established and access resources, the extent to which these organizations are connected to national and international networks, the population of the minority group, the region where the minority groups is mainly settled, how these minority groups are able to represent themselves in other national and international platforms as well as their attitudes towards enlargement and the EU. To start with, the data has shown that some of the minority organizations had almost non-existent relations with the national actors whereas their dialogue with the local political actors were significant. This is mostly relevant for southeastern region where most of the municipalities are held by the pro-Kurdish party. As stated by the head of the Alevi organization and the Ezidi representative in Diyarbakir, even though these organizations try to establish dialogue with the national political actors, their demands to have official contacts with the government are rejected.[770] On the other hand, they are able to meet with the local administrators at the municipal level on a regular basis.[771] The relationship with local political actors is a key interlocutor not only for the Kurds but also other minority groups as well. For example, the head of the Jewish foundation in Antakya stated that they are able to meet with the local administrators, whether the governor or the mayor, and discuss their problems whenever they desire even though they cannot get a response to their problems at the national

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[770] Personal interview with Diyarbakir Ezidi Belief Representative and telephone interview with the head of the Alevi Cultural Association in Diyarbakir.
[771] Ibid.

level. Similarly, most of the organizations in smaller cities stated in the surveys that they are not able to establish dialogue with the national government whereas they can easily reach the local administrators. The only case where the relations with the local administrators are impeded occur when the local administrators adopt a hostile approach towards certain minority groups. For example, the Caucasian minority organizations almost all around Turkey are able to establish a relationship with the local governorship or municipalities in those cities where they are located. However, the Kurdish organizations are not able to meet with the local government actors even though they are located in key cities such as Diyarbakir. This is also true for the Alevi organizations. Almost all of the Alevi organizations stated that they face difficulties when trying to reach the local officials in the cities where they are located apart from those in Kurdish cities. On the other hand, the Roma organizations stated that they have good relations with the local administrators in almost all of the locations examined. This may be a result of the demographic structure of the Roma minority as they are mostly in contact with the municipalities for economic aid and social benefits.

Given these, it was seen that the organizations which had no relations with the national actors due to the hostile approach of the Turkish state, found it more useful to establish contacts with the EU. Therefore, they have become more mobilized and politically active in terms of establishing domestic and international networks in order to voice their problems in other platforms. Furthermore, almost all of the organizations interviewed stated that even if they had some kind of relations with the national government actors, they did not find these meetings to be useful and did not believe that these interactions yielded any results. For example, the Secretary of the Alevi Federation in Ankara stated that they were called by the government to express their opinions on the new constitution, however even though they prepared reports and discussed their problems in detail, they did not receive any feedback and response from the

government afterwards. In fact, the head of the Caucasian federation in Ankara stated that they held meetings with the Minister of Internal Affairs but still they were not able to get any response to their demands with regard to the elimination of the ban on the use of minority languages in political activities. On the contrary, minority groups such as the Arabs who claimed that they meet with government representatives on a regular basis, do not feel the need to use the political and financial resources provided by the EU as they are already able to discuss their problems at the local and national level and participate in decision-making processes through meetings held with government officials and exchange of information. This is mainly related to their attitude towards the EU. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the head of the Arab civil society organization stated that they did not have any expectations from the EU in terms of increasing their credibility or providing them with the resources to act as a source of pressure. Given this, he stated that they did not feel the need to establish any dialogue with the EU but preferred the channels of dialogue with the government. As the EU is considered as a source of leverage by those minority groups which cannot reach the national political actors, the impact of the EU on their political efficacy is higher compared to the others. Furthermore, almost all of the minority organizations interviewed stated that they also did not feel the EU supporting them completely but they believed the EU was still necessary because they had almost no relations with the national government. In a similar vein, non-Muslim groups such as the Assyrians or Protestants state that they have almost non-existent relations with national political actors however they meet with EU officials regularly. As stated by the head of the Diyarbakir Protestant Church Association, the state officials do not respond to their requests therefore they prefer to bypass the national political actors and establish direct contacts with EU officials, who they believe act as a source of leverage on the Turkish government.

Another factor that the increased levels of mobilization are contingent upon is the structure of the organizations and the means of accessing resources. Most of the minority civil society organizations in Turkey are associations and only a small number are foundations along with federations, initiatives and confederations. This is mainly due to the fact that establishing foundations require a higher budget and most of the minority groups lack these financial resources. However, those organizations with higher budgets that are able to access political and financial resources through different means, are more integrated with the EU compared to the others. For example, almost all of the Roma organizations lack the required financial and human resources necessary to organize activities. Therefore, their engagement with the EU is limited to the meetings held irregularly or discussions held with EU officials at conferences and seminars. Their activities are also limited. On the other hand, civil society organizations such as the Turkish Human Rights Foundation have higher budgets and the necessary human and organizational resources such as trained staff, to establish direct contact with EU officials. Similarly, Alevi organizations or Assyrian associations are able to establish networks with European organizations not only through their own resources but also through the diaspora organizations established by these groups in Europe. For example, the Assyrian associations in Mardin meet with their European counterparts through the European Assyrian Union (ESU). In fact, ESU not only provides linkages between the Assyrian organizations in Turkey and Europe but also facilitates the ability of other minority organizations such as the Mhelmis in Mardin to establish contacts with European networks. The smaller minority civil society organizations interviewed stated that although they were able to meet with EU officials regularly, they preferred implementing projects and conducting activities with the use of EU assistance instead of acting as advocacy groups. For example, the head of the Alevi organization in Adana stated that they were able to meet with EU officials regularly and discuss their problems with them, however none of these yield any substantial outcomes as they need

to implement projects with concrete results to manifest their problems more clearly. In the same line, the head of the Kurdish Cultural Association indicated that they feel obliged to act as an advocacy organization because they cannot obtain grants from the EU and only small grants from other international donors which significantly constrain the scope and the outcomes of the projects that they organize.

Following this, the extent to which these organizations are connected to national and international networks is another significant factor that results in the differentiated impact of the EU on minority organizations. The engagement in national and international networks also depend on other factors such as the population of the minority group and the location/region where the minority groups are mainly settled up to a certain extent. The minority groups which are represented in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara or Diyarbakir find it easier to connect with other national and international networks. On the other hand, those organizations located in smaller cities such as the Pomaks in Eskisehir have difficulty in establishing contacts with other civil society organizations operating at the national, European or international level. The data shows that those organizations which are able to connect with national and international networks have higher levels of mobilization compared to those acting merely as solidarity associations. The Roma associations in various cities around Turkey have almost no connection with other national or international networks. They lack the capacities and the resources to establish these linkages in the first place, whether it is financial or political resources, organizational capacity or even linguistic capacities. Similarly, the Caucasian organizations prefer to act only as solidarity associations where the members of the minority groups come together and socialize. Instead, they leave everything to the federations which is also a common practice for the Alevis. This way, the projects are only implemented by the larger associations limiting the activities of the local and smaller organizations while at the same time impeding

their ability to connect with European and international networks. On the other hand, a very small organization such as the African Culture and Solidarity Association was able to obtain funding from the European Commission through a national network they established with the Helsinki Citizens Association in Istanbul. Their connection with the national networks and partnership with other organizations even at the national level, provided them with the opportunity to obtain funding from the EU. Similarly, the Mhelmi association in Mardin was able to obtain funding from a number of international donors including the Olof Palme Center and European Union through a partnership they established with Midyat Assyrian Culture Association and European Assyrians Union.

On another note, the ways that these minority groups are able to represent themselves in other national and international platforms such as the parliamentary representation, also lead to differentiated levels of mobilization resulting from increased interaction with the EU. For instance, the head of the Assyrian Culture Association in Midyat is also an active member of BDP. He stated that BDP provided them with the opportunity to be represented at the national parliament through a parliamentarian who was actually Assyrian. The presence of an Assyrian member of parliament provided them with the political resources to access not only government actors through the organization of meetings at the parliament but also with a formal representation at national level who is able to participate in parliamentary committees working on EU relations. The Assyrian Archbishop in Mardin stated that Erol Dora, BDP's Assyrian parliamentarian, is able to act as a bridge between them and European political actors in order to establish mutual dialogue. Similarly, BDP as a political party represented in the Parliament and holding most of the municipalities in the Kurdish region, is able to establish formal relations with European officials and networks where they are able to integrate other civil society organizations. To give an example, BDP parliamentarians participate in official

meetings at the European Parliament together with Kurdish civil society representatives. The municipalities are able to obtain funding from the European Commission for activities and projects organized in partnership with civil society organizations. Finally, religious institutions such as the Patriarchates or Archbishops also provide other means of representation. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchates in Istanbul, are not only able to meet regularly with EU officials and European organizations, they can also meet with government actors. As stated by the Armenian Patriarch, for the first time during the preparation of the Constitution, they were able to meet with parliamentarians and government representatives at the Grand National Assembly. These religious leaders are able to act as a formal means of representation and visited regularly by European officials to discuss the problems of their communities. The Assyrian Archbishop in Mardin stated that they are frequently visited by European Commission officials both in Ankara and Brussels, in order to discuss the developments in the region and related to the human rights issues in Turkey.

Finally, the attitudes of minority organizations towards enlargement and the EU, also have an impact on the political efficacy of the minority organizations. As the EU is the main source of funding for the civil society organizations in Turkey and particularly minority organizations, those organizations that have a negative attitude towards enlargement and reject EU funding, have considerably lower budgets than those organizations which work towards EU membership. Additionally, they are able to make use of the political resources provided by the EU which in turn yield increased levels of civil society activism. On the contrary, as in the case of the Arab organization in Sanliurfa, the contacts of those organizations that oppose Turkey's EU membership are only limited to national political actors and non-European networks.

As mentioned previously, the minority groups examined in this thesis are classified into two groups: ethnic and linguistic minority groups and religious minority groups. Both the quantitative and the qualitative data revealed that the distinction between ethnic and linguistic and religious minority groups does not make a difference in terms of the mobilization levels of these groups as a result of their engagement with the EU. The data revealed that the empowerment of the minority groups through an increased level of interaction with EU networks and representatives and changes in their political efficacy levels show variation both among religious minority groups and ethnic and linguistic minority groups. Whereas Kurds meet with EU officials and are connected with European networks more frequently, Roma or Caucasian groups rarely meet with these EU representatives and Arabs have no relations with European officials. On the other hand, religious minority groups such as Ezidis can only establish relations with European officials through their diaspora organizations, Alevis meet with EU representatives through their federations located in Istanbul and Ankara compared to Protestants who state that they meet or interact with EU officials on a regular basis.

The data has shown that the outcomes of the engagement of civil society organizations with EU representatives ranged between the increased ability to access funding to establishing credibility and legitimacy and leverage within the domestic context. In this sense, while some of the organizations were able to access the resources that were not available to them otherwise as in the case of the Kurds who were marginalized from the political sphere, others were able to legitimize their demands through EU norms and standards. An example for this can be the demands voiced by almost all of the minority organizations with regard to linguistic rights. Even though, the specifics varied from one minority group to another, all of the minority groups stated that the EU is significant for cultural and linguistic rights. They were able to legitimize and establish leverage within the domestic context with the use of the EU instruments related

to cultural and linguistic rights. Therefore, the EU provided as a source of legitimacy and credibility for these minority organizations that were not visible in the public sphere in the past.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to shed light on the levels of empowerment minority organizations experience through the quantitative and qualitative data obtained during the fieldwork conducted in Turkey. The findings appear to explain partially the increased political efficacy of minority groups as the relations with the national government are still not as regular as it is with the EU, while minority representatives are skeptical with regards to their contribution to the decision-making processes. However, many organizations still consider the EU as a catalyzer as it defines criteria and sets objectives for the Turkish government in relation to the minority issue. Even though some organizations, such as the Arab association in Urfa, believe that Turkey has gained enough from the EU and should move on with its own agenda, many of the minority groups still believe that the EU is vitally important for the improvement of the situation of minorities in Turkey. In fact, as the head of the Midyat Assyrian Cultural Association claims, the civil society organizations in Turkey are transformed because of the EU and the positive attitude towards them; if there is any it is only because the administrators know that they meet with EU officials frequently.[772] Nevertheless, the low professional and financial capacities along with the inability to obtain high levels of funding, especially from the EU acts as a major impediment before the sustainability of the relations between these minority groups and national political actors.

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[772] Personal interview with Yuhanna Aktas.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The conclusions reached within this thesis particularly point to the impact of the EU and Europeanization on civil society organizations and minority groups in Turkey. Existing studies on Europeanization have extensively researched the EU's impact on the domestic policies and institutions of both member states and candidate countries. The most explicit form of Europeanization reflects a top-down understanding conceptualizing it as the process of adopting EU rules, regulations, directives and institutional structures to the domestic context. However, this point of view has been expanded and developed further through a bottom-up approach that conceptualizes Europeanization as a two-way process that starts and ends at the domestic level incorporating multiple actors in the decision-making processes so that they can influence policy outcomes at the domestic level.

The data collected in this thesis allows us to investigate the transformative power of Europe in Turkey through the lens of civil society mobilization. Particularly, the legislative reforms adopted by the Turkish government between 2002 and 2007 as a response to EU conditionality provided the civil society actors with the legal means to make use of and benefit from the EU process and the resources provided by the EU. However, the data shows that there is no rigidity in terms of the sequence of formal compliance and the political efficacy of civil society organizations. To be more specific, in terms of how minority politics in Turkey is evolving in the context of European accession and the mutating relationships between different minority groups and EU representatives, formal compliance is not reflected in the same level as the increase in civil society activism. The data reveals that the Europeanization process in Turkey

changed the behavior of minority civil society organizations in Turkey, leading to the formation of an interactive process at the domestic level through their internalization of the EU norms in the existence of strong political resistance and the lack of any concrete full membership perspective. Given this, the main finding is that the transformative power of Europe had an impact on minority groups in Turkey despite the controversial character of the issue and the level of intransigence between the EU norms and the attitude towards the minority question in Turkey. In other words, the Europeanization process in Turkey created a certain momentum in the pre-accession period through the mobilization of civil society organizations enabling them to benefit from the process in pursuant of their interests.

The theoretical foundation of this thesis is based on the theories of Europeanization and civil society. Europeanization is particularly relevant for the Turkish case as it emphasizes the transformation of the domestic context in terms of changing the redistribution of the resources. In addition to Europeanization, the new mechanisms developed for minority protection in Europe are also reflected in Turkey. The domestic construction and internalization of EU's minority protection norms caused the civil society actors to challenge the monolithic understanding of Turkish citizenship. Given this, the minority representatives sought for new minority protection standards that can be transferred to the Turkish context and the EU norms helped them set the agenda in relation to the reforms that need to be adopted. The current legislation in relation to minority rights in Turkey was adopted as a response to EU conditionality after the granting of candidacy status in 1999. In addition to this, the formal legislation that governs the freedom of association and the civil society organizations particularly contributed to the mobilization of civil society actors as shown in the second chapter.

However, not only throughout the history of the Turkish Republic but also still today, the minority groups in Turkey cannot enjoy their universal rights equally as the ethnic Turkish majority. Given this, the minority issue still remains to be one of the few issues that triggered high levels of mobilization within national and European networks. Considering the history of EU-Turkey relations from the perspective of minority rights, the fourth chapter traces the evolution of the conditionality used by the EU towards Turkey. The EU pressure towards Turkish political actors for improving the situation of the minority groups is most evident in the period following the announcement of Turkey's official candidacy status particularly due to the formalization of the relations after the start of the accession negotiations. In this regard, a closer examination of the impact of Europeanization on minority groups and civil society actors in Turkey reveals that both the quantity and the diversity of these organizations particularly abounded after the adoption of the legislative reforms related to civil society organizations. In light of this, the ethnic, linguistic and religious minority groups examined as part of this thesis were able to establish a number of different organizations to make use of the tools provided by the EU, including the pre-accession financial assistance and political contacts for supporting the civil society organizations.

7.1 Summarizing the Research Findings

The data collected as part of this thesis by conducting surveys and interviews with 126 different civil society organizations and non-state actors revealed that first of all Europeanization led to an increase in the mobilization capacities of the minority organizations even in relation to one of the most contentious policy issues and in the presence of high levels of political resistance. However, the research has shown that the increased levels of political efficacy enjoyed by the minority organizations in Turkey cannot be only tied to EU assistance and resources but it is also contingent on a number of other factors. Especially in relation to the minority issue, the

relationship between the minority groups and the national government is also an important determinant. The main idea is that EU generates an increased level of dialogue between minority organizations and European representatives while fostering their participation in European networks. In this sense, it was discovered that EU funding and especially increased dialogue with the EU engages minority organizations in domestic processes and increases their involvement in decision-making processes through various stages. The data also revealed that minority groups use their relations with EU officials as a source of leverage and a confrontational strategy. The difference between ethnic, linguistic and religious minority groups was not significant in relation to their levels of dialogue with EU officials but the data revealed that such a difference was statistically significant for their relations with the national government. To give an example, even though the relations between minority organizations and state officials were almost inexistent in the case of the Kurds or the Alevis, the dialogue between these Kurdish or Alevi organizations and EU representatives was relatively much higher. However, the frequency of the meetings between Roma organizations and EU officials were among the lowest while they had regular meetings with the national government. Therefore, while the minority politics in Turkey are evolving in light of the EU process, a hierarchy of minority groups in terms of their relations with the government has come to being. In this sense, the Roma organizations have the smoothest relations with the current AKP government, while the Kurds and the Alevis have almost no dialogue. The non-Muslim groups also have comparatively distant relations with the national government when compared with other Muslim minorities such as Roma or the Arabs. Given these, the EU provides an alternative platform for these excluded minority groups other than the national as it provides these organizations with the opportunity to have an impact on the minority politics in Turkey through supranational channels.

This could be explained through a number of factors including the types and capacities of civil society organizations, population numbers, opportunities for political representation, attitudes of the state towards that particular minority group, existence of diaspora organizations particularly in Europe and the urban-rural divide. To start with, the data demonstrated that not all minority groups were organized at the same levels as others. For example, while Alevis are organized through a number of different associations, foundations, federations and platforms most of them established between 1990 and 2000, the Pomak were only able to establish a few associations that date back to 2009. In the same way, the Roma only have associations but no foundations due to the lack of financial capacity and most of their organizations are township organizations, which are mainly engaged in charity activities. Given this, most of the minority groups examined as part of this thesis have recently established civil society organizations with smaller budgets and usually concentrate in local activities. Therefore, more organized groups with higher financial and professional capacities find it easier to access the EU representatives when compared to others. The population numbers are also an important factor for determining the way certain actors benefit from the EU process. The data reveals that the higher the population numbers, the more diversified both qualitatively and quantitatively are the civil society organizations representing a certain minority group. The Kurds are a good example of how population numbers help the way a certain minority group is organized. As the most populated ethnic community, the Kurds are not only able to establish civil society organizations but also they are represented through local administrations and even in the Parliament. At the same time, high population numbers allow these groups to establish organizations with high member numbers and provide them with higher budgets as in the case of the Alevis. As indicated in the previous chapter, some Alevi organizations reported budget numbers as high as 300.000 Euros due to member fees collected from over 500.000 members.

In addition to this, high population numbers allow minority groups to take an active part in other civil society organizations such as the major human rights organizations, professional organizations, unions and umbrella organizations. For instance, since the beginning of the 1990s, the Human Rights Organization concentrates on the human rights violations in the Kurdish region particularly and has branches in almost every city in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions. In contrast, the Greek Orthodox whose population numbers are much lower than the Kurds, only have one association that has been established in 2012 and religious minority foundations established prior to the foundation of the Republic. Given this, even though the problems and the demands of the Kurdish population are frequently voiced in a number of national and international platforms, there is comparatively less awareness on the problems of those groups such as the Greek Orthodox or the Africans. Political representation is also a very significant factor that might increase the frequency of meetings between a particular minority group and EU representatives. For example, parliamentary representation increases the chances to meet with European delegations in an official capacity through the Parliamentary Committee on EU Harmonization. The Assyrian civil society representatives interviewed specifically mentioned their meetings with Erol Dora, the only Assyrian and non-Muslim MP in order to discuss their problems. In addition to this, when EU representatives visit Turkey, they prefer to meet with local administrators in a particular city before they meet with civil society organizations. Therefore, as in the case of the Kurds where they are represented both through Parliamentarians or local administrations in the Kurdish region, European officials find it easier to meet with them to discuss the Kurdish issue.

The surveys also demonstrated that the state attitude towards minority groups plays an important role in determining their relations with the national government and the EU. To give

an example, historically the Turkish state has been hostile towards the non-Muslim minorities or the Alevis and the Kurds. In comparison, the Arabs or the Roma were not classified as enemies of the state at any point. Given this, the level of meetings between the non-Muslim minorities and the national government is much less frequent when compared with the Arab organizations, who claim that they conduct personal meetings almost once a month. The strained relations might also be a result of the demands of a particular minority group. For example, historically Kurds have pioneered the minority groups in relation to linguistic rights, while Alevis have been very rigid about their demands pertaining to religious freedoms. On the other hands, the Arabs or the Roma have never been regarded as having separatist ambitions or as demanding certain power-sharing arrangements. Rather, the Roma have given up any claims with respect to linguistic rights, while the Arabs have always identified themselves as Turkish before referring to their ethnic identity. Therefore, the perception of a minority group automatically determines the level of relations with the state. In exchange, hostility between a particular minority organization and the Turkish state motivates these organizations to appeal to European platforms about their problems. Another important factor is the existence of diaspora organizations particularly in Europe. As mentioned earlier, the Ezidi representative in Diyarbakir stated that they were able to meet with European officials particularly through their diaspora organizations in Europe. In the same manner, there is a Pomak institute established in Stockholm that conducts joint activities with the Pomak associations in Turkey both in Turkey and in Sweden.

Furthermore, the data showed that majority of the organizations still consider the EU as vital for Turkey's democratization as they believe that the EU defines the criteria and sets the objectives for the Turkish government in relation to human rights and minority protection. Nevertheless, the low professional and financial capacities along with the inability to obtain

high levels of funding, especially from the EU acts as a major impediment towards the further mobilization of minority groups. Whereas some minority groups are highly organized, others lack a diverse and organized representation through civil society. It was also discovered that both EU funding and also other international grants play a significant role in the activism levels of minority organizations in Turkey. In addition to these, the data revealed that most of those organizations that obtain EU funding and have regular dialogue with EU representatives also participated in the preparation of the new Constitution.

In conclusion, the Turkish case marks a distinct contrast to the Europeanization processes witnessed in other candidate countries. First of all, Turkey displays significant interruptions in the formal accession process even though the civil society actors continue to interact with the EU and internalize EU norms. Secondly, civil society mobilization through the engagement with the EU is transforming the actors in Turkey in such a way that they are not only able to legitimize their demands but they can also seek to enhance the EU-induced pre-accession reforms depending on their own interests and become a part of the decision-making processes. This is particularly significant since the involvement of civil society actors facilitates sustainability, which can be carried over to the post-accession process.

7.2 Europeanization: The Case of Turkey

The literature on Europeanization pays particular attention to the experience of the Central and Eastern European countries. For the CEECs, the EU primarily used a particular mode of network governance and employed the external governance model which in essence referred to a set of rules and conditions to be fulfilled in order to receive the rewards provided by the EU, the ultimate reward being full membership. In the case of the post-socialist states, the EU influenced policy development and the restructuring of domestic institutions significantly

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while becoming the anchor of institutional transformation in these countries. The most important aspect of the CEE countries that distinguishes them from the Turkish case is that there was a membership timetable determined for these countries. In fact, the elites in the CEE countries were even more responsive to EU conditionality once the membership date was set. Given these, the CEE experience has limited predictive power for Turkey. Instead the EU has a different impact on Turkey that diverges from the Central and Eastern European case. While in the CEE countries, the EU tried a top-down Europeanization pushing for the implementation of the *acquis* by the executive elites; in Turkey the EU had a different impact that engaged civil society actors for inducing an interactive process at the domestic level.

Therefore, the Turkish case revealed that the EU impact in Turkey is particularly relevant to how certain domestic civil society actors could benefit from the EU process. Given this, unlike the CEE countries where there was mostly a consensus on EU membership and rapid progress had been made in terms of the implementation of EU regulations and directives based on the incentives provided by the EU, in the Turkish case the formal accession process is particularly slow and displays a number of ups and downs. Unlike the CEE countries, there is a much higher resistance by the political elites in Turkey towards the reforms and consensus in terms of EU membership is lacking. To give an example, the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which holds 52 seats in the Parliament, is absolutely against most of the human rights reforms that need to be passed in order to comply with EU standards. In addition to this, it has become particularly difficult to obtain the desired levels of formal compliance in the case of minority rights. This is not only due to the fact that the minority issue has high domestic costs in Turkey but also the broad and unclear characteristic of the Copenhagen political criteria which lacks the clear measures and benchmarks for the candidate countries as well as the ambiguous and contested nature of the minority issue. Therefore, given the uncertainty with regards to the full

membership date, the EU tries to benchmark the participation of non-state actors in Turkey and acts as a reinforcement mechanism. Put differently, as in the case of Turkey where formal progress is particularly difficult to attain, the EU tries to provide the domestic non-state actors with resources both by opening up the political space but also by building their capacities.

7.3 Implications

From a theoretical point of view, this thesis offers insights into the existing literature on Europeanization and their application to the Turkish case. Furthermore, it sheds light on how to best conceptualize Europeanization specifically in relation to the minority issue, which is one of the major stumbling blocks before Turkey's EU accession. Other implications of this thesis focus on the impact of the EU accession process on civil society actors, namely looking at its impact on those organizations that represent the ethnic, religious and linguistic minority groups in Turkey. In addition, the research investigated the transformation of the civil society organizations and their capacities as a result of the Europeanization process. The implications can be categorized into two broad areas. The first attends to the nature of domestic actors in Turkey and the insights this offers to any discussion regarding civil society. The second relates to the transformative power of the EU and how this is best conceptualized in the context of domestic actors. In addressing these issues, the thesis brought together literature from Europeanization studies and research on civil society, to explain how domestic actors may still benefit from the EU process in the absence of credible conditionality rewards, full membership date and when the external incentives model does not yield the expected pace in the reform process.

In light of these, the thesis was able to demonstrate the changing behavior of civil society organizations in Turkey and how the engagement with the EU provided them with additional

mobilization capacities. This also complemented the argument that formal compliance cannot be seen as the only indicator of Europeanization. In this sense, Europeanization may well manifest itself in different ways while generating varying outcomes in formal and informal compliance. Therefore, it is safe to say that there are also other significant ways to measure the impact of the EU process including the partnerships emerging between the civil society organizations and EU representatives. The findings of this thesis relating to the EU's impact on civil society organizations in Turkey can explain how the EU works to mobilize the domestic civil society actors in a candidate country so that they can internalize EU norms. The Turkish case also suggests that the controversial nature of the minority issue can, to some extent, also contribute to the empowerment of domestic actors that strongly consider the EU as a tool for further enhancing the EU-induced transformation in relation to their own interests. Such an experience of the minority groups in Turkey also offers an alternate discourse that can challenge the argument that only those civil society actors in western cities, which stand closer to the government, can be empowered through the Europeanization process. It is revealed that the role of the EU accession process for improving minority rights in Turkey has been a common ground among different organizations. Therefore, the generally disadvantaged eastern and southeastern civil society organizations at times scored higher in terms of international and European dialogue when compared with their western counterparts. It would seem that the minority issue offers an opportunity to bring state and civil society actors together, even though such interactions do not always bring about substantive outcomes in terms of policy change. In most of the cases these civil society organizations expressed their concern about the absence of a concrete role for them. The recent new constitution process has certainly demonstrated this. The data revealed that EU funding and EU dialogue have contributed to the process of building an enabling environment where the civil society organizations were able to express their views and voice their demands from the new constitution. However, at the same time,

most of the civil society organizations also emphasized their uncertainty about their contribution and whether their demands will be taken into consideration by the government when the actual constitution is prepared.

7.4 Conclusion

In light of these, the data shows that the EU's existence is still significant for the minority civil society organizations in Turkey. The civil society organizations and minority representatives interviewed and surveyed as part of this thesis almost always emphasized that if the EU had not pushed for formal compliance with respect to the reforms on freedom of association particularly, the domestic actors would not be able to find a platform to voice their problems and demands. Given this, the data also shows that the relations between most of the minority groups with the exception of Roma and the Arabs, and the state are highly hostile. Therefore, it can be concluded from the data that the EU is the link that ensures that these marginalized minority groups are given a voice in different platforms through cooperative networks. At this point, this thesis concludes that there is a significant value in investigating the transformative impact of the EU on civil society organizations for the Turkish case for the formal compliance in Turkey does not reflect the actual transformative power of the EU in Turkey at the domestic level.

This thesis was able to establish the transformative impact that the EU has on civil society organizations in a candidate country even for the most contentious issues. It has also shown that the EU provided not only new opportunity structures for the civil society organizations but also the resources and legitimacy to overcome the political resistance of veto players. However, the influence of the mobilization of civil society organizations on the limited progress achieved with regard to minority rights still remains unanswered. The findings were also constrained for demonstrating the extent to which the reforms with regard to minority rights can be tied to the

pressure exerted by the minority groups and their influence on the national political actors as a result of the relations they establish with these actors and participation in decision-making processes. Given these, following research can concentrate on explaining the domestic change in the absence of Europeanization pressures and investigate the extent to which civil society organizations had contributed to the transformation of the domestic context. Further research can also investigate whether the mobilization of minority civil society organizations still continue despite the increasing levels of Euro-scepticism.

APPENDIX 1. MAPS OF TURKEY

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF INTERVIEWEES / SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

1. Lom Cultural Research and Solidarity Association (Artvin, Black Sea)
2. Turkish Human Rights Foundation – Diyarbakir Branch (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)
3. Abkhaz Associations Federation – (Istanbul, Marmara)
4. Human Rights Association – Diyarbakir Branch (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)
5. ZİWANKOM Language, Culture and Arts Association (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)
6. DISK – The Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions Diyarbakir Branch (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)
7. Sami Mhelmi Association for Dialogue between Languages, Religions and Civilizations – (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)
8. Association for Solidarity with the Oppressed – Istanbul Branch (Istanbul, Marmara)
9. Kurdish Culture and Research Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)
10. Kocaeli Roma Associations Federation (Kocaeli, Marmara)
11. Edirne Roma Culture Association (Edirne, Marmara)
12. Edirne Roma Associations Federation (Edirne, Marmara)
13. Alevi Bektasi Federation (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
14. Alevi Culture Associations – Main Office (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
15. Boyacikoy Surp Yerits Mangants Armenian Church Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)
16. Dersim Armenians Assistance, Solidarity and Belief Association (Istanbul, Marmara)
17. Africans Culture and Solidarity Association (Ayvalik, Aegean)
18. Batman Mhelmi Association (Batman, Southeastern Anatolia)
19. Alevi Culture Associations – Mersin Branch (Mersin, Mediterranean)
20. Association for Solidarity with the Oppressed – Main Office (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
21. Circassian Association (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
22. Pomak Associations Federation (Istanbul, Marmara)
23. Istanbul Pomak Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)
24. Eskisehir Pomak Culture Association (Eskisehir, Aegean)
25. Izmir Alevi Bektasi Association (Izmir, Aegean)
26. Antakya (Hatay) Catholic Church Foundation (Antakya, Mediterranean)
27. Hatay Dom Tribe Culture, Research and Solidarity Association (Antakya, Mediterranean)
28. Ankara Roma Association (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
29. Mediterranean Immigrants Science, Culture, Social Assistance and Solidarity Association (Mersin, Mediterranean)
30. Roma Youth Association (Ankara, Central Anatolia)
31. Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association – Diyarbakir Branch (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)
32. Istanbul Roma Associations Federation (Istanbul, Marmara)
33. Human Rights Association – Adana Branch (Adana, Mediterranean)
34. Human Rights Association Main Office (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

35. Democratic Circassians Platform (Istanbul, Marmara)

36. Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association – Mardin Branch (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

37. SIMA Foundation for Eastern Black Sea Region (Izmit, Marmara)

38. Mersin Roma Association (Mersin, Mediterranean)

39. Union of Education and Science Laborers (EGITIM-SEN) – Adana Branch (Adana, Mediterranean)

40. EGITIM-SEN Main Office – General Secretary (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

41. International Strategic Research Association (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

42. Adana Circassian Culture Association (Adana, Mediterranean)

43. Adana Alevi Culture Association (Adana, Mediterranean)

44. Arab Association (Urfa, Southeastern Anatolia)

45. Turkish Human Rights Foundation – Adana Branch (Adana, Mediterranean)

46. Antakya Jewish Synagogue Foundation (Antakya, Mediterranean)

47. Mesopotamia Culture and Solidarity Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

48. Adana Roma Association (Adana, Mediterranean)

49. Young Roma Association (Adana, Mediterranean)

50. Mediterranean Roma Associations Foundation (Mersin, Mediterranean)

51. Midyat Assyrian Culture Association (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

52. Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association – Main Office (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

53. Cem Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

54. Izmir Roma Association (Izmir, Aegean)

55. Adana Yavuzlar Roma Association (Adana, Mediterranean)

56. Diyarbakir Dom Association (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)

57. Diyarbakir Protestant Church Association (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)

58. Haci Bektas Veli Culture Association (Nevsehir, Central Anatolia)

59. Basak Culture Arts Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

60. Laz Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

61. United Caucasian Federation (Istanbul, Marmara)

62. Ankara Abkhaz Culture Association (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

63. Pomak Institute (Istanbul, Marmara)

64. Democratic Pomaks Movement (Istanbul, Marmara)

65. Protestant Churches Association (Izmir, Aegean)

66. Istanbul Caucasus Abkhazia Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

67. Eskisehir Northern Caucasian Culture and Solidarity Association (Eskisehir, Aegean)

68. Caucasian Associations Federation (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

69. Inegol Circassian Adhige Culture Association (Bursa, Marmara)

70. Caucasus Culture and Research Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

71. Istanbul Protestant Church Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

72. Laz Culture, Arts and Tourism Association (Artvin, Black Sea)

73. Georgian Cultural Center Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

74. Biga Caucasus Culture Association (Canakkale, Aegean)

75. Istanbul Caucasus Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

76. Bolu Abkhaz Culture Association

77. Alevi Foundations Federation (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

78. Alan Ossetian Culture and Solidarity Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

79. Community Volunteers Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

80. Antakya Greek Orthodox Church Foundation (Antakya, Mediterranean)

81. Helsinki Citizens Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

82. Hamshen Culture Research and Solidarity Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

83. Hrant Dink Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

84. Hubyar Sultan Alevi Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

85. Alevi Bektasi Education and Culture Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

86. KACED Black Sea Environment Association (Rize, Black Sea)

87. Intercultural Dialogue Platform (Istanbul, Marmara)

88. Turkey Jewish Rabbinate Foundation (Beyoglu Jewish Synagogue Foundation) (Istanbul, Marmara)

89. Association for Solidarity with the Oppressed – Batman Branch (Batman, Southeastern Anatolia)

90. Greek Orthodox Foundations Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

91. TESEV - Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

92. Haci Bektas Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

93. Folk Poets Culture Association (Ankara, Turkey)

94. Sahkulu Sultan Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

95. Zero Discrimination Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

96. Social Democracy Foundation (Istanbul, Marmara)

97. Social Transformation Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

98. Turkish Human Rights Foundation Main Office (Ankara, Central Anatolia)

99. Diyarbakir Civil Involvement and Anti-violence Association DUY-DER (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)

100. Istanbul Kurdish Institute – Kurdish Language and Culture Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

101. Mardin Monasteries and Churches Foundation (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

102. Idil Assyrians Association (Sirnak, Southeastern Anatolia)

103. Mardin Youth and Culture Association (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

104. Armenian Culture and Research Association (Istanbul, Marmara)

105. Kurdi-der Kurdish Language and Culture Research Association Main Office (Diyarbakir, Southeastern Anatolia)

106. Mardin Mor Gabriel Monastery Foundation (Mardin, Southeastern Anatolia)

107. Bursa Circassian Cultural Association (Bursa, Marmara)

108. Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Osman Baydemir

109. Sur Municipality Mayor Abdullah Demirbas

110. Mardin Mayor Besir Ayvazoglu

111. Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) Leader and MP Selahattin Demirtas

112. Peace and Democracy Party MP and National Parliament Constitution Preparation Committee Member Sirri Sureyya Onder

113. Deputy Patriarch of the Armenian Patriarchate Aram Atesyan

114. Press Coordinator of the Turkish Jewish Rabbinate Lisya Tavasi

115. Diyarbakir Mardin Assyrian Metropolitan Bishop Filiksinos Saliba Ozmen

116. Patriarchal Vicar of the Assyrian Orthodox Church in Istanbul and Ankara Mor Filiksinos Yusuf Cetin

117. Phanar Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Press Officer Father Dositheos Anagtopoulos

118. Adana Jewish Minority President

119. Antakya Jewish Minority President Saul Cenudioglu

120. Mersin Akdeniz Mayor Fazil Turk

121. Mardin Bar Association General Secretary

122. European Assyrians Union President- Sabro Newspaper Editor Tuma Celik

123. Diyarbakir Alevi Religious Leader (Dede)

124. Ezidi Belief Representative in Diyarbakir Yilmaz Demiray

125. Priest of the Adana / Iskenderun Latin Catholic Church

126. Adana Alevi Religious Leader (Dede)

APPENDIX 3. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the name of your organization?

2. How would you describe your organization (you may tick more than one box)?
   - ☐ Non-governmental organization
   - ☐ Religious organization
   - ☐ Charity organization
   - ☐ Union
   - ☐ Platform for other organizations
   - ☐ Minority foundation
   - ☐ Research institute / think-tank
   - ☐ Beneficiary organization
   - ☐ Other (please specify):

3. When was your organization established (please tick)?
   - ☐ Less than a year ago
   - ☐ Less than four years ago
   - ☐ More than four years ago
   - ☐ Within the last eight years
   - ☐ Over eight years ago

4. Where is your organization's main office located?

5. What is the scope of your organization's work? (you can tick more than one box)

   - ☐ Human rights

   - ☐ Democratization / rule of law

   - ☐ Education

   - ☐ Foreign policy

   - ☐ Gender equality

   - ☐ Minority rights

   - ☐ Beneficiary and solidarity

6a. How many people work for the organization full-time?

   - ☐ Less than 5 people

   - ☐ Between 5-10 people

   - ☐ More than 10 people

6b. How many people volunteer for the organization?

   - ☐ Less than 5 people

☐   Between 5-10 people

☐   More than 10 people

6c. What is the number of women working for your organization?

☐   Less than 5 women

☐   Between 5-10 women

☐   More than 10 women

6d. Does your organization accept membership? (If no, please go to question 7)

☐   Yes   ☐   No

6e. What is the number of members registered to your organization?

☐   Less than 50

☐   Between 51-100

☐   More than 100

7. How would you describe your organization?

☐   Local

☐   Regional

☐   National

☐   International

8. What is the annual budget of your organization?

☐   Less than 50.000 TL

☐   Between 50.001 and 100.000 TL

☐   Between 100.001 and 150.000 TL

☐   More than 150.001 TL

9a. How often does your organization meet with government representatives?

☐   Less than once a year

☐   Once a year

☐   Once every six months

☐   Once every three months

9b. What is the character of your meetings?

☐ Phone conversations

☐ Unofficial meetings / other venues

☐ Official meetings

9c. Does your organization meet or have contact with representatives from other political parties?

9d. How often does your organization meet with / have contacts with other political party representatives?

☐ Less than once a year

☐ Once a year

☐ Once every six months

☐ Once every three months

9e. Does your organization meet with EU officials?

9f. How often does your organization meet with EU officials?

☐ Less than once a year

☐ Once a year

☐ Once every six months

☐ Once every three months

9g. Does your organization meet with other international organization representatives (UN, Foreign Consulate Generals, Foreign Foundation representatives etc.)?

10. Have you ever received funding from: (you may tick more than one box)

☐ European Commission grants (by applying directly to the EC)

☐ EU grants (by applying to the Central Finance and Contracts Unit)

☐ Small EU grants (by applying to the Turkish National Agency)

☐ Grants given by the Turkish government

☐ Individual donations

☐ International grant-giving organizations (in Turkey and abroad)

☐ United Nations

☐ Foreign consulates

☐ World Bank

☐ Other (please specify):

11. What percentage of your annual budget is EU grants?

☐   Less than 10%

☐   Between 10-49%

☐   Between 50-89%

☐   More than 90%

12. Do you currently have an EU project?

13. Have you ever received an EU grant?

☐   Yes

☐   No

14. Which EU objective does/did your project relate to? (Please tick)

☐   European Commission grants (by applying to the EC)

☐   Strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law

☐   Supporting the EU reform process

☐   Promotion of human and minority rights, and gender equality

☐   Development of civil society

☐   Regional co-operation

☐   Sustainable development and poverty reduction

14. Is/Was this the first EU grant your organization been awarded?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

15a. Are you currently receiving funding from any other donor agency?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

15b. If you answered 'Yes', which donors have you received funding from?

16. How much money have you been awarded by the EU?

☐   Less than €10k

☐   Between €10-50k

☐   Between €50–100k

☐   More than €100k

17. How would you describe the impact that EU funding has had on your organization? Please tick the relevant boxes (you may tick <u>more than one</u> box)

☐   EU funding has strengthened our organization
☐   Applying for EU funding has been a distraction from our work

☐   EU funding has helped us connect with similar organizations

☐   EU funding has changed the issues we work on

☐   EU funding has had no impact on our organization

☐   We would not exist without EU funding

☐   EU funding has helped us connect with similar organizations in EU countries

☐   EU funding has weakened our organization

18. Are you satisfied with Turkey's level of progress in the membership negotiations?

☐   Extremely dissatisfied

☐   Dissatisfied

☐   Neutral

☐   Satisfied

☐   Extremely satisfied

19. Are you satisfied with civil society's role in the reform process?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

20. Do you believe the EU has a significant role in improving Turkey's human rights record?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

21. Do you believe the EU has a significant role in improving the situation of minorities in Turkey?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

22. Do you believe that the EU process should necessarily continue for Turkey's democratization process?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

23. Did you participate in the Constitution Preparation Process?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

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