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CROSSING THE BRIDGE

THE EUROPEANIZATION OF WOMEN'S NGOs IN TURKEY

The cases of KADER and KAGİDER

Damla BAYRAKTAR

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SUMMARY

During the last ten years, Turkish state and the Turkish society have undergone a series of changes in the quest for complying with European standards, in order to become a member of the European community. These changes represent the crossing the threshold of a new frame of reference in Turkish public and collective actions. The increase of a gender sensitive approach in the European Union and the EU's conditionality for Turkey on gender policies opened a new opportunity frame for the Turkish women's NGOs. This situation is displayed by the study of the two associations, which can be represented as of the new actors of the policy equation on gender in Turkey: Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) and Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER). Both associations have consciously experienced numerous changes through environmental, cognitive and interactive mechanisms and became agents of the Europeanization in Turkey via their own instruments and strategies.

RÉSUMÉ

Au cours de ces dix dernières années, l'Etat turc et la société turque, dans la quête de conformité aux normes européennes, ont subi une série de changements afin de pouvoir devenir un membre de la communauté européenne. Ces changements représentent au niveau des actions publiques et collectives en Turquie, la transition vers le seuil d'un nouveau référentiel. L'émergence dans l'Union Européenne d'une approche sensible à la problématique de genre et les réglementations européennes concernant la Turquie à propos de cette politique ont ouvert une nouvelle fenêtre d'opportunité pour les ONG présidées par des femmes turques. Ce changement est démontré/mis en évidence par l'étude de deux associations, qui peuvent être perçues comme les nouveaux acteurs de l'équation politique sur le genre en Turquie: l'Association pour le soutien et la formation des femmes candidates (Kader) et l'Association des Femmes Entrepreneurs (KAGİDER). Ces deux associations ont volontairement effectué de nombreux changements dûs aux mécanismes environnementaux, cognitifs et interactifs et sont devenues des agents de l'européanisation en Turquie par l'intermédiaire de leurs propres instruments et stratégies.

ÖZET

Son on yılda Türk devleti ve Türk toplumu Avrupa standardlarına uyarak Avrupa topluluğunun bir üyesi olmak amacıyla bir değişim sürecine girdi. Bu değişimler, Türk kamu ve kolektif faaliyetlerinde yeni bir referans çerçevesinin etkili olduğunu gösterdi. Avrupa Birliği'nin cinsiyet konusuna daha duyarlı bir yaklaşım edinmesi ve AB'nin koşulluluk ilkesinin Türkiye'deki cinsiyet politikaları üzerinde de etkin rol oynamasıyla Türk kadın dernekleri için yeni bir fırsat penceresi açılmış oldu. Bu durum iki kadın derneğinin incelenmesiyle ele alınmaktadır: Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitme Derneği (KADER) ve Kadın Gelişimciler Derneği (KAGİDER). Her iki dernek çevresel, bilişsel (cognitif) ve etkileşimli (interaktif) mekanizmalar doğrultusunda ve bilinçi olarak bir dizi değişiklik yaşadı ve kendi araçları ve taktikleriyle Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşmasının ajanları oldu.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AÇEV	Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı (Mother Child Education Foundation)
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEE	Central Eastern Europe
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DG	Directorate General
DSP	Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)
DTP	Demokratik Toplum Partisi (Democratic Society Party)
EC	European Commission
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
ERG	Education Reform Initiative
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EWL	European Women's Lobby
Habitat II	Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPA	Instrument for Pre-accession
İŞKUR	Türkiye İş Kurumu (Turkish Employment Organization)
KADER	Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitme Derneği (Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates)
KAGİDER	Kadın Girişimciler Derneği (Association of Women Entrepreneurs)

KAGİFED	Kadın Girişimciler Federasyonu (Federation of Women Entrepreneurs)
KA-MER	Kadın Merkezi
KGLM	Kadın Girişimcilik ve Liderlik Merkezi (Women's Entrepreneurship and Leadership Center)
KSGM	Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate General on Women's Status)
MEDİZ	Medya İzleme Grubu (Women's Media Watch Group)
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
STGM	Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi (Civil Society Development Center)
TKB	Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish Women's Association)
TOBB	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TÜSİAD	Türkiye Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WNGO	Women's Nongovernmental Organization
WWHR	Women for Women's Human Rights- New Ways

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INTRODUCTION

"The improvement of women's rights in Turkey is a very good example of how commitment and effective cooperation between the EU and Turkey can work very positively. The process of becoming an EU member is a catalyst for further progress towards gender equality in Turkey. The women's rights issue is at the forefront in Turkey due to the increasing activities of the women's rights organizations in Turkey and the will of the European Union to place the issue high on the agenda" (Bozkurt 2007)[1].

In the February of 2009, a well known bill was presented once more to the Turkish Parliament by a few women candidates from different ideological backgrounds. This was a bill in order to establish an "Equal Opportunities Commission" that would "genderize" the bills that were represented to the parliament, or more specifically to make the Turkish legislation more *gender-sensitive.* Nevin Gaye Erbatur, the parliamentarian from socio democratic wing who spoke first about the commission to the parliament has said that it was a requirement for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that Turkey has ratified in 2002, the acquis communautaire on equality of the European Union that Turkey was hoping to become a member soon and the Article 10 of the Turkish constitution. It was a shared thought that the establishment of such a commission would "aid Turkey's goal to become a more democratic country", a member of the European Union and that it was the fruit of women activists' and women organizations' hard work (TBMM 2009).

Although it may seem simple from such an explanation, the establishment of the commission did not happen easily. In fact, the suggestion of a commission on gender equality which was proposed by the Parliamentary Commission for Inquiry in 1998 was disregarded several times by the parliament. Thus the idea of such commission has been an issue of more than a decade for the feminist organizations, activists, scholars and parliamentarians in Turkey. There were a number of reasons for this delay; including the issue being a sensitive one and the negligence of previous

[1] Emine BOZKURT is a Social Democratic Member of the European Parliament for the Netherlands. She is active in the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Committee on Employment and Social Affairs, the Committee on Culture and Education and the European Union-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee. She has Turkish origin and is also the European Parliament reporter on women's rights in Turkey.

parliaments to place women's equality issues on their agenda. From several perspectives, the establishment of the commission that would work on gender equality or equal opportunities between sexes remains speculative. Today, this issue has strong links to the facts that are related to policy choices and consequently the Europeanization process in Turkey on top and below levels.

First, there is the fact that the commission is related to a matter that is politically sensitive in Turkey, as well as in other countries. The commission aims to organize gender issues for the legislation, meaning that it would change material and immaterial circumstances as well as traditions, norms and values in the country. Having endured the duty of being the "showcase" for modernization, islamization or nationalization projects in Turkey, the establishment of such a commission means the beginning of a new era for Turkish women from different fragments of society. And it addresses male activists who ponder upon the question on women's appearance as a *sine qua non* for their projects, as well. This situation leads to a fragmentation of ideas around the commission that will eventually harmonize gender issues. No matter what the fragmentation is based upon, the gender issue remains a showcase for the accession to European Union that is projected by all parties.

Second, there is an evident link between the idea of a commission and the wish to harmonize Turkish institutions with the European Union's criteria. There is a common thought around some interviewees of the present thesis that the launching of the commission depended mostly on Turkey's accession partnership to European Union. According to this perspective, the Turkish government is attending in European Commission for the opening of accession negotiations for Chapter 19 of the acquis communautaire, which covers "Social Policy and Employment" policies. The European Commission has stated in its Communication of October 2004 that Turkey has sufficiently fulfilled the Copenhagen political criteria and recommended the opening of accession negotiations.

However, it also underlined that the commission applies "zero tolerance policy" on areas of such as the fight against torture and ill-treatment, the implementation of provisions relating to freedom of expression, freedom of religion, International Labour Organisation (ILO) standards including trade union rights, minority rights and finally women's rights (COM [2004] 656). As Chapter 19 involves thoroughly on issues concerning women's rights (such as women's labor force participation, social inclusion or social protection), a progress on women's issues is being strategically used for the beginning of negotiations. Nevertheless, this situation outcomes legislative reforms in Turkey concerning women's rights, thus positioning European Commission as a catalyst for the top down changes.

Third, as stated above, the presence of a very vivid women's movement in Turkey contributed to the situation. During the observation and field work period of the present thesis (that covers the first quarter of 2009); the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission was seen as a major event for the women's NGOs that have struggled for years. As it will be analyzed in the last chapter of this work, throughout the agenda setting epoch of the commission, women's NGOs acted as *mediating factors* (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001) and intervened in the problem via their means of action. Even though it has a short history, the women's movement has grown to become a significant actor for the promotion of gender mainstreaming in Turkey, especially since the second half of 1990s. The reason behind this force can be explained by micro variables such as most activists' academic backgrounds and their familiarity with Turkish and external authorities as well as macro variables like political opportunity structures in Turkey or to the extent to participate to or co-operate with international institutions.

The dialogue with the international arena, such as CEDAW, European Women's Lobby and European Commission, entailed a progress in areas such as networking, lobbying, advocacy capacities of the NGOs and political opportunity structures in Turkey. A strengthened women's movement became more vocal to their extended requests from the parliament in a more suitable environment. The argument is that the catalysis of international and European institutions re-equilibrated the balance of powers, leading to their recognition in Turkey as non statist actors. In this research, we will be leaning on the European level of the problem and question the changes that occurred on women's NGOs in Turkey by the process of Europeanization.

Research questions and hypotheses

The object of this dissertation is based on the fact that there have been a number of changes in Turkey on the matter of gender policies and the civil society dialogue in the recent years, due to a "discourse of Europeanization" (Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş 2005). This master's thesis investigates the impacts of Turkey's pre-accession process to European Union, more specifically the changes that have occurred in the course of actions among women's NGOs in Turkey, who have become actors of the gender policies. We try to offer a sequential analysis of the changes that have been caused in these two Turkish women's NGOs by the Europeanization process. In order to evaluate the change, we have chosen two associations, Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) and Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER). By choosing these two associations, we have no intention of underestimating the women's activism in Turkey. Instead

of being chosen as representatives of the Turkish women's movement, they are chosen for their capacities to have access to European institutions and to influence three sectors which are state, business and civil society.

Considering that the Europeanization is an interactive process (Radaelli 2006, Forest 2006), the change in the associations has not only been the outcome of an "importation" (of European norms, values, beliefs or patterns). As the literature on the Europeanization of civil society shows (Jacquot and Woll 2004), the NGOs use the "discourse of Europeanization" in order to have legitimacy for demanding their own policy objectives. Nevertheless, this "usage" of the Europeanization framework does not involve every association, and necessitates a strong networking in the domestic (public and collective action) and European spheres. Accordingly we can come up with two questions: *What are the impacts of Europeanization on KADER and KAGİDER and how do they react to this process to become political entrepreneurs on gender policies in the pre-accession to the European Union? In what ways are the two associations differentiate in Turkish women's movement so to be able to "use" the discourse of Europeanization for their own legitimacy?*

In this research, KADER and KAGİDER represent both similarities and differences. On the one hand, both associations are participants of the collective action in Turkey built around gender issues. They both play active roles for the Turkish-EU relations by introducing a gender sensitive approach to the pre-accession process. They possess resources of expertise or legitimacy that facilitate their involvement in domestic and international networks. On the other hand, they differ in their natures and *raisons d'être.* KADER was founded as an advocacy NGO by a group of women mostly possessing academic expertise on gender issues or political sciences, with the objective of improving women's participation to decision making mechanisms. KAGİDER, on the other hand, was founded more recently by a group of women entrepreneurs with closer relations to the business world, and consequently to the state.

We offer a series of hypotheses as an answer to our question. First of all, we can argue that the similarities and distinctions between KADER and KAGİDER, which were indicated in the previous paragraph, fashion the mechanisms and changes of the Europeanization. Similar dynamics of Europeanization apply to the associations, but the results of the changes on the associations are different due to their different natures.

Second, as the indicated framework involves interactive mechanisms, association's nature of the engagement in the Europeanization process becomes a key question. How do they respond to the Europeanization? Do they benefit from the pre-accession or manipulate it? In this research, we

argue that both associations produce new forms of action in order to have access to the European resources with the end result of gaining legitimacy vis-à-vis the Turkish state.

Third, there is an eminent role of the adhesion process on the changes. As Turkey is a candidate to the European Union, special conditions different from the member countries are applied on the pre-accession process. Even though the gender policies remain in the soft laws of the European Union, the conditionality for the accession harden the application of EU norms in the candidate country. As a consequence, the associations benefit from the pre-accession and use strategies in order to maintain their own policy objectives.

Theoretical framework and literature

To analyze the impacts of Europeanization on women's collective action in Turkey, we choose to use a cognitive approach. Cognitive approach of the public policy analysis is a classification of studies according to elements such as "ideas, general precepts and representations, over and above social evolution and state action" (Surel 2000). According to Yves Surel, the approach is based "on the belief that cognitive and normative elements play an important role in how actors understand and explain the world" and gives importance to the "dynamics of the social construction of reality in the shaping of historically specific and socially legitimate frames and practices" (Surel 2000, Berger and Luckmann 1966). The normative and cognitive elements in such systems define "world views", or in other words, mechanisms of identity formation, principles of action, methodological prescriptions and practices for actors (Surel 2000). Normative and cognitive frameworks are not always stable, but may change as a consequence of a series of shifts in what different scholars on cognitive analysis define as paradigms (Hall 1993), advocacy coalitions (Sabatier 1999) or frame of reference (Jobert and Muller 1987).

In this study, we will be using the term of frame of reference. The notion of frame of reference is based on the idea that all policies "pass through a definition of *objectives* (increasing military forces' capacities of projection, decreasing social dispenses, limiting the automobile pollution, etc.) that will be defined through a *representation* of *problem*, of its *consequences* and of *solutions* needed to resolve" (Muller 2006, 372-373). Hence, the representation of the reality constitutes the frame of reference of the policies.

To analyze the politics in "complex societies", Pierre Muller offers an explanation which is based on a macro and more micro analysis of frame of references by highlighting the existence of

global and sectorial frame of references. The global frame of reference "constitutes the space of senses that permits to pass, in a certain point, the situation of hyperchoice in a measure that will delimit the values, the norms and the causal relations that impose like a cognitive and normative frame for the actors engaged in a confrontation of their interests" (Muller 2005, 162). This global frame of reference has a close relation with the reflexivity of modern societies where the nation states have a position of influencing the society, where the public policies constitute on the public spaces a "concrete implementation of [this] action in modern societies on themselves" (Muller 2005, 163). Muller gives the example of the reforms realized in France in the 1960s, on different sectors such as agriculture, health, education or transportations in the name of a similar rhetoric based on the frame of reference that the "modernization" is a "necessity" for the country (Muller 2005, 176-177).

What he indicates by the term "sectorial" is defined as "a vertical structuration of social roles (in general, professionals) that incarnates the laws of functioning, elaboration of norms and specific values, selection of elites and delimitation of frontiers, […] a configuration of actors that maintain relations of conflict or cooperation, these relations deployed in a cognitive and normative framework limiting the object and the contents of the public policy", or more simply a constitution by "an ensemble of problems associated to more or less an institutionalized manner in certain populations" (Muller 2005, 181). The mediators are the actors that have capacities to make a connection between these two areas can cause changes, and are formed of experts or practicians that contribute to the definition of cognitive and normative frameworks or act on the change (Muller 2005, 184-185).

In the practice of passage from one frame of reference to another, the frame of reference of a public policy can take shape in two ways: frame of reference of public action or frame of reference of collective action. The frame of reference of public action is the cognitive and normative frameworks from where a social problem was formulated such as pollution, delinquency, and unemployment. The frame of reference of collective action indicates the way that a social group defines the conditions of public action by its identity strategies and power strategies. The interest groups can occupy central positions in the definition of public action or can be the bearers of a more general vision and thus are affected by a public policy. Therefore, says Muller, there is a strong relation between the two dimensions of frame of reference in a public policy (Muller 2005, 173-174).

The frame of reference of public action and collective action are also influential on each other. In his paper, Paul Pierson indicates the role of policy feedbacks and the political change that "if the interest groups shape policies, policies also shape interest groups" (Pierson 1993). Accordingly,

the policies provide to the interest groups incentives and resources that may facilitate and inhibit the formation and expansion of particular groups. For example, government policies can create resources for the interest groups, such as the change in the legislation that favors funding options for organizations or provides incentives for individuals to join particular groups. Policies may also strengthen particular groups by increasing their access to decision making. Nevertheless in countries such as post communist Eastern Europe, or Turkey, where the interest group activity is not yet well established, policy feedback is likely to be consequential, thus causing a relatively weak policy initiative for these groups. In such cases, the *path dependence,* caused by the constraints that weigh on actors by the cognitive and normative frameworks (Muller 2005), blocks the establishment of more convenient environments for interest groups.

In order to explain the emergence of a recent rhetoric on "equality/equal opportunities for women" in Turkey, we can offer an explanation on the change in the global context towards a new frame of reference based on the European Union and what it represents as a world vision to the Turkish actors. Turkey's acceptation as a candidate country by the European Union after the Helsinki Summit in 1999 opened a new era in the country where new cognitive and normative frameworks were introduced which led to changes in the country's global structures. This can be understood from the declaration of Turkish President of the time, Süleyman Demirel, in a panel on Turkish-EU relations held after the Helsinki Summit: "[…] Turkey's aim is today, as before, to achieve the standards of European Union in the shortest period of time. We are preparing not only to harmonize Copenhagen criteria but also Maastricht pattern and European Monetary Union conditions. This is actually a target that Turkey has set itself in order to go further, enrich and obtain providence and happiness faster" (Demirel 1999). Hence, the candidacy to Europe was defined as a means of frame of reference on economic and social structures.

In fact, as it will be discussed in the first chapter, the reference on Europe is not new for Turkey. Throughout the "modernization process" of the Turkish republic in the 1920s and 1930s, the rhetoric on European modernization was widely used by the founding fathers in order to establish public actions enforcing the equality for women and men in the society. However, we may indicate that the reference could not accede to the frame of reference of collective action as the political opportunity structures in the country did not enable the formation of a sphere of independent women's collective action. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with the change in the endogenous conditions Turkish women's movement grew to form a more independent formation through the processes of institutionalization.

Nevertheless, we argue that it was the impact of the modification in the exogenous conditions that leaded to a relatively sudden rupture in Turkey. Pierre Muller affirms that this way of change in the frame of reference happens when the code of a politics transforms through a new system of explanation and interpretation of the problem, new solutions, new norms, and mostly influences the hierarchies of the groups and collective actors in the sector or a modifies the frontiers of these actors in the sector (Muller 2005, 174). The candidature in 1999 played the role to open a "policy frame" (*fenetre d'opportunité politique),* contributing to the modification of opportunity structures (Jacquot 2006, 42) in the political context. Accordingly, in this work, the candidature in 1999 will be accepted as a reference moment (*t-1)* that caused a change in the balances of power for the endogenous conditions, where the frame of reference of collective action could address more easily its feedbacks to the frame of reference of public action. To return to our problem, the women's associations could place themselves more often in the hierarchical structure concerning policies related to gender in Turkey.

This scheme ([A] public action≥ collective action → 1999 EU candidacy → [B] public action ↔ EU as a new frame of reference ↔ collective action) that we are presented until now should not be comprehended as a thorough explanation. The change was a combination of exogenous (ensemble of resources and opportunities brought by the environment) and endogenous factors (role of actors, institutional obstacles, importance of representations) (Jacquot 2006, 44) but also did not occur as an imposition of the new frame of reference (European Union) on the actors. The cognitive analysis offers in this perspective the theory of change relying on the autonomies of the actors (the degrees of rationality of the actors) and the constraints that frame their actions (Jacquot 2006, Muller 2005). Thus, our question focuses on the characteristic of this change, we will be suggesting the notion of "Europeanization" or a more extended notion of "accelerated Europeanization" (Nergiz 2006) with an "interactive conception" (Forest 2006), as the trigger of a process of change for women's associations in Turkey.

The study of interest groups in a non-member country through the frame of Europeanization may be considered by some as irrelevant. Studies on European Community have focused for a long time on the supranational level of analysis, considering the macro-level developments. However, the latest works on Europeanization offer a wider perspective on the impacts of the EU and include the role of interest groups on the impacts of European integration for the member and non member countries.

Throughout 1980s first intergovernmentalist works have been established in the European studies. These works occupied mostly the *top down* studies of Europeanization that focus on the implementation of EU policies at the national level. Another wave of research that appeared as a reaction to this approach consisted of *bottom up* perspective (Falkner et al. 2005, 14). Contrary to top down approach and its dominance on hierarchical organization, bottom up perspective leaned over the actors who are involved in the decision-making processes. The nomination of Europeanization as a field of study happened in the late 1990s, with the second wave of studies. These studies were dominated by analyzes on "the *effects of Europeanization* on domestic systems of governance" (Falkner 2005, 15). Claudio Radaelli's (2006) well known definition of Europeanization gives a distinctive explanation of the notion:

> *"process of construction (a), diffusion (b), and institutionalization (c) of rules, procedure, paradigms, styles, ways of doing and shared beliefs and norms, formal and informal, defined and consolidated first in the decision-making process of the EU and then incorporated in the logic discourses, identities, political structure and policies at the domestic level."*

Radaelli defines Europeanization as the study of the impacts of European Union on policies, politics and policies of national level. Europeanization does not occur through a unique set of vertical transfers between EU politics and national context but also contains horizontal diffusions, imitations and emulations between member states, where the EU has the role of an agent of socialization. So the study of Europeanization interests in the impacts of EU-ization. However the impacts are not limited to member states of European Union. The mechanisms of transfer include other members of the equation that are not literally members of the European Union, who have strong relations and integrate without participating (Radaelli 2006, 193-195).

Author indicates that there are two principle approaches to Europeanization. First one consists of *top down* analysis, where EU has to exercise some form of pressure in order to create a change. Top down analysis includes two variables: logics of appropriation and rational choice that facilitate the change. Logics of appropriation include informal institutions and normative entrepreneurs that influence the process through socialization to European networks. In case of rational choice, Europeanization offers new opportunities and constraints to institutional structures and *veto points* (representing small parties with capacity to influence the processes). Second approach is b*ottom up,* including a vast number of dependents on the national level such as actors, problems, resources, styles and discourses. This sequential model is based on national interaction systems and shows whether and how EU causes changes in this system (Radaelli 2006, 196-198).

According to Patrick Hassenteufel (2008), Radaelli's explanation poses problems because it contains ambiguities, such as the idea of a European model, notion of mimetism, degrees of constraint and the distinction between vertical and horizontal mechanisms. Author criticizes Radaelli because his definition poses on vertical grounds and neglects infranational mechanisms. Bruno Palier and Yves Surel (2007) extend the definition of Europeanization by contributing to the notion of interactions in the theory. The definition qualifies Europeanization as an "ensemble of institutional, strategic and normative[2] adjustment processes induced by the European construction" (EPPIE 2007, 39). Europeanization is evaluated as an ensemble of "descendant" dynamics, as proposed by Radaelli, but also as "ascendant" dynamics. These ascendant dynamics show the active parameters between various ladders of the Europeanization process, including the impacts of lobbying or mimetisms produced on different levels of national representation. Hence, Europeanization is a process that is attached to *three i's.* It concerns a frame of "institutions", which defines the interactions between public and private interactions. It demonstrates the changes in "interests", the preferences and motivations of the concerned actors. Finally, Europeanization displays changes on the frame of "ideas" that include representations and beliefs attached to public action (EPPIE 2007, 39-41).

In addition, the question of the degree of compatibility or incompatibility, or *institutional fit or misfit* in the normative dimension of Europeanization points out different degrees of mechanisms. National policy traditions and administrative routines play influential roles on the process of policy adaptation. If the European policies are conforming to national institutional and regulatory structures, the implementation happens without problems. If not, the implementation can be contested by national parties (Falkner 2005) and the probability of change in the public action becomes weak. So, the Europeanization is not harmonization (Hassenteufel 2008) but a process of adaptations, translations and negotiations.

However, the adaptation to European policies can be expected through intermediaries, even though high levels of incompatibility exist between community and national structures. These factors include national or infranational actors who can be effective throughout the translation period of European norms. The process of Europeanization is a mechanism for empowerment of actors, where the structural changes lead to a redistribution of power capacities among relevant actors in a political, social or economic system (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001). These actors with organizational capacities or institutional resources can act positively or negatively in the decision making process (Hassenteufel 2008, 206). Consequently, supporting institutions, supportive interest

[2] Hassenteufel (2008) adds cognitive to the definition, indicating that it differs from normative.

groups and the process of elite learning (Falkner 2005, 16) play a role as mediating factors that contribute to the process of Europeanization in a given country.

The civil society participation today is one of the factors aiding to cover the "democratic deficit" of European integration (Salgado and Woll 2007). In fact, the increase of the civil society role in the governance has been pioneered by the liberal political theorists since the time of Tocqueville. According to Alex Warleigh, the Europeanization of civil society is a means of market-driven politics, complementing to the internal market and a way "to redress the underdevelopment of social policy at the EU level, an intriguing parallel with EU citizenship". Accordingly, he indicates that the civil society will occupy a more central position in the European governance in the future (Warleigh 2001, 620). The European Union's encouragement of a European civil society is thus defined as a factor legitimating the European construction (Salgado and Woll 2007). The European Commission has indicated in its document of commission discussion (COM [2000] 11), "Over the last two decades the partnership between the European Commission and NGOs has expanded on all fronts. This intensification has covered a range of issues, from policy dialogue and policy delivery, to project and program management, both within the EU and in its partner countries. It results from a number of interwoven factors, related to both changes and developments within the EU institutions themselves, as well as to developments within the NGO Community". In the same discussion, the European Commission has come out with procedures in order to facilitate the participation of NGOs in the European integration process.

Consequently, Europeanization does not only occur through normative measures. Cognitive dimension of Europeanization explains the diffusion of representations, orientations, reasoning, action principles, arguments, practices and instruments in a non compelling way. This is a series of actions that may happen either on a vertical scheme, by the initiatives of EU institutions or a horizontal one, through infranational or national interactions. *Soft laws* are an example of cognitive dimensions of Europeanization that can be explained by texts such as resolutions, declarations, communications, opinions, recommendations, White Papers and Green Papers proposed to member and non member states that imply changes without imposing them. Hassenteufel defines *benchmarking* as another instrument of these implications, which works through *naming/blaming/shaming* logic. He indicates that *benchmarking* is used to show "good students" and to stigmatize "bad students". These are offered through classifications, tables, and graphics, to be able to keep the scientific neutrality (Hassenteufel 2008, 263-264).

Apart from vertical forms of cognitive Europeanization, horizontal forms aid to the change in national contexts. These are through European spaces that unite members (Hassenteufel 2008). In the case of Turkey who is not a member of European Union, the vertical dimension of cognitive Europeanization is more pertinent. The accession negotiations of Turkey occur via a benchmarking process, where the country is evaluated and compared to EU member examples with a result of soft laws. However, the isolation from a social EU network limits the possibilities of interaction to other European actors. As it will be examined in the second chapter of this work, this situation gets sorted out on some level by non statist actors in Turkey, through alternative instruments such as informal contacts.

Throughout the adhesion negotiations candidate countries adopt *acquis communautaire,* which is a set of legal dispositions, rules and norms, in order to fulfill the membership criteria (Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber 2005). Being a candidate country, Turkey has experienced institutional and policy adaptations during the accession negotiations. As recommended by the Communication in 2004 (COM [2004] 656) and then by subsequent communications, European Commission strongly expresses the importance of civil society dialogue between European and Turkish actors as well as between Turkish authorities and the civil society. In order to establish this process, EU has conducted activities targeting national public institutions and the civil society. These include EU-funded activities for the development of civil society, social dialogue, employment and social affairs and other activities that would diminish the lack of common knowledge on European Union in Turkey. Hence the Europeanization happens through *hard laws* such as the implementation of policies for the fulfillment of EU criteria and *soft laws* guiding these procedures.

Europeanization can happen explicitly as in the case of policy directives and regulations on the EU level or subtly, like the connotation of EU membership on national bureaucracies. Convenient with interactionist theories, the Europeanization is not a “one-way street” and member states try to influence the European policies (that are implied through convergence). As the repercussions of Europeanization can be seen across the member states and also candidate countries, these two characteristics are also prevailing for candidate countries too.

The frame of reference on the European Union does not impose on the actors but is translated as a world view by the actors. It is also a dynamic process. Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber (2005) indicate that “the relationships between the EU and membership candidates can be understood as an exercise in the reconstruction of the EU as a normative power” and offer the Turkish case as a good example for this situation. Accordingly, the Europeanization process in Turkey

proves the dynamics of the adaptation process that can has effects on either side. This explanation is supported by the fact that the EU norms are used by national actors for their own purposes and the reconstruction of EU norms, such as Copenhagen criteria throughout the candidacy period (Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber 2005, 3). The "usage" of the EU norms for the redefinition of national structures can be observed through interest groups as well as political institutions in Turkey.

The situation is observable on the women's NGOs that we will be analyzing in our work. The EC recognizes the Turkish women's NGOs as contributors to European Union's objectives for Turkey. In the "Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions" on the Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries (COM [2005] 290), it was indicated that "Through close links between women's rights and equal opportunities organizations in the EU and in Turkey, the civil society dialogue will contribute to the objectives of strengthening the position and participation of women in all aspects of Turkish society, as well as tackling other problems, such as domestic violence, as highlighted in the recommendations of the recent European Parliament report on the role of women in Turkey in social, economic and political activities. Particular consideration will have to be given to women's representation in the labor market, their representation in political decision making, whether on national level or on regional and local level. The Commission will seek to include gender equality and the equal opportunity dimension in all activities covered in this communication." Hence, the EC ensures gender perspectives and attention for the equality between sexes on fields related to civil society dialogue, positioning women's NGOs as a significant actor.

The study of gender equality as a policy area is suitable for the analysis of the changes caused by the process of Europeanization and the use of the EU norms by interest groups in a candidate country. In her research, Naz Sunay (2008) claims that through an examination of gender equality policies, uncertainty and power asymmetry can be observed in the case for Turkey. She indicates that the EU has binding legal directives for the economic aspects of gender policy in the Social Policy and Employment chapter of the *acquis.* As the EU is limited to non-economic issues, such as violence against women or women's political representation, its democratic premises remain conditional. However, conditions are settled through interpretations, by the aid of sources of information and assessments, making a setting of the "conditions of conditionality" (Schimmelfennig 2002). According to Sunay, non-state actors have a significant role in this policy area, where the European "Commission goes about building conditionality in the face of multiplicity of actors and possibility of lobbying" (Sunay 2008).

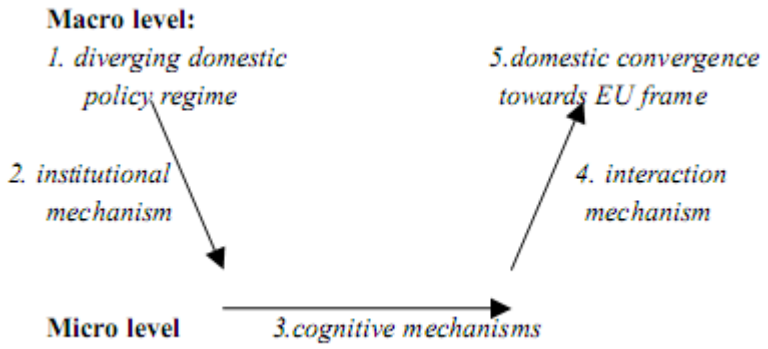

Figure 1: Europeanization: a mechanisms-based model

Source: Ulrike Liebert (ed.), with Stefanie Sifft, "Gendering Europeanisation: EC Norms on Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment of Women and Men in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden and the UK in Comparative Perspective, Brussels, P.I.E Peter Lang 2003

In our research, this phenomenon will be taken into consideration through an analysis of change among women's NGOs in Turkey. In order to understand the chain of mechanisms of the Europeanization, we will benefit from the "mechanisms-based model of the Europeanization" Liebert (2003). The impacts of the Europeanization are based on environmental, cognitive and interactive mechanisms of Europeanization and indicate that both macro and micro levels constitute leverage for the change. So the changes in the subjects of our work, KADER and KAGİDER, can be understood via a dynamic model, which focuses on the interactions.

Methodology

In order to analyze the impacts of Europeanization on KADER and KAGİDER, we used qualitative survey method with fourteen actors of the Turkey-EU-NGO triangle in Istanbul, Ankara and Brussels. This group of participants included representatives from the two women's NGOs, other women's NGOs, and officials from DG on Status and Problems of Women, the women's branch of the governing party (AKP), DG Enlargement's Turkish Desk in the European Commission and the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. We have also used the method of participant observation in a conference held by women's NGOs in Turkey and employed a literature survey including documents published by the EU, reports prepared by NGOs, government's publications.

We reached the interviewees (see Appendix A) by using direct contacts to the institutions or through the snowball method. Accessing to the members of the executive committee of KADER and the professional staff of KAGİDER was rather easy. Nevertheless, further contact with the presidents of the association or the executive committee of KAGİDER was not well perceived as this demand was turned down. We were given the excuse that it was difficult to get access to such people due to their very active professional lives. This could have been due to the fact that both associations occupy a major role in the women's movement and both of them are in the center of attention in the media and academic world. We reached members of the AKP by snowball method also and established direct contacts within the DG on Women's Status (KSGM) through formal ways. It has been relatively easy to contact with the actors from the European institutions in Turkey and in Brussels. So our position as a Turkish women researcher did not facilitate the contact with the members of the association. We rather benefited from the institutionalized structures of the EU institutions or the state institution by managing formal contacts.

Plan of the work

The first chapter gives a historical analysis of the women's movement in Turkey and the influence of the emergence of a feminist discourse in the EU for the NGOs in Turkey. Women's movement during the modern Turkey has started in the 1920s, when a group of women elitists acted to form a women's party, even before women gained the right to vote and stand for election. However, this movement was ceased by the government. Until 1980s, Turkish feminism remained calm, going on the same line as the state. As the Turkish feminist scholars define as "other feminism", the feminism after 1970s and especially 1980s went with the socialist movement and became more and more liberated after 1990s. In this part, we will focus, more specifically on the situation after 1999 where Turkey was accepted as a candidate for European Union, and what changed on the women's NGOs in Turkey after this event.

In the second part of the first chapter, the emergence of a gender policy in the European Union is investigated, in order to comprehend its effects on a candidate country as Turkey. Since the Rome Treaty in 1957, work/family reconciliation and equal opportunities has become a major area of interest for the European Community. There have been changes on the subject since the 1990s and especially after 2000s, where the "social" side of the EU has been strengthened (Lewis 2006). In parallel to this phenomenon, civil society dialogue is represented as a new important trend in the EU. As a candidate country, Turkey has to establish gender equality reforms in order to continue to its

accession negotiations. The emphasis is given to the dialogue between statist and non statist actors. As the human rights and problems related to gender issues is a *sine qua non* for the accession process (Bozkurt 2007) the situation played a significant role for the strengthening of women's NGOs in Turkey.

In the second chapter, we will focus on the impacts of environmental and cognitive mechanisms of Europeanization on KADER and KAGİDER. The process of Europeanization has caused changes on the legal and administrative level in Turkey. The obligation for to achieve EU norms has been a trigger for the fulfillment of several improvements on legal and administrative level in Turkey such as The Associations Law, The Foundations Law, the Civic Code, the Turkish Penal Code and the Law of Assembly and Demonstrations. These external variables had direct reflections on women's NGOs and on their work themes. EU's funds for the civil society development in Turkey assisted the increase in the activities, causing changes in the internal structures of the associations. The changes in the cognitive context involve professionalization, expertise and expansion of objectives.

The last chapter analyzes the interactive mechanisms of the Europeanization based on advocacy and lobbying. It argues that the Europeanization framework has led to a shift towards lobbying in the advocacy activities, and an increased involvement in both domestic and international spheres of interest representation. The chapter tries to examine the separate results of this mechanism on KADER and KAGİDER, and how they respond to the pre-accession process in order to maintain legitimacy against the Turkish state. So, it includes a more sociological explanation in order to understand the organizational strategies.

CHAPTER I

FROM STATE FEMINISM TO PROJECT FEMINISM ON THE ROUTE FOR THE EU MEMBERSHIP

The emergence of a women's movement in Turkey has its roots to the 19th century, when a wave of modernization was being imported from European territories and translated into domestic public and private sphere. However it was not until the foundation of the republic in 1923 that a movement appeared, always considering itself to be the representative of the equality policies by the state, aside from a few exceptions. After the 1980s, circles built around the feminist scholars gave naissance to a movement of idealist women who would not only share their individual experiences of inequality with their counterparts but also involve in unusual protests[3] to influence the public. Due to an environment built around liberalization and globalization in the 1990s, women's movement entered to transnational and international networks of women and increasingly institutionalized. Associations that we are analyzing in this work, Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) and Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER) were the results of such a fruitful epoch.

Nevertheless, the expansion was not easy. Being a subject that has been problematic not only in "non-occidental" and/or Islamic countries such as Turkey but throughout the world, efforts to improve women's involvement in social, political and economic arenas and the equality between sexes faced barriers. The European Union, which is undertaking a role of the *porte-parole* for gender mainstreaming for one decade, which has the objective of engendering policies did not have concrete social policies on gender between the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and 1990s. Similar circumstances existed in relation to the state-civil society and union-civil society dialogue. Turkey's candidature to the European Union that was accepted in 1999 has led to a translation process of such policies that were also new for the union itself. Thus, in addition to a global approach that has been significantly encouraged by the United Nations and following the summits on gender equality of the second half of 1980s, Turkish women's civil society organizations benefited from Turkey's pre-accession process to the European Union.

[3] An example of these "unusual" protests is the distribution of purple packing needles to women in order to fight against sexual harassment in public space.

In this chapter, we will try to offer a general perspective on the period (t0) before the introduction of a frame of reference of Europeanization to the women's movement, which holds a long period of time. We will be analyzing the conditions building the (t1) period that entails several variables: the history of women's movement in Turkey, the emergence of a feminist discourse in the EU and its influences on the Turkish accession process. At the end of this chapter, we will reach beyond the period of (t0) to have a general examination of the European Union's implications on the subject of gender equality in the Turkish pre-accession process.

1. A brief history of Turkish feminism

i. An "emancipated but unliberated" women's movement: 1923-1980s

Turkish women's movement is a history of challenges not only between women and men but also amongst values, most importantly between oriental and occidental. The movement goes back to the end of 19th century and more specifically after the establishment of the Second Constitutional Era (1908) of the Ottoman Empire, when a group of modernist middle class women started publishing magazines and newspapers (Özkaya 1998). The women's movement at the time of modern Turkey has started after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The project of the state elites at that moment was based on modernization, which meant "a total project, embracing and internalizing all cultural dimensions that made Europe modern" (Keyder 1997, 37). This meant that new cultural practices such as social liberalism and individualism would be supported by the state, against old "barriers" such as religious laws and norms of the polity.

Concrete implementations of this new era were new secular laws abolishing the Islamic laws, such as the new civic code of 1926 imported from Sweden that granted women rights equal to those of men in inheritance and divorce (Arat 1998, 118). Women were given right to participate in municipal and general elections in 1930 and 1934. These reforms aided to the "women's emancipation" in Turkey (Kandiyoti 1987) and the implications had consequences on the social arena. With the republican era, women became more visible in the urban space with their husbands. In parallel, women and men conditioned their behavior and gests in order to achieve the idealized European model (Göle 1993, 64).

However, in spite of its liberalization policies, the Republican regime was not eager to permit women's independent organizations (Arat 2000) and the emancipation of a feminist discourse. The nationalist movement was managed by the "monopolizing mentality of the state party, Republican People's Party (CHP)" (Coşar and Onbaşi 2008) that stayed in authority until the initiation of

multipartite system. Feminist movements that have appeared in this period were not welcomed. A noteworthy example of this rejection was when the Turkey's first women's association, Turkish Women's Association (TKB) was criticized for being against the republican regime by the government.

In fact, TKB was an association with the leadership of a feminist woman, Nezihe Muhiddin who demanded civil, social and political rights for women from the new Republican government, even before they gained political rights in 1930 (Zihnioğlu 2003, 223-224). It was an association that was found after a contradiction between women's movement which wished to establish a women's party and the state who did not allow such an experience, which instead accepted the formation of a women's association. The pretext of the government at the moment was that women had not yet possessed elective rights, so a women's party would be unsuitable to the political context in Turkey. While Muhiddin and her friends advocated on the idea that women had to be active and participant, the founding fathers of the republic expected women to be passive mothers (Zihnioğlu 2003, 227).

As a result, the administrators of the association, including Nezihe Muhiddin who demanded women's participation in the parliament, were discredited by the state party and were replaced by more moderate activists (Zihnioğlu 2003). TKB dissolved itself in 1935 with a declaration which indicated that there was no need to struggle for women's emancipation in Turkey (Coşar and Onbaşi 2008). Instead, 18 women representatives were elected to the National Assembly, accounting the 4.5% of all the seats in the Assembly (Tekeli 2006). Nevertheless, the dissolution of the association meant the dissolution of an emancipated, individualized feminist discourse in Turkey.

The first Law on Associations came to force in 1938 abolished all kinds of associations that leaned on "family, community, race, gender and class basis", blocking the foundation of associations based on gender. The law was amended in 1946, with the law number 4919 and the expression of "gender" was removed (Ediz 1994, 302). Consequently TKB reopened in 1949 with a new agenda that has remained until today: "to support proliferate and raise Turkish mothers who are cultured to the nation, comprehensive of their rights, who know how and when to use their rights, who serve their husbands and children with conscious knowledge, who respond to every trouble with loyalty and no self-demands (Bora 2007, 110-111). To explain the period, Deniz Kandiyoti reveals that Turkish women were "emancipated but unliberated", because they could not affirm political activation in order to change their current status (Kandiyoti 2007, 78). Therefore, the women's movement in Turkey that started with an activist attitude towards women's emancipation in every aspects of life and gender equality in Turkish social policies was digested by the government who was in search to establish a unique republican mentality, a Habermasian public sphere with a rational consensus supervised by the governing party.

During the following era, women's associations' discourses went parallel to the statist discourse. The period referred to by Şirin Tekeli, a feminist academician who later founded KADER, as a representation of the "state feminism"[4] (Tekeli 1986, 185), was weak when it came to women's activism towards political participation. Women's associations were distant to the politics and close to the state. Women representatives of the current were appreciated as the "soldiers of the national fight that was going on" (Tekeli 2006). The problem did not rely only on the gender issue; the acceptation of civil society at that moment, as it will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, was not suitable as an environment. Bora (2007) indicates that there was conformity of women's discourses in the movement with the interests of the state. The republic offered possibilities to middle/upper classes (or the other ones who could have mobility thanks to their education) to participate in public spheres like men. Accordingly, the state feminism meant a significant way, where the modernization or the westernization was seen as a possibility to liberate (Bora 2007, 111-112). This situation where the women's movement presumed itself as the flag holder of a modernization project lasted until the appearance of a new women's movement in Turkey in 1980s.

ii. Reincarnation: Turkish women's consciousness-raising: 1980-1990s

Throughout the 1980s, major changes affected by internal and external dynamics occurred in Turkey. These changes have shaped the discourse of women's movement that became more and more independent from other ideological currents of the time. The decade included the coup in 1980 that suppressed the militant left and right of the 1970s, a three year interim regime that lasted until 1983 and the processes of depoliticization and economic liberalization. The beginning of the 1980s was also marked by "the ruling elite's preference for neo-liberal policies requiring a strong but small state: the state had to be strong enough to contain any potential opposition that could lead to instability in the free market; and it had to be small so as to give ample room to private capital in the

[4] The "state feminism" represents in the global terminology "the capacity of the state to respond and act in favor of women's movement goals" (Outshoom and Kantola 2005). The feminism is attributed to the state's ways of doing on gender policies, which happen to be shaped according to the women's movement in that country. Nevertheless the state feminism that we tend to use in this work is related to the situation in Turkey, whereas the objectives and goals of the women's movement go in parallel to the feminist politics of the state. Şirin Tekeli (1986, 185) describes the Turkish feminists in the era between 1920s and 1980 as, "[…] women, who considered themselves as the representatives of the period's "state feminism", experienced the excitement of being pioneers of modernization so passionately that they could not realize that their own position did not reflect the real conditions of most Turkish women. And so they were led into a tragic "schizophrenic" illusion: the new identity of these women was not the one that they had selected themselves, but an ascribed one. And the ascriber was the state. (In a sense, the Ottoman heritage was still alive.)"Hence, the feminism of the epoch was a representative of the policies implemented by the newly formed centrist government that targeted to become a manager of both public and private spheres in the quest for Turkish modernization.

domestic market" (Coşar and Onbaşi 2008, 329-331). Therefore the government limited the affirmation of any civil activism with public incomes, in order to provide a balanced appearance to the market.

Considering the political barriers at the time, the emergence of a movement based on gender identity was challenging. However, what some feminist authors recall as "women's liberation movement" (Bora 2007, 112) happened in that atmosphere where a tension among individualism, collective social norms and statism took place. According to Yeşim Arat, even though the content in the 1980s' feminism was much different, there was always the heritage of a state feminism that helped the movement flourish in a challenging political context (Arat 1998, 119). The republican spirit of the 1923 was a point of reference against the patriarchal order that extended mostly from the Ottoman heritage.

Internal challenges appear to be one of the reasons. The refraction of the leftist movement by the 1980 coup caused the births of fragmented ideologies that were before converged into one. Another obvious reason is the revelation of the global feminist ideas that were translated by the founding mothers of the Turkish feminism. So the Turkish feminism reincarnated in the 1980s, belatedly to the international context, with the second wave feminist motto of "private is political" from 1960s and 1970s (Timisi and Ağduk Gevrek 2007, 14). The idea to evaluate the private sphere as political consented to the feminists a way to enter to the issues of political contestation, such as domestic violence and labour participation[5].

The actors of the women's movement in 1980s represented pertinent traits. First, they were mostly engaged in the leftist movement in Turkey throughout the 1970s that got its roots from the '68 movement. Secondly, they were "educated, mostly professional middle-class women who had personal links with feminists abroad or were exposed to feminist literature through friends or connections". At a time where the military intervention took place, the first feminists gathered in their homes at conscious-raising meetings, discussing occidental authors such as Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Kate Millet and Schulamith Firestone (Arat 1998, 119). Like the global feminism, the vanguards of the Turkish feminism were mostly elites and academicians who could translate their occidental counterparts. The translation of the feminist literature later in the 1990s led to the development of an "academic feminism" with the foundation of gender studies centers and programs in the universities (Timisi and Ağduk Gevrek 2007, 38).

[5] Unlike the global feminism, women's movement in Turkey did not build major rhetoric on abortion. The reason was the free access to abortion with the husband's consent, including in state hospitals, since 1983 (İlkkaracan 1997).

The movement that has started with the discussion groups accelerated via other activities targeting the public opinion such as magazine publications, symposiums and the founding of women's associations. The coming out of the closet happened in 1987, when the feminists started occupying the streets in order to protest against the gender inequalities. In May 1987, about 3000 women marched in Istanbul, demonstrating against the physical abuse of women and domestic violence. In June, feminists in Ankara campaigned with the environmentalists against Ankara's municipality who planned to convert a park into a car-parking area. In October, a one-day festival was organized in Istanbul to raise funds against the domestic violence problem (Sirman 1989). So the end of the 1980s was the beginning of a more protest feminism who intended to raise awareness of the public.

The movement in the 1980s focused mainly on the key dimensions of the feminist approach such as social citizenship rights (including economic, social and political rights) and the contestation of the breadwinner model. Feminists protested the 1926 Civil Law, indicating that it was not egalitarian because it recognized the husband as the "head" of the household and gave the woman the "carer" status. They also contested on the issue of social rights, such as the virginity tests that were required from single female job seekers in the public sector at the moment, sexual harassment in the public space and finally domestic violence (Tekeli 2006, 194).

As a result of the protests several articles of the penal and civil code were amended. Article 438 of the Turkish Penal Code, which provided for reduced sentences for rape if the victims were sex workers and Article 159 of the Turkish Civil Code that decreed that a married woman must have her husband's implicit or explicit consent to work was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court (İlkkaracan 1997). So the movement in the 1980s was not an organization of "grand social projects" (Coşar and Onbaşi 2008) but a confrontation with the patriarchal system that was engaged in the regime.

iii. Feminism without borders after 1990s: Participation to the international network and the place of KADER and KAGİDER in the picture

The 1990s' Turkey was marked by a triumph of political liberalism and an opportunity for the civil society to get access to the international arena. This phenomenon proved its consequences on the social constructions in the country, especially due to developments in the process of Turkey's pre- accession to European Union. Consequently the civil society was no longer comprehended as an enemy of the state, but rather an inevitable outcome of the liberalization (Coşar and Onbaşi 2008)

that had to be negotiated in order to establish a dialogue between the state and the public. As a result, women's associations profited from a new sphere of interactions that involved not only themselves and the state, but also international actors such as interest groups, the United Nations and the European Union institutions.

During the 1980s, the target of the feminists was to reach to women for consciousness-raising. This has changed during the 1990s where the target widened and transformed into influencing public policies, making them gender sensitive, or in other establishing gender mainstreaming in Turkey (Timisi and Ağduk Gevrek 2007). According to feminist authors, the Turkish feminism found its means to institutionalize. Women's associations, discussion groups, initiatives, support centers and shelters were founded in this era, not only in three big cities in Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir) but in other ones such as Adana, Antalya, Mersin, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Samsun, Eskişehir (Kardam and Ecevit 2007). Therefore an atomized women's movement dispersed into the national context, where the mainstream feminism adopted a relatively more inclusive articulation[6] to different fragments' problems.

The strengthening of the women's movement in the 1990s owed a part of its acceleration to the transnational feminism and international organizations gathering the civil society. This includes the UN women's conference in 1995 held in Beijing that opened new areas of interest for feminist academicians and activists. The conference defined the need for gender sensitive policies in the world, the absence of women in the decision making bodies and launched the principle of gender mainstreaming for policy making (Forest 2006). According to Maxime Forest (2006), the European Union adopted the principle to European institutions, shaping a new approach of gender equality at the EU level. The conference in Beijing and the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) that was held in Istanbul in 1996 let the women's organization to participate to international networks and organize transnational projects (Kardam and Ecevit 2007).

Another influence was the acceptation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that played a role in bringing women's human rights into

[6] By claiming "inclusive articulation" we intend to present the inclusion of larger and more variant groups to the women activists' agendas. We choose to occupy the notion of "mainstream feminism" which by and large indicates the movement organized by women who have a socio democrat background. The fragmented identity structure of the 1990s in the global context and the influence of neoliberalism had their impacts on the Turkish feminism, too. An example to the fragmentation is the revival of a conservative women's movement in Turkey that started in the beginning of 1990s. The movement aims the re-translation of Qur'an by women in order to re-interpret the so-called religious causes of gender inequality, on issues based mostly on objectivation of women's body and commoditization of female sexuality (Sirman 1989). Critical to the political framework of the 1990s, conservative women's movement went mostly hand-in-hand with conservative parties' women branches in the mentioned era (Eraslan 2007).

focus in Turkey. The convention proposed the elimination of discrimination towards women and took measures related to positive discrimination on behalf of women beyond recognition of formal legal equality. Turkey signed the convention before the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on Women, with some reservations because of the conflict with the Turkish Civil Code that legitimized the patriarchal structure of the family. Finally in 2000 Turkey withdrew its reservations to the CEDAW (Arat 2001). As it will be discussed in the forthcoming chapter, the monitoring of CEDAW on the status of Turkish women in Turkey aided to the women NGO's advocacy activities.

With the impact of external variables, the gender equality resurfaced as a political concern in Turkey. The increased dialogue between the state and the civil society initiated collaborations and new projects. An example of the collaboration was in 1993, The Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation and the State Ministry of Women, Family and Social Services worked together to establish a shelter for women who were exposed to domestic violence (Arat 1998). Also institutional actions were implemented by the governments in order to establish the dialogue to some degree. In 1990 "Presidency of Women's Status and Problems" that later became a Directorate General was founded affiliated to the Prime Minister, with the aim to achieve gender equality in all ranks of life. The directorate who could have a legal status only after 2004 includes today an advisory council uniting undersecretaries of ministries, the DG on European Union, gender study branches of universities and civil society organizations.

According to Turkish Women's Organizations Handbook (Flying Broom 2003) of Flying Broom Association in Turkey, there are 370 women's organizations in Turkey. To examine the collective interests of women's organizations, we may claim that there's a variety of targets acquired. These include training for empowerment and awareness-raising of women, pushing for gender sensitive legislation, building shelters for battered women and advocacy for women's rights. The struggles concentrate mainly on the issues of women's human rights and labour force participation. Another point of reference is related to the identity of women, where conservative, secularist (or socio democrat), labourer and Kurdish women organizations prioritize different interests on their agendas (Sancar and Bulut 2006). The modes of action of different organizations depend on their internal dimensions (choices of interest) and external dimensions (interactions with other public actors) that are highly related to their identity representation.

Despite the variety of actions, there is a changing trend from service, elite, charity, volunteer-based organizations to organizations involved in self-help, advocacy, fund-raising, networking, professionally conducted joint activities and globally oriented agenda setting (Sancar and Bulut

2006). What some feminist authors describe as “project feminism” (Kardam and Ecevit 2007), the new trend where the women’s organizations could obtain increasing capacities for public visibility, enhanced position of bargaining with governmental bodies and notable achievements in fund-raising (Sancar and Bulut 2006).

Projects that are realized in Turkey are based on the mentality of aids through developing and underdeveloped countries. The point of reference of the projects is to answer the problems that appeared in the process of economic development or non development of these countries. Several notions are common to these projects: providence, equality, combat against poverty, productivity and strengthening. The projects for Turkey started in the 1980s by programs for the participation of women to the labour force, rural development projects, women and children health projects and family planning. In 1990s, other areas were included such as women’s education and domestic labour (Kümbetoğlu 2007). Financial aids offered by the international organizations are concerned mostly with local development. The increase in such aids brought about also the increase in small scale local organizations in the country.

The project feminism was a consequence of basic needs. Women’s organizations which tried to be institutionalized in order to offer various services such as consultancy, sanctuary, education or publication needed to employ professional staff and rent for centers. However this could not be realized solely on membership fees and donations. So the women’s organizations tended towards international project funds from international organizations (such as World Bank and United Nations, World Health Organization, the United Nations Population Fund), European Commission and Council, organizations with transnational funds (such as Henrich Böll Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, and National Endowment Foundation) and embassies (Sancar and Bulut 2006). An important part of the projects acquired by the women’s NGOs comes from the European Union institutions, more specifically from European Commission’s funds for the civil society organizations.

The two associations that is analyzed in the present thesis, KADER and KAGİDER can be named as significant actors of the women’s movement in Turkey in the 2000s. In this thesis, they are chosen for their capacities to build projects funded by international and national organizations and their approachability to international (and most importantly European) networks.

Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER)

Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) is the only association in Turkey which works to encourage women to participate to decision making bodies, such as parliament, local administrations, syndicates and other bodies. According to its presentation brochure, KADER

> "*…tries to increase awareness of gender equality in areas of societal life and political culture, as well as striving to increase sensitivity towards women's problems. Supports increased participation of women in politics, by campaigning to remove economic, social and legislative barriers, and proposing equality enhancing policies. Strives, in areas of decision-making and politics, to gain and implement more effective representative measures, such as quota system, to be guaranteed by constitutional and statutory regulations. Endeavors, within public life, to strengthen both party affiliated and non-affiliated women and visibly encourages women to become candidates for all positions. Works to provide a support network for women in political life and decision making positions, whilst developing unified strength to address problems and policies in the wider framework of the women's movement".*

KADER's interest towards political participation is based on the idea that without women's presence in the decision making bodies, problems related to gender inequality cannot be resolved in Turkey. The General Secretary of the association, Aysun Sayın points out that "women are underrepresented in decision-making bodies. Unless we are involved in decision-making mechanisms, we cannot resolve the problems of violence, education, employment or other problems that we experience personally. Or else, other people would be making the decisions for us"[7]. Therefore the organization's aim can be examined as a step towards the implementation of gender equality in other policy areas too.

At the time where the women were represented 2.4% in the parliament in 1997, KADER's target was to increase the number of women deputies in the parliament to at least 55, meaning 10% of the parliament. This goal is almost achieved in the 2007 elections, with a percentage of 9.1% participation. KADER's nationwide campaigns that were especially prominent in the 2007 elections have a role in this improvement. However the members of the organization indicate that this increase should not be cheered. According to 2008 World Economic Forum Report, Turkey occupies the 123th place in 130 countries, with political empowerment rank of 106 (Hausmann, Tyson and

[7] Interview with Aysun Sayın, 03.02.2009

Zahidi 2008). KADER's statistics indicate that 0.56% of the mayors (18/ 3207) elected after the local elections in 2004 were women (KADER 2009b). The number fell to 15 after the 2009 elections (KADER 2009a).

KADER was founded on March 4th, 1997 with the aim of increasing the existence of women in the political arena. The founding team was headed by Şirin Tekeli, a powerful socio democrat Turkish feminist scholar who took place in the women's activism of 1980s and was gathered from "nineteen working women" including six scholars, three journalists, an executive consultant, a public relations consultant (Bora 2007). The group was chosen by attention to include journalists, businesswomen, politicians and public relations consultants (Akkaya 1998) to be able to increase the capacity to have access to policy networks.

KADER's headquarters is in Istanbul. It also has 12 other branches in Turkey's key provinces, including the branch in Ankara that has close ties with the political organs. Today KADER has approximately 3000 members all over Turkey. The general assembly is convened biannually. The highest body in the organization is the General Executive Committee that elects seven members to form the Central Executive Committee. The committee is composed of the Chairperson, secretary general, the treasurer and four members. KADER's members include women who work in various nongovernmental organizations, political parties and work-branch organizations.

The association's first goal is women's active participation to politics. In order to achieve this goal, KADER realizes advocacy and lobbying activities in Turkey and in the international sphere. The awareness raising campaigns of KADER aim local and national elections, changes in the Turkish civil or penal codes and women's quota. The organization lobbies for the implementation of policies for the improvement of women's sociopolitical status. KADER proposes educational activities on subjects such as gender and politics, communication, campaign strategies, organization building, leadership and the European Union. It also organizes conferences, publications and projects and attends in national and international conferences and conventions.

In its statutes, KADER affirms that the women who will be supported for the political participation have to be conscious on the situation of women; be decisive for working on women's equality; work in order to achieve a democratic and laic (secular) republic in Turkey; be against all kinds of fanaticism, bigotry, racism, social pollution, violence, war; and support ecological consciousness; want to participate in politics not because of personal reasons but to become a representative of women and the public, have a honest, brave but gentle discourse. KADER indicates that it maintains equal stance and distance towards all political parties and that the chairperson of

KADER cannot be a member of any political party in order to keep the equal distance. The equal distance argument necessitates the refusal of ideological and political confrontation. Yet, the equal distance takes into consideration the share of interests on gender equality, which may be relative to ideological positioning. Members of the organization indicate that a consensus with the actual governing party, AKP, cannot be fully achieved because of the familialist/individualist distinction that confronts the two parties.

KADER tries to keep its democratic discourse in its internal governance, too. The statutory principle of rotation is said to protect the dynamism of the organization. The elective members of the executive positions can only serve two terms of office (2+2=4 years). Instead of training solely the women candidates who make an application to the organization, KADER trains its own members and executives, too. There is a dynamic sharing and instruction of expertise resources in the organization. KADER highlights that women who have completed their terms are fully qualified and experienced to be active in managerial positions of the political parties.

Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER)

KAGİDER was founded in September 2002 with the mission of developing women's entrepreneurship and status in economic and social life. It redefined its mission that targeted only the support for entrepreneurship in 2007, through a strategic planning session. The organization aims "to create a world in which women 'produce' and establish their existence freely and play an efficient role in the decision making process" (KAGİDER 2008). Even though there is a trend since the pre-accession processes with the European Union for the women's associations to work on supporting women's participation in labour force, KAGİDER is significant for having nationwide missions and its capacities to accede to international networks.

KAGİDER chooses to work on supporting women's participation in labour participation and supporting women entrepreneurs, in order to achieve EU standards. The association defines its missions on basic misfits between Turkey and the European Union. To give statistical information, women's employment for Turkey was 24% in 2008 (compared to 57% in the EU) and entrepreneurship rate was 9% (compared to 28% in the EU). There are high levels of gender gap in labour participation. The difference in wages between genders is 30-35% in Turkey (KAGİDER 2008). The association aims to change the situation by advocating for legislative amendments, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting and also realizing projects that would reach directly to women.

KAGİDER's activities include entrepreneurship projects such as entrepreneurship trainings which reached 1300 women until 2008; incubation center that assists women establish their own business; mentorship services; consultancy services in areas of law and marketing; Women's Entrepreneurship and Leadership Centre; Bridge from Women to Women project that supports women of southeastern Turkey. KAGİDER also realizes advocacy activities, such as for the equal representation of women in parliament, employment, gender budgeting, gender mainstreaming the civil code (KAGİDER 2008).

The Association defines its basic activities as the enhancement and empowerment of women's entrepreneurship and providing a sustainable resource by establishing the Women's Entrepreneurship and Leadership Center (KGLM). This is realized by "serving as a reference to potential entrepreneurs, providing infrastructure to entrepreneurship projects through incubation, mentorship and consultancy services and empowering women entrepreneurs through seminars, training and networking". According to Özgül Erdemli Mutlu, the responsible KGLM, not only entrepreneurs but also women from all work areas will be assembled in the center[8]. Another work area of KAGİDER is the endorsement for gender equality in Turkey. It aims to improve policy recommendations on employment and entrepreneurship issues, play an active role in Turkey's EU negotiation process, and promote the gender equality agenda to increase the status of women.

Members of the association are all chosen among women entrepreneurs who have worked at least two years in business enterprises and employed at least five legally registered employers. Organization demands for high fees from its members. The entrance fee for the association is equivalent of 1000 Euros in Turkish Lira and annually all members have to pay an equivalent of 500 Euros. Out of 175 members, 63% have university degrees, 22% have master's degrees. Only 1% has only had primary education. 87% of the members are from Istanbul, and the rest is divided into ten Turkish cities, including Ankara. Members are mostly from service sector and PR/advertising. 40% of the members have 6-25 employees, whereas more than 25% have more than 100 employees in their enterprises (KAGİDER 2008). Some of the most powerful businesswomen in Turkey, such as the chairwoman of Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD), broadcasting and industry holdings' chairwomen are also members of KAGİDER.

KAGİDER has close ties with the industrialists and the businesspeople. In fact, it was founded as a sister organization to TÜSİAD, one of the largest scale NGOs in Turkey. KAGİDER's headquarters is in Istanbul and it has no branches other than the office in Brussels that was founded in March 2008

[8] Interview with Özgül Erdemli Mutlu, 06.02.2009

in the same building as TÜSİAD's office. Personal proximities of the members with the business world and directly or indirectly with the government in Turkey aids KAGİDER to build policy coalitions with other NGOs and obtain a capacity to act in the public sphere.

KAGİDER has a hierarchical structure that works on professional management basis. KAGİDER's General Comity unites every two years and the decisions are majoritarian. The Executive Comity consists of 18 members and has to be changed every four years. Aside from the members KAGİDER currently has six recruited staff, consisting of the General Secretary, the manager of Women's Entrepreneurship and Leadership Center, a project manager, a responsible of administration, an assistant, and the responsible of the Brussels Office (KAGİDER 2009). As it will be discussed in the second chapter, KAGİDER's internal governance is an outcome of a global trend of professionalization of the societal activism. The association is a representative case for women's NGOs in Turkey.

Concisely, the women's movement passed across borders since more than a decade and has institutionalized in the form of women's NGOs. Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) emerged as a reaction to the gap of women's political participation in Turkey. The association has been regarded in the period that it was founded as a new gasp for the women's movement in Turkey, owing to its political approach on the gender issues and associative mechanisms that were new to the movement such as advocacy and lobbying. Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER) on the other hand was built as a sister association to Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen Association (TÜSİAD). The association supported the economic participation of women, a subject rather adjacent to the European Union's approach on the gender issues in the past. Both associations went through a series of changes with the post-Helsinki period, in relation with the setting in the European Union on gender politics and civil society dialogue.

2. Emergence of a feminist discourse in the EU and its influences on Turkey

For some of the women's activist groups today, Turkey's pre-accession process to European Union signifies an instrument for democracy, and a continuation of the democratization and modernization wave that has been influential on the civil society after the 1990s. The union is perceived as a catalyst for gender equality, a better defender of women's rights than the state. Such perception is not exceptional for the Turkish case. Since the 1970s, the European Commission has constituted for the European feminists such as French and Belgian feminists, "an alternative venue,

not least because Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome already provided (in theory) for equal pay between men and women. In a strategic move, women's groups began in the early 1970s to invoke Article 119 of the Rome Treaty in national equal pay campaigns and to focus their lobbying activities upon EC policy-makers" (Mazey 1998, 137). Sonia Mazey (1998) states the reason that underlies behind this situation is that "EC policy-makers, unencumbered by pre-existing policies and vested interests in this sector, were generally more receptive to the new policy frame which underpinned women's policy demands" and accordingly the nature of EC decision-making process "provided the women's lobby with multiple "access points" to decision-makers" (1998, 138). In such conditions, whether the gender policies acted as hard laws or soft laws to the member and candidate countries, women's lobbies in the concerned territories got introduced to a new "external ally" (Tocci 2005). Since the admission of Turkey as a candidate country to the European Union, Turkish women's movement and lobbies have also gained such an ally which put them in the policy equation.

In the previous part, we have tried to highlight the transformation of the women's movement in Turkey, which after the 1990s has strongly benefited from a redistribution of opportunities as a result of a variety of exogenous factors. In this dissertation, we are mainly focusing on the European part of these exogenous factors that have become a catalyst for the strengthening of women's NGOs vis-à-vis the state in Turkey. In order to understand the change that has taken place in the domestic sphere, the background that constructs the norms and values of the European Union's policies on gender and the civil society needs to be comprehended. In this part, we will try to give an overview of these policies that gave a push to European women's NGOs and the NGOs in the candidate countries to develop into political entrepreneurs.

i. Gender politics in the European Union

The implementation of policies on equal opportunities has a tradition in the European Communities. However, the communautary politics on the gender equality have developed as late as 1990s with the instauration of the term *gender mainstreaming* as a principle director of action (Jacquot 2006). The notion is based on the idea of "making the gender dimensions visible, engendering politics and policies and abandoning discrimination on grounds of gender and sex" (Fuhrmann 2004), and occupies a major part of the literature on gender equality today.

The origin of the European Communities equal opportunities policy is based on the Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome (1957) that contains the principle of equal pay for male and female workers for equal work (Fuhrmann 2004). The Article 119 states that:

> *"…each Member State shall during the first stage ensure and subsequently maintain the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work. For the purpose of this Article 'pay' means the ordinary basic or minimum wage or salary and any other consideration, whether in cash or in kind, which the worker receives, directly or indirectly, in respect of his employment from his employer."*

The article imposed an "equality of remunerations between female and male workers, to avoid all the risks of social dumping", guaranteeing the equal concurrence conditions between the industrialists of the member states. So, at that moment, the article had no intentions of considering women's interests or social justice (Jacquot 2006, 184), but it "established the contours of social policy development in twentieth-century Western European welfare states, which built their systems of social protection around the relationship between the male worker and the labour market- the work/welfare relationship". Consequently, the origins of gender equality in the European Union were based on a pursuit of market-making as to social justice (Lewis 2006, 420-421), and they were highly criticized by feminist authors. Nevertheless, the situation helped women activists place a new feminist policy frame on the EC agenda and demand further sex equality legislations (Mazey 1998) from the community and their states.

The policies on equal opportunities developed in the European Union during 1970s and 1980. Yet, the attempt to harmonize the social dimension to the EU policy failed in the 1980s. The economic, demographic and fiscal challenges (such as increased rates of unemployment and labour market participation rates) which were the consequences of the labour market and family change in the 1990s revealed a need to modernize the actual social protection systems (Lewis 2006). As the reconciliation between family, state and the market became more and more revealing for the welfare state structures (Orloff, O'Connor and Shaver 1999), an attempt to achieve equal opportunities became marked by the commitment to gender mainstream all policy fields. Gender equality was reinforced in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), where the equality between both sexes extending beyond the issue of pay was introduced into European Treaties. Article 13 of the treaty includes the statement of "discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation" as a general anti-discrimination clause. Article 141 TEC which replaced Article 119 of the Rome Treaty contains a reference to equal pay for women and men for equal work

or work of equal value, and introduced possible action measure in order to achieve the equality (European Women's Lobby 2009).

Apart from the treaties, directives transposed into national legislation in the member states have developed means to include gender equality to European policies. These include the Council Directives that are related to the application of the principle of equality in the workplace and working conditions (Council Directive 75/117/EEC on equal pay for men and women, 76/207/EEC on access to employment, vocational training, promotion and working conditions, 97/81/EC on part time work, 2000/78/EC on equal treatment in employment and occupation, 2002/73/EC binding for the first time at EU level the legislation recognizing sexual harassment as a sex discrimination to the general treatment in employment directive, 2004/113/EC on equal treatment in the access to and supply of goods and services), social security (78/7/EEC, 86/613/EEC on the protection of self-employed women during pregnancy and motherhood, 92/85/EEC on pregnant and breastfeeding workers, 96/34/EC on parental leave) and discrimination (97/80/EC) (European Women's Lobby 2009). Nonetheless, the method of co-ordination (OMC) has replaced the “harder” directives with “softer” pressures on member states on the subjects related to employment and other dimensions of social policy. The OMC sets common objectives and monitors to progress in the member states by peer view (Lewis 2006), and depends on the voluntary coordination of the members.

The implementation of gender mainstreaming in the European Union varies on sectors and Directorates General of the European Commission. According to Nora Fuhrmann, politicians developed strategies to realize gender equality in more friendly sectors such as foreign relations, including development cooperation and women’s rights, labour market policy, structural funds, education, job training and youth and staff and informal policy of the European Commission since 1997 (Fuhrmann 2004). In 2000, the EU increased its activities in equality policy and the fight against violence against women. Even though the actions were realized on the subject (such as conferences and new programs) the economic situation of women remained unchanged. The situation was presented by the Beijing Platform for Action presented by the EU at the “Beijing+5” conference held by the UN in 2000, that was referred each year by the “Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality 2001-2005” (Fuhrmann 2004). In December 2004, the Directive on gender equality outside the area of employment was adopted by the Council of Ministers of the EU. It integrated the recognition of direct and indirect discrimination, including towards women for reasons of pregnancy or maternity, justification of a legitimate aim for the acceptance of differences of treatment. The directive is limited to goods and services available to the public, is offered outside the area of private

and family life and does not apply to the content of the media or advertising neither to public nor private education (European Women's Lobby 2009).

The European Roadmap for equality between women and men for 2006-2010 was issued in March 2006. The Roadmap sets six fields of priority action for the EU in terms of gender equality: "1) equal economic independence for women and men, 2) reconciliation of private and professional life, 3) equal representation in decision-making, 4) eradication of all forms of gender-based violence, 5) elimination of gender stereotypes, and 6) promotion of gender equality in external and development policies". The Roadmap targets the strengthening of women's conditions and positions in employment, entrepreneurship, health, flexible working, social protection systems, and participation in civil society, politics and senior management in public administration. It also proposes that actions should be taken on the violence of fundamental rights to life, safety, freedom, dignity, physical and emotional integrity, trafficking of women, elimination of stereotypes in education, culture, labour market and media (COM [2006] 92).

According to the Roadmap, the EU has to promote the internationally recognized principles such as Millennium Development Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action in other countries, including candidate and potential candidate countries. The key actions for the implementation of gender equality are asserted as the review of legislation, awareness raising, better statistics and more research, establishment of a system for comparable statistics for crime, establishment of EU networks of women in economic, political decision making bodies and gender equality bodies and financing through the European Institute for Gender Equality (COM [2006] 92).

The European institutions contribute to the gender equality issues with means of action attributed to them. The European Commission is the implementation body that proposes new legislation. The Equal Opportunities Unit based in the DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities ensures compliance with the EU Directives on equal opportunities for women and men. The Commissioners' Group on Equality was created in 1995, to maintain regular contacts with the European Parliament, the Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities and the European Women's Lobby and maintain an overview. The Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities brings together the representatives of national bodies working for equality and social partners. The European Parliament has a Committee on Women's Rights that supports legislation and programs aiming to promote equality and fight against discrimination, and maintain direct communication with the national parliaments. As the largest umbrella organization of women's associations in the EU, the European Women's Lobby (EWL) is the largest non-governmental women's organization in the

European Union and represents more than 2000 organizations in 30 European countries. The EWL works mainly with the institutions of European Union, following the process of changing the EU Treaties and legislative proposals on gender (Social Innovation Fund 2006). As an umbrella organization, the European Women's Lobby assembles European women's associations and coordinates the advocacy in the European Union on gender issues

To sum up, the European Union's gender policy that was based on state-market-family relations of the EEC mentality went through a series of transformations mainly after the 1990s. The union implemented social policies as we have counted in this part, which have always had an association to the market policies. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the European Union puts more emphasis on women's rights in the social arena as well as the economic arena. On the one hand, programs in order to implement gender mainstreaming for EU policies increased the number of units on gender equality or equal opportunities that work in cooperation with the Directorate Generals of different domains. On the other hand, the EU's policies on gender issues are limited to soft laws when it comes to their application in the member countries. Nevertheless, based on the conditionality for the membership, candidate countries are experiencing such soft laws with harder implications.

ii. Dialogue with the NGOs in the EU

As discussed in the previous part, the EWL coordinates as a European civil society organization the involvement of other European women's associations and follows the European legislature for a gender sensitive approach. Yet, the existence of such associations and the emergence of collaboration between the civil society and the European Communities are recent experiences for the union. Even though there were regular relations with the associations since 1970s, the first references to the associations started appearing very lately (Salgado 2007). It was the Treaty of Nice signed in 2001 that included the notion of civil society, changing the composition of the Economic and Social Committee with the Article 257 to be consistent of "…representatives of the various economic and social components of organized civil society, and in particular representatives of producers, farmers, carriers, workers, dealers, craftsmen, professional occupations, consumers and the general interest" (2001/C 80/01). The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe indicated in its Article I-47 on the "principle of participative democracy" that "The institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society" (2004/C 310/01).

Since 1990s, the European Commission searches for an alliance with the civil society to reinforce its efforts for the process of European construction. According to Salgado-Sanchez (2007), this is due to the legitimacy crisis of the Commission in the late 1990s, and also the increase in the international visibility of the civil society through the international meetings such as altermondialist movements. The recognition of NGOs that are different from civil society organizations occurred also in this era. The Commission adopted in 2000 the Discussion Paper "The Commission and NGOs: building a stronger partnership (COM [2000] 11), searching for new measures to improve the relations with NGOs. The Discussion Paper indicates that the European Union recognizes the NGOs as "significant component of civil society and as providing valuable support for a democratic system of government". It is highlighted that this situation is particularly relevant in the context of enlargement, where the EU requirements for the membership (based on the Copenhagen criteria) are based on the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities in candidate countries. The NGOs are accepted as contributors to the development of democracy and civil society in the candidate countries, and to the partnership building processes in the other developing countries that the Community co-operates with (COM [2000] 11).

The European institutions' relations with the NGOs are not limited with the Commission but other institutions such as the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and the Council are involved in relations with the interest groups. According to the Discussion Paper of 2000, the NGOs contribute to policy making in the EU through their links at local, regional, national and European level, by providing feedbacks. They contribute to project management, by managing, monitoring and evaluating projects financed by the EU, especially in areas concerned with the social exclusion and discrimination, protecting the national environment and the provision of humanitarian and development aid. The NGOs can also contribute to European integration by forming a "European public opinion", and an integration at grassroots level (COM [2000] 11).

The White Paper on European Governance in 2001 (COM [2001] 428) proposes changes combining policy tools such as legislation, structural funding, social dialogue and action programs to strengthen the European governance. The White Paper indicates that the civil society should involve more in the governance, by a "reinforced culture of consultation and dialogue", which gives to the European Parliament a prominent role to use public hearings. These events caused a change in the Commission's discourse on the civil society on two aspects. Consequently, the European Commission started using its consultation and dialogue that were produced by the White Paper, on the NGOs to

legitimize its politics in member states (Salgado 2004). And, the civil dialogue that was used within the context of social policy before and was broadened up to include the interactions of the NGOs in all sectors (Smismans 2002). The European Parliament and the Council have adopted in 2006 the Regulation (EC) No. 1367/2006 on the application of the provisions of the Aarhus Convention on access to information, public participation in decision-making and access to justice in environmental matters to community institutions and bodies. The transparency is one of the new trends for the Commission's objective to maintain an open dialogue with the civil parties. In March 2007, the Commission adopted a Communication on the Follow-up to the Green Paper "European Transparency Initiative" that initiates more transparency to the framework (European Commission 2008).

The European Union and NGOs can have a relation on informal lobbying (e.g. grassroots campaigns) or on formal lobbying and structured relations. The civil dialogue does not have a legal basis in the EU Treaty for now, but there are Minimum Standards on Consultation that the commission has to respect when consulting the civil society. Also umbrella organizations, such as European Women's Lobby bring the NGOs from all over the EU and other countries on the similar policy issues (Civil Society Contact Group 2006). The Commission has a decentralized way of working when it comes to organizing contacts with civil society and other interested parties; all DGs have individual contacts with the parties. The interested parties are consulted by different tools, such as Green and White Papers, communications, consultation documents, advisory committees, expert groups and ad-hoc consultations (European Commission 2008).

The European Union's aim to fulfill an increased dialogue with the civil society is not limited with the frameworks targeting EU member countries. In 2005, the European Commission adopted a communication (COM [2005] 290) on civil society dialogue between the European Union and the candidate countries, in order to set out a policy framework. The Commission aimed "to overcome the problem that arose during the previous enlargement of citizens being neither sufficiently informed nor prepared" and to strengthen contacts and exchange of experience in Turkey and Croatia. The communication indicated that the development of relations with the civil society ensures better mutual awareness, thus aiding to the pre-accession process.

Since the 1990s, the European Commission has become an important source for funding the NGOs in European Union member states and candidate countries. The Commission pays direct grants to beneficiaries in a wide range, from universities to NGOs, to pursue EU policies. The grants include social affairs, research and development, education, environment, consumer protection and external

policies. The Commission's grants for gender equality are comprised in the area of Human Rights. These grants are gathered in two programs: the ESF and the PROGRESS. The ESF promotes equality between women and men and promotes economic and social cohesion, through seven year Operational Programs planned by member states implementing through public and private sector organizations including non-governmental organizations. Another current EU funding for women is PROGRESS, which supports the implementation of the principle of gender equality and promoting gender mainstreaming in all EU policies (European Commission 2009).

The dialogue with the civil society is today exceptionally significant for the European Union's objective to create its own European constituencies. Its institutions such as the European Commission and the European Parliament have become the intermediaries with the civil society organization through formal and informal ways. The extent of the European Commission's funds to the civil society in member and candidate countries shows its commitment. The dialogue has also become a subject of conditionality for the setting out of policy frameworks in the candidate countries. The European Commission claims that Turkey has to implement civil society friendly policies, most importantly when it comes to some key areas such as children, human rights, youth, environment, handicapped, culture, arts and gender equality. As a result, the women's NGOs develop into being a part of the Turkish pre-accession process.

iii. The role of women's NGOs in the Turkish pre-accession process

Turkey's history with the project of European integration goes back to the Ankara Association Agreement signed with European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963. The agreement projected the progressive establishment of customs union. In 1970 an Additional Protocol was signed in Brussels. Turkey's application for full EEC membership took place in 1987 and in 1995 a customs union was created after the agreement between Turkey and European Union Association Council. The Customs Union covers trade in manufactured products between Turkey and the EU, as well as alignment to EU policies such as technical regulation products, competition and Intellectual Property Law.

The candidacy to EU membership was accepted after the Helsinki European Council of December 1999. This event widened the relations between Turkey and EU, covering social policies as well as economic ones. In March 2001, European Council adopted the Accession Partnership for Turkey and defined the conditions to open accession negotiations at the end of 2004. In 2004 the Commission also published a Communication, recommending the development of a dialogue

between EU Member States and Turkey, “where concerns and perceptions can be discussed in a frank and open manner” and noting that “Civil society should play the most important role in this dialogue, which should be facilitated by the EU” (COM [2004] 656).

Accession negotiations started in 2005 with 35 chapters. The Commission also adopted a Communication on the civil-society dialogue between EU and Candidate countries, in order to arrange a general framework “on how to create and reinforce links between civil society in EU and candidate countries”. The communication included the bilateral activities between Turkey and EU, and forecasted the development of long term partnerships with non governmental bodies, including the objectives for “strengthening the position and participation of women in all aspects of Turkish society” (COM [2005] 290).

Ever since the start of accession negotiations, EU provisionally closed the chapter on Science and Research (June 2006) and opened negotiations on seven chapters: Enterprise and Industry (March 2007) and Financial Control and Statistics (June 2007), Trans-European Networks and Consumer and health protection (December 2007), Intellectual property and Company law (June 2008). However, EU froze the eight chapters (Free Movement of Goods, Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services, Financial Services, Agriculture and Rural Development, Fisheries, Transport Policy, Customs Union and External Relations) as Turkey did not apply to Cyprus the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement (European Commission 2009).

Since 1998, the European Commission publishes annual Progress Reports, analyzing the political, economic and social criteria and the harmonization to EU’s acquis communautaire. Other regular reports of EU for Turkey are the Progress Reports of European Parliament and the Accession Partnerships (2001, 2003, 2005, and 2008) and their revised reports. These reports show the progressive approach of European institutions’ inquiries on Turkey, with increasing number of chapters on developments or priorities. Progress Reports of both the European Commission and the European Parliament are also significant to monitor policy compatibilities (*fits)* or non-compatibilities (*misfits)* between Turkey and the European Union. On the Turkish side, there have been major steps to meet European criteria, such as the Copenhagen criteria on democracy and human rights.

The social criteria of the European Union include the dialogue with the civil society and the screening of human rights, including women’s human rights. The EC also has a financial support mechanism in order to converge candidate countries to the EU. In fact, the screening of human rights cause in bilateral trades and co-operation agreements of the EC goes back to 1995, where democratization and human rights principles were integrated in all European policies. An allocation

system was managed during the period of 1996-2002 for countries in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process, including Turkey, in order NGOs to obtain financial assistance for their projects. Projects included to MEDA program, except for those concerning the promotion of democracy, human rights and civil society were stopped after European Parliament's resolution in 1996 on human rights violations in Turkey. After this period, the European Commission started to work with NGOs on the subjects concerned, rather than funding line ministries (Birden Güneş 2005).

The means that EU uses for financial support in candidate countries is called the pre-accession funding. The pre-accession funding can be traced down to the "Accession Partnerships" that the European Commission set up when Turkey was given the candidacy status in 1999. Accession Partnerships included areas that Turkey had to establish in order to achieve EU criteria. In response, Turkish government prepared its own National Program. A regulation on pre-accession financial assistance was approved by the Council in 2001. By this regulation, both parties, Turkey and the European Commission could prioritize when and where the funds had to be distributed. Through these funds, the EC aimed for Turkish NGOs to develop their capacity in project design and implementation, fundraising, communication, public relations and employment in order to construct a more balanced relationship between state and non statist actors. The ultimate goal was presented as the maturation of Turkish democracy in practice (Birden Güneş 2005).

Turkey receives pre-accession funds since the 2004, and the financial support has increased since then (from 250 Million Euros in 2004 to 654 Million Euros in 2010). The funds can be obtained by the projects carried out by state institutions or nongovernmental organizations. The designing and the implementation of the projects are organized by the institutions receiving the funds and the areas range from health and education to infrastructure and rural development (Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey 2008).

The Accession Negotiations for Turkey have been launched in 2005, with the adoption of the Negotiation Framework. Since then an "Instrument for Pre-accession" (IPA) has been launched. This assistance program for candidate and potential candidate countries (Croatia, Turkey, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia, Montenegro and Serbia, including Kosovo) includes various policies that are aimed to be harmonized with the European Union standards. In order to accomplish this, the assistance intends "strengthening the democratic institutions, as well as the rule of law, including its enforcement; the promotion and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and enhanced respect for minority rights, the promotion of gender equality and non-discrimination; public administration reform, including the establishment of a system

enabling decentralization of assistance management to the beneficiary country; economic reform; the development of civil society; social inclusion; reconciliation, confidence-building measures and reconstruction; regional and cross-border cooperation ” (Council Regulation (EC) No 1085/2006). EU-funded activities for the development of civil society, social dialogue, employment and social affairs and other activities that would diminish the lack of common knowledge on European Union in Turkey were also implemented in order to increase the foregone dialogue.

On 18 January 2000, the European Commission stated in its discussion paper entitled “The Commission and NGOS: building stronger partnership” (COM [2000] 11) that “the EU is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, principle which are common to member states” and “developing and consolidating democracy is also the Communities’ general policy objective in its cooperation with developing countries…” “…partnerships with local NGOs in developing countries are particularly significant in this regard”. Even though the commission highlighted the connotation of civil society dialogue, the state had not implemented enough policies to meet up with the criteria. The European Commission’s Communication in 2004 expressed once again with a more criticizing tone on the importance of civil society dialogue between European and Turkish actors as well as between Turkish authorities and the civil society. After 2004, influential measures were taken in Turkey on civil society dialogue, as it will be analyzed in the second chapter.

The European Commission’s communication of the 2005 for enhancing civil dialogue with the candidate countries (COM [2005] 290) highlighted that the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights and the pre-accession financial assistance program aim the development of civil society in Turkey. In order to establish a long-term partnership between organizations, the EU demanded from Turkey bilateral exchange projects that would include Turkish and EU organizations. In the EC’s communication, gender equality, business relations, cooperation between local communities, youth, university and professional exchanges and culture and the media are defined as areas of significance. The gender equality is represented as an area that should be enhanced, and accordingly it was indicated that “the EU aims to strengthen the position of women in Turkish society and to tackle other issues such as domestic violence. The Commission will seek to include gender equality and the equal opportunity dimension in all its activities” (COM [2005] 290).

As the gender equality is one of the essential components of Turkey’s pre-accession process to the European Union, the women’s civil society organizations are also situated in the civil society dialogue programmes. The EC programmes for women’s rights focuses mainly on violence against

women and regional development, as well as enhancing women's NGOs capacities. The Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey and the Secretariat General for EU Affairs of Turkey monitor gender rights in Turkey and provide information to the EU on possible implementations. We can arguably state that these programs' main targets can be represented as a great number of local NGOs that work on the problems based on gender inequality, or other nationwide NGOs which are service providers in addition to their maintaining advocacy activities inside and outside Turkey.

Since 2004 women's NGOs benefit from the EC's grants offered for Turkey. These started with the pre-accession program entitled as "Strengthening freedom of Association for further Development of Civil Society" in 2004, where women's organization received support for building capacity for advocacy, fundraising, communication and networking. A program coordinated in 2005 titled "NGO Grant Facility 2005", aimed to establish closer dialogue between local women's organizations, with local administrations for awareness raising, violence as well as employment, monitoring and promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming at local and national policy levels and under-representation of women in political decision-making (Özdemir 2007). The combat against violence for women is one of the main issues that the European Commission's programs focus on for Turkey[9].

The EC's programs are not limited with the capacity building tools for women's NGOs but include also other public bodies that work on women's rights. To give an example, "Promoting Gender Equality" program that promoted gender equality through collaboration with public institutions, aimed to increase the capacity of the Directorate General for Women's Status. The DG that has been formalized in 2004 is the National Women's Machinery (N. Kardam 2005) in Turkey on gender issues. Also, the framework for 2007 aimed "to support and facilitate women's access to municipal, social and judicial services through improving the capacity of women's NGOs and awareness building" and established a gender sensitive approach into service provision policies (Özdemir 2007). Accordingly, the gender mainstreaming has become a new trend in Turkish political arena and civil society in the recent years.

The EC's programs, such as the mentioned programs are not realized by the European Commission or the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, but by Turkish CSOs whose projects are chosen after a procedure of selection by the European institutions. So the commission aims to reinforce the gender equality in Turkey while at the same time employing a fund-raising mechanism that addresses to the civil society organization. The fund-raising and project

[9] Interview with Nalan Özdemir, 11.02.2009

management facilities are anticipated to bring about the strengthening of the women's NGOs, including factors such as capacity building and human resources management. To conclude, the strengthening of women's NGOs occupies a significant role in Turkish pre-accession process to the EU.

To summarize, the candidacy to the European Union after 1999 has brought a process of Europeanization both on the public and collective action. As we have seen in the first part of this chapter with a focus on gender issues, the Europe frame of reference in fact "goes much further back in history, and is tied to modernization reforms already carried out towards the end of the Ottoman Empire" (Rumelili 2003). Nonetheless, we argue that the actual situation and the frame of reference on the Europeanization differs from the "ideas of Europe" imported throughout the Turkish modernization. First, the notion of Europeanization that is used in this dissertation is limited to the "construction, diffusion and institutionalization of rules, procedure, paradigms, styles, ways of doing and shared beliefs and norms, formal and informal, defined a consolidated first in the decision-making process of the EU" (Radaelli 2006), which are then translated in the domestic sphere. So the definition itself possesses the necessity to have a European Union, which does not only accumulate cognitive assessments of a number of countries residing in its territories but has the capacity to construct, diffuse and institutionalize formal and informal rules, procedures or norms. Briefly, there have to be communautary policies for the contemporary definition of Europeanization.

Second, there is an evident difference between the impacts of the European ideas on the women's issues in the domestic level in the past and present. This difference has its roots to the lack of political convergence or implementation in the European Union on gender and civil society policies in the past and to the acceptance of Turkey's candidature in 1999 and not before. Hence, the post-Helsinki period opened a new chapter for Turkey's relations with the European Union, and for the feminist movement in Turkey which have gained an ally or a catalyst for its policy objectives. In such conditions Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) and Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER) have also entered a new phase, where the impacts of the Europeanization played a significant role for the changes in these associations.

CHAPTER II

CHANGES DUE TO ENVIRONMENTAL AND COGNITIVE MECHANISMS OF EUROPEANIZATION

Since the European Council's Helsinki Summit in 1999, Turkey's relationship with the European Union has entered a new phase. The country which has been undergoing a liberalization period since the beginning of 1990s was involved in a fresh era that rendered "the EU and its policies vis-à-vis Turkey" "a permanent feature of the public discourse in Turkey" (Sofos 2001, Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber 2005). The Europeanization was positioned as the new of frame of reference that came out to remodel the relations between the public action and the collective action. According to some scholars such as Sofos (2001), the reforms for the liberalization and democratization of the Turkish political system "have been either prompted by or justified on the grounds of the EU-Turkey relationship" (Sofos 2001, 254), such as the strengthened civil society that legitimized its existence through "the discourse of Europeanization" (Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş 2005).

According to Natalie Tocci (2005), the EU accession process had two effects on civil society. First, she argues that the process "increased the credibility and legitimacy of the claims of these domestic actors. […] The establishment came under pressure for change both from above (the EU level) and from below (civil society)." (Tocci 2005, 81). The actors of the civil society hence gained an "external ally", which let them profit from its legitimacy on the state due to the conditionality in order to become a member state. So, the civil society could be more insistent on the matters that it has addressed to the state before. The second result is identified as the reform process, with extended freedoms for the civil actors and in our case for women (2005, 81). The post-Helsinki process has been very active for the formation of new NGOs in Turkey, which found the opportunity to proceed in wider spaces.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, for the feminists in member countries and Turkey, the European Union has also constituted an "alternative venue" (Mazey 1998) to unblock the state. Consequently, feminist NGOs in Turkey benefited from the discourse and concrete changes

brought about with the surfacing of the Europeanization frame of reference. The associations such as KADER and KAGİDER which have maintained close relations with the European and transnational networks have been driven by the Europeanization. In this chapter, we will be focusing on these changes that have shaped the internal structures of KADER and KAGİDER. The impacts of the Europeanization will be analyzed in relation to environmental mechanisms (which also can present the causes), such as policy reforms and the EU funding and cognitive mechanisms or consequences of the external variables, which are leading to new internal orientations like professionalization and extension of objectives.

1. Reflection of environmental mechanisms on the institutional context

The operability of the civil society in a country depends highly on the legal and operational environment. This dependency is a major disadvantage for the countries with a strong authority of the central administration, such as in Turkey or in Greece (Özgüneş 2004). Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş state that "the legal environment conducive to civil society is a prerequisite for NGOs to consolidate their power and not be vulnerable to politically driven obstacles" (Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş 2005, 63). Accordingly, a change in such legal environment, for instance due to a change in the frame of reference of the public action, can lead to the expansion of the collective action. In the case for Turkey, the candidature of Turkey in 1999 to European Union gave grounds to a restructuration on the legal and administrative environment that released the relative *status quo* in the country on the matter of gender equality.

Similarly, in an analysis on the emergence of gender interest groups in the Czech Republic, Maxime Forest (2006) indicates that "the negotiations to join the EU, which started in 1997-1998, opened a new chapter of the Europeanization of gender as a field of public action. […] First, anti-discrimination laws and institutional tools were introduced to deal with gender equality in every accession country, thus increasing public demand for expertise on gender issues. Meanwhile, some local NGOs became involved in a cognitive process as they were being exposed by their western counterparts to a mainstream discourse on gender equality within international networks that flourished after 1990" (Forest 2006, 172). Forest relates the change in the public and collective action to the beginning of negotiations that means the introduction of new policy agendas, which also led to a cognitive process for the interest groups.

In our analysis, we have offered as the turning point for the process of an "accelerated Europeanization" the acceptation of Turkey as a candidate country by the European Union in 1999, rather than the beginning of the negotiations after 2004. The Helsinki process initiated an "institutionalized dialogue" between Turkey and the European Union and the harmonization reforms emerged to Turkish domestic politics after 1999. The era is marked by the emergence of a "pro-EU coalition committed to undertaking the kinds of economic and political reforms necessary to facilitate full membership" (Öniş 2002), thus a more convenient environment for the nongovernmental organizations. Conveniently to this argument, the Secretary General of KADER stated that the association started following the pre-accession process after the candidature in 1999 and added that they "[…] started monitoring the matters related to the gender, defined in the Copenhagen Criteria and harmonization to *acquis*" after this period[10]. So, as the dialogue between Turkey and the European Union increased, women's nongovernmental organizations started putting the subjects related to the EU on their agenda.

Examining the changes in the institutional contexts of the associations, two external variables can be argued as conductors of the Europeanization framework in KADER and KAGİDER after 1999. First of these variables is the reform process in legal and administrative spheres that have been implemented under the pre-accession process. We will be examining the nature of these reforms in Turkey and question if they had inputs with related to the operability of KADER and KAGİDER. The second variable is the EU's financial supports for the women's NGOs in Turkey. As the budget is the "creator of interdependencies between sub-systems" in a political order (Siné 2006, Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007), the budget is a significant variable for dependence or a resource for the autonomy[11] of the interest groups. In order to understand whether the budget act as a way of dependence or autonomy for KADER and KAGİDER, we will offer a study of the quantitative data.

i. Improved operability brought by reforms in the legal and administrative spheres

Since the acceptation of Turkey as a candidate country to European Union, there have been changes in the legal environment in Turkey that have produced political opportunity structures for the Turkish interest groups. As we are focusing on the women's NGOs in Turkey, we will be leaning

[10] Interview with Aysun Sayın, 03.02.2009

[11] The dependence of the interest groups to funding organizations/institutions can be argued, as well. However, in our work we rely on the relative autonomy that the women's nongovernmental organizations obtain through European grants.

on modifications in the legal and administrative level on two policy areas: civil society (participatory democracy) and gender equality.

The development in civil society in Europe has its roots to the emergence of post-industrialist states and the societal needs that have surfaced in such environment. As the Europe moved "its sovereignty on some key issues to the supra-national level and the lower regional units, NGOs have inevitably had a larger space to intervene in politics" (Özgüneş 2004), and the government-social relations were shaped accordingly. Nevertheless, in countries such as Turkey, where the predominant attitude towards the civil society depend highly on the centralized politico administrative structure, the participatory democracy could not develop at the same degree. The legal and administrative arrangements on the civil society organizations and political socialization are the concrete representations of these attitudes.

The development of nongovernmental organizations in Turkey has been observed mainly in the last 20 years. According to Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş (2005), there were only 205 associations in 1938. This number has increased to 18,958 in 1960. In the 1970s and 1980s, the civil society was seen as a "revolt against the state" (Özgüneş 2004) that needed to be suppressed in order to keep the authority of the power elites. The conception of the civil society in Turkey has undergone a change with the influence of an international discourse that puts the civil participation to its policy rhetoric. The authors indicate that the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II Summit) of 1996 which was held in Istanbul gave birth to the emergence of a civil society culture in Turkey. The conference had the purpose to address the themes of "Adequate shelter for all" and "Sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world" that put the human beings and the civil society at the centre of the concerns for sustainable development (United Nations 1996), and caused an increase in the civil society (Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş 2005). The number of civil society organizations has risen from 55,000 to 80,750 in the period of 1996 and 2005, whereas the number of women's organizations increased from 2,469 in 2004 to 5,064 in 2005 (Ketola 2009).

The influence of the Turkish-EU relations on the legal environment in Turkey began in 2001, with the commitment regarding to a more democratic setting for the NGOs in the National Program concerning the establishment of the *acquis communautaire* (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı 2004). The necessity to "reform" the policies on the civil society was an outcome of the European frame of reference in the public action, where the compliance with the Copenhagen Criteria was seen as a means to achieve European standards. The European Commission's Progress

Reports between 1999 and 2003 indicated all the shortcomings in the Associations Law, the Foundations Law[12], the Civic Code, the Turkish Penal Code and the Law of Assembly and Demonstrations (Nigar Göksel and Birden Güneş 2005). In 2003 the Associations Law was reformed to allowing easier structures for the organizations to receive funding and cooperate with other organizations (TUSEV 2005)[13]. The role of the police in civil society affairs was abolished with the introduction of the Department of Associations as an organizer of civil society activities (Ketola 2009). The change in the Associations Law permitted the nongovernmental organizations to participate in (and form) national and international networks and have a more autonomous structure with regarding to the state.

It can be stated that KADER and KAGİDER benefited from the impacts of these modifications on the Turkish legal environment concerning the civil society. First, the political rights of the participants to these organizations were established after these modifications. As KADER's agenda focuses on political participation of women in decision-making mechanisms; the association has close links to political parties. Participation in a political network could not have been possible in an environment where the influences of the Turkish Constitution of 1980 that limits the political representation in organizational activity would remain. Second, the funding possibilities increased the associations' capacities to generate activities. Both organizations profited in the past and keep on profiting today from the funds offered by the international and national organizations/institutions, which include European funds. Third, the cooperation and communication to other individual or umbrella organizations improve associations' competences. KADER and KAGİDER participate in national and international networks, which could not have been realized in a restrained environment.

The second set of modifications are based on several policy areas (employment, human rights) but are all common to represent the modifications related to the gender equality. The third chapter of this dissertation argues that in the agenda setting and also implementation process of these reforms women activists played active roles. These reforms included the changes in the Constitution, Turkish Penal and Civil Codes, Family Protection Law, Labor Law and Municipal Law that improved Turkish women's conditions in general. These legal modifications include the Article 41 of the Turkish Constitution that was amended in October 2001 and redefined the family as an entity that is "based on equality between spouses". The statement of "The government is responsible to

[12] In February 2008, the amendments to the Law on Foundations was adopted, relaxing the conditions for establishing a foundation and easing the regulatory framework for their activities (COM (2008) 674).
[13] Before the reform, the NGOs' activities such as spending and travel had to be approved by the police and NGOs were not permitted to cooperate in joint projects (Ketola 2009).

enforce equality between men and women" was included in the Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution in May 2004. In the Turkish Penal Code, the sexual crimes were accepted in 2004, as crimes against individuals/against the inviolability of sexual integrity, rather than the previous statement stating that they were crimes against society, family or public morality. The introduced laws increased the discourse on women's rights in economic, political and social spheres.

Another incentive of the public action in the mentioned period was to regenerate women's organizational capacities. We may argue that the soft laws proposed by the European Commission at the time, such as the Progress Report in 2004 that stressed on the weakness of both civil society and women's rights in Turkey have played a major role for the situation. So, as in the case of women's nongovernmental organizations in Czech Republic (Forest 2006), the new laws and institutional tools increased the public demand for expertise on gender issues in Turkey. The outcome of the situation can be observed by the emergence of a more effective DG on Status of Women (KSGM)[14]. The DG had been established in 1990 under the Prime Ministry in accordance with "governmental liabilities to international resolutions", but did not have a formal legal basis until 2004 (Sancar and Bulut 2006). The new Organizational Law on the DG in 2004 emphasized "on the empowerment of women and promotion of women's rights in all areas and especially in the eradication of violence against women and political participation". The law stipulated the formation of an Advisory Council (see Appendix B) that would give policy advice to the Director, and comprise of KSGM officials, representatives of relevant government organizations, academics and representatives of five women's NGOs (Sancar and Bulut 2006). So the process that put the civil society organizations and women's rights to picture produced an opportunity for the women's NGOs in Turkey, letting them participate in the public hierarchy corresponding to their policy choices.

The influence of the exogenous variables on the institutional context increases the role of women's NGOs. The increasing demand for the expertise is filled by NGO activity. Maxime Forest (2006) indicates that the reports and recommendations of the European Institutions provide institutional frameworks for the advocacy of gender interests by nongovernmental actors. These soft laws contour the public demand, which concern mainly areas such as discrimination against women in the public sphere (labour force, access to social care and political representation) (Forest 2006, 174). Conveniently to this affirmation, KADER and KAGİDER, who work on political participation of women to the decision mechanisms and women's participation in labour force, were chosen as NGOs

[14] The DG was created with the name "DG on Women's Status and Problems" and the term "problems" was removed after 2004.

to represent their agenda to the Advisory Council in 1 December 2008 for a period of three years[15]. The participation to KSGM Advisory Council provides to the associations a possibility to introduce their agenda in the public sphere and also be visible in public.

Thus, the reforms in the legal and administrative spheres in Turkey due to the European criteria offered a new political opportunity structure for KADER and KAGİDER. Both associations benefited from the new frame of reference that enlarged their operability and increased their public recognition in the country. However, as it will be argued in the third chapter, the interaction with the public sphere and the European Union has not been passive. Both KADER and KAGİDER played significant roles in setting the agenda on gender policies, which as it was discussed in this part returned to them as new political opportunity structures. So, as in the case of Czech Republic (Forest 2006) the European institutions offered new institutional frameworks for Turkish women's NGOs, increasing the public demand for their expertise. Consequently, the associations were enforced to develop their resources in terms of expertise or capacity to act both at the national, international and local levels (Forest 2006).

ii. The share of the EU financial support in NGOs' strengthening through funding

The rise of the civil society in the last two decades to become an important factor for the governance has introduced the question of sustainability. Since the Cold War in 1989, bilateral (such as cooperation or development agencies) and multilateral (such as World Bank) donor agencies have pursued a "New Policy Agenda", by offering funds to nongovernmental organizations, grassroots organizations, social welfare and the development of civil society (Edwards ve Hulme 1996). The European Union has since also kept its place in this new clientelism around a rhetoric on participatory democracy or "bringing the citizen back in" but also with an intention of political socialization of the European citizenship model (Warleigh 2001).

In the last two decades, the external funding has become a major aspect of NGO's internal mechanisms in Turkey. The European Union is one of the main characters of NGO funding for Turkish NGOs and its participation in the civil society financial support brings about questions about whether the organizations become dependent or not European programmes. As *porte paroles* of the Europeanization in Turkish women's movement, it can be assumed that the European Commission's financial support is dominant for the budgets of KADER and KAGİDER. Yet, an analysis of the

[15] Interview with Leyla Coşkun, 27.02.2009

associations' budgets demonstrates that this is a counterintuitive argument. In this part, we will be studying the European Union's and the Commission's financial support for Turkish civil society and the share of the EU financial support in the two associations' fund-raising mechanisms.

The European Union offers financial assistance to its candidate countries like Turkey financial assistances in order to establish more similar policies in the areas of *misfit.* It is stated by the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey that "The membership criteria, known as the Copenhagen criteria, were established in 1993 to make sure that potential member states share the EU's values, goals and policies and that they will be able to take full advantage of membership. The criteria refer to political, economic, legislative and administrative measures that need to be taken by the country to bring it closer to EU standards. To achieve this, the EU helps candidate countries to establish the national public policies that have been applied successfully in EU member states over the years and which bring about a better standard of living for EU citizens" (Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey 2008). In opposition to the convergence model realized between the member countries of the EU-15, the integration model for the enlargement process involves benchmarking from other EU countries and a pre-accession that involves the European Commission's and European Parliament's impositions on candidate countries.

The priorities of the European Commission for Turkey are presently supporting reform in Turkey, cross-border cooperation and partnership with member states. Even though there have been financial assistances offered to Turkey since 1964, the pre-accession assistance from the EU has begun in 2001, under the Turkish Financial Instrument. The EU programs the funds on an annual basis under National Programmes for each year with a joint decision taken by the European Commission and the Turkish government, based on the investment needs in the priority areas for pre-accession. Under the Civil Society Dialogue area, the EC funds address to smaller organizations, NGOs and academic institutions. Supporting gender equality is presented as one of the main areas for project supports (Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey 2008).

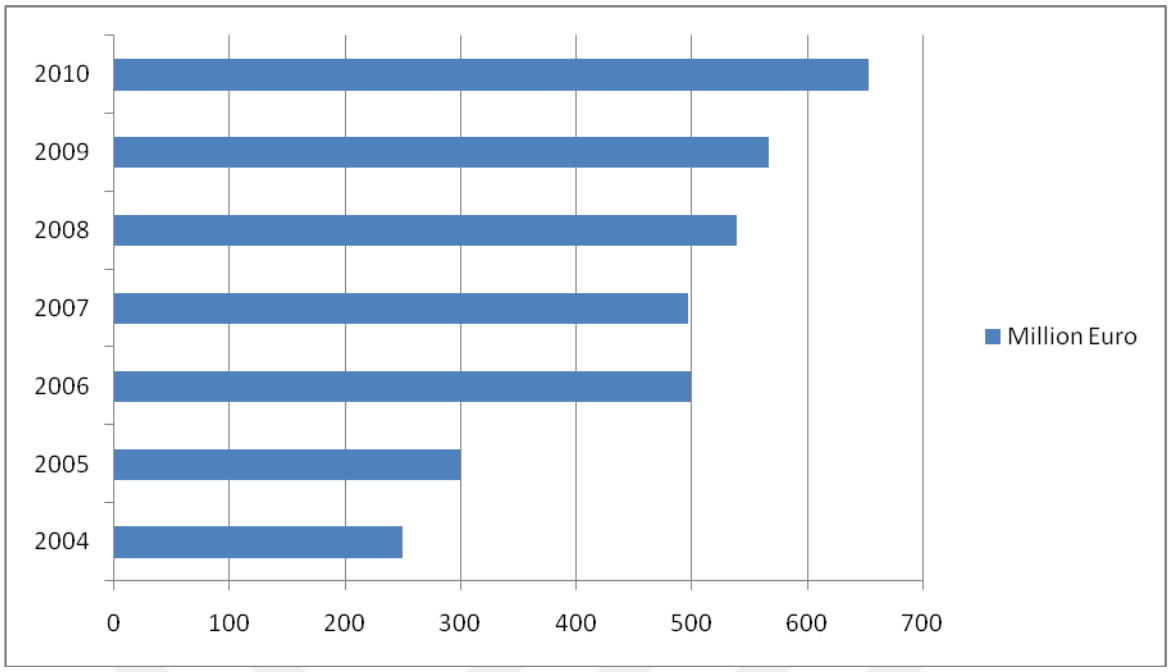

Figure 2: European Commission's pre-accession funds after 2004

Data collected from: Avrupa Komisyonu Türkiye Delegasyonu, "Neden AB Mali Desteği?" http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB_Mali_Destegi/Neden_Ab_Mali_Destegi.html, 11.06.2009

European Union's funds for nongovernmental organizations in the candidate countries has a main objective to establish a civil dialogue that would "[…] inform public opinion on both sides and […] bridge any gaps through better provision of information as well as through increased connection between citizens" (Ketola 2009). The sector manager of Civil Society and Democratization from the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey states that the sector aims "the development of a dialogue between Europe and Turkey. The civil society development works through capacity enhancement programs and the main objective is to have nongovernmental organizations that can develop themselves in diverse thematic spheres. We also monitor the legal and political environment where the NGOs are working"[16]. According to Ketola, the EU can engage directly with civil society actors by the assistance of NGOs in the form of project funding. So the NGOs become intermediaries between the actors and the EU institutions and also between other NGOs and the EU. An example of this is presented with Civil Society Development Centre (STGM), an independent NGO that plays the role of a domestic hub to distribute EU funding (Figure 3) (Ketola 2009). To sum up, the outcomes of the funds offered by the European Commission can be counted as empowerment of the civil society

[16] Interview with Nalan Özdemir, 11.02.2009

and also the generation of an increased dialogue in the country (on a range of levels) that would surpass the interference of the public actors on the civil society.

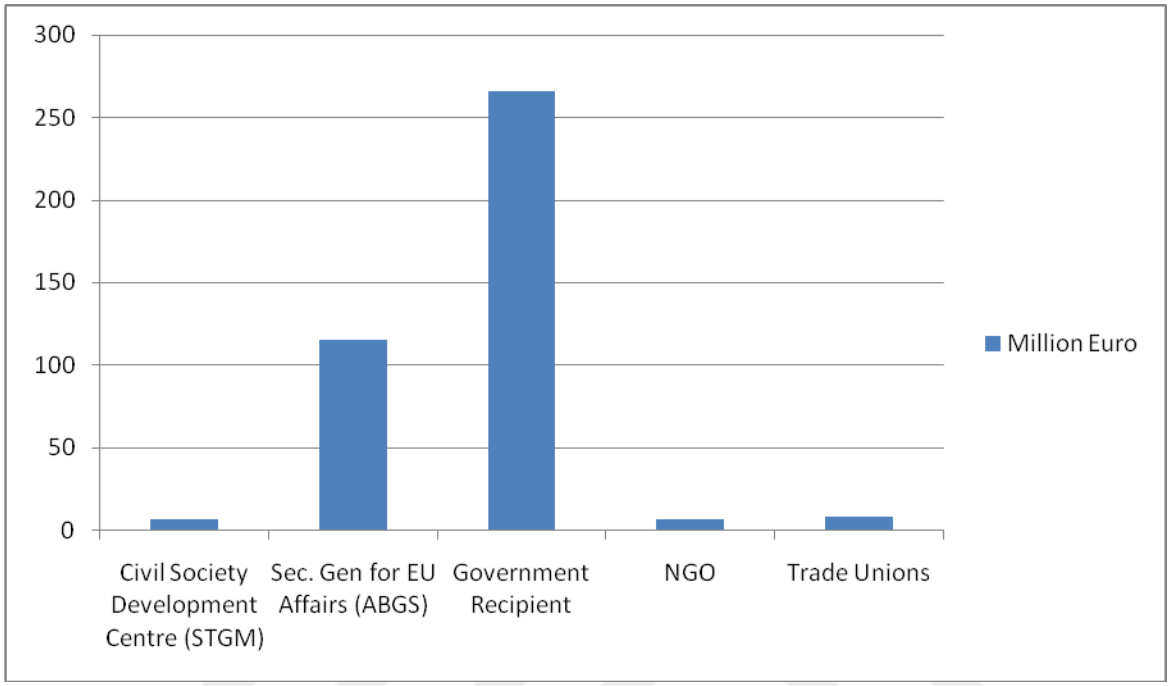

Figure 3: Allocation for pre-accession financial assistance for 2007

Source: Markus Ketola, "The early impact of EU pre-accession funding on Turkish NGOs", paper presented at the Fifth Annual British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Graduate Conference at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Exeter, UK, 3-4 September 2009

The increase in the communautary rhetoric on gender equality resulted in the involvement of women's NGOs in Turkey to the funding opportunities and the networks created around this politic. The "Strengthening freedom of Association for further Development of Civil Society" programs began with the 2004 Pre-Accession program and has been going on to distribute funds to women's NGOs every year.

Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) has started benefiting from EU funds before 2004. MEDA Education Project was presented to European Union MEDA Commission in 1998 and was accepted in May 2000. For this project that is comprised of 400.000 Euros, KADER profited 339.396 Euros from MEDA Commission and compensated the remaining 20% on its own (Yılmaz 2005). The project took place in May 2000-July 2001 and consisted of 2 day

educations to classes of 20 women on gender and politics. The training worked on assertiveness, communication skills, and education on local administrations, leadership, and participatory democracy and also the impacts of European Union for the strengthening of women's social conditions, work life and social security (KADER 2009). Since then, KADER has not obtained any other funds from European institutions individually[17], except for the project proposed by the Eskişehir branch of KADER in 2007. The Action was titled "Women's Strength with Entrepreneurship" and the amount of the grant that covered the 89.80% of the totality of the project was 30,363.18 (Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey 2007). The amount is inferior to other projects that have been chosen for the same grant call.

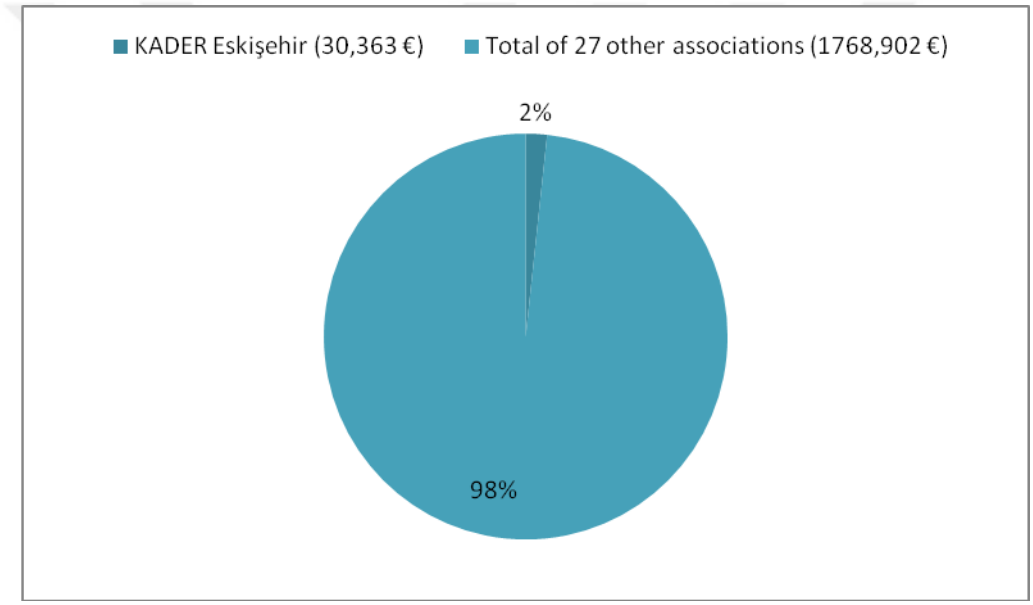

Figure 4: Grants awarded under Call for Proposals CFCU/TR 0501.02/A1 "Strengthening Civil Society in the Pre-Accession Process: NGO Grant Facility- Promotion and Protection of Women's Rights Grant Scheme" published on 30.03.2007

Data provided from the Delegation of the European Union for Turkey (2009).

Even though the KADER does not currently profit from the European Commission's funds, the fundraising occupies a major part of KADER's activities. The association has 12 branches in Turkey and the branches are financed through projects that are funded by international sources. The funding problem is resolved through a cyclic movement based on member training. The former

[17] KADER cooperates to other associations' projects, as will be discussed in the third part of this chapter.

responsible of Kadıköy Branch of KADER affirmed that KADER's trainings were targeted since the beginning both to supported women candidates and association members, especially the members that are involved in the association's administration. Having become experts themselves through educations, the members of the branches are the trainers today of the projects that they realize. On the other hand, a great deal of academicians has been the members of the association. Thereby, members of the association perform the trainings and donate the money they are paid by the funds, in order to compensate monthly dispenses[18]. In this process, the expertness of the members becomes a strategy for self sufficiency.

The actors in the association also contribute to funding via their expertise. The association has a wide range of donors, outside European institutions, such as international organizations (such as World Bank, United Nations), transnational funds (Henrich Böll Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and National Endowment for Democracy) and embassies of the European Union members such as Swedish Consulate. KADER Ankara Branch has benefited from KAGİDER's Women's Fund for its project on the empowerment of women in local politics. The importance of the actors for the funding is based on a consistent follow up to these possibilities and accessibility to international institutions. A member of the Executive Committee who has expertise on funding for nongovernmental organizations and works for several NGOs and enterprises as a council affirms that KADER was the only beneficiary from Turkey of United Nation Democracy Fund's funding call for 2007. The reason was that some of the members of the organization and the former Secretary General were in close pursuit of such opportunities and were acquainted with the project proposal writing techniques[19].

[18] Interview with Benal Yazgan, 11.05.2009
[19] Interview with Rana Birden Çorbacıoğlu, 17.02.2009

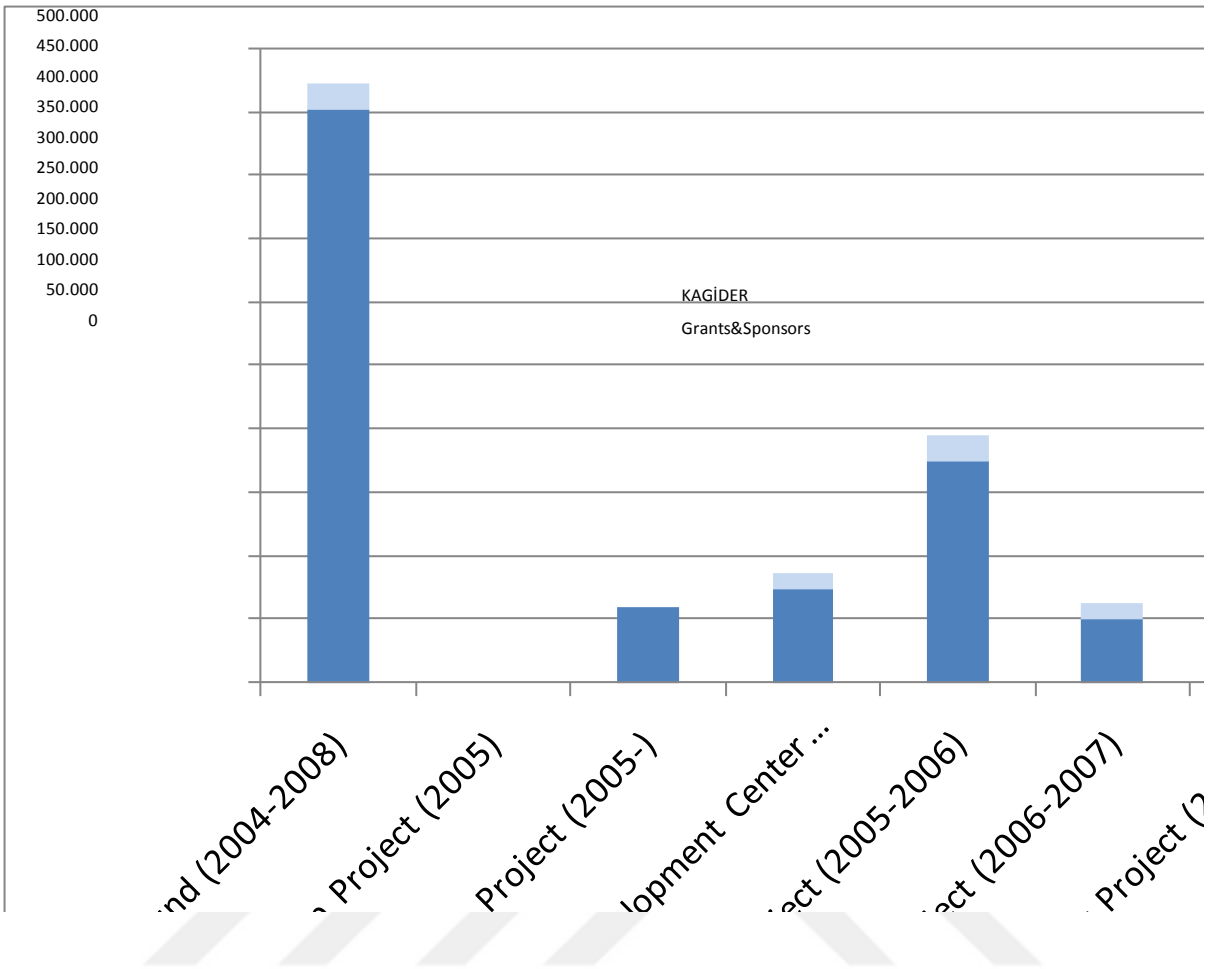

Figure 5: Budgets for some of KAGİDER's projects in 2004-2008 (Euros)

Data collected from KAGİDER Official website (www.KAGİDER.org) and (Sancar and Bulut 2006). Women Entrepreurship Development Center, Water Drop Project, Women's Way to Europe Project were supported approximately 80% by the EU and Turkish Employment Organization (İŞKUR), We-Mentor project is a cooperative project with the European Union; Women's Fund is a donation campaign from Commercial and Occupational Chambers, Firms, Individuals, International Funds aiming to finance small projects of women's NGOs (the data includes only the period between 2006-2008); Bridge from Women to Women Project was supported by World Bank (the data includes only the period between 2006-2008). No data could be obtained on the budget of Young Women Internship Project.

Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER) benefited from four European Commission grants since 2004 (Figure 5). The funds that KAGİDER obtained composed the 80% of the general sum of the project, the remaining 20% funded by the association itself. Water Drop Project was held in January 2005-February 2006, and was funded by Turkish Employment Organization (İŞKUR) which coordinated the Active Labour Programme of the European Union. Women Entrepreneurs Development Center was also funded by the European Union Active Labour Programme. Women's Way to Europe Project was financed by European Commission and aimed "The entrance to the

negotiation process with EU and to contribute to this process, focusing especially on directives related to women's participation in labour force, active participation and advocacy; bringing together all the shareholders including NGOs, Turkish government and several EU member states, to learn together, activate and change; to create a network in order to establish a strong voice for gender equality in the EU and wider spheres" (KAGİDER 2008). KAGİDER is also mentee partner of the WE-Mentor EU Project that aims to assist women entrepreneurs to get involved in European Research Projects under the 7th Framework by mentoring of the four member states (Belgium, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom). These member states mentor four newcomers to the topic of integrating women entrepreneurs into European Research (India, Israel, Romania and Turkey) (KAGİDER 2008). So the funds that the association has been granted by the European Commission have both financed the projects directly related to the associations' work area, thus leading to a capacity building inside the NGO and an instruction of European paradigms. The funds were also used in order to develop lobbying and advocacy activities for the Turkey's accession to EU.

Similarly to KADER, the question of funding occupies an important place in KAGİDER's strategies. Yet, the association is not dependent on European funds in contrast to a large number of small scale organizations in Turkey. As an illustration, the Women's Fund that KAGİDER has established in 2004-2006 was an ensemble of funds that were collected from various parties and had a budget of 250 000 Euro. This was an organization for fund raising which conducts donation campaigns from Commercial and Occupational Chambers, firms, individuals and international funds. The fund aimed to finance small projects of women's NGOs (up to 30 000 Euro). Women's organizations working nationwide or locally, such as Amargi Women Academy, FILMMOR activities, Women's Solidarity Foundation, KA-MER[20] or KADER, have benefited from KAGİDER's funds. The association also participates as a partner or a cooperator in other NGOs' projects such as the joint project held for the call of 2006 with ARI Project on "Generation Bridge on Gender Issues" (Figure 6). Thereby the association's funding activities did not only respond to a basic need to compensate dispenses but also to become a source and a partner for other NGOs itself.

[20] Even though there is a longer list of beneficiaries, we have chosen to exemplify four women's associations, except KADER, in order to present a wide range of areas funded through KAGİDER's Women's Fund: Amargi Women Academy is a women's NGO that puts emphasis on freedom and women with mostly publications. FILMMOR is an international women's cinema festival and aims to increase the visibility of women and their experiences. Women's Solidarity Foundation was established short after 1999 earthquake in Turkey and is an association for supporting to women and combating against economic violence in Turkey. KA-MER finds shelter for and offers legal aid to women who have been threatened by their relatives and is centered in the southeastern Turkey.

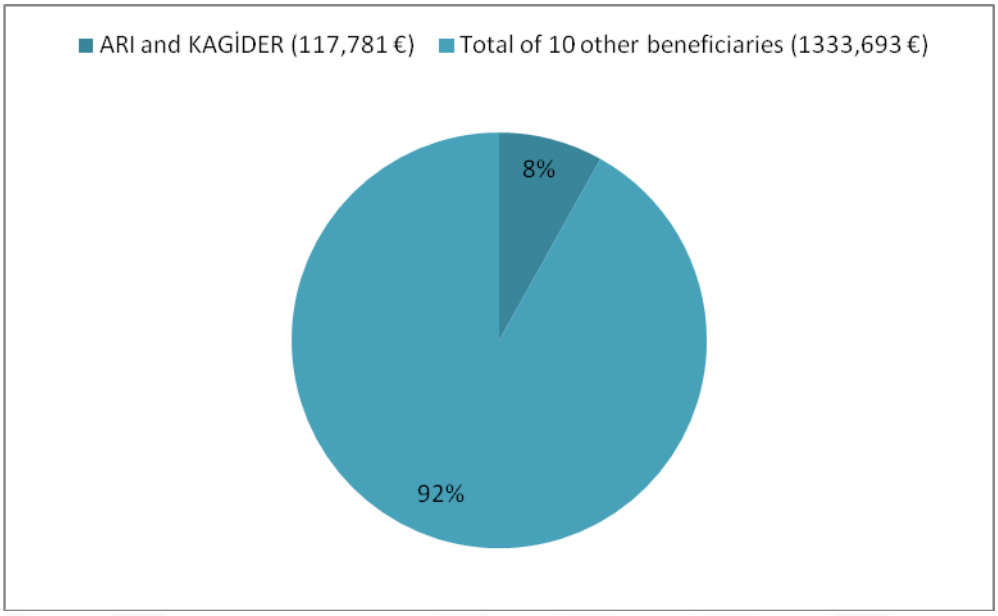

Figure 6: Grants contracted under Call for Proposals 2006/TR0501.02/004: "Strengthening Civil Society in Pre-Accession Process through a Deconcentrated NGO Grant Facility: Combating Violence against Women" published on 11.07.2006

Data provided from the Delegation of the European Union for Turkey (2009). KAGİDER is the partner to ARI Project for this programme.

Another reason why KAGİDER does not depend on European funds lies in its organizational structure. The association accepts women entrepreneurs as its members and thus is directly involved in the business sector. It has both formal and informal relations with other business organizations in Turkey with high capacities of mobilization, as well as accession and influence to governmental bodies such as Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) or The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) and large scale enterprises (especially banks) such as Akbank and Garanti Banks[21]. Recently KAGİDER received aids from TÜSİAD on publication, project designs or researches and also founded its bureau of Brussels in TÜSİAD building. This capacity of direct accessibility to donors and visibility in the public sphere and various national networks facilitates to resolve KAGİDER's problems on funding. Nonetheless, a comparative analysis of KAGİDER's budgets of 2006-2008 shows (see Appendix C and Appendix D) that there have been a significant increase of the donations and aids in 2007, which has been a turning point for KAGİDER's activities with a newly established vision, but they have decreased after 2007. Hence, an established network for bargaining financial sources does not guarantee a stable budget.

[21] Interview with Özgül Erdemli Mutlu, 06.02.2009

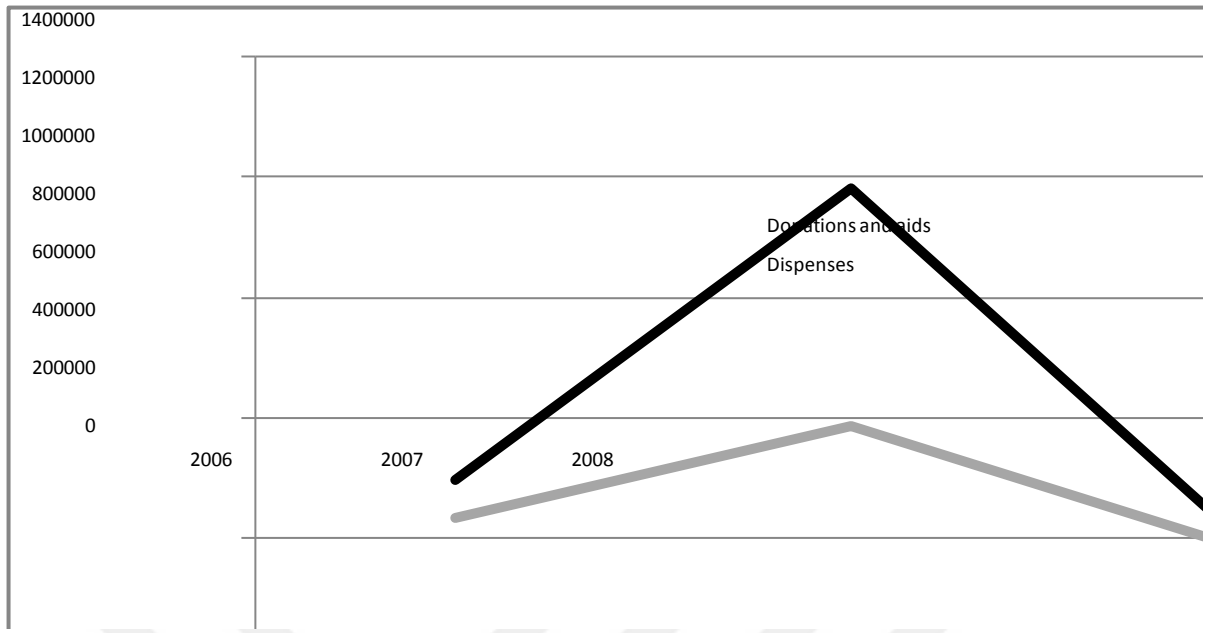

Figure 7: KAGİDER's Budget on Donations, Aids and Dispenses for 2006-2008 (New Turkish Lira)

Data provided from KAGİDER Annual Report 2007-2009

To sum up, even though the European Union has a role in the development of KADER and KAGİDER's action capacities through distributed resources, we claim that its effect on the budget is not major. Both KADER and KAGİDER benefit from the funds offered by the European institutions; but this benefit does not give reason to a dependence of the associations on the granted funds. Furthermore, the internal mechanisms of the associations have been effective enough for the fund-raising of international and national spheres. To specify, KADER uses its network around international and transnational organizations as well as foreign governmental representatives in Turkey; and KAGİDER uses the platform of the business sector and related civil society organizations in Turkey. The institutional actors (both members and professional staff) in the associations have played the role of gatekeepers in the mobilization to resources that have been established via formal and informal relations.

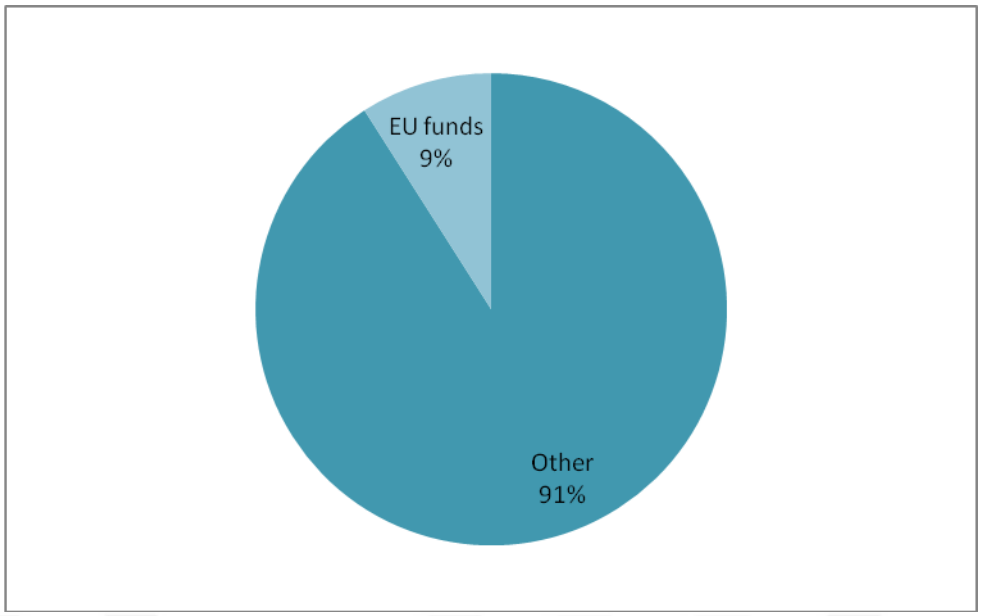

Figure 8: EU funds to total donations in 2006-2008 for KAGİDER

Yet, we consider that the European Union's funds for KADER and KAGİDER has operated as "the first contact" with the European Union's "rules, procedure, paradigms, styles, ways of doing and shared beliefs and norms". The European funds introduced new techniques and strategies to KADER and KAGİDER not only on fund-raising but more importantly on project management. According to Maxime Forest, in order to guarantee the viability to be able get granted for European funds, women's nongovernmental organizations have to develop technical competences, and so do KADER and KAGİDER. A member of KADER's Central Executive Committee who is also an expert on project designing states that "there is a newly established group in KADER with people who do not forget their idealism but earn their livings by project consultancy, who know the international standards and advocacy networks and who work for KADER voluntarily but considers the projects as a profession. The projects bring out the professionalism"[22]. The funds that are offered to women's NGOs strengthen their internal practices in two ways: first, they become capable of realizing their objectives and projects without having a constant search for financing, and second, they reorganize their structures in order to become acceptable for the grants. Presumably, being granted by the European Union may also have acted as referent for succeeding donors.

Also, the influence of European funds are non negligible when it comes to "cognitive side effects" (Forest 2006) of the Europeanization imported through funds. Associations receive

[22] Interview with Rana Birden Çorbacıoğlu, 17.02.2009

"conceptual and ideological package(s)" in addition to their grants that are inspired from "mainstream conceptions and paradigms about gender, governance and positive action diffused through European and international channels" (Forest 2006, 176). Namely, the factors that differed KADER and KAGİDER from previously established women's NGOs are the dynamics of professionalism and an internal orientation towards a more European discourse. As the European funds became an issue of interest for the NGOs, the European pre-accession process became a reference point. We can name two exemplary cases: KADER has become keener on affirming its target to establish European standards since the 1999 Helsinki process and application to MEDA Programme. KAGİDER's Women's Way to Europe Project finished in 2007 and the same year the association redefined its statutes to enlarge its interests. This process led to the formation of a Brussels Office in the March of 2008. As the conceptual packages emerged into associations' conceptions, they became more vocal and ardent on the community paradigms about gender-oriented social policies.

2. New orientations on associations' internal organizations: professionalization and expansion of objectives

The changes in the political or economic context initiate transformations in the cognitive context. Pierre Muller (Muller 1995, 157) indicates that in every formulation process of public policy we can understand "the process of meaning construction, the fabrication of images, ideas and values which will be part of a 'vision of the world'" and the *frame of reference* enables us to understand this process". Since Europeanization is also a matter of knowledge and practice, it contributes "to shape a range of shared norms, beliefs and advocacy patterns, used as a toolbox by local actors in this multi-level context" (Forest 2006, 172). These fabricated patterns, ideas and values transmitted by the European Union also play a role for the non statist actors; in their internal organizations and *repertoires d'action* (Salgado and Woll 2007, 175).

The previous part examined the changes in the political and economic sphere brought from the external sphere and have reflected on the institutional contexts of the associations. The outcome of these reflections were not only limited to the increase in the associations' operability or fund receiving. A new "vision of the world" has become a part of this change, where actors acquired new forms of knowledge and practices. Two types of orientations can be explored for KADER and KAGİDER. To begin with, it can be argued that both associations have undergone a process of professionalization. The projects brought about professionalism and new management styles. Next, the EU has become a source of legitimacy for the NGOs. It will be questioned whether women's

NGOs who have used "the discourse of Europeanization" in order to legitimize their policy objectives, have also expanded these objectives with the Europeanization framework.

i. Dynamics of professionalization

The Europeanization contributes to the shaping of internal mechanisms for the actors who become a subject of exposure. New approaches or *façons de faire* are introduced to different patterns and cognitive contexts. According to Salgado and Woll, the European Union's financial aids to nongovernmental organizations instigate a "managerial logic of management" (*logique managerial de gestion).* The associations are demanded to establish "new means of management" that are based on notions such as efficacy, work quality, strategic planning, financial transparency (accountability) and auto evaluation (Salgado and Woll 2007, 176). Therefore, as the role of the European Union increases as a means of financial or normative source, new dynamics based on professionalization are produced within the NGOs.

These new means of management initiated and insisted by the European Union is also a representation of the "western style assistance" that is based on a strong emphasis of civil society in the governance. In this case, the Turkish experience –similar to other CEE countries- differs from countries of the Western Europe. The reason why the political and economic influences of the European Union create a new "vision of the world" for Turkey can also be searched on the oriental-occidental distinction (Szabó 2000). The divergence of the civil society practice in Eastern European countries from Western European conceptions is based on both the nature of the civil society-state relations, the legal and operational environment that are causing an inferior level of development within civil society (Özgüneş 2004). As the Western assistances are marked on the civil society of such countries, the new logics are transposed, following the construction of "formalized-bureaucratized structures of civil society groups, the transformation of an avant-garde towards professionalism" (Szabó 2000). To conclude, the Europeanization brings new internal orientations for the civil actors, evoking dynamics of professionalization within the associations.

As we have stated in the previous paragraphs, the research on the Europeanization has shown that new management logics were translated to domestic levels from EU examples. Nevertheless it can always be argued whether the associations' pure professionalization is a consequence of the Europeanization framework, or a result of a greater framework that has shaped around globalization after the 1990s. Thus, the professionalization of NGOs is a common

phenomenon for the 21st century, also in the countries that are affected little or not from the reference of Europeanization. Keeping this question in mind, we establish a study on the dynamics of professionalization for KADER and KAGİDER.

To begin with, the introduction of the European pre-accession as a frame of reference has initiated an organizational change for KAGİDER. The year 2007 was a turning point for KAGİDER because that year the association decided to concentrate on two directions rather than one. "Advocacy activities targeted at providing gender equality" was juxtaposed to "entrepreneurship and leadership activities" that the association was organizing since five years. In her message for the Annual Report 2007-2009, the President Gülseren Onanç stated that KAGİDER "became involved in advocacy activities targeting to provide gender equality in the business sphere and increasing women's participation in politics" adding that "KAGİDER also believes in Turkey's future EU membership and attaches great importance to it in terms of sustaining gender equality in Turkey. We have established an office in Brussels primarily to support Turkey's accession into the EU and are in constant contact with both EU institutions and member countries". For presenting KAGİDER, Onanç also defined that "Being one of the most influential women NGOs in Turkey, KAGİDER's advocacy activities are grouped under two main topics: Turkey's accession in the EU and strengthening women" (KAGİDER 2009).

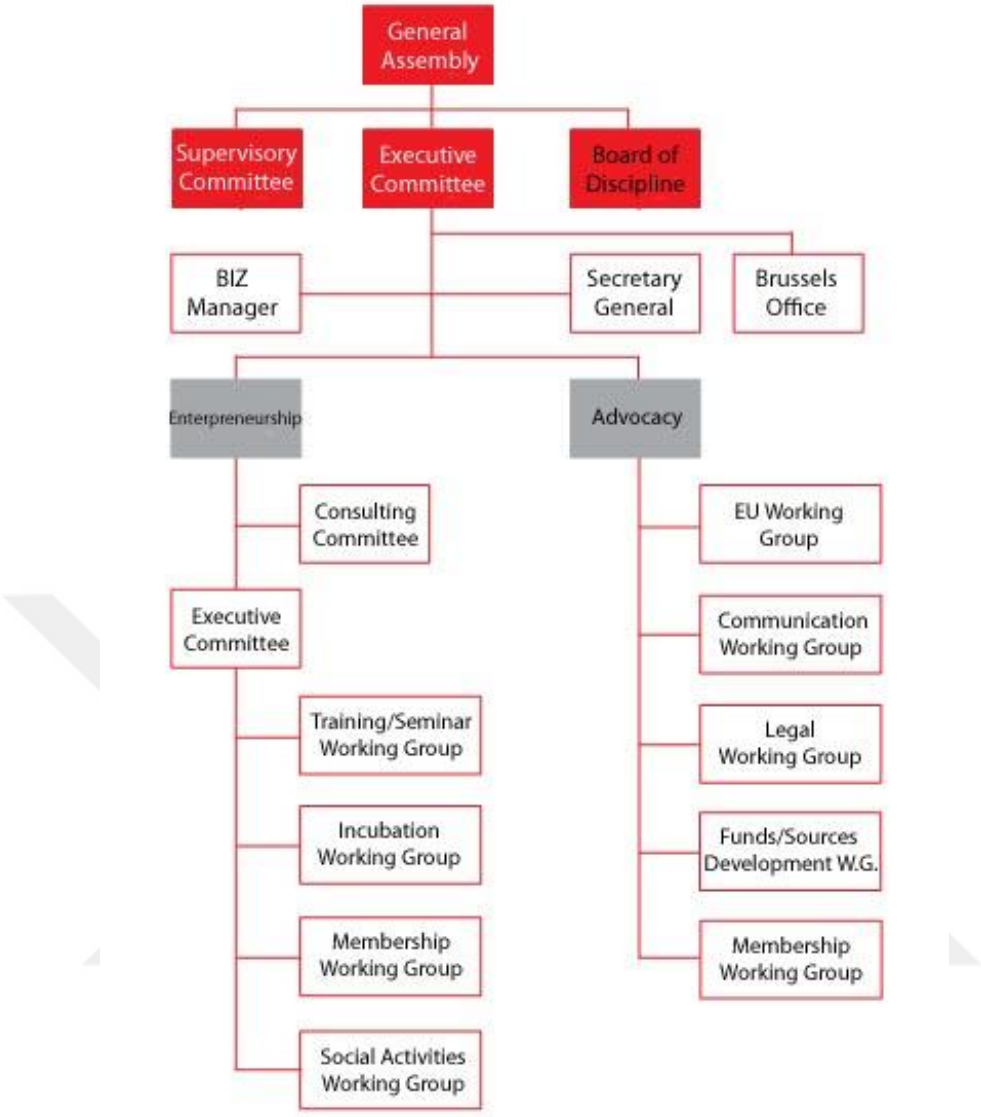

Figure 9: KAGİDER's Organigram since 2007

Source: KAGİDER Annual Report 2007-2009

The new management logic of KAGİDER after 2007 penetrated its highly hierarchical organigram, creating new working groups such as "EU Working Group", "Communication Working Group", "Legal Working Group", "Funds/Sources Development Working Group" and "Membership Working Group". Members of the association, all entrepreneurs employing at least five legal workers in their enterprises are diffused into working groups. KAGİDER has also founded in 2008 an office in Brussels in order to have close contact to European and international institutions as well as international NGOs.

The professionalization in KAGİDER can be observed by the existence of professional staff in the association. Since 2006, KAGİDER employs professional staff[23] for its projects. This has started in 2006, with the hiring of a director for the Women's Fund, who has expertise on gender, funding, civil society and gender in the European Union. After 2007, KAGİDER employed the conception of "professional management" and hired four new staff, three of whom have expertise on European Union and project management. The director of BIZ Center providing entrepreneurship and leadership support has experience on European Union, World Bank and UNDP funds, and has worked in the past on Middle East, Turkey's European and North American foreign politics and identity politics. The project and network director has worked as a coordinator of project management on World Bank and EU projects in governmental institutions in Turkey. The director of the Brussels office has expertise on European Jurisprudence and human rights. The association also employs two administrative staff.

As for KADER, we cannot observe a change towards professionalized management logic as KAGİDER but rather an increase of the expertise. KADER was already acknowledged at the time of its foundation as a different association from previous ones, for its founding mothers who were all "professional women" (see Appendix E).

> "*We see KADER as a fraction of the Turkish and global women's movement. We consider it as an indicator of the development of the women's movement which is becoming more prevalent and professionalized, with a great number of organizations that are working regionally or nationally on varied spheres of the gender issue"* (KADER 2009).

KADER aimed to understand the politics professionally, and realizing lobbying according to its purposes. Aksu Bora (2008) claims that the lobbying activities were an outcome of the 1990s professional politics conception and consists of codes such as "accession to European Union" and "modern society". Accordingly the establishment of a women's association working on politics and realizing lobbying activities in Turkey was already related to an existent frame of reference on Europeanization.

The dynamics of professionalization for KADER will be examined through two aspects: the internal training of expertise for the members and an inclination towards an expertise European Union, funding and project management in the Central Executive Committee. First, as explained in the previous part, the organization has an internal mechanism of training to its members.

[23] The statement does not include Secretaries General who were employed since the foundation.

Consequently, the association creates its own experts on the domain of women's political participation.

Second, in a comparison between the founders and the latest Central Executive Committee of KADER (see Appendix F), we can observe a change of professional backgrounds of the committee members towards an emphasis on project management. In order to develop public visibility on its objectives, KADER was founded by academicians working on gender, social policies or politics, journalists and experts on public relations (Akkaya 1998). The professions of the latest Central Executive Committee illustrate the new orientations of KADER's objectives. The Secretary General who works for two terms is a project coordinator for private sector and NGOs (and also worked as the director of Women's Fund in KAGİDER). The Committee comprises of two academicians who have expertise on international relations and funds and project management, a social worker, two public relations experts and two journalists[24].

As it will be explained in the third chapter, KADER's Ankara Branch is working as the secretariat for European Women's Lobby since 2004. The Ankara Branch that also has close relations to Ankara politics. One of the founders of KADER, who is also a member of the European Women's Lobby Board of administration, works in the Executive Committee of this branch. Other members of the Committee include a responsible of communication in STGM, two academicians on social sciences and gender. Thus KADER demonstrates the emergence of a new type of expertise based on the construction of new paradigms transferred from external references.

KADER has four working groups all of which are related to the monitoring of European institutions: Working Group of KADER Ankara on Local Politics, Working Group on National Elections and Political Party Low, Working Group on European Union Equality Policies, Working and Monitoring Group on Women Report of European Parliament (KADER 2006). Hence, in its organization, KADER already constructs a structure that focuses on the European Union and communautary gender politics.

[24] The increased role of the European Union in association's objectives can also be seen through its seminar and training activities on this subject. This will be explained in the next part.

	KADER	KAGİDER
International relations and/or European Union	◆International Affairs Commission Working Group on European Union Equality Policies ◆Working and Monitoring Group on Women Report of European Parliament	◆European Union and Foreign Affairs Committee ◆KAGİDER Brussels Group ◆International Women Entrepreneurs and Leadership Summit Group
Instruments for the specialized field	◆Education Commission ◆Media Commission ◆Publication Commission ◆Legal Commission for Women ◆Project Management Commission ◆Commission to establish relations with political parties and NGOs ◆Working Group of KADER Ankara on Local Politics ◆Working Group on National Elections and Political Party Law	◆Entrepreneur Development Group ◆We-Mentor Group ◆Training-Seminar Working Group ◆Incubation Working Group
Internal affairs	◆Source-Funds Commission ◆Branch Founding and Strengthening Commission	◆Member relations Committee ◆Communication Committee ◆Legal Committee ◆Social Activities Working Group

Table 1: Commissions, committees and working groups in KADER and KAGİDER

Another factor of professionalization is the transparency of activities and budgets of the associations. Examining KAGİDER's official website (www.KAGİDER.org), it is possible to get access to various information such as organizational structure, statute, activities, and memberships to umbrella organizations, staff, information on the Brussels office and projects. KAGİDER's budget and annual activity reports since 2005 are available on the website, as well. The association also offers pages for press and bibliographical sources. KADER's website (http://ka-der.org.tr) gives more importance to its public campaigns and statistics on women's political participation in Turkey. But it also offers limited information on the association's organizational structure, statute, activities and

publications. The website lacks updated information and data on the association such as the budget[25].

Finally, we can state that the European Union has an impact on dynamics of professionalization in KADER and KAGİDER. The European institutions provide organizational and symbolic resources to the actors in the associations, by diffusing norms and principles to the cognitive frames such as the logics of managerial management (Salgado and Woll 2007), transparent administration, lobbying and expertise on project design. The concrete data illustrates that both associations have undergone such dynamics of professionalization since a period of time. For KAGİDER, it is marked by a rational yet radical change in the new management logic after 2007. The emergence of a reference on Europeanization seems to have employed a greater role for the changes in the internal structures. The reason for this statement is the acceptance of advocacy as a new concentration area. As it will be clarified in the third chapter in greater detail, we assume that the impacts of Europeanization on the NGOs are mostly evident in an interactionist scheme where the NGOs contribute to the process of Europeanization via advocacy. But for KADER, the professionalization cannot be linked to the Europeanization framework. It is rather the increase of expertise of the executive committee members on the European Union, rather than political science or public relations. Therefore, the professionalization dynamics gave grounds to different results for the two associations.

ii. Expansion of the objectives in the pre-accession period

The impact of the Europeanization on the non statist actors is an interactive mechanism. Caporaso, Cowles and Risse (2001, 11) affirm that "Institutions might provide opportunities to actors or even affect their interests and identities. These actors ultimately have to exploit these opportunities in order to produce structural changes". Sanchez Salgado and Cornelia Wool indicate that in most cases on the Europeanization of associations of general interest, the orientation towards European model has developed after the emergence of services and encouragement processes by the European institutions. As the opportunity structures become more available to the non statist actors, they are used by the actors according to their arbitrary choices relative to the nature of

[25] However, as an interviewee has stated that the website was hacked in 2009 by a nationalist group who was not fond of the latest campaign for local elections. This recent situation may also be the reason for the lack of detailed information in the website. In the July of 2009, the KAGİDER's internet site was also hacked, limiting all the access to the information on the association.

associations or their objectives (Salgado and Woll 2007). As a result, the orientation towards the European model is admitted as a source of legitimacy for their own actions.

In the Turkish case, the changes in the institutional context (such as the legal and administrative "reforms" or structural funds offered for the encouragement of NGOs) have led to changes in the internal structures of the associations. Yet, the cognitive changes are not limited with the modifications in the organizational structures. As the associations use the European rhetoric for their own objectives, they also become vocal for Europeanization on the national level. Hence, the relation scheme of the Europeanization is not limited to European and nongovernmental actors but also includes other national actors and policies in a country.

Discursively, the usage of European Union as a legitimacy tool is not secretive. The actors in the associations state this legitimacy that have positioned themselves as key actors in Turkey on the policies related to gender equality. İlknur Üstün, the chairwoman of KADER's Ankara branch stated in a conference on the influence of Turkish NGOs in the pre-accession process, that the gender equality which is imposed by the European Union as a political criteria became one of the most important tools for women's NGOs. She indicated that as the Turkish government has decided "to make the European Union a state policy"; it became obliged to implement the gender equality. According to Üstün, the women's NGOs could empower and improve their capacities to negotiate with state actors by using the EU's rhetoric on gender equality. So the impacts of the European Union offer to the NGOs opportunity structures or a policy frame that let them enlarge their capabilities:

> *"The European Union process has provided legitimacy. We could have been included to the policy sphere because we have been provided this basis. Even if you shout out (your objectives) the patriarchal structure in the society and the government based on this structure does not let you change things. You cannot change the laws. You are left with what you have said. So these are the triggers that help change in this process"*[26].

Yet, becoming vocal for EU-related a democratic reform does not mean that the associations accept European models with eyes wide shut. The Europeanization is a process of negotiations on the cognitive level. According to the interviews, for KADER and KAGİDER, the Europeanization represents a "tool for democratization" for Turkey, which has to be reached. Nevertheless it is not a final target and resides in itself gaps on gender equality.

[26] Interview with Rana Birden Çorbacıoğlu, 17.02.2009

"Why Europe? It is a tool for democratization. We can take the European model and use it as an inspiring goal. But we don't say that we should take it as the ultimate example. KAGİDER uses the European Union process as a tool, just like many other NGOs. We want to become a member to the EU but this is not an end result. EU is a vision heritage from Atatürk time that has to be completed. […] EU is a passionate issue for us. It is the result of a rational decision; we are enthusiastic about our decision on advocacy. But this does not mean that they are the masters or we do exactly to what they say"[27].

"Two things are important about the influence of the European Union on gender issues in Turkey. First, the norms and the standards in the acquis communautaire are important for Turkey. We have to reach those standards. So we do advocacy in order to harmonize. But, the acquis on gender equality is not enough. They are interested mostly on equality in employment but not on women's participation in politics or the problem of violence. We appreciate some of the acquis but we also think that there are gaps"[28].

Therefore the associations profit from the *acquis communautaire* offered by the European Union, and use it in order to achieve their goals. They do not translate mot-a-mot the European rules, norms, standards or values, but choose to use the ones that fits to their policy objectives. So as the European Union examines the *fits* and *misfits* of a country's policies with communautary policies, the associations also weigh up the *fits* and *misfits* of the European policies on gender, in order to come up with new advocacy tool to influence both domestic and European spheres. As a result, the advocacy and lobbying become significant tools for the associations in this process.

Nevertheless, the accessibility to the opportunity structures is not equally distributed to all NGOs. It is highly relative to the resources and specialization on Europe and not all the associations can have access to these resources (Salgado and Woll 2007, Sunay 2008) and use the rhetoric on European Union. Öniş (2002) and Diez and al. (2005) claim that in Turkey some civil society organizations, more specifically the organizations related to "big business" and the private sectors or organizations run by liberal intellectuals, have increasingly became vocal "for EU-related democratic reforms". Such associations which also have higher capacities to get access to and use the European resources and their expertise become "main agents in persuading the public of the compatibility of the EU-required reforms with Turkey's values, norms and security" (Piccoli 2005) opposing the conservative bloc. Being influential actors contributing to the process of Europeanization in Turkey,

[27] Interview with Özgül Erdemli Mutlu, 06.02.2009
[28] Interview with Aysun Sayın, 03.02.2009

KADER and KAGİDER can also be categorized as the associations that became vocal for EU-related democratic reforms.

As the non statist actors are in direct relation with the society and other actors, they diffuse the European models to the rest of the society. While realizing their activities financed by the European Commission, the associations integrate the European dimension to their actions (Salgado and Woll 2007). Accordingly, the European dimension is integrated to KAGİDER's activities. The association has widened its vision and mission in 2007, and has decided to include "the strengthening of women's place in the economic and social life" to its objectives. Its mission was redefined as "creating a world where women can participate to all decision mechanisms by producing and manifesting its existence liberally", and activities became focused on women's status and gender equality (KAGİDER 2009). The Secretary General of the association stated that KAGİDER produces politics in the feminist movement in Turkey not only related to the entrepreneurship of women but also on other issues related to gender equality in order to "construct a more powerful base for the pyramid" in Turkey[29]. The members of the association have decided that other policies such as the participation of women to decisive mechanisms have to be improved in Turkey in order to establish the gender equality in entrepreneurship and economic life.

For a period of time, KADER has also expanded its interests wider than its founding objective. Aside from its natural objective on the participation of women to the decision-making mechanisms, KADER supports and takes part in raising awareness and mobilizing actions:

> "*We do not only work on women's participation to the parliament but in all mechanisms. We also cooperate with a women's NGO that works on violence. We had a role in the revision of Turkish Penal Code, Civic Code, and harmonization process to the European Union; we founded the Women's Platform for a New Constitution and we are the secretariat of European Women's Lobby*"[30].

So KADER does not only limit its policy objectives with the supporting and training of women candidates, but manages advocacy in other issues on gender equality. This objective exists amongst the activities of KADER, such as the "Women's Program of Politics" which was a campaign realized by KADER along with its campaign for 2007 elections in Turkey. The campaign included a series of policy claims around the subject of "Women's Politics" on violence, employment, political participation and

[29] Interview with Rina Altaras, 06.02.2009
[30] Interview with Aysun Sayın, 03.02.2009

health. In the presentation of the program, it is stated that the gender equality is an obligation for Turkey who is in the pre-accession process of the European Union:

> *"[…] on numerous policies there are inequalities in Turkey. Even if there is equality on legal grounds, the equality becomes de facto null and is hindered because of unequal opportunities, traditions or cultural opinions. (…) There is a need for a national action program including legal, administrative or institutional and economic arrangements. Women's NGOs have prepared a program with KADER's initiative to end the gender inequality. With this program we are calling out to the political parties: If you are against the discrimination, you have to accept and apply this program. If you don't keep your promise, no votes for you anymore!! We remind women candidates: As the women's movement, we have struggled for women's representation in the parliament and we will go on struggling. Half of these votes belong to women. We are sending you to the parliament as the representatives of all women. We are with you when there are difficulties, but do not forget that we will be watching out for you!"* (KADER 2007)

Another project with a wider policy objective was on "Facilitation of Gender Equality in Education and Societal Participation", which was collaborated by Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) and Education Reform Initiative (ERG). In this program AÇEV and ERG gave literacy courses to women from four Turkish cities and KADER contributed to the program by offering an education program on citizenship rights (KADER 2009). Therefore KADER's projects such as the two that we have presented reveal the expansion of KADER's policies than its founding objectives. Nonetheless, even though the gender equality is legitimized through a European framework by the association, we have not been able to find enough data to state that the expansion of the objectives was a pure result of the Europeanization as in KAGİDER.

In any event, both associations reveal the *misfits* on the gender equality in Turkish policies and admit that achieving equality in entrepreneurship or political participation is not an end-result but go along with other policy areas that have to be revised. They put their own policy objectives to the center of their actions but at the same time participate autonomously or in cooperation with other associations to mobilize on gender equality in other policy areas. Conveniently, KADER and KAGİDER scroll their interests and consider themselves as the pioneers in the feminist movement in Turkey. Still the impact of Europeanization in the expansion of associations' objectives should not be put on the same scale. Whereas KADER legitimizes its discourse on gender equality with a European discourse, the expansion of its objectives is not affirmed as an outcome of such frame. But for KAGİDER, the Europeanization framework has evidently introduced new policy objectives and also

tools and mechanisms (such as advocacy for women's not only economic but also social and political rights).

On the whole, this chapter presented the dynamics of Europeanization for KADER and KAGİDER. The reforms in the legal and administrative spheres in Turkey presented new political opportunity structures for the associations, which were able to increase their operability. The European funds occupied a part of associations' funding systems, but it did not cause financial dependency. Rather, the funds acted as a "first contact" with the European conceptual and ideological packages (Forest 2006) which were deconstructed by the associations themselves to compose new and distinctive packages. The result of such packages was examined through new orientations and dynamics in the internal organization.

The example of KAGİDER went in line with the offered structure, whereas since 2007 the association went through a radical change of professionalization and expertization on the European Union. Having established legitimacy through Europe, the association has also enlarged its policy interests on the domestic level. Being a politicized advocacy NGO since its foundation, the impacts of the Europeanization were less apparent with regarding to professionalization of KADER. But it was demonstrated that the association placed grater interest on the European Union and the expertise on the union. This tendency is emphasized further on a more interactive matter of advocacy and lobbying. The lobbying for and by the European Union, as a result of the Europeanization framework, has become a common substantial mechanism for the two associations. For this reason, the following chapter will propose an analysis of the changes in the advocacy and lobbying activities of the two associations.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACTS OF INTERACTIVE MECHANISMS

ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTEREST REPRESENTATION

As we tried to illustrate in the first two chapters, there has been a prominent mobilization organized by women activists in Turkey since 1980s. Recent experiences in Turkey demonstrate that the post-Helsinki process became a catalyst for a better recognition of the women's movement by the public action. This was due to the reflections of environmental mechanisms leading to changes on the institutional level (such as the improved operability or easier access to EU funds) and cognitive mechanisms leading to new orientations. Even though the present thesis is established around the cognitive analysis of the "Europeanization of women's NGOs in Turkey", a more sociological understanding will be offered in this part in order to understand the impacts of interactionist mechanisms of the Europeanization on KADER and KAGİDER. In order to maintain this framework, we will be analyzing advocacy and lobbying.

Selma Acuner (2009) argues that the advocacy and cooperation framework for Turkish women NGOs represents a rather structured and threefold scheme. The technical and strategic advocacy and cooperation of the women's NGOs is realized towards both official institutions, non official actors such as other women's movements, women's and LGBT NGOs and finally towards the international arena. The situation with the official institutions may be exposed by the advocacy to reach institutions such as Directorate General of Women's Status and Problems who, as we mentioned in the second chapter, accepts civil society actors as councils in its hierarchical scheme since 2004. According to Acuner, organizations establish cooperation between themselves in order to construct a common agenda that would later be introduced to other actors (official and international) of this scheme. She finally places the advocacy and cooperation with the international sphere, which is rather through trans-border cooperation, in other words via transnational advocacy networks, such as EWL or international organizations including UN or UNDP (Acuner 2009). Consequently, this schema positions the relations with the international actors as an essential constituent for the Turkish women's movement.

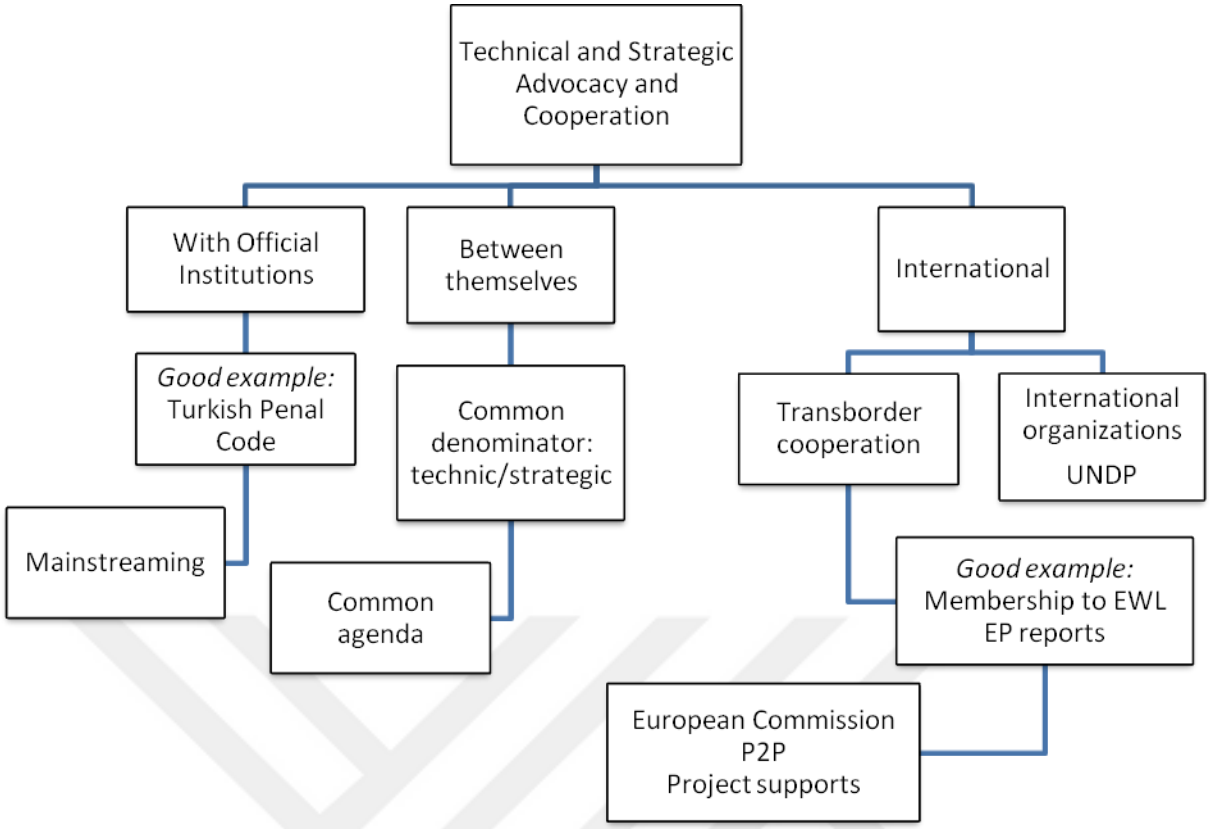

Figure 10: Advocacy and cooperation process in Turkish Women's NGOs

Source: Selma Acuner, "Türkiye'nin AB Üyelik Sürecinde Kadın STKların Rolü", presentation at the EU Documentation Center Conference held in Ankara, 25.03.2009

For this chapter, we will take assistance from this well-intended framework of Selma Acuner (Figure 10) in order to analyze the advocacy and lobbying activities of KADER and KAGİDER. We will question whether this schema really works for the two associations and what have been the impacts of the interactive mechanisms of Europeanization. And as a response we will argue that both associations chose to concentrate on politicization rather than service delivery, which made them privilege the advocacy and lobbying role. Furthermore, the Europeanization framework has initiated a shift in the advocacy activities towards lobbying for KADER and KAGİDER on the domestic and international spheres: the associations have become key actors for the gender equality policies in Turkey via legitimacy that they established on account of the pre-accession process.

1. Europeanization of the advocacy in the domestic sphere

i. Attaching a European discourse to the advocacy

As it was discussed in the last part of the previous chapter, KADER and KAGİDER expanded their policy interests with the introduction of an Europeanization framework. This was mostly due to the increase of legitimacy of the associations with the use of a Europeanization discourse vis-à-vis the state. As the associations became more capable of leaning their backs against the Europeanization discourse, they expanded their objectives to target for a wider scope of gender policies. In this part, we will offer a more focused analysis on the changes in the associations' interests and most precisely with regarding to the Europeanization of the advocacy with the pre-accession process.

The Europeanization has introduced a new framework for KADER which started using the EU terminology for its advocacy activities. The secretary general of KADER stated that the association uses advocacy and lobbying activities in order to influence Turkey's harmonization process to European Union and use it as a strategy to accomplish their objectives:

> *"We produce politics that indicate how the policies should change in the pre-accession process. We write propositions. We also try to promote to the European Commission, Turkish delegation, and parliamentarians in order to support the idea that the women's issues should be prioritized and take place in the pre-accession process. […] We use this process as a tool to establish gender equality in Turkey"*[31].

The advocacy describes the "wide range of individual and collective expression or action on a cause, idea, or policy" (Reid 2000, 1) and often aims to influence public opinion and offer public education, research for interpreting problems and suggesting preferred solutions, constituent action and public mobilizations, agenda setting and policy design, lobbying, policy implementation, monitoring and feedback, and election related activity (Reid 2000). As an advocacy NGO, KADER is a watch-dog of government's activities. The association also tries to influence public policies and their implementation practices by defending women's participation to decision-making mechanisms. It was represented as one of the key advocacy NGOs in Turkey in a council meeting organized by the Civil Society Development Center (STGM) of Turkey in 2009. KADER develops advocacy through publications, educational activities, projects, national and international conferences and conventions and finally campaigns. The major part of KADER's advocacy is based on voter and candidate education in order to increase women's participation to decision mechanisms at all levels.

[31] Interview with Aysun Sayın, 03.02.2009

KADER's advocacy campaigns for the elections in Turkey are mainly targeting the public opinion and political candidates. To present briefly, KADER managed organizing and mobilizing advocacy activities in 1999 (early general election), in 2002 (early general election in coalition with 77 women's organizations) and in 2007 for the general elections in Turkey, in 2004 and in 2009 for the local elections. Since 2007, the association has a strong media coverage for its advocacy campaigns on the elections. Scoop is used as a technique in order to attract public attention. In its campaign – titled "Women in mustaches"- for the 2007 general elections in Turkey, the association chose to use the pictures of well known women in Turkey with hand painted mustaches and ties, with the question of "Do you have to be a man to get in the Parliament?" (see Appendix F).

For the 2009 local elections KADER used the picture of the three leaders of the opposing political parties, standing shoulder to shoulder (see Appendix G)[32]. In addition, KADER addresses political elites (party representatives or deputies) on gender policies. These include the Campaign to Change the Civil Code in Turkey in 1997-2002 in collaboration with 129 women's organizations, the Campaign to Change the Turkish Penal Code in Turkey with women's platform on Turkish Penal Code in 1997-2005. So, KADER was founded as an advocacy NGO which aimed to reach public opinion as well as taking positions on gender policies of legislation.

The campaign on the gender quota[33] which has always been the main policy proposal of KADER is a significant example of this change. The association started promoting gender quota with its Campaign for Gender/Women's Quota in the period of 1997-2005. The increased links with the European Women's Lobby in 2004 has shown its effect with the latest 50/50 Parity Campaign. The association has brought about the campaign to the domestic arena in collaboration with the European Women's Lobby and combined it with its own formal policy objective. In addition, with the parity campaign the association has advanced its target of the formal quota campaign (33% of women's participation) towards having equal representation of sexes in the political arena.

[32] This picture became the focal point of the critiques addressed by the nationalist groups. The leader of the nationalist party, Devlet Bahçeli, sued KADER for having his picture without authorization, and the case was dismissed. A KADER member stated in the interview that the members of the party hacked KADER's website to manifest the situation.

[33] With its campaign for gender quota, the association aimed a minimum 33% women's participation to the parliament and to the political parties. As it was indicated before, the Turkish parliament has a ratio of 9.1% women's participation after the 2007 national elections. KADER targets mainly the political parties that do not regard gender equality. These include the parties that have been put in the center of attention in the 2009 local elections, AKP, CHP and MHP. The leading government party (AKP) has no quota in its statute and the Republican People's Party (CHP) has a 25% quota for city, district councils and highest party council but not for the electoral lists or the party board (Lermioğlu Yılmaz 2007).

KAGİDER, on the other hand, was founded as an organization which aims to provide networking services to its members and advocate on the issue of entrepreneurship only. As it was mentioned before, KAGİDER has redefined its mission as including "the advocacy for strengthening women" to its concentration areas in 2007 and enlarged its target group. Since then, the advocacy for the association is based on three key points: "1. advancing policy recommendations in subjects of employment and entrepreneurship, 2. playing an active role in Turkey's EU negotiation process, 3. promoting the gender equality agenda to increase the status of women" (KAGİDER 2008). Thus, the association attached more general and enlarged interests on the political and social rights of women to its advocacy activities as well as lobbying for the pre-accession process of Turkey in the European Union.

After the introduction of advocacy to its concentration areas, KAGİDER widened its activities to promote gender equality in all domains. As for its advocacy activities, the association uses techniques such as researches, conferences, meetings, campaigns and competitions that somehow include a more Europeanized discourse. For instance, KAGİDER published a shared report with TÜSİAD in 2008 on "Gender inequality in Turkey" and it contained the perspective on the EU upon a suggestion of KAGİDER representatives. The association arranges lobbying activities on the formal and informal level with the state representatives, politicians, parliamentarians from Turkey and other countries. To give an example, KAGİDER organized a reunion in Ankara after the 2007 elections in order to influence the agenda by joining together women parliamentarians for the first time.

With the change in its statute in 2007, KAGİDER aimed to play an active role in the negotiation as an actor by contributing to it. With the "Women's Way to Europe" and "EU the only way" campaigns KAGİDER introduced its interest to entering into EU-Turkish relations. On its brochure on the "Women's Way to Europe" campaign (see Appendix H); KAGİDER represented a strong will to combine the pre-accession to the EU with the establishment of women's equal rights in Turkey:

> *"We cannot deny the accelerating influence of the harmonization process to EU on the reforms related to the equality between men and women in Turkey. EU acquis includes regulations related to the establishment of gender equality and as all candidate countries; Turkey has to harmonize with the acquis communautaire, as well. There has been a significant role of the civil society organizations for the reforms that have been established until now. […] We believe that Turkey should continue its pre-accession process with the same determination. […] We believe that the Turkey's inclination to the EU which has started with the 1963 Ankara Agreement is an irrefutable process and the reforms should continue.* ***We will not abandon our determination on this matter.****"*

The change in KAGİDER's internal structure has put lobbying for membership to the European Union as a joint objective to its *raison d'être.* So there has been a double shift for the case of KAGİDER: the association has leaned on advocacy which is strongly supported with the lobbying.

Despite the difference in their approaches for the pre-accession process to European Union, KADER and KAGİDER interiorize the Europeanization framework for their actions. By doing so, they act as political entrepreneurs for the pre-accession process in Turkey. These activities lead to a transfer of the European models to non-statist actors. Both associations aim to increase the sensitization on gender issues through publications[34], projects[35], conferences or educational activities which are offered either to other NGOs, focus groups (entrepreneurs or candidates), or to the public in general. The declared aim is to "increase the role of women in the process of Turkey's accession in the EU" (KAGİDER 2009) and therefore include a dimension on gender mainstream.

Concisely, KADER and KAGİDER's advocacy activities included an EU-sensitive approach with the influence of a Europeanization framework. Apart from the advocacy on the associational level, Turkish women's movement formed and participated in new advocacy networks in the domestic sphere that have worked in order to implement policy changes in Turkey with regarding to gender issues. Due to the technological developments and with the influence of the globalization[36], associations enjoyed the possibility to increase their effectiveness and accessibility to national and transnational advocacy networks.

ii. Participating in domestic collective action

The previous chapters have shown that the Europeanization initiates changes in the domestic level through a series of ways. Ulrike Liebert (2003) indicates that it involves changes due to environmental and cognitive mechanisms of Europeanization which give birth to the promotion of

[34] KADER's publications on EU include "The Positions of Women in Turkey and the EU: Gains, Problems and Hopes" (2004), "Social Politics and Gender Equality Politics in European Union" (2005).

[35] The projects on the EU have titles such as "Enhancement of Women's Knowledge on European Union", "Establishing the Network of 'National Coordination' for European Women's Lobby Membership" for KADER and "EU Women's Communication" for KAGİDER. KAGİDER has recently (18-19 June 2009) organized "KAGİDER EU Days" with the financial support from the EU, ABGS and the Project to Strengthen the Civil Society Dialogue between EU and Turkey. The conference offered information on research and development techniques (7th Framework Program of the EU) as well as women and civil society around EU politics, and thus provided the participants information on how to profit from EU politics in Turkey.

[36] A Turkish feminist activist and scholar on Communication, Hülya Tanrıöver stated in her interview that a contribution to the European Union on women's networking in Turkey was the articulation of new technological tools, such as the e-mailing and e-grouping to advocacy that boosted inter-associative relations.

domestic change and the construction of meanings. Another mechanism is the interactive one, which play an important role at "capturing the dynamics of political interaction conducive to transformation" (Liebert and Sifft 2003). For the Turkish case, an impact of the interactive mechanisms of Europeanization has been on women's coalition building processes. In this part, we will question whether the Europeanization has led to a significant change on that matter and what place do KADER and KAGİDER occupy as participants of the domestic collective action.

Since the end of 1990s, Turkish women's organizations have been active in advocacy campaigns[37] in order to introduce and include their objectives on gender equality (Kardam 2005). Nüket Kardam (2005) states that the "gender issues, especially violence against women and women's human rights, had been on the national agenda during the whole 1990s. […] the women's human rights education programs implemented across the country are not Turkish responses to external incentives, but the result of women's NGOs and government agencies working together" (2005, 4). She indicates that women's advocacy groups had started drafting for a new Civil Code in Turkey before Turkey's candidature to the European Union, in collaboration with the Directorate General of Women's Status and Problems (KSGM) (2005, 4).

The influence of the pre-accession process is defined to have a significant role on coalition building in Turkey; because it promoted mobilization of the collective action for redefining collective gender norms (Liebert 2002). Research on the Turkish civil society network in general (Özman ve Fındık 2008, TÜSEV 2006, Ketola 2009) highlights the increase of networking activities amongst the NGOs in Turkey, especially on subjects related to environment and gender. However, even though the women's NGOs are considered as the most successful coalition in Turkey, the cooperation between the associations remain weak when it comes to formal relations (Ketola 2009, TÜSEV 2006).

A study on the networking of women's NGOs in Turkey (Özman and Fındık 2008) indicates that the organizations choose to have informal networks rather than formal networks because "the perceived ideological differences which can be important barriers in formal relations do not impede

[37] These campaigns (Table 2) did not only involve women's organizations but also a wide range of actors including actors from LGBT organizations, feminist politicians, journalists, bar members and academicians. Three women's NGOs working specifically on advocacy and infra-organizational cooperation; Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways, Flying Broom and KADER, have been the pioneers that initiated the mentioned campaigns. Some of the campaigns led several times to the establishment of new coalitions such as "Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Civil Code" in 1997, "Women's Coalition" that worked in order to influence the elections in 2002, "Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Penal Code" that worked between 2003-2005 and the most recent "Women's Platform for a New Constitution". These new coalitions assembled together the actors who tried to introduce a more gender sensitive agenda for the decision makers in general.

having informal relations; dense informal networks increases their legitimacy and popularity, without having to incur the costs of commitment to long term relations" and finally "[w]omen's organization might have little to contribute to each other, because most of them are diversified, and deal with similar issues" (Özman and Fındık 2008, 21). So, the reasons based on the nature of the associations, such as the ideology, bloc the possibility of an increased dialogue between women's NGOs which search to enhance their legitimacy and popularity by having networks with other actors.

Time period	Objective	Founders- Domestic participants	Name of the coalitions and platforms
1997	Campaign against Virginity Testing	WWHR- New Ways- WNGOs	
1997-1998	Campaign for the Protection Order against domestic violence	WWHR- New Ways- WNGOs	
1997-2002	Campaign for the Reform of the Civil Code	WWHR- New Ways- 129 WNGOs, KSGM	Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Civil Code
2001	Campaign for the ratification of the Optional Protocol to CEDAW	WWHR-New Ways- WNGOs	
2002-2004	Campaign for the Reform of the Penal Code from a Gender Perspective	WWHR- New Ways- women's and LGBT organizations, feminist politicians of different parties, women's branches from trade unions, women from bars, academics	Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Penal Code
2002	Campaign for an Early General Election	KADER- 77 WNGOs	Women's Coalition
2003-2005	Shadow report for CEDAW: National Women's Meeting of Women NGOs	WWHR- New Ways, Flying Broom- 26 WNGOs	
2007-	Campaign for the Reform of the Constitution	KADER- 86 WNGOs, LGBT NGOs, journalists	Women's Platform for a New Constitution
2009	Campaign for the Gender Equality Commission	KADER- 50 women's and LGBT organizations, KSGM, feminist politicians of different parties, journalists	

Table 2: Major advocacy campaigns by women's NGOs in Turkey after the second half of 1990s

Another direction of change in the pre-accession process for the women's coalition building is related to the relations with the state. Kardam (2005, 5) argues that the opening of the women's collective action is highly due to the elimination of the fact that the traditional gap between the Turkish state and the society began to narrow down while complying with European Union's criteria

on women's human rights. With such a push factor that highly undermined the restrictive nature in the domestic sphere due to associative policies of the state, the NGOs become relatively eager to participate in international and transnational advocacy networks and to establish networks in Turkey.

In other words, the candidature to the European Union facilitated the lobbying in the domestic arena (Kardam 2005). This phenomenon once again resembles to the situation in Central and Eastern European countries but shows different traits due to domestic opportunity structures. Anne Jenichen (2009) claims in her research on women's rights movements in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina that even though the international allies of the domestic members of the feminist advocacy coalitions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) did not impose their objectives, they had a significant impact on the formulation of advocated laws. In the lack of expertise and experiences for legal advocacy, the advocacy coalitions in BiH got a contribution from their European counterparts who brought in their expertise on international and European norms and legal standards, affecting "the textual form of the advocated laws" (Jenichen 2009, 14).

In the Turkish case, the feminist movement that has developed through mostly academic and legal networks since the 1980s was not in a position to leave the international counterparts, become key experts. There was already an expertise on gender issues in Turkey amongst the women's movement which was highly influenced by the international rhetoric throughout the 1980s. Nevertheless, the increased impact of the international discourse on gender on the domestic level aided to the legitimating of the national and organizational objectives of the Turkish feminist groups vis-à-vis the state. The norms and values that are launched to become the key gender policies of the European Union after the second half of 1990s became articulated in the Turkish policy making through the introduction of the pre-accession criteria. Hence, the pre-accession process introduced a new opportunity frame for the women's coalitions in Turkey.

Another shift is related to political discourse which shapes the collective gender norms. The effects of the Europeanization on national policies regarding to gender issues can be observed through the language adopted by the domestic actors. Jenichen (2009, 15) asserts that the gender-neutral language illustrates the international influence, such as the use of the term "gender" to capture both women and men rather than stressing the rights of women alone. In the Turkish case, the use of international/European terminology such as "gender", "equal opportunities", "gender mainstreaming" or "gender budgeting" denote the introduction of European ideals in the formulation of the domestic arena. These terms transferred and learned through transnational

networks by the women actors in Turkey shaped the rhetoric on gender in both official and non official spheres.

Focusing on KADER and KAGİDER's participation in domestic advocacy networks, it might be claimed that both associations take a part in the formation of a common *répértoire d'action* for the Turkish women's movement. The table on the advocacy networks taking place in the major advocacy campaigns shows that in the recent years KADER has been influential on the formal and also informal women's coalitions in Turkey. The association has participated in several women's coalitions in Turkey and founded three platforms. First of these platforms, Women's Coalition was created in 2002 for the early general election in Turkey.

Due to its politics-oriented objective, KADER participates in networks that advocate for the political and social rights of women such as CEDAW Civil Society Exercise Committee. Also, KADER has been one of the founders and the secretariat of Women's Platform for a New Constitution that was created in 2007 that aimed to amend the Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution that put the women into the category of dependent people with children, elderly and handicapped. Since 2004, KADER's Ankara branch works as the secretariat of the European Women's Lobby National Coordination of Turkey which has become an umbrella organization for the Turkish women's organizations.

	KAGİDER	KADER
International & Transnational	◆World Association of Women Entrepreneurs (FCEM) (2006) ◆European Women's Lobby (EWL) (2004) ◆Association of Organizations of Mediterranean Businesswomen (AFAEMME) ◆Coalition of Balkan Women Business Association (2005)	◆CEDAW Civil Society Exercise Committee (2003) ◆European Women's Lobby (EWL)-Secretariat for the Turkish Coordination)(2004) ◆Balkan Network of Women
National	◆Women's Platform for a New Constitution (2007) ◆Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Penal Code (2003-2005) ◆Women's Platform for a New Constitution (2007) ◆Turkish Businesswomen Federation (KAGİFED) (Founder- 2006)	◆Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Civil Code (1997-2002) ◆Women's Coalition (Founder- 2002) ◆Women's Platform for the Reform of the Turkish Penal Code (2002-2004) ◆Women's Platform for a New Constitution (Founder-2007)
Official	◆DG on Status and Problems of Women (KSGM- 2008) ◆EU-Turkey Joint Consultative Committee	DG on Status and Problems of Women (KSGM- 2008)

Table 3: KADER and KAGİDER's membership in international, national and official networks (Dates represent the periods of participation to networks)

Association of Women Entrepreneurs participates in the advocacy campaigns that are realized in Turkey, but as the table shows it does not play the role of an organizer in such movements. Instead, KAGİDER's executive committee chooses to remain related to the general women's networks in Turkey but to manage its own advocacy activities mostly through multilevel actions. KAGİDER aimed a localized advocacy by founding KAGİFED in 2006, which is a federation that involved in a campaign to increase networks among entrepreneurs throughout Turkey. Even though the campaign aimed to gather the NGOs of the same interest around a common network, the agenda was centralized around KAGİDER (Ketola 2009).

Rather than focusing on a cooperative advocacy mechanism at the national level, KAGİDER seeks to have a rather particularized lobbying by a compelling international representation. As a result, participation in international networks becomes an essential aspect of KAGİDER's activities.

This facilitates the organization to reach to a greater number of people for its lobbying and advocacy activities. The *raisons d'être* of the association contours the networks that it participates in. Being an association that works for supporting women entrepreneurs, KAGİDER participates in the transnational advocacy networks such as World Association of Women Entrepreneurs or other regional networks like Association of Organizations of Mediterranean Businesswomen or the Coalition of Balkan Women Business Associations. So KAGİDER seeks to have a representation of Turkish women entrepreneurs in the international arena via its networks which are built towards Balkan or Mediterranean countries.

It may be stated that, with their different policy objectives and internal structures, KADER and KAGİDER show different behaviors when it comes to taking part in Turkish women's advocacy networks. On the one hand, KADER can be observed as a key agent for such networks that practice advocacy for legal rights of women, due to the legal expertise of its members. On the other hand, KAGİDER opts to remain as a participant of such networks while benefiting from transnational networks for businesswomen or creating its own networks at the same time. Yet, KAGİDER's relative distancing from the general collective action on gender issues is in some way representative of the women's coalition building processes in Turkey. Further than the presented networks, KADER and KAGİDER get involved in new forms of action that outline today the relationship between the public and collective action on gender issues in Turkey. These new forms of action which will be examined in the second part of this chapter nourish from the lobbying in the EU-level and distinguish two associations within Turkish women's movement today.

2. EU-level lobbying in the pre-accession: Building the boomerang pattern

After the integration of a frame of reference on Europeanization, there has been a change in KADER and KAGİDER's advocacy activities. First, there has been a shift of action towards lobbying; a shift of discourse to a more Europeanized one and increased inter-associative relations in order to form coalitions in Turkey that would influence a greater number of people. Once again, these changes show similarities with the Czech example. Maxime Forest (2006) states that in the Czech pre-accession case, there has been a "shift to lobbying" for some of the women's NGOs activities. Such associations that have "formerly conceived for the larger public" "tend to address more specific targets, including women occupying managerial or top political positions" (Forest 2006, 177). Turkish women's NGOs shifted their activities towards lobbying for the domestic public action and addressed more specific targets.

In this part, we argue that in the Turkish case where the full membership conditions do not apply for the candidate country, the NGOs that possessed political or expertise resources, strategically build in new networks of "velvet triangles" (Woodward 2004) involving domestic and international (European) levels. Considered as representative cases of such NGOs, KADER and KAGİDER came up with new instruments or, as Liebert (2002) puts it into words, "different forms of 'networks' as political interaction venues for enhancing compliance or learning processes regarding European equality norms" (Liebert 2002, 29) to be able to reach to European actors. They attached EU institutions to a network pattern on their cause by bringing together the agents of the velvet triangles, some of whom act as transmitters of the EU-framework suggesting simple-learning of EU ways of doing. In this perspective, KADER and KAGİDER used their capacity of elite networking and lobbying in the European sphere, in order to eliminate the blockage by the state. We will examine this strategy around the notion of "boomerang pattern" (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

i. Coordinating action at multiple levels and learning European ways of lobbying

The emergence of a Europeanization framework has offered to the women's NGOs in Turkey a more convenient environment for lobbying. The professionalization and the expansion of the associations' objectives have also been influential for using the lobbying as an instrument in the domestic sphere. However, the lobbying activities are neither restricted to a unilateral relationship of the organizations with the public action nor organized only inside domestic coalitions. Often the advocacy networks benefit from the transnational counterparts in order to coordinate action at multiple levels (Liebert 2003).

According to Ulrike Liebert (2003), the underrepresented groups resolve their resource problems by combining advocacy with multilevel action coordination. She indicates that two mechanisms make part of the logic that drives policy networks: "[f]irst, the decentralization and fragmentation of the institutional structure of policy making in the EU; these offer opportunity structures that are favorable to forming communication networks. Secondly, multilevel action coordination describes an interaction logic and form of cooperation that requires neither a collective identity nor group solidarity as cognitive mechanisms on which agency formation is based". She indicates that the underrepresented groups share a perception of their structural minority position that do not let them enjoy participation to political positions of power or authority, that would resolve as a mutual trust for each other.

Liebert (2003) indicates that the construction of a common interest for European women around EWL for influencing the Amsterdam Treaty negotiations in 1996-1997 was a result of promoting "multilevel action coordination" (Helfferich ve Kolb 2001). The participation of women's movement in the European Women's Lobby, through a national coordination built by KADER can illustrate the association to such networks. Nevertheless, being a candidate country to the European Union limits this effort to be involved fully in European women's networks or accessing to European institutions. For this reason, we choose to use the concept of "velvet triangles" (Woodward 2000) or "the networks between three types of agents who may enhance gender policy at international as well as at domestic levels: femocrats and feminist politicians; expert academicians and women's movement or nongovernmental organizations" (Liebert 2003).

What distinguishes the Turkish case on the matter of multilevel action coordination is the significance of agents. Kardam (2005) defines the women's human rights in Turkey as an issue area "that constitutes an important example of this greater openness and fluidity and of an increasingly effective advocacy by women's civil society organizations to influence government policy" (2005, 5). This fluidity is identified in her work through the emergence of multiple identities that "were assumed by women who switched between academicians, bureaucrats, NGO leaders or activists at one time or another" (2005, 5). These people who hold multiple identities often became gatekeepers for the advocacy of women's rights in Turkey.

An example of these multiple identities can be represented with the persona of Selma Acuner, a political scientist at the Women Studies Center of Ankara University, who worked as one of the directors of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems (Kardam 2005). Acuner has also been active in the international sphere, whereas her board membership in European Women's Lobby was translated later towards a transnational relationship between EWL and Turkey through the formation of a National Coordination in Turkey for EWL. She is the International Relations and EU Coordinator of KADER Ankara that manages the secretariat of the National Coordination of EWL and coordinates the bonds between EWL and Turkish women's NGOs. Women like Acuner have been the key coordinators through the recent years for deterritorializing women's movement in Turkey that became more and more connected to transnational networks.

Some women actors of the velvet triangle contribute and promote European ways of lobbying to women in Turkey who are struggling to become political entrepreneurs. Associations such as KAGİDER who have direct formal or informal contacts with such women can use learn more

prevailing ways of accessing to European institutions, in order to reinforce their own position in the domestic sphere.

An illustration of this fact can be observed through the relations of Emine Bozkurt, a Socialist MEP and European Parliament reporter on women's rights in Turkey with the advocacy networks in Turkey. In a workshop held by Bilgi University of Istanbul on "Civil society organizations in the negotiation process with the EU" in 2005, Bozkurt provided recommendations to women's NGOs (Bilgi University of Istanbul 2005) on the dynamics of "becoming active in Brussels and European capitals".

> "*As Turkey approaches to become a full member, increasingly Turkish NGOs will have to take a more responsible and effective role in t he EU. This will necessitate becoming active in Brussels and European capitals. […] First step is to open an office in Brussels, you have to be there. For example TÜSİAD, an association for businessmen and businesswomen has an office in Brussels and they realize lobbying activities in the EU institutions. You also have to do cooperation, find alliances and decide on the lobbying targets. Commission representatives with Turkish origin and EU delegates, or people working on Turkey can help you, inform them, talk to them, try to promote them, support them to be active in Brussels and in Turkey and to be organized. In this way, you can focus on some key people, and do something more powerful than sending e-mails to the EP. At first, when Brussels becomes a new point for Turkish NGOs, you should cooperate with the NGOs in Europe if they work on the same subjects. Turkish women's NGOs work closely with European Women's Lobby, I profited a lot from this work in my report. I would certainly be pleased to offer my assistance and help NGOS in Brussels as a Turkish originated EU parliament member who follows the pre-accession process. Do not hesitate to contact me".*

In this speech, Emine Bozkurt highlighted the importance of having European headquarters for women's movement of Turkey, which would be based in the core of the EU. She counted the reasons for this activity mainly with regarding to the accession of official and non official European networks. The speech also emphasized the role of reaching to the European Parliament that women's NGOs in Turkey try to fulfill through by maintaining direct contacts with tools such as e-mailing.

Three years after Emine Bozkurt gave her speech to women's NGOs, KAGİDER, the sister association of TÜSİAD, opened its Brussels branch in the same building as the mentioned business people's organization. Once again, this showed that the affiliation with TÜSİAD and the businesspeople in Turkey was an important opportunity that KAGİDER possessed. The responsible of the Brussels office indicated that KAGİDER responded to a necessity on the relations between Turkish

women and the EU and also that a reason to open such an office was to help other women's NGOs in Turkey, by sharing information and helping with the projects that they want to manage. Hence, we can arguably state that by opening its office in Brussels, KAGİDER wanted to prove its interest in becoming a pioneer of the Turkish women's movement in terms of their relations with the EU institutions.

We can arguably state that KADER and KAGİDER manage the formation of velvet triangles through formal or informal events, such as meetings and ceremonies. The opening day of the Brussels bureau can be analyzed as an illustration of KAGİDER's interest to create a velvet triangle network, by bringing together influential actors from different domains. In the launching of KAGİDER EU- Brussels office on 4 March 2008, State Minister responsible of Women and Family Nimet Çubukçu, academician Ayşe Sosyal (PhD), writer Elif Şafak and EP Turkey reporter Ria Oomen-Ruijten participated as keynote speakers (KAGİDER 2009). In its communication on the establishment of the Brussels bureau, KAGİDER stated that it believed in the necessity to integrate with the EU values for the establishment of gender equality in Turkey. EU values are accepted by KAGİDER because it is believed that the EU represents democratic rights such as "the superiority of law" and "gender equality" that KAGİDER wants to import to the Turkish context:

> "*We believe in the European Union values where there is the superiority of law and women have the equal rights without any gender discriminations. In order to have equal participation in economic and social rights, and acceptance of the gender equality notion be the public opinion, we believe that the integration with the EU values is a must. KAGİDER, as Turkey's Women Entrepreneurs Association realizes a first; in order to concentrate on women's problems during the communication of European Union values in Turkish public, civil society and academic circles carries on a major step.* ***KAGİDER Brussels Office has opened its doors*** *in the center of EU. From now on, we will be the follower of the negotiation process with the EU by* ***KAGİDER's Brussels Office. We have acquired the target. To have strong and independent women in Turkey, the only way is the EU.***"

A recent activity of KAGİDER Brussels office was a seminar that was organized with Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe and Turkish Industry and Business Association on 18 March 2009 in the European Parliament on "Gender equality in Turkey and the EU". The seminar brought together European MEPs Karin Riis-Jørgensen and Diana Wallis, Commissioner for Enlargement Olli Rehn, TÜSİAD representatives with Gülseren Onanç (President of KAGİDER) Dr. Selma Acuner (European Women's Lobby Board Member, Lecturer-Ankara Univ. Dpt. of Women Studies), Riccardo Serri (European Commission, DG Enlargement), Münevver Helun Fırat (Justice and Development

Party -AKP) and Kader Sevinç (Republican People's Party- CHP Representative to the EU). The discussions in the seminar focused on the EU experience and the lessons learned through the analysis of policies (Tekin 2009). By establishing networks at multiple levels, KAGİDER tries to maintain legitimacy via representing EU norms and values to the domestic decision makers and politicians.

KAGİDER's action at multiple levels aims the recognition in the European sphere as a Turkish association. The association also brings about the European norms and values to the Turkish conjuncture by official lobbying and advocacy activities that we have indicated before and unofficial meeting that assemble together women from different domains[38]. Similar to these official meetings in Brussels, the unofficial meetings of KAGİDER, named under Breakfast Meetings organized in a monthly routine gather various groups in Turkey, such as women decision makers from Turkish state and European institutions, businesswomen, academicians and experts. Hence, KAGİDER assumes a role to become an intermediary between a wide range of actors and perspectives, some of whom get into contradictions with the others. By managing a broad network, KAGİDER strategically maintains accessibility to the crucial actors (not only public actors, but also actors from business world and academic worlds) for its policy objectives.

In addition the membership of a renowned transnational advocacy network as European Women's Lobby in 2004 facilitated the involvement of Turkish women activists in Europe. The director of KAGİDER's Brussels office stated that the EWL membership had an important role for KAGİDER's expansion to the international arena and its work definition, "We profited from the network of an internationally well-known roof. This way you don't re-explore the world. You walk in the same direction with your counterparts"[39]. Therefore, the EWL offers to KAGİDER access, leverage and information which can be conceptualized by the notion of "boomerang pattern" (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

[38] KAGİDER's approachability to European institutions and networks has also let it become an acknowledged actor to represent Turkish NGOs in Brussels. Michael Leigh, the European Commission Director General for Enlargement, sent a letter on December 2nd, 2008 (see Appendix I) in the name of the president of the association, Gülseren Onanç stating "As the only women entrepreneurs' civil society of Turkey in Brussels, KAGİDER's Brussels office- as part of KAGİDER's international network- is playing an important role in promoting Turkey's accession process in general and women's rights in Turkey and the EU in particular". The Director General also emphasized the role of KAGİDER who takes on the role of a promoter of Turkey's accession process, at the side of supporting and advocating for women's rights not only in Turkey but also in the EU.

[39] Interview with Aslıhan Tekin, 24.03.2009

ii. Appending EU institutions in the "boomerang pattern"

The "boomerang pattern", a theory created by Keck and Sikkink (1998, 12) defines that the advocacy networks address their claims about the rights in their campaigns to the international networks because the governments which have to be the primary "guarantors" of rights often become the primary violators. Such as in the cases of human rights or social policies, sometimes government does not respond to domestic advocacy networks' demands or bloc them through soft or hard controls. According to the boomerang pattern, the transnational networks influence the domestic situations. Keck and Sikkink indicate that "domestic NGOs bypass their state and directly search out international allies to try to bring pressure on their states from outside. […] Linkages are important for both sides: for the less powerful third world actors, networks provide access, leverage, and information (and often money) they could not expect to have on their own" (1998, 12). Therefore the bypassing of the state is related to the idea that the international networks stay in a substantial position for the domestic political arena. Also, through these networks, actors can maintain resources they cannot obtain otherwise.

The participation in the women's report editing process has been a major step for the construction of a boomerang pattern for the Turkish women's movement. It all started when the European Parliament decided to compose a women's report for Turkey joint to its regular reports. According to İlknur Üstün (2005), the chairwoman of KADER's Ankara branch, the participation of women's NGOs in the European Women's Lobby was one of the main factors that led to the involvement in the EP's women report. She has recited the involvement in the EP reports in the mentioned workshop organized by Bilgi University in 2005 (Bilgi University of Istanbul 2005):

> "*We learned the initiative of the EP to prepare a women's report from EWL before. Then, messages saying that there would be such a report on Turkey were received. Right after that, Emine Bozkurt started visiting Turkey. They started having meetings with various organizations here. I have to make a reminder at this point. If the organization is made by the groups who do not know women's organizations, or if it is made by the Foreign Affairs, there may be a decline in the ratio of independent women's organization. For this reason, unlike some women's groups, we don't believe that the results were not so effective. After Bozkurt returned, with the logistic help of STGM, we assembled 35 women friends who live in Turkey, and who have been active in women's movement with their experience and knowledge. Before that assembly, we worked with Selma Acuner with the best efficacy on how to organize this workshop".*

Even though the creation process of the report started with the EP representatives' meetings with Turkish actors, the group organized around KADER was the main initiator of the boomerang pattern. As Üstün described, the group demanded from the MEP Emine Bozkurt their own objectives on the report which were related to their policy agenda. We should bear in mind that the establishment of a boomerang pattern was due to the blockage between the state and women's movement. The barrier was based on basic perceptions on the equality between both sexes in political, social and economic spheres, and also to the ideological disparity between the representatives of socio democratic values and the conservative-democrat state.

The Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) managed the role of an organizer for the participation in EP women's report, by assembling various actors of the women's movement. Üstün indicated that the report that was produced by 36 women activists were presented not only to Emine Bozkurt, who arranged lobbying in Brussels, but also to other entities such as EWL, liberals, Christian democrats and other political groups that supported Turkey's women's report. With the formation of a network that consisted of a group of women activists in Turkey and other participants from transnational and foreign networks, the report on women has been initiated under the roof of the European Parliament. So, the accessibility to European institutions and transnational networks increased as the NGOs start working in cooperation with one another.

The EP incorporated three resolutions since the creation of a first network (in 2005, in 2007 and in 2008). In the final report on "Opinion of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality for the Committee on Foreign Affairs on Turkey's 2007 progress report" (see Appendix K), with the draftsmanship of Emine Bozkurt, the EP defined 15 suggestions on women's role in social, economic and political life in Turkey. The report emphasized "that respecting human rights, including women's rights, is a *condition sine qua non* for membership of the EU" called on the Commission "to make the issue of human rights, in particular women's rights a priority in its negotiations with Turkey". The suggestions included major problems of women in Turkey such as violence against women and honor killings, illiteracy, participation in labour market, registration of the girls at birth, participation in the parliament.

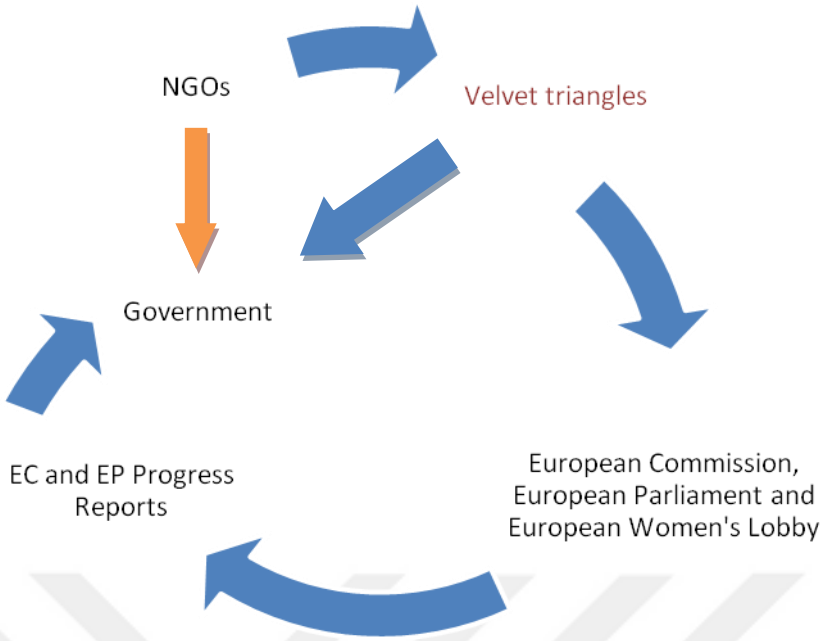

Figure 11: The boomerang pattern for Turkish women's movement

In short, by using the "boomerang pattern" model, it can be stated that Turkish women's NGOs use the networks they create in order to influence domestic policies on gender. In order to accomplish this, associations such as KADER and KAGİDER use their own instruments to form velvet triangles (which is a relatively ambiguous network in Turkey as described before) formed of female politicians, academics and experts and finally participants of women's movements. The agents of these networks can reach to European institutions, namely the European Women's Lobby, the European Parliament and the European Commission. In this pattern, the European Women's Lobby operates as a transnational advocacy network that offers to the women's movement in Turkey new resources of expertise related to the European policy making (that inclines towards governance).

Whereas the European Parliament and the European Commission function as the mediator between the Turkish state and the European Union in terms of compliance and urge the state to fulfill the areas of misfit on gender policies. The policy objectives of the associations return to the Turkish state, which has blocked the dialogue with the NGOs, included the recommendations of the progress reports of EC and EP. As Turkey remains a candidate country rather than a member country to the European Union, gender policies do not linger in the soft laws of the EU, but rather endorse a change in the Turkish legislature and policy structures under the name of "conditionality". To sum

up, the associations profit from the pre-accession process via their resources not only to participate in the agenda setting but also in order to become a part of the decision making process.

iii. The Europeanization of lobbying: the case of Equal Opportunities Commission

A case example of the boomerang pattern in Turkey is the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Commission in the Turkish parliament. In this part, we will offer a rather descriptive study of this event in order to concretize the concept of "boomerang pattern" for the Turkish case. Such presentation reveals how the individual actors in KADER and KAGİDER create new forms of action under the framework of lobbying, in order to introduce their own policy objectives on gender policies in Turkey.

The idea of having a commission in the parliament that would examine Turkish legislature has been present within Turkish women's movement since the beginning of the 1990s. The Parliamentary Commission for Inquiry suggested the establishment of such a commission but it was disregarded by the parliament. Turkish women's movement revealed the necessity to create a commission in the international platforms, such as in the shadow report presented to CEDAW in 2005 (Erbatur 2009). In the mean time, Turkish women's movement participated in the editing of the EP reports as it was explained in the previous part. With the promotion of women's NGOs, the EP's reports included an article on the commission such as in the last report in 2008:

> *"The European Parliament , Welcomes the establishment of the "Women-Men Equal Opportunities Commission" in the Turkish Parliament; welcomes the Commission's assessment that the legal framework guaranteeing women's rights and gender equality is broadly in place; urges, however, the Turkish government to ensure that it is implemented so as to have a positive effect on the situation of women in Turkey; points to upcoming local elections as an opportunity to remedy the low representation of women in politics"* (RSP/2008/2691).

The involvement of the international parties increased the capacity of women's movement to have legitimacy in the domestic arena while influencing the agenda-setting. However the implementation process depended on the politicians in the country. So the associations involved in relations with the political actors from different parties trying to introduce their demands; such as through KADER's meetings in Ankara with parliamentarians, NGO leaders, academicians or KAGİDER's breakfast meeting that brought together Turkish and European actors. Verifying this argument is

parliamentarian Gaye Erbatur's (Erbatur 2009) statement in an interview on the commission, highlighting that the cooperation between women parliamentarians from different parties was a first in Turkey and it was "[…] a reflection of the lobbying managed by the women's movement and what they have done until today. I think now we have a political will**".** Accordingly a joint proposal, formed by female deputies from the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP), the Democratic Society Party (DTP) and the Democratic Left Party (DSP) was accepted at the Constitutional Commission and was brought to the parliament (Today's Zaman 2009). Thus, apart from carrying the issue to the international arena, women's NGOs established a domestic network among female parliamentarians.

KADER and KAGİDER worked together in the lobbying and advocacy process with other women's NGOs such as WWHR-New Ways by using different instruments and strategies. Both associations tried to maintain a network among women who involve in the decision-making mechanisms. As an association with the objective of teaching and supporting women candidates, KADER affirmed itself as the organizer of a campaign for the Gender Equality Commission and assembled together all women parliamentarians in Turkey. The members of the association participated in the parliament in 10 February 2009, the date that the draft bill was introduced to the parliament. So KADER used its resources such as public relations with the political sphere and share information by establishing recurrent interface during agenda-setting and policy formulation stages.

KAGİDER, on the other hand, used its Brussels office as an instrument to assemble the representatives of the European institutions (the Commission and the Parliament) with the governmental representatives in Turkey.

> *"Women's movement was demanding a commission for years. When we opened our office, we introduced State Minister Nimet Çubukçu to various EU representatives. We brought her together with the European Commission Equal Opportunities Commissioner, Turkish reporter Olli Rehn. Everyone asked why the commission had not been established yet. This created an impact**.** After the meeting, I witnessed that she said "we are going to make it" and prepared the mechanism. We brought together Emine Bozkurt in Turkey with Fatma Şahin (AKP) and Necla Arat (CHP) and made a bombardment (about the subject). We reminded them the necessity to have the commission frequently. I believe that KAGİDER had an influence. There's no possibility for the government to oppose or not to be concerned in the gender equality. They know that there is a gap. A good communication is also good for us"*[40].

[40] Interview with Aslıhan Tekin, 24.03.2009

We might say that in these meetings KAGİDER used the *naming and shaming* instruments of the European Union on the *misfits* of Turkey. These two instruments have been mostly influential through soft laws such as the annual Progress Reports. By arranging personal contacts with the two sides, KAGİDER by-passed the formalities and brought the *shaming* closer in the eyes of the domestic policy makers.

The bill on Equal Opportunities Commission was finally accepted by the parliament on the 25th of February, after a period of discussions on the name of the commission. Before the acceptance, conservative-democrats and thus the government came to a decision to change the name of the commission to "Equal Opportunities Commission" with the general consensus of women deputies as "Gender Equality Commission". The women's movement made a statement with the title of "One step forwards, two steps back in the Turkish Parliament for the equality between women and men", affirming that the "equal opportunities is a policy that does not correct existent inequalities between women and men but envisages equal treatment to both sides, and keeps the existent inequality" (Bianet 2009).

Whereas the AKP side indicated that a change in the name would not mean a change in the content, women's movement worry that the governing party is trying to lessen the capacity of the commission. The concern was very briefly related to the fact that the feminist movement and women deputies who supported the movement (CHP, DSP and DTP) agreed on the individual rights of woman in economic, social and political spheres while the AKP group had a familialist approach which placed the woman as a mother of the family[41].

In spite of the critiques, the name of the commission remained as "Equal Opportunities Commission". The next parliamentary year of 2009-2010 will show if the name amends the contents of the commission. In brief, the ideological contradictions between deputies from different parties and the women's movement materialized around the naming disagreement. Even though the differences in the ideals that appeared with the latest conflicts, a "contradictory consensus" (Jacquot 2003, Palier 2003) was built by women actors from different domains with conflicting positions[42].

[41] An evidence of the contradiction is the different attitudes on the matter of participation to professional life. According to the interviews with AKP Women's Branch, the party supports the idea of increasing part-time work rather than full time for women in order to maintain participation in the economy and at the same time keeping domestic duties. Nevertheless, KADER and KAGİDER representatives strongly criticize the government's standpoint, saying that it restricts the possibility of having full time participation to economic life and thus leaves the woman dependent on the husband.

[42] The creation of a "contradictory consensus" between the public action and the collective action or in this case the traditionalist government and the women's movement that promotes women's individuality can be analyzed in a separate research. We can arguably state that this consensus is mostly based on informal

These actors agreed on the policy frame of the Europeanization and implementing gender mainstreaming mechanism to be able to observe and influence new policies with a gender-sensitive approach.

To sum up, the impacts of the Europeanization created a shift in terms of lobbying for KADER and KAGİDER. This lobbying framework was supported by the participation in European networks. Similarly to the theory of Diane Stone (2000) which indicates that think tanks become agents of policy transfer through elite networking and information sharing (through regular interaction during the agenda-setting and policy formulation stages), both associations have become agents of policy transfer in Turkey. Still, the capacity to build such networks and become active in an interactive context was an outcome of a series of environmental and cognitive changes in the post-Helsinki period.

Additionally, this phenomenon of becoming agents of policy transfer happened through different instruments in KADER and KAGİDER due to their internal orientations. KADER, gained access to the European networks as a result of its approachability to the European Women's Lobby. The membership to EWL was celebrated by the women's associations in Turkey which participated in the network with the idea that "Turkish women entered the European Union before Turkey entered as a country". When KADER assembled together the National Coordination for European Women's Lobby in Turkey and became the secretariat of this platform in 2004, it also became a representative of the Turkish network in the European sphere and the European network in the domestic sphere.

KAGİDER, on the other hand, launched the advocacy with the introduction of a Europeanization framework and enlarged this advocacy via lobbying by establishing participation to a greater range of networks. The association benefited from its participation in the business world and became a bridge to Europe due to the Brussels office. Being active in the European gender networks has given a more privileged position for KAGİDER in the domestic arena. The association also brought about the European norms and values to the Turkish conjuncture by official lobbying activities and unofficial meeting that assemble women from different domains.

Finally, the pre-accession process to the European Union developed into an alternate venue for the Turkish NGOs because it submitted a possibility to increase their capacities and become strengthened vis-à-vis the state. But at the same time the same process promoted the dialogue between the policy makers and the collective action. KADER and KAGİDER had a more consensual relationship with the state (which was obviously blocked before), through benefiting from their

negotiations rather than formal in our case, between the women actors of the government and the collective action that create the velvet triangle.

accessibility to international and European networks. Nonetheless, the recent conflicts on the Equal Opportunities/Gender Equality Commission showed that impacts of the Europeanization on the relations between the public action and the collective action or the boomerang pattern remain limited due to the *path dependencies* on gender policies in Turkey.

CONCLUSION

During the last ten years, Turkish state and the Turkish society have undergone a series of changes in the quest for complying with European standards, in order to become a member of the European community. As the citizens of the country, these changes became a part of our daily lives. We heard of "the new reform packages" for the social or cultural policies on the radio, discussed the complexities and obscurities of the Copenhagen criteria watching T.V or argued on the internet with people from other countries on whether Turkey has to be a member or not. While most of us participated passively in this process, there have been a number of people, who examined the pre-accession process, interiorized it or used it as an "alternate venue" for achieving what they have aimed for years. Our subjects, Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER) and Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGİDER) stand for the two women nongovernmental organizations of Turkey, which involved in the pre-accession process as active members.

In this work, we tried to become a more active witness of the women's movement in Turkey by observing and analyzing the activities and objectives of KADER and KAGİDER. At the same time we attempted to be a part of the pre-accession, not from a distance but with a more close view. So we questioned the changes after the Helsinki Summit in 1999 on both associations in order to understand the interactive processes of Europeanization. With this purpose, we offered an analysis on KADER and KAGİDER, of what can be summarized as becoming an agent on gender policies in Turkey.

The first chapter illustrated that the Europe's influence on Turkey was not recent, especially on a subject as problematic as gender equality. However, a positive influence of such an influence had not occurred until the Turkish women's movement was able to maintain an independent structure and become institutionalized. In addition, neither the EU had the same on Turkey prerogative before the beginning of the negotiations nor it had its own common policy on gender issues and civil society dialogue. So we chose our focal point as the year 1999 because it signified the introduction of a new frame of reference on Europeanization, of new norms, values or patterns for Turkish public and collective actions.

The second chapter proposed an analysis of the dynamics of Europeanization on KADER and KAGİDER around environmental and cognitive mechanisms. It showed that the modifications in the

domestic legal and administrative spheres, on gender policies or on civil society, increased the operability of both associations. Besides, there have been European financial aids to the associations' with the emergence of pre-accession funding to Turkey. Nevertheless, the data showed that the share of EU funding did not occupy a major part of the associations' budgets. Observing the civil society in general, we might affirm that the professionalization and strengthening through funding are not changes that specifically result from the Europeanization but they are new trends since the 1990s. So we argued that the impact of the EU funding was more significant on the matter of cognitive aspects; whereas the funds launched the "first contact" between the EU and the associations. Accordingly, cognitive changes led to new orientations such as the dynamics of expertization on the EU and the expansion of the objectives towards wider-ranging gender policies.

So the third chapter was a response to the counterintuitive arguments that we found out in the second chapter; such as the share of EU funds on the associations, and the difference between the two associations. We tried to present more interactive mechanisms of the Europeanization: How did the associations react to the new frame of reference? The answer was that they used that framework and struggled to become an active member of that framework. So we could talk about the impacts of the Europeanization in the limit that the associations *used* that framework. KADER and KAGİDER distinguish in the women's movement because of this struggle to become a political entrepreneur on gender policies of the European Union in Turkey. They acquired a more crucial position as they legitimized their discourse with the EU and built a pattern for lobbying with leading women from four different domains (political, civil society, academic, business) from Turkish and European realms. Two phenomena have facilitated this pattern: KADER's participation (as the secretariat association of the national coordination) in European Women's Lobby and KAGİDER's involvement in Brussels owing to its Brussels office.

The indicated conclusions until this point represent the similarities in the dynamics of Europeanization for KADER and KAGİDER. Nonetheless, the research showed that there have been a great deal of differences in relation with the outcomes of these dynamics, which is highly related to the natures of the associations. To begin with, the change in the internal organizations in the associations has not been to the same extent. Whereas KAGİDER leaned very strongly on advocacy and lobbying on the EU-level and thus adopted a more professionalized approach with paid staff in order to play an active role, KADER remained less institutionalized and increased its expertise on the European Union. Second aspect is about their positioning in the domestic or international collective action. KADER has placed itself as a pioneer of the latest advocacy campaigns in Turkey while joining international networks. KAGİDER participated in the advocacy campaigns but did not initiate them.

The association chose to increase its bonds with the transnational Balkan or Mediterranean networks.

Third aspect is related with their conception of membership to the European Union. The interviews and the speeches of the members of KADER showed that the association adopted a positive position towards the European Union due to the fact that it facilitates the legitimization of its own policy objectives and is accepted as "a catalyst for the democratization in Turkey". KAGİDER, on the other hand, tried to be a contributor of the pre-accession process and widened its policies to become an advocate of Turkey's membership in the European sphere. Having members from the business world who run the leading enterprises of Turkey has possibly had a role on KAGİDER's involvement in the Turkish-EU relations.

To come to more general results, we can say that the pre-accession to the European Union endorses the implementation of gender equality policies in Turkey, because it promotes the internationally recognized principles as conditionality. That is the reason why it becomes a *catalyst* for the democratization; the process involves requirements some of which cannot be neglected in the negotiations. So the EU portrays a double face on the subject of gender equality: a face which is based on convergence (mostly on the economic participation of women) and voluntary coordination for the member countries and another that places the gender equality in all areas as a *sine qua non* for the candidate countries. Accordingly, the reliance of the state that accepts the negotiations in the pre-accession becomes an asset for the civil society in a candidate country.

Based on these affirmations, new questions can be raised for further research. Without a doubt, the easiest one would be whether the same conditions would apply if Turkey would become a member of the EU. Since there is no concrete date for Turkey's membership, this question would require a comparative analysis, with countries having similar conditions as Turkey. This research has shown the similarities between Turkey and the Central and Eastern European countries that have become members in 2004, on gender issues and civil society participation. Observing CEE countries could have possibly responded to our question.

Another question is related to the lack in our dissertation of an analysis on the conflict at the cognitive level. The members of both KADER and KAGİDER indicated that they joined EU's policies on gender on some level but also noticed lacking areas in the EU itself. We saw that the associations were a part of the Europeanization between the limits they used it for the legitimation. And it was represented as though it was the EU and the associations that met their interests on gender equality against the government that does not converge due to traditional or religious grounds. But are there limits to these "meeting of interests"? Do the associations strategically "not use" some of the EU's

norms, values or patterns? What are the cognitive aspects of the temporary contradictory consensus between the government and the two associations and how temporary is this consensus? As political entrepreneurs of the gender policies of the EU in Turkey, how do the associations perceive these policies and portray them to the public opinion (because all the members of the EU do not represent a common language on gender policies)?

Finally, can we talk about an emergence of governance in Turkey after observing the boomerang pattern? Does the pattern only position the associations as actors for the time being, or does it evoke the European governance that the Union tries to promote to the member and candidate countries through encouragement of actions such as civil society dialogue. We think that this question needs a medium term to wait for receiving a response.

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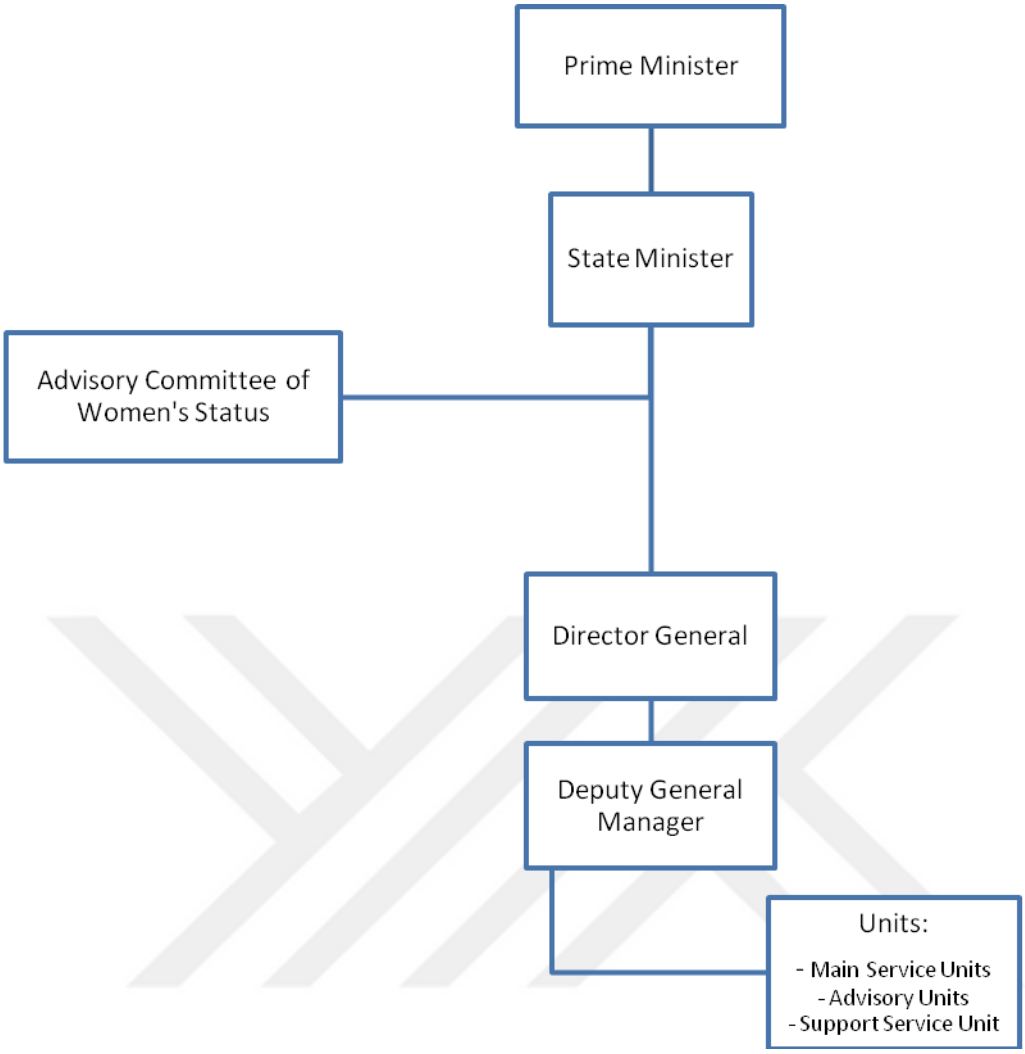
APPENDIX

Name	Organization /Institution	Position	Date of interview	Place of the interview
Aysun Sayın	KADER	Secretary General	03.02.2009	KADER- İstanbul
Aslıhan Tekin	KAGİDER Brussels	Director	24.03.2009	KAGİDER- Brussels
Benal Yazgan	KADER Kadıköy	Director	11.05.2009	KADER- Kadıköy
Christos Makridis	European Commission DG Enlargement	Deputy Head of Unit	23.03.2009	European Commission- Brussels
Fatma Karakoç	KSGM	Head of Department of Strengthening the Economic Status of Women	11.02.2009	KSGM- Ankara
Fatma Şahin	AKP	President of Women's Branch	10.02.2009	AKP- Ankara
Hülya Tanrıöver	MEDİZ	Responsible	14.05.2009	Galatasaray University- İstanbul
Jülide Sarıeroğlu	AKP	Member of Central Executive Committee Women's Branch	10.02.2009	HAKİŞ- Ankara
Leyla Coşkun	KSGM	Vice General Manager	27.02.2009	Internet
Nalan Özdemir	Delegation of the EC to Turkey	Sector Manager for Civil Society and Democratisation	11.02.2009	Delegation- Ankara
Özgül Erdemli Mutlu	KAGİDER	Director of KGLM	06.02.2009	KAGİDER- İstanbul
Rana Birden Çorbacıoğlu	KADER	Member of the Executive Committee	17.02.2009	Personal residence- İstanbul
Rina Altaras	KAGİDER	Secretary General	06.02.2009	KAGİDER- İstanbul
Zeynep Karadadaş	KAGİDER	Project Manager	06.02.2009	KAGİDER- İstanbul

Appendix A: The list of interviewees including the names and positions in the organization and institutions.



Appendix B: Organizational Chart of Directorate General on Status of Women (KSGM), http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/gmh_teskilat4.php, accessed on 14.06.2009

"ARTICLE 15. – The Advisory Board on the Status of Women, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister or the Minister, shall consist of the following members: undersecretaries of the Ministries of Justice, Interior Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, National Education, Health, Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Labor and Social Security, Industry and Trade, Culture and Tourism; Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization; General Secretary of the Secretariat General for EU Affairs; Head of the State Institute of Statistics; Head of the State Personnel Presidency; Head of the Radio and Television Supreme Council; Director General of Turkish Radio and Television Institution; Director General of Social Services and Child Protection Department; Director General of Turkish Employment Agency; Head of the Prime Ministry Administration for Disabled People; Director General of Family and Social Research; Head of the Prime Ministry Human Rights High Committee or someone to act on their behalf; at least four university members to be named by the Higher Education Board from the Women Studies Disciplines and Women Research and Application centers; Director General; Deputy Director General and department heads from the main service units; and five representatives from NGOs working in the field of women rights."

	2006	2007	2008
Balls	-	569,893	-
Fees and membership	171,700	169,618	252,002
Women's fund	286,378	159,629	7,374
Garanti Bank	-	68,655	-
We-Mentor Project	-	50,662	-
Incubation Project	-	41,994	-
Sponsorship	83,663	17,762	-
Bridge from Women to Women	43,742	5,903	9,970
Women's Way to Europe	61,050	-	-
Women Entrepreneurship Summit	-	-	79,650
Brussels Office	-	-	117,976
Garanti Bank Summit	-	-	9,568
Other	52,481	96,130	115,982
Total	699,014	1,180,246	592,521

Appendix C: KAGİDER's Budget for 2006-2008: Donations and Aids according to projects

Source: KAGİDER Annual Report 2007-2009

	2006	2007	2008
Women's Fund	276,177	206,520	-
Balls	-	187,318	-
Staff	110,085	111,743	190,306
Incubation Project	-	35,684	-
We-Mentor Project	4,615	29,294	29,265
Member organizations	15,894	20,882	10,930
Communications	3,572	18,960	16,800
Trips	22,493	14,920	7,869
Women's Way to Europe	29,533	14,894	-
Bridge from Women to Women	20,867	9,458	11,612
Leadership Center	-	-	31,789
Women Entrepreneurship Summit	-	-	11,116
Brussels Office	-	-	117,823
Garanti Bank Summit	-	-	9,568
Membership fees	16,261	86	2,171
Other	135,048	136,537	141,018
Total	634,545	786,296	580,267

Appendix D: KAGİDER's Budget for 2006-2008: Dispenses according to projects

Source: KAGİDER Annual Report 2007-2009

	1997	1999	2001	2005	2007-2009
Chairwoman	Şirin Tekeli Prof. Political Sci.	Zülal Kılıç Private sector	Ayşe Bilge Dicleli Engineer	Seyhan Ekşioğlu Advocate	Hülya Gülbahar Advocate
2nd chairwoman	Canan Arın Advocate	N/A	N/A	Semra Aydın Behavioral sciences	Semra Aydın Behavioral sciences
Secretary General	N/A	N/A	Seyhan Ekşioğlu Advocate	Aysun Sayın Project coordinator for private and NGOs	Aysun Sayın Project coordinator for private and NGOs
Central Executive Committee	**Founders of KADER (1997):** (3) Economist and manager, industrialist (9) Academics (1) Executive consultant (3) Journalist (2) Engineer (2) Public Relations	N/A	N/A	(1) Financer (1) Academic (1) Journalist (1) N/A	(2) Journalist (2) Public Relations (1) Social worker (2) Academics/ project coordinator

Appendix E: KADER's Chairwomen, 2nd Chairwomen, Secretary Generals, and Central Executive Committees according to their professions

Appendix F: KADER's advocacy campaigns for the elections: General elections of 2007

Women in mustaches campaign that says "Do you have to be a man to get in Parliament?" and "Let's choose Women".

Appendix G: KADER's advocacy campaigns for the elections: Local elections of 2009

"We all share the same idea! Our objective is to have 50 % women candidates for the local administrations. P.S: This banner is the result of women's imaginations who manifest the 1% participation of women in the local administrations and who want to become a part of the politics".

Women's Way to Europe

"We cannot deny the accelerating influence of the harmonization process to EU on the reforms related to the equality between men and women in Turkey. EU acquis includes regulations related to the establishment of gender equality and as all candidate countries Turkey has to harmonize with the acquis communautaire. There has been a significant role of the civil society organizations for the reforms that have been established until now. […] We believe that Turkey should continue its pre-accession process with the same determination. […] We believe that the Turkey's inclination to the EU that has started with the 1963 Ankara Agreement is an irrefutable process and the reforms should continue. ***We will not abandon our determination on this matter.****"*

EU, the only way

"We believe in the European Union values where there is the superiority of law and women have the equal rights without any gender discriminations. In order to have equal participation to economic and social rights, and acceptation of the gender equality notion be the public opinion, we believe that the integration with the EU values is a must. KAGİDER, as Turkey's Women Entrepreneurs Association realizes a first; in order to concentrate on women's problems during the communication of European Union values in Turkish public, civil society and academic circles carries on a major step. ***KAGİDER Brussels Office has opened its doors*** *in the center of EU. From now on we will be the follower of the negotiation process with the EU by* ***KAGİDER's Brussels Office. We have acquired the target. To have strong and independent women in Turkey the only way is the EU.****"*

Appendix H: KAGİDER's campaigns on the EU

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
Directorate-General Enlargement

DIRECTOR GENERAL

Brussels, 02 DEC. 2008

Dear Ms Onanc,

I am writing to express my appreciation for the active role KAGIDER is playing in Brussels since the establishment of its local office in March 2008.

The European Commission services have worked closely with KAGIDER on several occasions, including our annual progress reports for Turkey, on issues such as gender equality, women's political representation and women's participation in the labour market.

We share KAGIDER's stated objectives which include the increase of the number of women entrepreneurs in Turkey, the support of existing women entrepreneurs and the integration of Turkish women entrepreneurs into the global community.

As the only women entrepreneurs' civil society representation of Turkey in Brussels, KAGIDER's Brussels office - as part of KAGIDER's international network - is playing an important role in promoting Turkey's EU accession process in general and women's rights in Turkey and the EU in particular.

I count on the continuation of our fruitful cooperation for the benefit of Turkish women entrepreneurs.

Sincerely yours,

Michael Leigh

Ms Aslihan Tekin
KAGIDER - Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey
Avenue des Gaulois, 13
B - 1040 Bruxelles
E-mail: aslihan.tekin@kagider.org

Commission européenne, B-1049 Bruxelles / Europese Commissie, B-1049 Brussel - Belgium. Telephone: (32-2) 299 11 11
Office: DHAR 5/014. Telephone: direct line (32-2) 29 50140

E-mail: mdlabbe.economides@ec.europa.eu

Appendix I: European Commission Director-General for Enlargement, Michael Leigh's letter to Gülseren Onanç, chairwoman of KAGİDER dated 2 December 2008

"Dear Ms Onanc, I am writing to express my appreciation for the active role KAGİDER is playing in Brussels since the establishment of its local office in March 2008. The European Commission services have worked closely with KAGİDER on several occasions, including our annual reports for Turkey, on issues such as gender equality, women's political representation and women's participation in the labour market. We share KAGİDER's (…) objectives which include the increase of the number of women entrepreneurs in Turkey, the support of existing women entrepreneurs and the integration of Turkish women entrepreneurs into the global community. As the only women entrepreneurs' civil society of Turkey in Brussels, KAGİDER's Brussels office- as part of KAGİDER's international network- is playing an important role in promoting Turkey's accession process in general and women's rights in Turkey and the EU in particular. I count on the continuation of our fruitful cooperation for the benefit of Turkish women entrepreneurs".

Appendix J:

OPINION of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality

for the Committee on Foreign Affairs
on Turkey's progress towards accession
(2006/2118(INI))
Draftswoman: Emine Bozkurt

SUGGESTIONS
The Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality calls on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as the committee responsible, to incorporate the following suggestions in its motion for a resolution:

A. whereas, although the legal reforms in Turkey in the area of women's rights go a long way in implementing the acquis, translating the reforms into practice remains a serious problem,
B. whereas the Commission's progress report identifies the following areas of concern as regards the situation of women: violence against women, particularly domestic violence and crimes of honour, forced marriages, the high illiteracy rate and lack of appropriate access to education, the low level of participation by women in parliament and in local representative bodies, and the low level of participation and prevailing discrimination in the labour market,
C. whereas, in some regions in Turkey, newborn children are not registered immediately, and whereas, by means of the practice of later registration, the age of young women can be arbitrarily fixed and under-age girls can be declared to have reached majority, thereby providing 'de facto' legitimation for forced marriages,
1. Stresses that respecting human rights, including women's rights, is a *conditio sine qua non* for membership of the European Union and calls on the Commission to make the issue of human rights, including women's rights, central to the agenda for the negotiations with Turkey;
2. Commends the Turkish Government and parliament on the legislative reforms relating to the situation of women in the fields of the Constitution, the Civil and the Penal Code and the Labour Code; expresses its concern regarding application of the reforms and urges the government to direct more attention to implementation of the legislation;
3. Calls on the government to provide women who are victims of violence or are at risk of violence with healthcare and legal support and protection and more and better shelters, and to provide telephone help lines to report violence and request support;
4. Reiterates its demand to the Commission to present Parliament with a full report concerning the brutality of the Turkish police in Istanbul on 6 March 2005 during the demonstration to mark International Women's Day;
5. Calls on the Turkish authorities to engage in a constant dialogue with the European Parliament on women's rights and on the role of women in Turkey in social, economic and political life;
6. Calls on the Turkish Government to eliminate the obstacles women continue to face in gaining access to education and ensure equal access for them;
7. Calls on the Commission, in the accession negotiations with Turkey, to press for steps to be taken to ensure that newborn children are registered immediately, thereby putting an end to any illegal practices, in particular that of applying to Turkish family courts to have girls' ages increased so that

they can officially be declared to have reached majority, with a view to avoiding prosecution for forcing girls into marriage;

8. Calls on the Turkish Government to ensure that marriages are registered legally throughout the country;

9. Calls on the Turkish Government to implement a global strategy for the promotion of gender equality and the protection of women's rights across the spectrum of its policies and in cooperation with political parties, social partners, NGOs and the media.

Appendix K:

OPINION of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (15.4.2008)

for the Committee on Foreign Affairs
on Turkey's 2007 progress report
(2007/2269(INI))
Draftswoman: Emine Bozkurt

SUGGESTIONS

The Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality calls on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as the committee responsible, to incorporate the following suggestions in its motion for a resolution:

- having regard to its resolutions of 6 July 2005 and of 13 February 2007 on women's role in social, economic and political life in Turkey,

1. Emphasizes that respecting human rights, including women's rights, is a *conditio sine qua non* for membership of the EU and calls on the Commission to make the issue of human rights, in particular women's rights a priority in its negotiations with Turkey;
2. Underlines the importance for Turkey of combating all forms of discrimination in line with Article 13 EC treaty, which requires equality for all regardless of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation;
3. Notes with concern the Commission's statement that access to reliable data on the incidence of violence against women and of honour killings continues to be a problem; calls on the Turkish Government to provide specific and reliable data on these issues, as well as on the illiteracy rate among women, on equal access for women to education, and on problems related to the participation of women in the labour force;
4. Urges the Turkish Government to take up reforms concerning the achievement of de facto gender equality, women empowerment, social security, eliminating the feminisation of poverty and violence against women, increasing participation of women in the labour market, education, science, and economic, social and political life with urgency;
5. Calls on the Turkish Government to urgently enact the 'Equal Status Act" as stated in the Circular of the Prime Minister dated 4 July 2006;
6. Is alarmed by the fact that the number of children not registered at birth remains high, especially in the East of the country, and that the majority of those children are girls; considers that this hampers the fight against forced marriage and honour crimes, since the victims have no official identity; urges again the Turkish authorities to continue taking all necessary measures to ensure that all Turkish children are registered at birth;
7. Welcomes the initiatives and measures that have been taken by the Turkish Government; stresses, however, that further efforts to adopt measures against all forms of violence against women are necessary;
8. Notes with regret that the situation of women on the Turkish labour market deteriorated in recent years and stresses that Turkey needs to attract more women to the labour market and ensure good working conditions in line with the decent work agenda promoted by the International Labour Organization and the European Union;
9. Considers it crucial that the new constitution should ensure gender equality and provides women with more, not fewer, rights, including full enjoyment of their right to work; that it should lay the

foundations for equal representation at all levels of decision making, that it should avoid the use of vague criteria such as "General Morality"; that it should refrain from perceiving women primarily as family or community members or as a vulnerable group needing protection and that it should reaffirm women's human rights, including their sexual and reproductive rights, as their individual rights;

10. Reaffirms the importance of non-governmental organizations, as well as other civil society actors and therefore calls on the Turkish Government to ensure a strengthened coordinated and institutionalized dialogue with civil society and women's NGOs particularly in the drafting of the new constitution, and ensure that civil society is constantly involved in all areas of policymaking, including policy on social security and the negotiations with the EU;

11. Notes with satisfaction that the implementation of the ministerial circular to combat honour killings and domestic violence against women is underway; underlines the need for judicial proceedings of victims to be dealt with rapidly, confidentially and in a humane manner; is concerned, however, by the fact that domestic violence against women continues to be widespread and that honour killings, early and forced marriages still occur;

12. Commends the Turkish government on its support for successful cooperation projects between EU and Turkish partners, such as the twinning project which is preparing for an independent gender equality body and which is training 750 officials on gender mainstreaming, expects that such a gender equality body will be created without delay;

13. Notes with concern that political participation of women has not increased, considers the increase in female parliamentarians from 4.4% to 9% of the Parliament to be insufficient and points to upcoming local elections as an opportunity to remedy this through means such as quotas for women on elections lists;

14. Reiterates its frequent demands for a permanent Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee with full legislative powers in the Turkish Parliament; sees such a committee as an essential instrument for improvement of women's rights and gender mainstreaming in Turkey;

15. Calls on the Turkish authorities to further tackle the gender gap in primary education and to better monitor drop-outs, especially of girls.