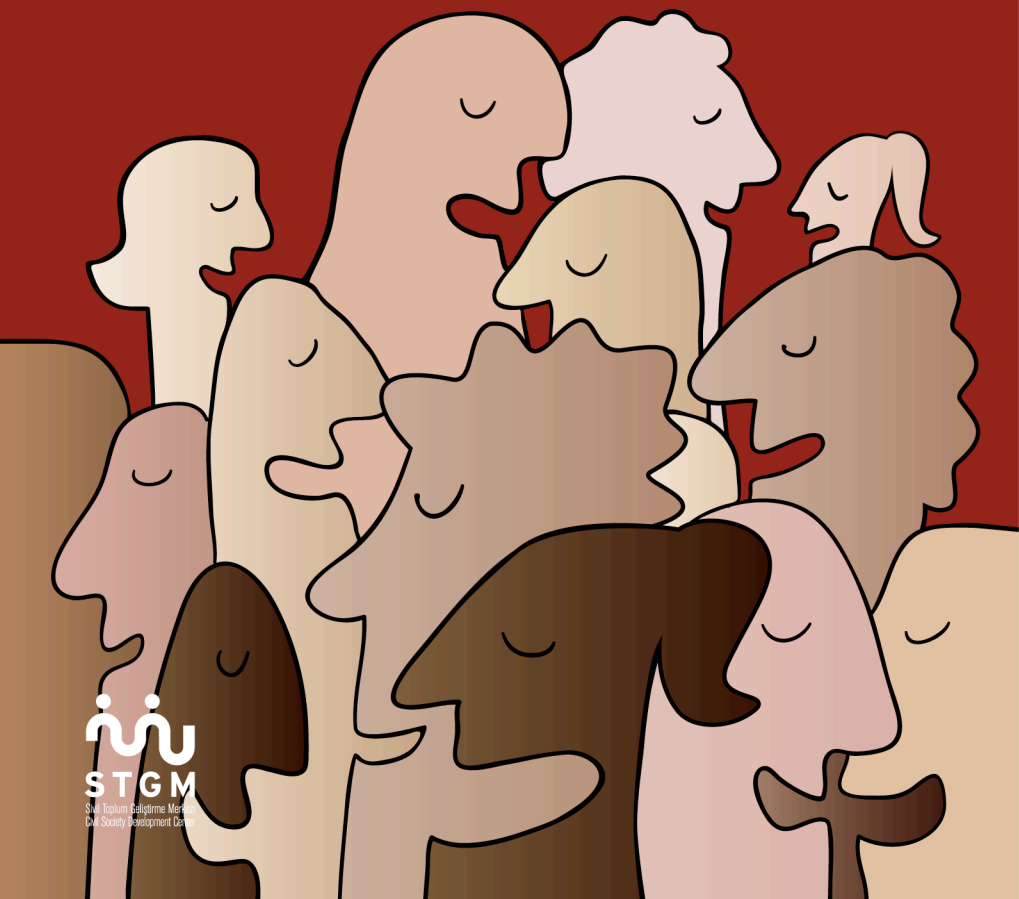
ISSUES AND RESOLUTIONS OF **RIGHTS-BASED NGOs IN TURKEY**



STGM

Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi
Civil Society Development Center

ISSUES AND RESOLUTIONS OF **RIGHTS-BASED NGOs IN TURKEY**

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Printed by
Odak Offset Printing
GMK Bulvarı 32/C Demirtepe, Ankara / Turkey
Tel: +90 (312) 230 02 49 | Fax: +90 (312) 229 34 33

2007, ANKARA / TURKEY

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Civil Society Development Center

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PROLOGUE

- How many registered members do you have?
- Ten thousand.
- How many of them pay their dues?
- Three, four hundred!
- What is your main problem?
- Lack of money.

Here lies the problem; the fact that the problem can not be defined properly seems to be one of the main issues of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Turkey, and most probably elsewhere in the world. Many NGOs, including big, experienced ones, which have institutional capacity and work at the national level, suffer from huge discrepancy between the number of registered members and those who pay their dues regularly.

There may be various reasons for this:
> The organization defines anyone who has been registered once with the organization, no matter whether they come to the organization and pay dues regularly or not, as a member. If there is no contradictory clause in their regulation, this membership continues unless they are expelled.
> The organization is hesitant to report the number of its real members as it perceives this an indicator of failure.
> The organization does not have the knowledge, methods or tools to recruit new members or to mobilize existing members. Worse still, it is not even aware of such a need.

We can present similar statements about 'democracy within the institution', 'relations with other NGOs', and 'participation'.

We have prepared this book to present the perspectives of NGOs that are active in seven different areas (human rights, environment, gender, youth, people with disabilities, children, culture/cultural rights) which constitute the target group of Civil Society Development Center (STGM). With the perspectives of NGOs on their own

institutional capacity, cooperation and democracy within the institution, we aim to present the achievements and contributions of NGOs in Turkey to civil life.

STGM team has met with over three thousand NGO representatives in two year period from 2005 until 2007. Two thousand of these representatives have actually participated in either three-day or five-day capacity development trainings of STGM. Hence, we have extensive observation about the civil society life in Turkey, the structure and activities of NGOs.

We can state the following observations about the institutional capacity of many civil society organizations:

> Many NGOs increasingly need and demand institutionalization.

> There is lack of knowledge and experience on how to achieve this institutionalization.

> Despite increasing attempts to establish networks among organizations working in similar areas, there are serious problems in sustaining these networks.

> NGOs working in different areas are not aware of each other and they actually do not feel the need to do so.

> State-civil society dialog has improved to some extent. Yet, it is difficult to say that this dialog improves on its own.

> Many NGOs believe that their biggest problem is lack of money. Hence, they direct their energy and resources to fundraising as their priority.

> A new mentality, called 'project making' has become dominant among NGOs especially with the EU accession process. As a result, civil society organizations are now each other's rivals for the grants. Those who can receive grants are defined as 'successful' whereas others without grants are defined as 'failure'. In sum, we observe that NGOs move away from putting their energy in their problem areas and target groups, and chase financial sources.

The problems stated above are only some of the problems observed by STGM and certainly by many others. They are not limited to those stated here. Civil society organizations in Turkey are improving and changing like an organism in many different ways.

As STGM, we would like to analyze the situation of NGOs in Turkey further beyond our observations. Hence, seven different experts have met with NGOs working in

these seven different areas. NGOs in these sectors and different actors within these NGOs narrated their transition themselves.

STGM has provided a flexible framework to the seven experts carrying out the study. The framework includes the summary of the situation in Turkey in that sector, and various other titles such as the institutionalization, participation and cooperative relationships of NGOs.

The experts have met with representatives from a total of 132 NGOs, 4 federations, 1 confederation and 3 platforms. The experts alone are responsible for the content of their sections. Hence, it is possible to see different titles elaborated in different sections.

We sure wish to have had more time and opportunities to carry out a more comprehensive and detailed study. However, we believe that the outcome of the study presented in this book provides main knowledge and assesses the current situation about these seven sectors in Turkey.

We hope that the reader will enjoy the book. We believe that the reader can trace similarities and differences in these seven areas and make conclusions about the general situation of the NGOs.

We thank all who have contributed to the preparation of this book.

STGM

İRFAN AKTAN | Translated by Zeynep Gösterişli and Hacer Korkut

FIRE ENGINES ON NARROW STREETS

(Human Rights Organizations in Turkey) [1]

Struggling for human rights in Turkey, where both political and social life has been limited, requires great effort, determination and belief. Almost all the representatives of the human rights organizations say that despite the great difficulties they never give up their struggle to prevent human rights violations, but they admit the arduousness they face in putting out fire 'sabotage' that were attempted on narrow streets by the authorities.

When the authority is replaced and the able people of the past are subjected to power, they actually comprehend- though sometimes late- that human rights is for everyone. Unfortunately, it doesn't help when they understand that they themselves also need human rights which they didn't care about when in power. That is why the struggle for human rights is not against a single legal body or persons that represent power, but rather against the authority which constricts and violates human rights to broaden its power base.

Human rights violation is as old as the history the capable-dependent dichotomy; however, the struggle for human rights is also as old. In the recent history of Turkey the struggle for human rights continues with the help of organizations and actions of civil disobedience. However, at this point, within the scuffle of neo-liberal economic policies and in the positive and negative conditions brought about by globalization, the struggle for human rights in Turkey has come to a crossroad. In spite of radical changes and development which started with the information technology and Internet, it would be too early to claim that consciousness for rights has increased in Turkey. On one side there are subgroups that can not benefit from the information technology and do not have access to relevant information, and on the other side there are human

[1] I would like to thank Erkan Canan, Erselan Aktan and Oktay İnce for their support while I was writing this article.

rights organizations that support people whose rights have been violated. Human rights organizations are aware that without an increase in awareness, the struggle will have no base or support; therefore, they are looking for solutions to overcome the problem. In the following text, while we make a rough evaluation of these issues, we also try to convey the evaluations of the human rights associations about the issues that originate from themselves, from their base and from the governing power.

1. The Human Rights Concept

Human rights became a primary issue when a certain class or a group of people captured tacitly the monopoly of state administration and violence. However, we need to note that human rights concept is a modern and political concept, and it is difficult to state that it was formed and began to be debated with the emergence of the state, for it took hundreds of years for the administered people to gain consciousness of their rights. The idea of human rights emerged to help to sustain the people's relationship with the state which holds the right of using violence and to protect themselves from the oppression of the state in the modern era. Hence it is necessary to mention this difference: human rights mean the rights of people against the state. The concept of human rights is on the agenda of all social structures where there is a state and administration of any kind. Human rights is one of the primary problems of modern times since it signals the limits of the governing power, and this power never gives up forcing this limit.

Unfortunately the concept of 'human rights' is used unnecessarily and/or incorrectly in different contexts. People sometimes load "should be" meanings to this concept, other times describe all "good" things as human rights. However, Prof. Baskın Oran clarifies this incorrect definition as such: "Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) protect individuals against religion, congregation and state. The infringements of human rights are deeds of the state and religious groups, and not of anyone else. For example, I cannot infringe your human rights, what I do would be called a petty offense. If the state forces you to wear or take off a head scarf even if you don't work at a public office, then it is human rights infringement." [2] Actually, Baskın Oran's

[2] Aktan, İrfan. "Cehennemden Geçiyoruz". Interview with Baskın Oran, *Express*, No 69, February 2007.

explanation summarizes the human rights concept as well. When the state or congregations, that are organized structures, infringe individuals' rights, human rights violation takes place. For this reason, human rights advocacy is actually made against the state and the congregations that have the power in their hands.

The topics of human rights form, enlarge, expand and gain new definitions within the framework of societal development and transformation. The first, second and third generation rights diagram are drawn in this respect: '' Except for the temporary period of regression in history, the human rights territory has always broadened. The first generation rights that consisted of civilian and political rights were followed by second generation rights which described the developing economic, social and cultural rights in the middle of the 20th century. The third generation rights were brought about by the globalization and information age, and consisted of rights like healthy environmental right which surpassed the state-individual relationship. All these processes have also been stages for the re-definition and re-interpretation of existing rights as well as the introduction of new rights topics.'' [3]

As can be seen, human rights is a dynamic concept, and transforms and expands by time. Human rights points to the universal rights of humanity. Human is the only being that applies mechanisms within a legal framework to ensure togetherness and while doing so gets every individual's consent implicitly or by force. To provide the sustainability of this process, establishes devices, structures and organizations. These organizations (states, congregations, or structures formed in cooperation with other states like the European Union, religious groups and/or authorities) while responsible for protecting the rights of the defenseless people are the ones that infringe the rights of the individuals. As emphasized above, human rights advocacy is conducted against these structures. The former president of Human Rights Association Mr. Hüsnü Öndül says:''Human Rights are the rights humans from birth. (...) The basic feature of human rights is the implication of it without the support of any contract or law. Human rights are based on necessity and demands of the people in need. What happens is that, people in need modify their demands from the authority that encompass all periods in history. The root of human rights is the deeds of the individual that singles out within other forms of life by consciously providing his/her own means of

[3] Taşkesen, Mustafa. *İnsan Hakları*. Matus Pub. 2006, Ankara, p.7.

livelihood, and creating beauty in the environment. For this reason, human rights are evolutionary. It flourishes continuously. Therefore, the human rights list never ends. What forms the value of a human is its integrity with what it produces and creates. Human honor, the integral whole with its creations, expects a response in every action and with all forms and varieties. We should state that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes human honor in the first clause that declares equality of all people in honor and rights. The key concept of the declaration is human honor. All people are equal in terms of the honor of being a human."[4]

As a result of the improvement and expansion of the human rights concept following the change/transformation of the governing structure, the totality of these rights are guaranteed by national and international agreements. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights announced by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948 is an international declaration to mention in the first place.[5]

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[4] Öndül, Hüsnü. www.ihd.org.tr. 1998.

[5] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a document which doesn't have any legal binding or any obligatory application. This declaration can be accepted as a moral commitment or a good intention declaration. In the later pages it is beneficial to remember to compare the declaration of the United Nations General Assembly made and published on May 27, 1949 in The Official Gazette No: 7217 with what the Human Rights Organizations in Turkey are struggling for.
Article 1- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
Article 2- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.
Article 3- Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.
Article 5- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
Article 7- All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.
Article 9- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.
Article 10- Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.
Article 11-
(1) Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.
(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

Even before the announcement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, various agreements were considered and countries were invited to conform to these principles. However, the historical events till the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 that form the base of human rights should not be neglected. For example, the British Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1776, The European Revolutions of 1848, The Paris Commune of 1871, The October Revolution of 1917 are revolutions that took place as a result of the demand for rights and provide the development of concepts that constitute the basis of human rights.[6]

The declaration announced by the United Nations, established by countries in Europe that came together after the Nazi storm, is very important in that it symbolizes the unification of a bipolar world created by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. Even though this compromise did not last long, "the wheel of the struggle for rights always moves forward."[7] Let's take a look at Hüsnü Öndül's assessment on this issue: "When you examine the Declaration [of Human Rights], you see that Articles 1-21 arrange the individual and political rights, Articles 22-28 arrange the economic and

---

Article 17-
(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.
Article 18-
Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.
Article 19- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
Article 26-
(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.
Article 28- Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.
Article 30- Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

[6] See: Anar, Erol. *İnsan Hakları Tarihi*. Çiviyazıları. 1996, İstanbul.

[7] Ibid. p.24

social rights. This was a great compromise. This agreement was broken because of the UN International Covenant on Economical, Social and Cultural Rights and UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which were known as twin treaties, in 1966. The U.S.A. signed neither treaty. These treaties had been prepared due to the importance of the Third World or the Non-Aligned countries' movement in 1960s and the socialist systems in the United Nations, and went into effect ten years later, in 1976. Which rights have personal and political qualities and which of them have social and cultural features? Rights such as banning of torture, personal freedom and security right, freedom to express themselves, freedom of belief, and right to be judged fairly are considered to be civil and political rights, and housing, health, working and the right to form and join trade unions are considered to be economic and social rights. A third group of rights appeared in the agenda in the last two- three decades. (...) The third group of rights is solidarity rights. We can consider the rights of environment, peace, development, rights to benefit the common properties of the humanity and rights of the peoples among this group.'' [8]

Since the human rights concept is derived from the West, the roots of the struggle for human rights originate from the West. It is possible to read this sentence the other way round: Since the struggle for human rights began in the West, human rights is a Western concept. [9] Of course there have been supporters of human rights in the Eastern and Southern countries. But it should be emphasized that human rights cannot be won through the imposition of ''outsiders''. Each country, each society and each individual should contribute in this struggle to escalate the bar.

Since human rights concept is of Western origin, the struggle for human rights in Turkey had to prove itself and still continues to do so. This in turn prevents human rights organizations from getting financial aid from Western associations, foundations or government institutions such as European Union. Those organizations that succeed in getting finan-

[8] Öndül, Hüsnü. www.ihd.org.tr. 1998.

[9] One of the reasons why we emphasized that the human rights concept is derived from the West is, as it will be seen in the coming sections of the article, Abdülbasit Bildirici, Director of Van Branch of Mazlum-Der, wants to point out this issue as one of the challenges against their activities. Bildirici says one of the main challenges of human rights act in Turkey is the perception of conservative side of the act as ''West's efforts to divide Turkey''. This prejudice in fact cannot be sniffed at. This prejudice causes human rights organizations to hesitate when getting aid from EU; therefore, to suffer from serious economic problems. We will discuss this issue in details further.

cial aid to continue their work are considered to be "collaborators" by the nationalists although they work meticulously to be transparent. The biggest trump in the hands of the government or/and communities that are the subject of human rights violations is this labeling. Organizations labeled as "getting money from outside and working against the government" get weak if they do not get financial support. This dilemma causes human rights organizations and human rights struggle to be "on the edge of death".

When people are born they are not attached to a state or a congregation with their own will. Socialization process makes persons dependent to the governing power, congregations, identities and beliefs. However, dependency, either through one's own will or by force, cannot legitimize violation of human rights. The primary reference point of the human rights movement depends on this idea. As pointed out by the former director of Mazlum-Der, Yusuf Ensaroğlu, any economic, social, legal, psychological, cultural or actual initiative that conflicts with the principles of human honor and justice, is a violation of human rights.[10]

The efforts of the governments or congregations, that are the subjects of human rights violations, to localize human rights movement with nationalistic expressions, are an indirect result of legitimization of human rights violations. On the other hand, within a period when cultural differences become prominent, the hindrance of human rights struggle by nationalist expressions, that are the "cement" of nation-state or nation-states, seems to be the primary barrier for the advocates of human rights. Even though the emphasis on cultural differences paradoxically helps some groups, congregations or nations extricate themselves from the others, the subjects of human rights struggle appear in this process. Overall, nationalism bears a cultural dimension today and this cultural dimension is where human rights act can find its habitat. Yasemin Özdek's interpretation on the issue is such: "Cultural exclusion developed among Western/non-Western cultures is not only a tangible reflection but also is displaying "macro" characteristics of the nationalism of today. One of the fields where cultural nationalism makes itself heard sharply is "human rights". Discussions on the universality human rights which continue intensely during this period are on the agenda now with emphasis on South's own cultural difference. Today the ethnocentric behavior of the West, by which it tries to squeeze the world into a universal scheme, is judged and the

[10] Ensaroğlu, Yılmaz. *Tamamlanmamış Bir Değer / İnsan Hakları*. Şehir Publ. 2001, İstanbul, p. 17.

virtues of the Enlightenment project that has universal wisdom, is criticized. Today the concept of "human rights" generated by the Enlightenment and its universality gets its share from this inquisition..." [11]

Even summarizing the discussions about human rights will force the limits of this article; we had better finalize the issue here. However, some Asian, African Islamic tendencies, that reject West's human rights values, legitimize their disagreement with the West by putting forward their own local and cultural values on human rights. Indeed, as a response to UN's Universal Declaration on Human Rights, they have their Islamic Declaration on Human Rights.[12]

2. The State and Human Rights

Since the state is the foremost subject of human rights violations, disregarding the state concept in assessments of human rights would be an important deficiency. Since human rights are one of the rights citizens demand from the state, it would be useful to remind the definition of the state concept. Let's take a look at Prof. Baskın Oran's explanation: "The institution that protects the individual physically and spiritually is called state."[13] In this case, the state is responsible for protecting the individual's life and property. The state has four basic duties related to the human rights: recognition, keeping hands off, protection and procurement.[14]

The state should recognize the human value and rights deriving from this value. That is, the state should recognize human rights in every condition. Otherwise, legitimacy of that state would be questionable and in fact, a state refusing to acknowledge human rights cannot claim to be democratic. The state should guarantee its citizens that it will protect human rights and should provide legal base for that.

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[11] Özdek, Yasemin. *Uluslararası Politika ve İnsan Hakları.* Öteki Publ. 2000, Ankara, pp. 240-241.

[12] Ibid. p. 241.Yasemin Özdek's *Uluslararası Politika ve İnsan Hakları* is quite a useful reference book to learn about the discussions and critics on human rights. Moreover, it would be useful to check *İnsan Hakları Öğretisi* by Prof. Hüseyin Hatemi: İşaret Publ. 1988, İstanbul.

[13] Aktan, İrfan. "Cehennemden Geçiyoruz". Interviews with Baskın Oran, Express, No 69, February 2007.

[14] Taşkesen, Mustafa. Ibid. p. 23.

Another duty of the state is not to interfere with the use of human rights. State, that has the monopoly of force and intervention, has the responsibility of not obstructing the citizens, who have provided the state with the monopoly of force by voting, in their way of life within the frame of basic rights and freedom. State can exceptionally intervene in this field only when there is a threat against civil peace. Doubtlessly, it is not acceptable for this intervention to be based on vague rationale.[15] Otherwise, the state has the tendency to give up human rights when disseminating its own activities and authority.

The state having the monopoly to force and intervene is responsible for protecting individuals and human rights. Human rights are natural rights and people receive these rights at birth. That's why human rights are immune; they cannot be delegated or given up.

"(….) Although human rights claim seems to be a political claim, its content is ethical. Undoubtedly recognition of human rights by constitutional and international legal documents is of great value since it enables human rights to be legally implemented; therefore, it cannot be abandoned. However, this doesn't mean that the existence of a human right depends on its recognition by law. Human rights agreements and constitutions do not give such rights to the people; what they do is to recognize and verbalize the "human rights" that they already have. Therefore, legal texts are assessed in terms of their consistency or inconsistency with human rights, and human rights concept plays a guiding role in changing the law. Even if human rights are not considered within legal rights, they can always be put forth against the governments. The actual function of human rights is that they can be proposed in spite of contradictory legal arrangements and they are the justification for demanding for an amendment of the laws within that direction.[16]

Therefore, although human rights do not give individuals the right to ask gratis services from the government, the state has the responsibility to provide for the individuals. For example, the state as an institution of the society is responsible to take necessary precautions for the disabled, the old and the orphaned children. States that cannot

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

fulfill this responsibility cannot be considered democratic and legitimate. It would be useful to clarify the meaning of "rights" because human rights are a special type of rights in general and it is both a legal and a moral concept. Rights express a justified claim or demand in both senses. The beneficent claims that s/he has the right to be approached by other people or social institutions in a specific manner.

With the removal of absolute monarchies by bourgeois democratic revolutions, liberties were guaranteed legally. However, liberty of laws has always been discussion. Bülent Tanör says: "regulation of rights and freedom in pluralistic and liberal democracies has been entrusted to the laws and legislative bodies. Still, historic events demonstrate that this does not provide adequate assurance which has been and is still being experienced in Turkey." [17]

3. Human Rights under the Shadow of the Coup

No one reminded the anti-democratic practices and human rights violations of the state and the security force of the state, the army, during the 75th anniversary celebrations of Turkish Republic in 1998, when it was emphasized that the republic promoted freedom, is modern and has a deep esteem for human rights. In fact, till 1998 the Turkish society had witnessed four coup d'états, the last of which took place on 28 February 1997, and was able to escape two unsuccessful attempts.[18] During the 75 years of history of the Turkish republic the duration of martial law was 25 years, nine months and eighteen days. This shows that time wise approximately 30 percent of a 75 year old republic was spent under martial law; consequently, human rights were suspended during those periods.[19] The last martial law period that was declared along with the military coup of 12 September 1980, lasted seven years and abolished on 19 July 1987. A state of emergency that was announced in the Southeast at the same date was also abolished totally in 2003. These dates also correspond to the period when human rights were suspended.

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[17] Tanör, Bülent. *Türkiye'nin İnsan Hakları Sorunu.* BTS Publ. 1991, İstanbul, p. 230.

[18] According to the notes of the diary kept by retired Official Özden Örnek published in weekly Nokta magazine on 4 April 2007 that there were two coups d'état attempts in 2004, but they were not implemented.

[19] Üskül, Zafer. *Siyaset ve Asker.* İmge Kitabevi Publications. 1997, Ankara, p. 71.

Turkey witnessed the first military coup on 27 May 1960. Following the military coup, together with the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, Hasan Polatkan and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu were executed. During the 1960 military coup period, the commander of Military School, Talât Aydemir tried to initiate two unsuccessful military coups on 22 February 1962 and 21 May 1963 and he was hanged too. During the coup period political parties were closed and opponents were put into prison.

On 12 March 1971 Turkey witnessed a second military coup. The real reason for this one was the "anarchy" and following this, democracy and freedoms were suspended again. During this period all the freedom declared by 1961 constitution was abolished. Pressure on student movement was the highest and student leaders, among who was Deniz Gezmiş, were all executed. Around five thousand people including members of the Labor Party of Turkey were arrested. In the prisons and in the torture chambers, called "laboratory" of the National Intelligence, the opponents of the regime were tortured.[20] Elements of constitution that facilitates freedom were abolished by changing 44 of the articles. Autonomy of the universities, radio and televisions was terminated. Moreover, special "State Security Courts" were established. More than three thousand people were up for a trial in these State Security Courts.[21]

Although 1960 was a starting date of liberal understanding in the politics, army's threat on politics during this process was felt clearly. Although the constitution of 1961 made way for freedoms it was designated as a result of the intervention of the army to political and social life. Basic modifications to the constitution were realized during the military coups that took place once almost every ten years.

The military intervention that caused a radical change in the political and social life, and internal and external affairs of Turkey, and that obliterated human rights, was the one on 12 September 1980. A basic issue related to human rights is whether they can be utilized within layers of different classes. The intervention of the Turkish Military Forces to the political and social structure on 12 September 1980 was realized to reconstruct the social class balance in favor of the bourgeoisie. The relative rights, such as strike, presented to the working class with the Constitution of 1961 which was

[20] Zürcher, Eric Jan. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. İletişim Publ. 1993, İstanbul, p. 377.

[21] Ibid. p. 378.

also a result of a military coup, was restrained by the constitution of 1982 and the territory of the working class was narrowed down. The inequality in the distribution of income in underdeveloped countries like Turkey created a formidable inequality in the utilization of human rights and it still does.

The constitution of 1982 was created and shaped by the military bureaucracy. The same structure created an impassable obstacle for the future of the class structure in society by accepting a neo-liberal policy in the economy with the Decisions of 24 January.[22] The adoption of neo-liberal policy made it obligatory to fight for human rights against both the power in the government and economy. As Bülent Tanör says the rule in Western democracies "freedom is fundamental, limitation is exceptional", is no longer valid in Turkey since 1980.[23]

Following the 12 September military coup, State Security Courts that were closed in 1976 were opened again. A State of Emergency Law came to act. Custody period was extended to ninety days and all the punishment durations were increased. Following the year after the coup, 43.140 people were arrested or taken under custody. Courts sentenced fifteen thousand people due to political reasons in two years. During the first three years fifty-five people died because of tortures and many became disabled. Sixteen 'who were shut running, seventy-four 'died in the clash', seventy-three 'died naturally' forty-three 'committed suicide' and two 'died because of unknown reasons' were reported.

In the court cases opened by public prosecutors between the dates 1980 and 30 August 1981, number of execution demand was 1441. During this period forty-nine people were executed. In the first five years of the coup the twelve people who went on hunger strike to protest the conditions in the prison, died.

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[22] The outlines of the January 24 Decisions are as follows: Precautions were taken to reduce the state's share in the economy; supportive purchases for the agriculture products in parallel with the implementations in KİT (public economic organization) were limited and government subsidy was terminated. Foreign trade became free, foreign investors were encouraged and profit transfers were simplified.

[23] Ibid. Tanör, Bülent. p. 199.

No doubt, this devastation by 12 September coup and violation of human rights created a reaction in the society. The first structure where this reaction organized was the Human Rights Association (HRA). HRA, established on 17 July 1986 with 98 supporters of human rights, followed the cases of human right violations within the prisons and also outside after the coup. They worked hard to announce and prevent human right violations originating from the Kurdish problem. At the same time, they were the first and the pioneers of human rights institutions we are going to deal with further ("human rights institutions " will be referred to as HRI).[24]

4. Human Rights and Organizations in Today's Turkey

While the damage of the 12 September coup continued[25], defenders of human rights in Turkey were still carrying out their activities despite all hindrance, problems and clashes. In this section we are going to elaborate issues like, assessments of human rights violations by the institutions or/and organizations dealing with human rights based struggle (especially 2000 and after); government's attitude towards the issue and problems of HRIs in terms of membership, financial, social and political; and also their relations with the institutions carrying out similar activities.[26]

According to Prof. Dr. Murat Belge, director of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, who created the idea for Human Rights Association, the main reason for the human rights struggle in Turkey to begin to develop was the existence of a deep-rooted opposition. Leftist opposition, which was one of the main targets of 12 September coup, managed

[24] Details on the history of Human Rights Association can be reached via the web page: www.ihd.org.tr.

[25] Even though the constitution prepared by the 12 September military regime went through various changes during the administration of AKP governmnet due to the harmonization period with the European Union, it is still in effect.

[26] This section of the article consists of the interviews with these people: Murat Belge, director of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Reyhan Yalçındağ, who was the deputy director of HRA when we wrote this article, but took over the presidency from Yusuf Alataş, Şaban Dayanan, from İstanbul branch of HRA, Cüneyt Caniş, director of HRA Van branch, Ayhan Bilgen, director of Mazlum-Der, Nesip Yıldırım, director of Mazlum-Der Diyarbakır Branch, Abdülbasit Bildirici, director of Mazlum-Der Van Branch, Levent Korkut, Director of Turkey Branch of International. Amnesty Organization, Volkan Görendağ, from Van Refugee office of Amnesty Organization, Orhan Kemal Cengiz, director of Human Rights Agenda Association, Metin Bakkalcı, Secretary General of Turkey Human Rights Foundation, Coşkun Üsterci, Secretary of İzmir Representative and one of the founders of closed İzmir Foundation Against War, Feray Salman, General Coordinator of Human Rights Common Platform and Şanar Yurdatapan, Initiative spokesman against intellectual crime.

to get together around the human rights movement. Murat Belge, while stating the human rights struggle to be deep-rooted, does not agree with the idea that it is continuously improves: "People in Turkey became pessimistic perforce. Only very recently Hrant Dink was murdered.[27] Even just before Hrant's murder, the atmosphere was not this pessimistic. But it is not easy to live as an optimistic person within this setting. The worst is to speak about almost the same problems everyday. Maybe it is not necessary to become pessimistic all the time, but you get the feeling because of these incidents. I sometimes think, things will go even worse. When we talk about the change it is not always in the positive direction. Today there are men in Turkey while corresponding who call each other "of the same race". This is a new phenomenon. There have never been such horrible things in this country. Now we have and this is enough to drag you into pessimism."

General Coordinator of Human Rights Common Platform, Feray Salman complains that the struggle for human rights is not carried out with a common understanding. According to Salman this is one of the main problems of the HRIs. "Because there is no such understanding, human rights movement in Turkey is not powerful and effective. For instance, a campaign on free thinking is being done. In another place, another institution starts the same campaign. But people do not give support to this campaign. We started another campaign to abolish Article 301. But organizations could not come together for this. There are prejudices here. According to some, Mazlum-Der, according to some others HRA had some prejudices. All the organizations should get over these problems. HRA should prove that they are not only dealing with the Kurdish issue but also with other human rights violations in Turkey. The problem in these institutions is related with being squeezed into certain fields. In the whole world human right organizations are fighting against being labeled. This labeling cannot be totally removed because there is an important process feeding this. HRA was broken into without any reason. All these strengthen the label on the institution. There is a regime in Turkey not believing the democracy and the human rights issue. Public authority is not shaped correctly there. When the institutions criticize the government, the government labels these institutions in return. This is related to the security policies in Turkey. All of the opinion leaders view the violation of rights through the

[27] We met Murat Belge one month after the murder of Hrant Dink, editor of Agos on 19 January 2007.

framework of National Security Policy Document. Is there a free thinking zone in Turkey? Yes. Effective? No.''

On the contrary to what Feray Salman says, Orhan Kemal Cengiz, Director of Human Rights Agenda Association, thinks ''being squeezed into a limited area'' is not a problem. Although Cengiz claims their association works within the limits of grievances and struggles in this sense, he finds the efforts of the well-known associations, such as HRA or Mazlum-Der to get away from being labeled as dealing with aggrieved people from different fields, meaningless. Cengiz emphasizes that human rights struggle in Turkey should be ''professionalized''; for this reason, he believes İHD's dealing with the Kurdish issues or Mazlum-Der's dealing with only Islamists will strengthen the case.

Cengiz says HRIs in Turkey act like a political party, and they try to extend their targets. And he believes this is because aforementioned 12 September coup narrowed the field of politics. ''Field of politics in Turkey is already narrow, not only because of the12 September coup. That's why civil society area enabled opposing people to express their political ideas. In fact I do think that a human rights institution should openly demonstrate their support to Kurdish rights. There must be organizations protecting rights of gays and lesbians only. There must be rights of Muslim people. At the same time there should be another human rights movement looking out the rights of apolitical side. But I do not think these will derive from the existing organizations. There should be new organizations established. To lead older ones into such a way could destroy their structure.''

Ayhan Bilgen, Director General of Mazlum-Der, points out that what Cengiz mentioned could cause decompositions. According to Bilgen, the basic method for a human rights institution is to establish the same terminology for different groups and to shelter different groups under its organization by saying that human rights are for everybody. Let's see how he evaluates the situation: ''We give importance to different groups' showing interest to each other's rights violations because the reason for violations in Turkey is government politics. There are ''tension points'' in Turkey, there is lynch psychology, there is this kind of impatience, intolerance. But again government policies increase the tension among them. Therefore, if there is a jealousy between

Shiites and Sunnis, Turks and Kurds, this is the biggest threat and the risk in terms of human rights. If there is civil society solidarity, legislative, executive and juridical violations can easily be overcome. Or we lose altogether.''

Reyhan Yalçındağ, Assistant Director of HRA, clarifies the situation as follows: ''When we consider the particularities such as complete independence, complete neutrality, human rights to all without distinction and staying away from politics, we are quite similar to Mazlum-Der. The background and the traditions of the people involved in these organizations are quite different. HRA is the organization where the leftists are the majority; on the other hand, Mazlum-Der is the one where those from Islamic tradition are the majority.''

In fact the issue that Yalçındağ is calling to attention clarifies the issue of ''fighting for the human rights through certain identities'' as mentioned by Feray Salman and Orhan Kemal Cengiz. The recognition of different social groups' targeted by the 12 September coup that the language of human rights is actually common in all defines the axis of all these discussions. Therefore, HRIs in Turkey are getting together in their struggle together these days. Cüneyt Caniş, Director of Van Branch of HRA, underlines the issue by saying ''Our objective is to allow people in without their political identities. However, to break this needs a lot of effort.''

Human Rights Association (HRA)

HRA that was established in 1986 after the military coup in 1980 has thirty-three branches and representatives in Kars, Ağrı, Tunceli and Eskişehir. In 1986, only after two years of establishment, sixteen branches were opened at the same time. The association took the decision to establish Turkey Human Rights Association in order to deal with the tortured in 1988. According to the information given on the web page of the association, HRA organized campaigns such as, campaigns against execution in 1987 and 1999; four times for freedom to thinking, twice for the closure of State Security Courts, twice for the amnesty, twice for peace and once ''let the lost be found'' campaign. The association organized hundreds of conferences, congresses, symposiums, panels on different subjects, demonstrations and charities. They published reports on human rights every month. HRA, that published monthly bulletins

and more than thirty books, has also conducted training events for the lawyers and teachers. The association is still carrying out a comprehensive activity on clearing the land mines, through which it is trying to sustain its human rights struggle in every aspect.

Deputy Director Reyhan Yalçındağ summarizes the human rights struggle of HRA like this: "HRA is the first organization in Turkey that is effective and widespread. It is the fire engine of the rights. Where there is fire, it runs towards there. When there is no sign of civilians in an environment, it is not easy to organize human rights. You see that opposing organizations established in 80s defined themselves as democratic mass organizations; however, in 90s non-governmental organizations were seen to increase. But HRA is above all these. It is a trans-political organization."

Şaban Dayanan says HRA has been trying to intervene in human rights violations and adds that "The primary issues that we try to intervene are; threats on freedom of thought and organization, threats on the right to live, torture in particular and mistreatment, and Kurd issue and migration. We organize various activities, panels and carry out campaigns in relation to these."

Participation, Institutionalization and Field of Activity

The field of activity of the association is defined as where ever and when ever there is violation of human rights. Former director of the association, Hüsnü Öndül, summarizes the organization model in his article written in 2002 as follows:" The participation of the delegates in the General Congresses of the HRA is nearly 70 percent. There is a management board consisting of seven people in the branches. One general manager, three deputies, one general secretary, three deputy secretaries and one bookkeeper are selected from the members of the steering committee by the General Management Board. According to the geographical division of the country, seven district managers are selected by the General Management Board. District managers are responsible for cooperation between the branches and between the central office and the branches. District managers organize regional meetings a couple of times a year. General member meetings in the branches are done a few times a year. During these meetings problems of the association and the current human rights problems are discussed. Members have the right to say anything during the formal or non-formal

meetings, and there are no restrictions at all. There are commissions consisting of members in the branches and at the head office. The number of the commissions is determined according to the condition of the branch and with the decision of the steering committees of the branches. If a couple of members would like to establish a commission of a certain human right issue, this is allowed. The most common commissions are torture and prison commissions. There are commissions on business life, environment, women, children, migration, and refugee rights. HRA investigates all news about the violation of human rights no matter where this information comes from. If necessary, a committee is sent to the event scene. The results are announced with a report. Various human rights violations are protested either through reports or demonstrations in open or closed places. All the intervention is peaceful. Violence is refused. In the provinces and the sub-provinces, the human rights problems are conveyed to the governor or the police department, or discussed together with the military officials or the local administration authorities.[28]

HRA has more than ten thousand members, forty percent of which are women. Reyhan Yalçındağ says their objective is to increase this rate to 50 percent. Yalçındağ says woman percentage in Diyarbakır branch of the association is 46 percent. Hüsnü Öndül says 50 percent of their members are university graduates, majority are leftist, secular and from middle or lower class. HRA, as a principle, does not ask the religion or the philosophy of life of its members.

Şaban Dayanan, who applied to the HRA as a torture survivor in 1987, and has been working in Istanbul branch since then, has complaints about the membership. Dayanan says members do not actively participate in the activities of the association and adds that the association also does not spend enough effort on the issue. "One of the biggest problems of HRA is the lack of an effective membership program. There is a big gap between us and the members. Members, apart from the active ones, exhibit reactions of an outsider. We could not provide the active participation of our members when we need to decide on following years' strategy. From this point of view the organizational democracy functions quite slowly."

According to Dayanan, the problem is related to the type of the steering committe-

[28] www.ihd.org.tr

es and sometimes to the density in the boarding committees. Political discrepancies among the members now and then increase the problem as well. "It is not that we do not invite our members. We do not get reply to the invitation. For instance, because of interior conflicts we had few people[29] during the last congress. When defining the policies of the association we cannot get opinions of the members on any subject, for example Kurdish problem. The basic reason is that, all the managers and all the members of the steering committees are volunteers. There are not enough professionals. We have not enough staff to spend their time for the organization. We do not know which member is how active and we do not have enough staff to guide them to produce policies, or develop a common understanding with the association or contribute us. The basic reason for this is economy. We have no financial resources to send a couple of letters to the members. To call each member means a lot of money. We have the e-mails of only 200 of the members of İstanbul branch…"

Cüneyt Daniş, Director of HRA Van Branch, shares the same complaints as they cannot carry out active work because of financial restrictions. Caniş, who says they do not have enough human and financial resources in order to enable the members to become more active, states that only one third of the 148 registered members are active and these only participate in press release or actions related to the human rights violations rather than dealing with the problems of the association, and adds that almost none of the membership dues are paid. This causes the expenses to be met only by the donations of the branch director or boarding members.

HRA members, who say there are no works carried out in order to gain new members to the association, state that the association suffers from economic problems continuously because membership dues are not paid regularly; therefore, they cannot do any work to gain new members to the association. Basic income of the association comes from the dues of very few members and donations. Actually we understand from the interviews that most of the members are the aggrieved themselves or the relatives, and that they stop their activities when their problems are solved or when they understand the problems can not be solved. HRA doesn't offer membership to the aggrieved who apply for help. On the contrary, they should have at least two references from the members or administrators in order to become a member.

[29] 13th Regular General Council Meeting of HRA was held in November 2006.

HRA is an association where activities are carried out on a voluntary basis. As Şaban Dayanan expresses, works carried out on a voluntary basis cannot be sustainable. Dayanan says eight staff working in Istanbul Branch had to be dismissed because of the debts and only two professionals remained in the branch. Dayanan adds that, "Once we have a new financial resource, we will employ professional staff. All the staff in the association is volunteers. We cannot support voluntary working staff financially. But we are not against professionalism because we believe that a human right expert that is specialized and professional would be more useful in terms of receiving applications and assessing these applications than a volunteer."

Democracy within the Association

Reyhan Yalçındağ says there is a democratic structure dominant within the association, and women also take place in decision making mechanisms. Şaban Dayanan and Reyhan Yalçındağ say, any member in the association can do any work within the association, and the members can organize meetings wherever they want. However, Cüneyt Daniş, Director of HRA Van Branch, says when donations are received from an international donor, members should act according to the decisions of the head office. On the other hand he underlines that there is not a hierarchical structure between the members and the administrative board.

The most active branch of HRA is in Istanbul. According to Dayanan, the reason for this is that media is located in İstanbul. Dayanan adds that, "There are four meetings or five press releases on average in the branch. Again we use the Internet as much as we can and try to reach more people. The bulletin we publish used to be distributed to thirty thousand people. But because of economic problems we have not been able to publish the bulletin recently."

Nevzat Helvacı had been a director for three terms between 1986 and 1992, Akın Birdal had been a director for three and a half terms between 1992 and 1999 and Hüsnü Öndül had been a director for two and a half terms between 1999 and 2004. Yusuf Alataş had been the director since 2004 till June 2007, when this article was being prepared.[30] Except for the last period, the list that received majority of the votes used to choose the management, but in the last period the persons who got the majority of the votes took part in the management.

[30] Yusuf Alataş, handed over his presidency to Reyhan Yalçındağ due to health problems.

Relations with the Public Authority

Van and Diyarbakır branches of HRA suffered from heavy pressure especially during the extraordinary situation implementations. Head office of HRA in Ankara and Istanbul branch also suffered from pressure and even police attacks in 1990s. However, since 2000 oppression has been replaced with a different kind of relation: When the tension in political area is few, relations of public authority with HRA are good, but when there is high tension, the relation is bad. We listen to Reyhan Yalçındağ, "HRA is an organization that has credibility in national and international areas. Therefore, we can meet with governors or minister of foreign affairs or the Prime Minister. Recently (March 2007) we were in Trabzon with our general director, and we met the Governor and the rector there. We were met very well. However, there happens to be different treatments in different periods. For instance, they can open a court case against what we did two-three years ago. They want to discourage us by opening these court cases in such periods. We receive death threats. But attorneys cannot reach the evidence somehow. If the government wants to get tougher they start by silencing HRA first and then the other HRIs."

Relations with other NGOs

HRA is the member of Common Platform of Human Rights established in collaboration with Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Mazlum-Der and International Amnesty Organization. HRA carries out its activities in cooperation with institutions functioning in human rights field. Every branch cooperates with the Mazlum-Der in the same province. In fact, they prepare the press release together. They try to develop relations with institutions dealing with other issues rather than human rights. Reyhan Yalçındağ explains, "All the HRA branches are participating in democracy platforms in their provinces or in peace platform membership and secretariat. Women's commissions are taking part in women platforms membership and secretariat. Therefore, HRA is one of the driving powers of civil movement. It is the member of Diyarbakır democracy platform and one of the driving powers of it. But we organize planned meetings with the institutions that are not a member of this platform, such as, the body of lawyers, Mazlum-Der, or chamber of medicine. There has always been a partnership with other human rights organizations. Because we suffered from anti-democratic treatment in Turkey altogether and we know what our problems are."

Human Rights and Solidarity Association for the Oppressed (Mazlum-Der)

Mazlum-Der, which was established on 28 February 1991, is the second HRI, which has the most number of branches (twenty-two) after HRA. The structure of the association, their human rights point of view and methods to struggle are quite similar. These similarities make people ask now and then "Now that HRA was present already, why did people establish Mazlum-Der?" Mazlum-Der, which is known as an institution "defending the human rights of the Islamic section" by the public, actually dealt mostly with the problems of Islamic section during its establishment period and afterwards, but their basic principle is "on the side of the oppressed but against the tyrant."

Ayhan Bilgen, general director of the association, explains why they established Mazlum-Der, which has almost the same functions as HRA, in 1991 as follows: "We do not think any of us has shortcomings today- we work together and complete each other. We are not competitors. Human rights is not an area to compete. But those years (1990s) after the cold war conditions in Turkey, all the sides were looking at the rights and freedom issues from a more categorical point of view. When HRA was first established in 1986, the managers than were not as sensitive as today to the unjust treatment of comparatively religious and conservative people. Mazlum-Der is the result of the quest for establishing an association that would defend mistreated conservative peopleturey branch as well. Of course the founders of Mazlum-Der belong to that comparatively conservative side but they are not only dealing with the problems of that section. The first campaign of Mazlum-Der was against the treatment towards a leftist prisoner. Mazlum-Der also followed closely the injustices that the left wind supporters or the Kurds suffered from."

Participation, Institutionalization and Activity Area

Mazlum-Der carries out its activities by means of five management bodies, six commissions and committees under these commissions. The organization unit deals with organization and the relations of the association with the other members, and tries to increase the number of the members while training unit deals with increasing awareness in the society on human rights and organizes seminars, conferences, panels and so on. Publications unit follows the media for the commissions, prepares the folders, and conveys the explanations to the public with reports and explanations through media. Social relations and organization unit deals with developing relations with

other NGOs, and law unit deals with developing relations with the lawyers. This unit also follows the legal regulations and reviews them in terms of their consistency with the human rights.

Human Rights Research and Development Commission, which is one of the working commissions of Mazlum-Der, consists of researchers, academics, writers and scientists. This commission, by using the different culture and experiences with respect to human rights, is mainly responsible for conveying these experiences to human rights defenders. Justice and Freedom Commission of the association is responsible for defining the activity areas of the members and establishing several "committees" and carry out activities within this respect. Some of the committees are: Right to Live, Individual's Freedom, Right for Justice, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Thinking, Women's Rights, Health Rights, Environment Rights, Consumers Rights, Children's Rights…

Human Rights Violations Follow-up Commission follows human rights violations in Turkey in particular and in the world, and tries to inform the public about these violations. The commission has two sections, namely, "Human Rights Violations in Turkey Follow-up Unit" and "Human Rights Violations in the World Follow-up Unit". Commission follows these violations through the news in media, reports of human rights organizations and the applications made to the association. Other three commissions of the association are: Relations to Human Rights Organizations, Human Rights Fund/Aid Commission, and Commission to Follow-up International Community.[31]

Mazlum-Der, like HRA, has serious problems with respect to the participation of its members. However, the association cannot be said to be working hard to increase the number of their members. The most important reason for this is the excess number of members that are not paying their membership dues. This sabotages the efforts to gain new members for the association. Nesip Yıldırım, Director of Diyarbakır Branch, summarizes the issue as follows "We have 178 members. We do not have the culture of "action in the street". Majority of our members, seventy percent are university graduates. But we cannot motivate them. They are not the ones to start action in the streets. We need youngsters for that, but most of our members are middle aged."

[31] www.mazlumder.org.tr

Van Branch of the association has similar problems. Branch director, Abdülbasit Bildirici, says "I cannot say our members are trying to work out to determine the working style and density of the association. Unfortunately, a leftist person directly goes and applies to the HRA when s/he has suffers from injustice treatment; on the other hand, an aggrieved from the Islamic section directly applies to the Mazlum-Der. But sometimes we try to canalize an aggrieved from the Islamic section especially to HRA and in the same way HRA can send a leftist aggrieved to us. But we are not perfect because economic problems are preventing us from doing a lot of work. We cannot organize activities to introduce ourselves, to tell people about us. Members do not pay their membership dues regularly."

Ayhan Bilgen analyses the reasons for the shortages of ideological and active participation of their members in the association' activities. "Weaknesses in the participation of member-organization relations are quite serious. We are not sure how seriously the branches reflect their members' opinions to the head office. There are problems in members' fulfilling their own responsibilities. Managers are not conveying their opinions either. In short we have problems in terms of organization capacity."

Democracy within the Association

Ayhan Bilgen, General Director of Mazlum-Der, says when deciding on important issues they come to the agreement not by consensus but by compromising. For instance, during the discussion whether to get donations from the EU, instead of using a voting system, they discussed the issue with every dimensions and decided accordingly which shows their concept of democracy within the association. Bilgen says some branches believe that using international funding could give a lot of damage to the social interest and participation. However, he says he thinks some branches are in favor of using international funding, but refusing the international funding strengthens nationalistic ideologies. Bilgen adds that when they cannot come to an agreement on any issue, they do not act.

One year ago Mazlum-Der decided to close Trabzon Branch. Bilgen explains the reason as follows: "We saw that it was a closed organization, far from being open, transparent and some of the applications for membership were being refused. There was also little participation in the congress. We said we would not accept an organization

to be under the control of a certain person or a group; therefore, we could not allow such thing. We even intervened into their press release related to the human rights. Related to the flag event in Mersin[32], as they were on the side of ideological movement with the sayings like "maligning Turkish flag, maligning Atatürk", we said we could not allow such things far from common sense and had to close the branch."

While Abdülbasit Bildirici, Director of Van Branch, explains his being the director since 1997 as "I have been saddled with this duty", Ayhan Bilgen says he doesn't want the presidency to be this long. Nesip Yıldırım, Director of Diyarbakır Branch says: "Since the opening of the branch in 2004, two directors have left. I am the last. We have no authority demand. Any fellow can take over the responsibility. We have fellows from leftist ideology among us, there are ladies covered or uncovered. We have no problems in this issue. Our doors are open to anyone who cares about the human rights."

Relations with the Public Authority

Since the supporters of AKP, the single ruling party of the 2002 elections, and that of Mazlum-Der are similar, paradoxically Mazlum-Der happens to have problems related to its members. In fact, there has been decomposition in the target groups of Mazlum-Der. Ayhan Bilgen summarizes the issue as follows: "We are quite decisive about making human rights struggle a civil struggle and in this sense we can bee seen as opponents. We cannot be silent against human rights violations just because we feel closer to the ruling party. In fact, we are able to make better relations and have a more dynamic member profile during the times of CHP or MHP governments. A feeling of an organized struggle becomes predominant because when you have people closer to the ruling party, you feel you have to solve the problem through mutual understanding instead of street clashes. An understanding that the activities actually give harm to the government and that bureaucratic tendencies work better, settles. However, this cannot be the general perspective of the association. Of course we lose power when parties close to us in understanding become the ruling party. During the time of these governments we lose power in terms of member participation and participation in the activities. For example, during the Refah-Yol governance the same thing happened.

[32] On 20 March 2007 protests started when two children in Mersin burned the Turkish flag, and protests disseminated in the whole country, and the nationalist wind gained power from these protests.

When people are close to us, they become closer to the governing parties through us. On the contrary, you become the opposing side to the parties close to you.''

Bilgen says they are not against human rights struggle or better, right seeking efforts carried out through mutual relations with the government members, but he adds that, they are concerned about the fact that this can bring human rights struggle to a standstill. Bilgen says they are not against meeting members of governing party individually or lobbying activities. However, they are worried that this may become institutional. On the other hand, Bilgen adds that, they have not experienced serious problems with the local or central authorities during their works and they have not been stopped at all.

Relations with Other NGOs

Main objective of the Human Organizations Relations Commission of Mazlum-Der is to contribute to the establishment of a common ''Human Rights Platform'' or ''Seeking Rights Initiative'' among the defenders of world human rights as human rights is international. According to Mazlum-Der if defenders of world human rights do not collaborate, this blows up the efforts to prevent human rights violations.[33]

Mazlum-Der, one of the constitutive members of İHOP, tries to develop good relations with other NGOs besides HRIs in Turkey in the recent years. In every province where Mazlum-Der and HRA have branches, these two associations have good relations. For instance, HRA and Mazlum-Der branches in Van are collaborating in every kind of right seeking activity except for the scarf issue. Abdülbasit Bildirici, Director of Van Branch, gives an example, such as: When the director is not in Van and when they are supposed to give a press release on certain developments, he calls HRA branch director and ''You write the text and explain it to the public. You can put the signature of Mazlum-Der, I do not have to read the text'' because they speak the same language. Bildirici says they don't carry out common activities on scarf issue because other institutions carrying out struggle on scarf issue are prejudiced. ''Human rights concept of Islamic or conservative side unfortunately doesn't fit with Mazlum-Der's concept. According to some, human rights concept is of foreign origin and it has been introduced by those who wish to divide Turkey. Some believe this concept to be Western and not belonging to us. We need time and too much effort to overcome these.''

[33] www.mazlumder.org.tr

Ayhan Bilges says these about the issue: "Our closeness to HRA is because of the similarity of our members and our structure. There are no other human rights organizations that have this many branches except for us. But for instance, we had several activities in the cities where THIV is active; in Istanbul, we had common project activities together with Helsinki Citizens Assembly. We worked together with the groups of International Amnesty Organizations. We have to divide the categories into two. The first, we have relations with institutions that are far from Mazlum-Der's ideology such as TAYAD or unions. Secondly there are platforms where we come together with institutions closer in understanding and in ideology to Mazlum-Der, like Memur-Sen, various women's organizations and various organizations dealing with cultural rights.

Turkey Branch of International Amnesty Organization

Participation, Institutionalization and Activity Area

Due to the criteria of International Amnesty Organization, the branches cannot deal with human rights violations in the countries they are in. Levent Korkut, director of Turkey branch of the organization, reminds that they mostly conduct training seminars on human rights for the public institutions. Korkut says while giving training to the staff of Religious Affairs, Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Justice, they are also trying to give legal support to the refugees. As they are an international organization, he reminds, their works are not limited to Turkey. He also adds, they act according to an international strategy and action plan, and what is happening at the local level is not their business. The actual work of the Turkey branch at the moment is to have the Guantanamo base, where USA keeps Afghan slaves, closed, to decrease the violence the women suffer in various countries including Turkey; to support international penalty courts, etc. This branch carries out lobbying activities concerning legal issues; therefore tries to have Turkey sign various international laws. Turkey branch, which calls attention to the violence the women suffer, runs campaigns to open up shelter houses for women.

Since the international plan of the organization takes the whole world as the base, basic campaign are organized worldwide and those campaigns are taken as the base. Target issues are selected for Turkey and this is added to the national plan.

Therefore, the international plan has nothing to do with Turkey. The Turkey branch of the organization doesn't work directly with the unit working on Turkey, but they have meetings at higher level. Turkey desk in London can get in touch with the Turkey branch in order to get their opinions when they are going to carry out works related to Turkey. Sometimes when they need legal support they contact with the Turkey branch. In the Turkey branch of the organization, the director that is the head of the professionals working in the branch, participates in the decision making process. The director works with the steering committee and takes part in the steering committee meetings. Director is responsible for finding the resources; therefore, has the right to use the resource. The others work under him. Each of the professional staff deals with their own subjects. It is possible to have direct relations with the members but the organization has several groups and they carry out works as group based. Turkey branch at the moment has (as of 27 March 2007) eight professional groups, each of which has one coordinator, and nearly fifteen initiatives. There are also thematic coordinators and they act in their own fields. The members can open stands, sign the petitions, support the campaigns etc. The organization has around 800 members. And as Korkut expresses, the number doubles every year. The quality of the members varies. There are active and passive members. Korkut says most of the members are university students or those who previously did not work in the field of human rights.

The organization opened a refugee office in Van towards the end of 2006. Sociologist Volkan Görendağ, office responsible, says that, "Unfortunately there is not an NGO in Van dealing only with refugees. Van Branch of HRA and Mazlum-Der and also Van Women's Association deal with the problems of the refugees. But these organizations cannot devote their whole capacities to the issue. On one hand torture and misbehavior; on the other hand, refugee issue is already more than they can handle. That's why we decided to open the office for the refugees. What we can do for the refugees in Van is to provide legal consultancy for the refuge applications."

Democracy within the Association

Levent Korkut says in brief about the democratic functioning within the organization that," We have an e-mail pool and we discuss the issues there. At the same time group coordinators can convey suggestions of the groups. All the coordinators are already involved when determining the strategy and planning. Groups meet once a week and

convey their suggestions or demand. Of course the steering committee consisting of seven people gives the final decision. But the issues in the action plan are automatically carried out. There is no separate assessment for them. We normally do not vote. Decisions are mainly taken by consensus."

Relations with the Public Authority

The Amnesty Organization does not work on event-base except for the refugees. Levent Korkut says they do not deal with the individual application, and guide them to the HRA or Mazlum-Der. The reason why the Amnesty Organization does not deal with the events in Turkey is not to bring any harm to the principle of independence. This situation prevents the organization from carrying out its relations with the Turkish public authorities quite professionally or coming together with the public authorities. Korkut says, "In fact the public authorities do not evaluate by looking into the works we carry out here. They consider the works of the international structure on Turkey because as the Turkey branch we do not work on Turkey specifically. What we are doing related to Turkey is for instance, Article 301, or we work on establishing IHOP or we demand legislative arrangements on various issues. We mainly work on neighboring countries such as Caucasus, Middle East, and Europe… But for instance one of the main issues we deal with these days is to carry out works for the Guantanamo base to be closed. This has nothing to do with the Turkish public authorities so we do not meet."

Volkan Görendağ, who is responsible for the refugee office in Van, says they are in close contacts with security forces and the governor while they are dealing with the refugees. And he adds, they have not experienced any kind of problems during these activities. So what we can conclude is human rights institutions are not hindered by the public authorities as long as they deal with human rights violence.

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA)

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, chaired by Murat Belge, is one of the important HRIs that carry out works in the field of basic rights and freedom. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, which is an international working conference that initiated the works of HCA in Turkey, was a cross-national cooperation and network[34] functioning around

[34] http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=82

basic human rights, international democracy and primacy of law. The development process of HCA corresponds with the developments in 1980s.

Murat Belge explains the establishment process of HNC as follows: "When the Berlin wall was demolished in 1989, people who previously worked in different NGOs that conducted various peace movements in Europe organized a big meeting in Prague in 1990. Vaclav Havel[35] is an important actor, who was elected as the President of Czechoslovakia in this period. His support enabled Prague to gain a symbolic meaning; thus, it was selected in the new season. During that time a Czech group came to London to invite people from all over the world and at the same time asked Mehmet Ali Dikerdem names to invite from Turkey. They got my name from two different sources. There were some others invited but no one else went. There were participants from all over Europe, from the USA and Canada. People were invited from countries that had signed Helsinki Final Agreement. It was a crowded meeting where 900 people were invited. And people were optimistic that time, because it was already a year since the wall was demolished. Within this optimism Helsinki Citizens' Assembly was established. Although it was classified as an NGO, it was, in fact, more than an NGO but a multi-national political party with a broader scope of objectives. There is a scope of ideologies bearing a leftist liberal approach, and it had a structure that brings a few greens, and conservatives, social democrats, communists rather than Soviet type and various liberals together."

Murat Belge, who is one of the founders of HRI, started working to establish HCA as soon as he returned form Helsinki. The assembly was established formally in 1993, however, it had already started functioning actively two years before that, in 1991. Before being established as an association, human rights defenders in Turkey came together as an "initiative" and carried out various activities in the field of human rights. The first initiative remembered is the conference in March 1992 on Kurd issue. Afterwards the conference outputs were gathered in a book called "Peace Initiative for the Kurd Issue", this book is still an important source book on the issue published after 12 September.

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[35] Vaclav Havel: Czech play – writer, politician. He was the leader of "Velvet Revolution" of 1989. He became the Minister of State of Czechoslovakia on 29 December 1989. Following the free elections in 1990 he became the President. He was the main actor in splitting the country into two as Czech Republic and Slovakia in December 1992. He was elected as President in 1998; however, lost the elections in 2003.

Helsinki Citizens' Council, which was established with great hopes, witnessed Gulf War first and then the Civil War in Yugoslavia shortly after its establishment, and worked on these issues. The life span of the council was not long due to various reasons, but as Belge says, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly was born from the ashes of Helsinki Citizens' Council. Thus, Helsinki Citizens Assembly Project, that couldn't be realized in Eastern and Western European countries, helped to the foundation of Helsinki Citizens Assembly.

Activity Area

The objective of the HCA, which is among the founder members of Human Rights Common Platform, is defined in its constitution as: "to support the principles that were undertaken during the European Security and Collaboration Conference (AGİK) which were developed and protected by the Paris Condition as the result of the Paris Summit on 21 November 1990 ,which was a continuation of the process that had already started on 1 August 1975 when 35 countries, including Turkey, signed the Helsinki Final Agreement." However the working area of HCA is not limited to this. Integration of Turkey with EU, recognizing and protecting the rights of the minorities, developing civil initiative against clashes, enabling the rule of law, strengthening local democracies and civil societies, protecting human rights, and enabling citizens to participate in governance are among HCA's objectives and it carries out activities on these issues.[36]

The effort to disseminate the development of a civil society and human rights advocacy is apparent in the publications which are, about 20 books[37], more than 10 reports and bulletins. International conferences are being held by the association, such as, New Tactics in Human Rights Symposium realized in Ankara in September 2004, was a good opportunity for the national and international NGOs carrying out activities on human rights to come together and carry out collective work. On the other hand, HCA, together with the Turkey Branch of Amnesty Organization, since 2004, provides the

[36] For the constitution see: http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=389

[37] Some of the books published by HCA are: Kadının El Kitabı: Yasalardaki Haklarımız, İnsan Haklarında Yeni Taktikler: Aktivistler İçin Bir Kaynak, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları İçin Kılavuz Bilgiler Dizisi, Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Dil Hakları, Modernleşme ve Çokkültürlülük, Hoşgörü Yılı'nda Mülteciler / Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinden Beklenenler Sempozyumu, Milliyetçilik ve Avrupa Bütünleşmesi / Sivil Toplumdan Bakış Açıları, Avrupa Nereden Bitiyor, Bir Arada Yaşama / Türkiye'de Din-Devlet Sempozyumu, Kürt Sorunu İçin Barış İnisiyatif, etc.

most extensive work on the support of refugees. Since the establishment, HCA has deviated neither from their objectives nor from their activities. Currently a work on refugees is going on.[38]

The head office of HCA is in Istanbul. They do not have many members. Murat Belge says: "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly has been a civil society organization due to the few number of members and their life style, etc., rather than a militarist human rights organization. The association mostly deals with theories like civil society activities; therefore, it acquired the ability to provide know-how to other CSOs. I mean, even if Helsinki is not there, we are invited to any civil society awareness raising activity."[39]

HCA, as opposed to HRA and Mazlum-Der and as described by Murat Belge, rather than going into the "streets" to defend human rights, focuses on raising awareness of CSOs on human rights, and explaining and discussing human rights and the concept. Let's point out that the Human Rights Agenda Association, which will be dealt with in the following pages, has a similar structure and objective in this respect.

Democracy within the Assembly

Murat Belge, who has been the director of the association since its establishment, says that he has been almost forced to this duty because his friends in the association insist on his stay. Belge has been selected as the director in all the congresses held since the beginning of the establishment of the association. He says, "I always tell those friends who insist on my presidency that, I had enough. We are quite used to this in Turkey. A man becomes the president somewhere and he stays like that during all his life. We are seen like that too. But when voting for the director, I am the only one doesn't vote for me. Apart from this, this is quite a democratic organization. There is no strict central discipline system; therefore, our steering committee functions like a coordination committee. Of course there are extra chores sometimes. That is, rent, expenses, incomes and outgoes, accountancy… Steering committee deals with these. Other than this the first duty of the steering committee is to provide possibilities for people who want to work in different fields under this roof. We do not have a rigid

[38] For the details of refugee support project of HCA, see Kristen Biehl and İrfan Aktan's article published in Express magazine in May 2007.

[39] Çandar, Tûba. Murat Belge – *Bir Hayat...* Doğan Pub. 2007, İstanbul, p. 270.

description as "activity fields". Most of the members find human rights and conflict issues more attractive. But for instance a lady fellow can initiate a work such as handbook of a woman or a citizen's rights, and we find an institution to finance that book. We could open a space for environmentalists also. But we have never had any activity for the environment so far. For instance, many people, most of who are not Turkish, wanted to carry out a study on refugees to Turkey from eastern countries. We opened an official association for them. The philosophy of Helsinki is such. If five people come and say "we want to work together to clean Lake Van", we provide facilities for them. They do not have to be the members of the association. Therefore, we don't see the membership as a serious condition. We have members. We have no intention to be an association with a lot of members. We worked with many people who were not members. We are quite flexible."

Relations with the Public Authority

Although 12 September legislation hardened the life of institutions that has links abroad, the establishment of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly was accepted with a permission issued through the Council of Ministers. Thus, HCA is one of the rare associations established with permission from the cabinet. Though this doesn't bring any benefit to the organization directly, Murat Belge thinks this has a symbolic value. "It is important to establish an association with foreign connection in a country against foreigners. We could have worked as well without this connection. In fact, in spite of being an association that has permission from the cabinet, some of our activities were hindered. For instance, we were building a summer school in Çanakkale, they stopped it because there were Armenians from Karabag. In fact there were people from Azerbaijan as well. They were getting along well. But our ministry didn't approve this."

Murat Belge, reminds that the government expects NGOs to obey itself in Turkey and adds that human rights struggle cannot be carried out in peace with the government. Belge says a state can be friendly in its relations with NGOs but in Turkey it has never been such. "The state in Turkey wants to be obeyed. Therefore, when the state saw the importance of the NGOs, instead of developing more friendly relations, formed so-called NGOs and brought retired soldiers to the management. But they only conveyed what the state said. They are called "Gongo"[40] and in different places in the world

[40] Government operated Non-governmental Organizations

government supported NGOs appear. There are quite a few of them in Turkey. We have no such attitude like we do not "recognize" the state. We do as much as we can; we go as far as we can go. We applied to the government for the establishment. We want to participate in the works to change the Associations Law in the parliament. If the judges, lawyers are to be trained, we voluntarily accept that. My idea is if you are somewhere you should prove your existence and if you want to be effective you have to work for it."

Relations with other NGOs

Murat Belge, one of the founders of HCA, assesses the relation of HCA with other HRIs like that: "we do not always act together. In 1980s the most important t problem in the country was the prisons and the bad treatments there. This situation caused the human rights movement to start. Those days relatives of the prisoners tried to come together under an association. TAYAD was established as such, but did not shelter everybody. People with other ideologies were disappointed due to this experience. I suggested the idea of HCA those days which was happily accepted. But though the suggestion came from me, I didn't want to continue because of several reasons. One reason was, people whose close relations were in prison were going to establish this association and those people had the same political opinions with the ones in the prison. Therefore, I was scared and didn't know whether such a human rights organization was possible. But I can express with contentment that HCA is a respectful organization that has improved itself from the time it was established till today. There are times when Helsinki has relations with HCA and Mazlum-Der. The increase in the number of organizations working on human rights has produced positive outcomes. Joint works of these organizations or works on the common platforms have good results. There is already Human Rights Common Platform that covers Mazlum-Der, HCA and Amnesty Organization. For example the establishment of Mazlum–Der was not inconvenient. Even, some people who have a more leftist ideology compared to Mazlum-Der have learned how to be unbiased regarding human rights. They are never interested with people from different groups. Mazlum-Der was much better than us in this respect. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly is not a militant association, it was supposed to be an organization to be able to collaborate with other HRIs and it has become as such. For instance HRA is a more militant association compared to us. We have more academicians and elderly people with a lot of experience. Therefore, we have a

consultancy mission in this field. Everybody should do what they can do best and be away from what they cannot do well.''

Turkey Human Rights Foundation (THRF)

Institutionalization and Activity Area

Basic objective and activities of Turkey Human Rights Foundation, which was established by a group of intellectuals defending human rights and Human Rights Association (HRA), are to make publications and documentation on human rights and freedom, to help the torture victims their physical and psychological treatment and rehabilitation, to give psychological support to their relatives, to document torture events and to support the struggle of victims of torture and to train on human rights. THRF is an independent and non-governmental organization established by HRA and thirty-two intellectuals defending human rights according to Turkish Civil Law in 1990. THRF carries out its work in accordance with all international agreements, no matter whether Turkey has signed them or not. The head office of the foundation is in Ankara. There are representatives in İstanbul, İzmir, Adana and Diyarbakır. The foundation in principle does not receive donations or support from the governments, institutions or persons who have implementations against human rights. THRF is a pioneer institution struggling against physical torture, and providing medical and psychological support to the victims of torture and to their relations.[41]

In fact, THRF was established to defend basic human rights that were radically minimized and considered non-existent by the military coup of 12 September and while defending rights of people who had suffered torture during the custody period, to provide medical and psychological support to the victims. The foundation, which was established in 1990, has now gained international and national recognition within the civil society and states.

One of the institutional characteristics of the THRF is its founding for a very special and predefined objective at the time of its establishment. Thus, time consuming works such as organizing the structure and establishing basis for its work were not dealt

[41] http://www.tihv.org.tr

with. Metin Bakkalcı, Secretary General of the foundation, emphasizes this issue and adds, "THRF is a result of 1980s in a sense. There was a need to establish a solidarity environment in order to cope with the physical and mental destruction caused by the torture and a treatment and rehabilitation program designed for each victim. The basic reason to establish Human Rights Foundation was to meet the rehabilitation needs of the torture victims and provide a solidarity environment. In a sense, the objective was to struggle against the destruction caused by torture."

This basic objective of the THRF still exists as there has not been any radical decrease in the number of torture cases since 1980. On the web page of the foundation human rights violations in Turkey are published daily as well as comprehensive annual reports.[42] THRF, while developing relations in the international arena regarding the struggle against human rights, actually takes active part within this struggle not only in Turkey but also in the world. Metin Bakkalcı says that THRF is trying to adopt their struggle expertise of the outer world to Turkey as well as sharing their experiences in Turkey with the human rights advocates in the world. Bakkalcı states that torture is a systematic implementation in order to break the opposing resistance of individuals in various countries as in Turkey and that THRF is trying to reduce this implementation in the short, medium and long term.

Metin Bakkalcı explains the working method of THRF as follows: "All the decision making process of the foundation starts from the most daily unit. Each center has steering rules within this perspective. Steering committees consist of not only workers but also volunteers. There is never a top to bottom approach in the foundation. We try to implement the process that we call common belief. Sometimes we reach this common belief through a critical digestion process where we discuss what to do. Of course in the scientific discussion environment there are different opinions. But common belief can be reached through sustainability of this scientific working atmosphere with desire and sincerity."

Democratic Functioning in Internal Affairs of THRF

Metin Bakkalcı, while saying that they consider opinions of the members and the managing board as well as observing rules of science, he emphasizes the significance

[42] http://www.tihv.org.tr

of democratic operation within the foundation. Bakkalcı says presidency of Yavuz Önen, who has been the director of the foundation since its establishment, cannot be seen as "authority of presidency" and adds, "Mr. Önen is continuing the presidency not because he wants it but because we want him to be. If we let him, he would have left long ago... we have approximately 60 founders, more than 30 staff and 300-350 volunteers. This place is quite democratic. The structure here, as I said before, is sustainable because of its democratic functioning. Therefore, when establishing the management board, we have people that THRF wants, not the "teams" or "dictators".

Coşkun Üsterci, who is working at the İzmir branch of the foundation, says all units of THRF while realizing decisions and implementing projects of the head office, they act according to their own specific conditions within the general framework of the foundation. Üsterci emphasizes that central decisions are taken with the contribution and participation of all units and created from bottom to top. Üsterci also states that THRF Administrative Board meetings takes place with the participation of one employee from each unit and that decisions are taken with consensus both in the management board meetings and in steering committees in the branches. He adds that as THRF İzmir Representative Office, when they need to take a decision on a subject outside the general framework or on a subject that has strategic importance in terms of THRF policy, they ask opinions and approval of the head office as well as the other units.

Relations with Public Authorities

According to Coşkun Üsterci, one of the main problems of HRIs derives from the involvement manner of Turkish society with the government. He says that Turkish people relate their existence to the state and consider the state as a transcendent, holy power. This perception facilitates state's deficiency in fulfilling its obligations to the citizens. "Human rights are to draw limits to the state, to protect citizens from state or from those using the power of the state" says Üsterci and also thinks that, the "loyalty" for the state facilitates human rights violations. He also says, "There are difficulties and pressures caused by the distrust towards human rights defenders and their organizations. State institutions regard them as 'enemies'. There are also problems deriving from the structure of human rights movement: Human rights struggle is considered as a tool,

there are deficiencies in policy, perspective, participation and democracy. Besides, the activists are exhausted. The front line activists are getting older and there are no young people to replace them. Recently, within the human rights movement a project based and stay-away-from-the-risks approach has been widespread."

Metin Bakkalcı says HRIs have similar problems in their relations with the public authority. He says, governments do not have serious collaboration with the NGOs and complains that Human Rights Consultancy Council under Prime Ministry has not been activated yet and the government does not apply for this council for consultancy. Bakkalcı says, "İbrahim Kabaoğlu, former director of the council and Baskın Oran, former director of the sub-committee were sued.[43] They said "Come and be our consultants". But the works we carried out by their requests were sued by them again. The situation is quite ridiculous. Consultancy Council, which is supposed to meet three times a year, cannot meet. This is illegal according to the legislation."

Bakkalcı says the government doesn't hinder their work but they do not have close relations either. "Sometimes we have meetings with Mehmet Elkatmış, Head of the General Assembly Human Rights Examination Commission. We had a few meetings with Abdullah Gül, Minister of Foreign Affairs. But these were personal meetings and not quite often. We should have more institutional meetings. We try for that. But there is one positive thing that is the Manisa event.[44] As known, some youngsters in Manisa were tortured. Everybody tried to help. We had alternative medical jurisprudence reports we prepared together with the bar of lawyers, and for the first time in Turkey with this court case the Supreme Court referred to our reports. From then on, some public prosecutors started asking about some of our applications."

Relations with Other NGOs

Although the name of THRF is not written on the logo of the Human Rights Common Platform, as Bakkalcı says, THRF is in a quite close relationship with HRCP. Bakkalcı says that they are in favor of collaboration with the other HRIs and in fact since the

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[43] "Minority Rights and Cultural Rights Working Group Report" written by Baskın Oran for the Human Rights Advisory Board under Prime Ministry was sued and on 15 February 2006, together with Baskın Oran, İbrahim Kaboğlu was also sued. Human Rights Advisory Board did not have any active function since.

[44] On 26 December 1995, 16 youngsters, not even at the age of 18, were taken into custody and tortured by the Police. Their trial continued for years and just two months ago the timeout ended in April 2003. The torturing police officers were arrested.

establishment of THRF, they have carried out activities together with other human rights organizations, bars of lawyers, academics and Chamber of Medicine.

Coşkun Üsterci summarizes their relations with other NGOs as the İzmir representative of the Foundation as follows: "There are institutions and establishments in İzmir, such as HRA, Mazlum-Der, Human Rights Agenda, Amnesty Organization, Tay-Der, İzmir Prison Initiative and Freedom Association, mainly dealing with human rights. Moreover, there are professional organizations involved in human rights such as, İzmir Bar of Lawyers, İzmir Chamber of Medicine and Contemporary Lawyers' Association (CLA). The relations of İzmir representative of THRF with these institutions and establishments are quite good. Naturally we are closer to the HRA as they are the founder members of THRF. THRF has established quite special relations with HRA, İzmir Bar of Lawyers, İzmir Chamber of Medicine and CLA for the treatment of torture victims for a long time. The close cooperation with these institutions which lasted for about ten years was partially interrupted when nationalists took over the management of the İzmir Bar of Lawyers and İzmir Chamber of Medicine. During the time of collaboration torture victims were easily reached, legislative support was provided for them. Alternative medical jurisprudence reports were prepared, court cases were opened and trials against torture implementers were followed together. While important steps were taken in order to prevent torture, treatment of the victims was achieved. This fruitful relation continues between THRF, HRA and CLA." [45]

Human Rights Agenda Association (HRAA)

Participation, Institutionalization and Activity Area

HRAA that was established in İzmir in 2003 to carry out human rights struggle in the national and international arena has a different characteristic from the other HRIs. HRAA is a "consultancy" association like HCA, giving more importance to "professionalism"; however, keeping its distance to "ideologies". Instead of going into the streets and dealing with individuals one by one like HRA and Mazlum–Der, they try to find out what they can do for them at "higher levels". They of course carry out works for people

[45] Let's remember: Coşkun Üsterci is one of the founders of İzmir War Opponents Association (İzmir Savaş Karşıtları Derneği - İSKD). İSKD has struggled for the right of consciencious objection and has carried on many important studies. See http://www.birikimdergisi.com for the text about the annihiliation of İSKD.

whose rights were seized by violence. Orhan Kemal Cengiz, the founder and director of the foundation, especially emphasizes that they are not a mass foundation and in the long run they will not have such an objective. Cengiz summarizes the establishment objective of the association as follows:'' We believe in an understanding which defends human rights over all ideological and religious views. There are Muslims in our association and there are atheists and homosexuals, too. We try to enable such a variety as much as possible. Everyone may have his or her own view of life; however, our common point is to leave our political views behind the door when we enter the association. We put the issue of human rights in font of everything else.''

During our interview with Cengiz the reason why mostly HRA and Mazlum-Der are mentioned is that they present a counterexample to HRAA's fundamental aims because Cengiz says that HRA and Mazlum-Der are known as wing associations and they try their best not to be labeled like that. Cengiz states that they want HRAA to be an association which embraces all society, which is independent from all kinds of ideological views, and which works only for human rights and nothing else, and that institutions like HRA and Mazlum-Der are more like mass associations.

Cengiz summarized the action fields of HRAA: ''We have three action fields: fight against torture, improving minority rights and fight against discrimination, training for human rights. (...) We have carried out extensive work in training teachers and lawyers on human rights. We have completed a two year training program in İzmir. Each training lasted for seventy-five days and two hundred lawyers were trained on application of international law to internal law. Then we extended this project to the Aegean region. We are planning to extend this project to all other regions; consequently, to all Turkey by 2008. We select the lawyers who are to be trained according to certain criteria. Their enthusiasm, openness, having the ability to transform the information to others, experience level, etc. We do not accept inexperienced lawyers to the training. Because our goal is to activate the lawyers who are experienced and can reflect this new information to the court. Training is given by our experienced lawyers.''

HRAA that avoids from being a 'mass organization at the moment' has a membership structure which is in accordance with this structure. HRAA had about twenty-five members in April and the administrative board consists of five persons. The manage-

ment of HRAA does not have any problems in getting in contact with its members due to the small number of its members. The members' opinions are about the projects of the association are asked through e-mail. The activities carried out by the administrative board and expenses are reported to the members. In the activities realized by a coordinator, coordinator's initiative is taken for granted and the management pays attention so as not to interfere with their decisions. Cengiz says that they do not want to have a crowded membership structure, and they have the policy of membership according to need and they try to make an active participation of their members.

Orhan Kemal Cengiz, the president of HRAA, states the aim of the association, where human rights training to teachers and lawyers is continuing at present, as follows: "We have been talking about a new action in Turkey for long. There is a need for specialization. A need for a structure that can carry on lobbying activities and prepare extensive reports on specific issues. We have established this association for this reason, to be a human rights initiative on a regional basis."

Cengiz makes this evaluation with respect to the activities of the association and to the project of "mapping of torture" and training teachers on human rights: "We try to make teachers teach students human rights. We employed different methods that make use of games. We carried out the activity together with teachers' unions. Teachers cannot move outside the curriculum, but it is possible for them to use a different method and gain a different viewpoint. We trained approximately three hundred teachers. We are also conducting an activity called 'mapping of torture' together with Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. We try to map all the institutions and individuals with whom the tortured and the torturer have relations with. This concept is new for Turkey as well as the world. This work is only conducted in a South American country before. This map, which will be constructed on the Internet, can be roughly described as thus: There is a victim of torture and an offender. When you click on the offender on your computer, you will see a police station. When you click on that police station, internal relations there will be revealed. Through this, we will be able to understand more simply in what kind of relation networks torture takes place. But basically, those who work to prevent torture will be able to see their field of action very concretely through this map. And this a project that EU supports. (…) In Turkey some issues are always popularized. For instance, Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC). Yet, when we examined TPC, we found almost forty entries that are

similar to Article 301. So, we went to different parts of Turkey: İzmir, Ankara, İstanbul and Diyarbakır. We gathered intellectuals and academicians and discussed this issue. As a result of this work we found forty entries that prevent the freedom of expression in TPC. We made a report of this and distributed it everywhere…''

Cengiz says that as a result of their training projects, they observed obvious changes in the attitudes especially of lawyers. He thinks that as a result of the human rights training given to teachers they indirectly changed behaviors toward thousands of students. Cengiz says ''We have been calculating the effects that we could create. I can easily express that we did not have any dissatisfaction of effect in our works.''

Democracy within the Association

Orhan Kemal Cengiz, who carries the presidency of the association since its foundation, says that presidency is a burden to him and that he does not intend to stay as a president forever. In HRAA first the administrative board t is decided and the council selects a president among themselves. Cengiz says about the structure of presidency: ''I will be president again if my friends ask me to do so; it is an honor to me. Our association was founded to work for very specific subjects and since its foundation I have a very active role. But frankly, I am not thinking of doing this job for ten or twenty years. For now some of my friends and I have a really critical role. But I believe that the association will certainly free me of this responsibility soon because almost everyone in our association has the qualities to be a leader. If my friends assign me again, I can carry on this duty for one or two more terms.''

Relationships with Other NGOs

Cengiz, who reminds that they share common projects with Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, stresses on the point that they are in good relations with all human rights associations mentioned above. He says that they exchange ideas with other institutions and that the reason why they have not been a member of Human Rights Common Platform (HRCP) is that, this platform is not yet open to institutions other than the founders and adds: ''First of all HRCP should open up, and expand. We do share the same opinions, but that's something else. It is a good idea to share a common platform. It is important for the organizations to be acknowledged about each other's activities. In this sense, I have a high opinion of HRCP.''

The Human Rights Common Platform (HRCP)

HRCP, which was composed of the union of Mazlum-Der, HCA, and Turkey office of International Amnesty Association, is a first in terms of the human rights associations in Turkey. These words of Feray Salman do stress the importance of HRCP: "The human rights field in Turkey is not very bright, but a little dark. There is a basis where there are tiny bits of lights. Unless these lights come together it seems hard for us to reach the light in human rights. Unless the lights unite, there will be no clarity."

HRCP, founded to provide unity of competence rather than need for organizing, is very young and have not been thoroughly activated; therefore, it is not on the agenda yet. In our interviews with the advocates of human rights, we have the impression that HRCP will soon be the main platform of the struggle for human rights in Turkey. The activists in different human rights associations that have increased in quality and quantity since 1990s, have realized that they actually work for the same end but in different organizations. Consequently, they have set up a common platform to share their struggle.

HRCP is not an organization but a platform that brings the human rights organizations together and ensures them to have a common voice on specific matters. It also tries to remove prejudices against each other and anticipates for an effective power base for the struggle of human rights.

Feray Salman, general coordinator of HRCP, says that many people are very pleased about the constitution of HRCP since the existence of such a platform was unavoidable due to the state of the struggle for human rights. HRCP does not accept applications for human rights violations and does not perform activities that human rights organizations do. Rather than a roof association, HRCP is a horizontal platform formed by the mentioned four associations.

The mission of HRCP is summarized in its web site as such; "HRCP believes that the human rights movement which is composed of persons, groups and NGOs who perform researches, surveys, and assessments and try to constitute public opinion, plays an important role to have the state perform its essential duties of protection and improvement of human rights and civil liberties, by building up respect for human rights

and civil liberties, and introducing these rights at national and international levels. Within this frame, HRCP defines its mission as the empowerment of the human rights movement capacity, the collaboration of its elements and its overall effect in Turkey. HRCP believes the importance of cooperation and dialog between the elements of human rights movement and between the human rights organizations themselves. It believes that providing clear, transparent and systematic dialog medium where civil society and the organized sections of the civil society can express their opinions to and exchange ideas with public authorities who are responsible for legislation and execution, has a critical role in developing human rights policies and participatory democracy.''[46]

One of the major issues of HRCP is the inability of the human rights organizations in Turkey in expanding their capacities, which will be dealt with in the conclusion section. Let's listen to Feray Salman: ''There are two main associations as HRA and Mazlum-Der who follow, document and report the activities throughout Turkey. However, these institutions face problems while doing their jobs. Some branches are weak in this respect and the head offices do not have the opportunity to train them systematically. We provide them these opportunities. We train them, we use technological tools to have a well-arranged system and to get rid of misunderstandings. This is HRCP's priority area. HRCP does not survey and document itself but try to empower those organizations that do so. (...) One of the reasons why human rights organizations are weaker is due to the underdevelopment of their capacities and their work being confined to the day.''

As mentioned above by Orhan Kemal Cengiz, HRCP does not yet accept institutions except from the founder institutions. Salman clarifies this point as: HRCP will open its doors to other institutions as well. Not now because we were founded in October 2005 and it took us eight months. During that period there were arguments and tension. It is not easy to learn to be together. They came close to each other, they knew each other, and they learned to share their own problems with each other. In time, working together at the same basis with other organizations will be a necessity.''

[46] http://www.ihop.org.tr

Initiation against the Crime of Opinion (?!) (IACO)

One of the reasons for the display of some of the items of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is that there are many practices violating this declaration in Turkey. In the Article 18 of the Declaration there is the statement: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion", and the Article 19 clearly expresses that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." However, in Turkey, as it is expressed throughout the article, especially since 12 September 1980 the state obstructs the freedom of thought by legal regulations or de facto practices. One cannot always fight with these difficulties within a 'legal' framework. Initiation against the Crime of Opinion(?!) (IACO), is the first example of this that comes to mind. The basis of this initiation that is led by the musician Şanar Yurdatapan rests on a campaign held as a reaction to the summoning of the novelist Yaşar Kemal to the State Security Court in January 1995 due to his article published in Der Spiegel and to the civil disobedience practice that took place within this process. At that time, 1080 well-known people put their names as publishers on a book which contained ten banned texts including Yaşar Kemal's, and a symbolic commission visited the prosecutor of the State Security Court, that was abolished at a later period, and denounced themselves.[47]

Since that day, over eight thousand people participated in others' "crime" by signing their names in seven books and forty-eight booklets. Since 1995, IACO, which was founded to "commit thought crime" has been conducting various protests and campaigns for hundreds and thousands people from different views and beliefs, who were brought to suit, sued, or arrested because of "thought crime". Meanwhile Şanar Yurdatapan as the publisher and the journalist Nevzat Onaran were sentenced to prison for two months by the Military Court of General Staff. The condemnation was approved by the Military Supreme Court of Appeal. Through the end of year 2000, both served in prison.

The expression, "I do not agree with any of your ideas but I am ready to fight with you to the end for your freedom to express them", quoted by Şanar Yurdatapan from

[47] http://www.antenna-tr.org

Voltaire, summarizes the main philosophy of the initiative. Regarding the initiative Yurdatapan says: "You cannot be a member of the initiative because we do not have a legal identity and we cannot have it. This is a civil disobedience that is willingly and deliberately violating the anti-democratic laws, and being ready to bear its consequences. It is apparent that it is not possible to found an organization to 'commit a crime' and have a legal identity. Since the principle and content of this civil disobedience is clear and limited, there is no need for long discussions and taking decisions. Whenever a new thought crime case starts at court, those who accept to 'take part in that crime' are considered to be a member of IACO 'limited to that case'. From this perspective, in some activities, the initiative has a few people, in some hundreds or thousands."

The Association for Freedom of Thought (DÜŞÜN), which was founded by IACO as a precaution against the problems resulting from the lack of legal identity while conducting different campaigns, makes it possible to fight in fields other than civil disobedience. Yurdatapan summarizes the reason for founding DÜŞÜN: "The ten years work does not only consist of civil disobedience. It led to activities such as, 'Istanbul Meeting for Freedom of Thought' and 'Eyes of the World and of Turkey'. It wouldn't have been convincing to perform these activities without a legal identity. DÜŞÜN was a result of this necessity. To put it simply, DÜŞÜN is the executor of the activities within the legal frame; whereas, the initiative conducts civil disobedience activities to expose the anti-democratic laws and make them ineffective."

While stating that they were "blacklisted" by the state since they target the practices of the state, Yurdatapan adds that during the IACO period, they faced many difficulties including going to jail, but that they have already reckoned the possibilities as such.

Yurdatapan states that they fight for the freedom of thought and expression for everyone and that they do it simply by making a call for the banned or penalized text and having hundreds of people sign the text and then denouncing themselves; therefore, they harden the execution of the procedure. He adds: "This is the greatest difference of the initiative from the others! IACO does not aim to be an association, foundation and does not have an organizational understanding. There is a single job offered. For instance you take a trip, you share the expenses. Then, you arrange another trip. The travelers present now may not have joined the previous trip. IACO is just like this.

Those people who contribute to the initiative have no obligation to continue to work. The initiative offers some concrete actions and those who approve this work together. They may or may not join the actions conducted later, that will not do us any harm.''

5. Result

One of the main reasons why the NGOs in Turkey can not forcibly make demands when they face the public authority -which is the usual situation- is their capacity problem. They can not expand their capacities due to lack of money. Actually, this issue seems to be a major subject for an article. Considering the importance of the issue, we have found it necessary to devote the conclusion section of our interview-article to this subject.

While we were making interviews to examine the activities of human rights organizations in Turkey from 2005 onwards, that is the time when STGM started its activities, we noticed that financial problems were more critical than the problems they had in their relations with the state. On the other hand, the reason why the representatives of human rights organizations do not have a first-hand relationship with STGM, except for the Siviliz bulletin and the web site, is due to their own arguments about the European Union. We can say that there is a fork in the road; should one accept funds from EU and non-governmental international institutions or not? Even representatives of the organizations which keep a distance to funding sources that do not even interfere with the content of projects, admit that it has become very hard to stay afoot without the help of these funds. All representatives of the human rights organizations share this idea: ''At this point, it is not possible to fight without money. The membership dues that are not paid regularly do not bring in the necessary income.''

Financial problems are one of the major factors preventing human rights organizations from struggling effectively against the violations of the state. Many human rights organizations, foremost HRA and Mazlum–Der, do not favor getting funds, but still they admit the impossibility of realizing effective activities with donations and membership dues only. The representatives of human rights organizations getting funds form the EU and other international institutions, state that they be more active and that they

did not loose their autonomy due to these funds. However, the representatives of human rights organizations which 'partially' refuse to get funds believe that the struggle for human rights -apart from other struggles- can be given free of all authority. Abdülbasit Bildirici, Director of Van Branch of Mazlum-Der, says they are not in favor of getting funds but they do not see it as an "ethical" issue either. Bildirici states that as long as they stay autonomous, funds can be received from anyone; but its reflection to the outer world would be different. He says: "For instance, some branches prepared projects on training imams and got support for that. But this was criticized by others. They even said Mazlum-Der is run by outside forces. That's why I always voted against during the discussions at head quarters, and told them that I am against projects and getting funds. We started this mission penniless and we have to carry out like this." Orhan Kemal Cengiz, director of HRA, says they have no hesitations when getting funds: "We have certain criteria. We do not want donors to intervene with what we are doing. We get funds for some concrete job; therefore, we get it from anyone. Otherwise, we cannot carry on the job." Murat Belge commented on their getting financial support from USA for the "International Symposium on New Tactics on Human Rights" realized with the efforts of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, TODAİE and Torture Victims Center on 29 September-2 October 2004 in Ankara as: "Who gives us money is not important. What counts is to be able to give an account of the money." [48]

Şaban Dayanan, from Istanbul Branch of HRA, says "Getting funding from EU causes discussions in the association; however, they have never submitted any projects to EU as Istanbul Branch, but after all these discussions they are inclined to receive funds from the EU." Dayanan says, membership dues and donations are not suffice for the activities they want to carry on, this in turn decreases the effectiveness of the HRA. "We used to organize a concert or an activity or apply to our donors when we had to pay our expenses such as rent, telephone bills or staff salaries etc. Human rights organizations were believed to be structures where people sharing an ideology gather and organize activities rather than institutions that contribute to social chance, transition or development. Whereas now, people expect more from the associations and institutions. As consciousness of rights increase, the functions of institutions like HRA increases. For this, new resources, new funds, new financial resources and a new organization model have to be developed."

[48] İrfan Aktan. "Hasmı Yanına Çekmek". Interview with Murat Belge, *Express*, October 2004.

Reyhan Yalçındağ the vice president of HRA, says that they are cautious in accepting donations and expresses that once a project was presented to the Turkish Representative Agency of EU, by HRA Diyarbakır branch and HRA head office, but that branch offices cannot take decisions independent from the head office on this subject. Yalçındağ relates that some of the branches consider projects probable and that they are right in it, but that it is wrong to apply to get funds related to the state. The president of Mazlum-Der Ayhan Bilge says they never get funds from the state because they believe it will harm their autonomy and fundamental principles. Bilgen reminds that they have received funds from the EU on different occasions, and due to this they were blamed to have "outside support" and even clearly targeted in a book about NGOs.

The General Secretary of TİHV, Metin Bakkalcı states that they receive support from voluntary doctors in the treatment of the torture victims, but they need finances to conduct a better organized work. Bakkalcı reminds that medical service is expensive and that they cover one third of their expenses by the donations from volunteers and the rest is covered by the funds they receive from the institutions like the EU Commission, UN or the Red Cross. Bakkalcı reminds that in principle they do not accept money from the states. Bakkalcı adds that as long as they provide clear accounts and the funding agencies -other than the state- do not interfere with the content of the project, there is no problem in receiving funds.

In fact, the human rights organizations that avoid from receiving funds do not have an institutional issue. They hesitate because of the 'target groups' sensitivity' and the fact that authorities distort the information about funding and through this, point the human rights organizations as targets. There are two ways to destroy this perception: Institutions like HRA or Mazlum-Der addressing important social layers can cease being a 'mass organization' and be more 'professionalized', or can conduct training programs in which they can explain to their base that getting funds from the EU or other non-state institutions does not mean that they have an 'outside connection'. Perhaps at this point STGM can develop a program to support the human rights organizations. Otherwise, fire engines will not be able to put out the fire while being squeezed on narrow streets and almost out of water.

SERAP OZTURK | Translated by Nurcan Atalan

WE ALL HAVE TO ACT AS IF WE ARE FROM BERGAMA

This work aims to trace the formation and development of civil environmental movements, which emerged by mid-20th century. The focus here will especially be late 2000s.

Contemporary civilian environmental movement of Turkey includes institutions such as foundations, associations, federations, unions, cooperatives, chambers; bodies such as platforms and other movements that are legally civilian in character and organize around the need to address a particular environmental problem. We can also add the Green Party, which has a political character.

The framework of the study has been designed based on various criteria. Primary criteria in choosing the organizations includes their being within the target group of Civil Society Development Center (STGM) and that they are active in their fields. The organizations that passed through these primary criteria are assessed based on secondary criteria that involve structural differences such as geographical area, legal status and activities of the organization. We carried out interviews with representatives of these organizations at different levels, experts and activists that formed the representative sample group. We had limited time, which was our last criterion to determine the number of interviews.

We carried out informal interviews on certain subjects. We benefited from international criteria that are used to assess civil organizations structurally, but these have been adapted to the goals and scope of this study. The study is not solely based on the interviews. Similarly, it is not only about the organizations that formed the sample group. This assessment study report is based on the perspectives of the experts and activists, earlier works and studies, and an analysis of the interviews carried out within the scope of this study.

There are three sections of this assessment study. In the introduction section, we elaborate environmental concepts in general, the environmental policies and problems in the world and in Turkey as well as the formation of the environmental movement. In the main section, we examine the formation and development of civil environmental movement by focusing on their definitions of the problem and scope of activities, their administrative structure; the influence, effectiveness and sustainability of activities, as well as their relationships with the public sector and other NGOs. In the conclusion section, we evaluate the problems of the civil environmental movement and the perceptions of the organizations regarding European Union (EU) and STGM.

1. Introduction [49]

The contemporary meaning of environment as a concept has emerged and various sciences have started to address environmental problems and seek solutions since mid-20th century when human impact on the environment has become more and more visible. During the evolution of the environmental sciences within the last two centuries, we can state that the human impact on biosphere has been acknowledged. The science of ecology which emerged in 1800s developed further with sub-studies such as human ecology and social ecology. Similarly, disciplines that are not directly related with environment, such as economy, political science and law have been assessed in connection with environment, and sciences such as geology, geophysics, mineralogy, meteorology, marine sciences, archeology, biology, ecology and environmental engineering, have been dealt within the scope of environmental sciences.

The Components of Environment and Environmental Problems

It is best to address major environmental problems both in the world and in Turkey by examining the components of environment.

Biological Diversity

"Biological diversity", a term which we often hear in recent years, should not be confused with diversity of species. Biological diversity enclosing the diversity of plant, animal, microorganism species and ecosystems and genetic diversity in a certain area as

[49] In this section we mainly benefited from *Çevre Politikası* (Environmental Policies) by R. Keleş and Can Hamamcı, Imge Pub. 2005, Ankara.

well as the relationships among each other. From this perspective, Anatolian peninsula is very rich in terms of biological diversity. The fact that Anatolia was one of the first places where transition from hunter-gatherer to settled lifestyle occurred thousands of years ago, is an important indicator of this richness. As in the whole world, there are major threats to Anatolian biological diversity due to increased population and development demands. Such threats often stem from a demand-based management perspective that ignores sustainability of natural resources. However, the main factor in natural resource management such as water, soil and genetic resources should be based on supply management.

These factors combined with the loss of functions and characters of natural habitat cause loss of species and species diversity.

Forests

Deforestation increases due to various reasons such as pressure from increasing population, local climate that makes it difficult for reforestation and destruction due to forest fires. There are other threats as well, such as laws and regulations that promote tourism establishment and touristic activities in forest lands or allow establishment of mines, factories to process forest products and buildings to serve the public interests. Similarly, illegal and unmanaged destruction of forests as a result of pressure from urbanization also threaten forests. An important example of this latter threat occurs in Istanbul where the construction ratio in forest lands has reached ninety percent although the legal ratio was only six percent. An important factor leading to such threats is the profit-driven-mentality that perceives forests as potential settlement or profit making sites. Moreover, the conflict ongoing in the Southeast Anatolia region in the last thirty years has destroyed forests both directly through fires and indirectly through pollution as a result of waste of conventional arms.

Wetlands

Wetlands cover all ecosystems such as rivers, lakes, lagoons, marshes and turbaries that depend on water. Turkey is rich in terms of wetlands, and it is home to various wetlands with different characteristics such as brackish coastal lagoons, saline and freshwater lakes, alpine lakes, rivers, caves, marshes and peat bogs. However, ecosystem characteristics of half of the wetlands of Turkey have been destroyed due

to draining activities for agricultural purposes especially since 1960s. Some of the wetlands have been destroyed to the point where restoration is no longer possible. These wetlands include Hotamış Marshes, Suğla Lake, Seyfe Lake, Eber Lake, Amik Lake and Yeşilırmak Delta.

Weather and Climate

Air pollution which can occur as a result of heating of domestic households, use of fuels in industries, exhaust fumes from industrial buildings or households, threatens vegetation, and human and animal health, either alone or combined with acid rain. Air pollution also intensifies degradation in metal and stone materials. Polluted air over urban settlements causes an increase in the temperatures and loss of ultraviolet rays.

Another problem with air quality is noise pollution, which has physiological and psychological effects over human body such as fatigue, anxiety, hearing difficulties and change in social habits. Despite existence of regulations, there are problems in implementation of these regulations to manage noise.

Air pollution also has global effects, such as global warming which occurs due to increase in the carbon dioxide content of air and greenhouse effect, and increase in the harmful effects of ultraviolet rays due to thinning of the ozone layer.

Global temperatures have risen 0.7°C since 1900. There are many unknowns about the rise of global temperatures, such as the extent of human impact on global warming, the chain effects related to global warming, and how the complex ecological balance will respond to that. However, according to the data of World Health Organization, it is possible that millions of people will be threatened by death due to diseases related to climate change, natural disasters and malnutrition caused by decrease in production and loss of natural resources. It is also suggested that such changes will mainly affect poor countries that cannot respond to climate change quickly.

Water

Contrary to the common perception, Turkey is not rich in terms of freshwater sources. According to the classification of countries based on annual per capita water availability, Turkey is in the category of water-scarce countries with per capita annual water supply of 1,470 cubic meters (State Hydraulic Works data). Moreover, the quality of already scarce water sources is declining every other day.

Main reasons of pollution of water resources include agricultural activities (i.e. soil erosion, plant and animal waste, agrochemicals), industrialization (i.e. chemical waste, physical pollution due to needs to cool down engines, microorganisms, radioactive pollution) and urbanization (i.e. population increase, household waste, insufficiency of sewage systems).

Water pollution threatens human health directly, and biodiversity and animal populations indirectly. Dams and small lakes built over rivers for irrigation purposes are the main tools to control water. However, today, the negative effects of dams on river ecosystems, the cultural values and social structure of the people around dams are well acknowledged. Today, in Turkey there exist 555 dams, 544 of which are run by State Hydraulic Works, and 210 dams are either being constructed or at the planning stage. State Hydraulic Works will construct 209 of these dams.[50] When all the dams are completed, there will be little if none intact river left. There has not been any research on the environmental effects of this scenario yet.

Soil

Human caused soil pollution in Turkey occurs due to various reasons such as wrong agricultural practices, wrong and excessive chemical use in agricultural production, and release of hazardous and poisonous waste into soils. Moreover, air and water pollution increase soil pollution. When these combine with problems related with the structure of soil such as barrenness, aridity, and erosion, several environmental problems occur. Some of these problems are reduction in soil productivity, disruption of the plant-nutrition balance in soil, disruption of properties of soil due to leakage of chemicals into groundwater and surface water, and harmful accumulation of poisonous material in some plants. With the increase in erosion, the life of dams and harbors is shortened, and the filling of harbors adversely affects marine trade. Soil suitable for agriculture constitutes only 35.6 percent of all the soil in Turkey. The pressure over agricultural land increases due to population increase, urbanization and industrialization. Today, main problems related to soil quality are reduction in agricultural production and maintaining population-food balance. Turkey is seriously threatened by erosion and desertification.

[50] http://www.dsi.gov.tr/topraksu.htm

Energy

Fossil fuels, commonly used in Turkey due to their relatively low costs and political conjuncture, lead to environmental problems at all stages of production and consumption. Turkey builds more coal plants, and recently considers the construction of a nuclear plant. However, some of the environmental concerns reflected in the public debates are how Turkey will manage its nuclear waste that needs to be controlled for 300 years as it already faces problems addressing chemical waste, and how the security of the nuclear plants will be provided.

Population and Food

Population has been the main concern of Turkey for the last thirty years. Turkey's population, which was 56.4 million in 1990, and 70 million in 2000, is assumed to have reached 74.5 million in 2006. Although population planning policies have been effective to control population increase to some extent, environmental problems due to urbanization and related migration to big cities still pose serious challenges.

Majority of the population migrating to big cities from the rural areas live under poverty line and are undernourished, which constitutes one of the major urban environmental problems.

Cultural Environment

Problems related to protection of cultural environment stem from various reasons, the first being the time requirement and high cost required for the protection of these values. Second one is lack of social consciousness in the society, pressures from construction and wrong economic policies. Many cultural values are either totally destroyed or harmed due to human activities such as tourism and dam construction. The protection of natural and historical values also presents a significant challenge for the implementation of regional development projects. For instance, there have been projects for the protection of Halfeti, Belkis/Zeugma ancient city (in the framework of Southeastern Anatolia Project). However, the adequacy of such projects not only in terms of protection of cultural and historical values but also resettlement of human population, is still assessed. A similar process continues in the context of Ilısu dam and Hasankeyf despite all the civil action.

2. A Short History of Environment [51]

United Nations and International Environmental Policies

The treaty for the protection of wetlands, the International Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, which was signed in 1971 under the leadership of UNESCO, and United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in 1972 in Stockholm, where "sustainable development" concept was first introduced, can be defined as the first important global steps in the history of environment.

In 1983, World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) was convened by the United Nations. WCED released Brundtland Report in 1987, which had been another important step as it emphasized the discrepancy between environment and development and introduced the basis for the sustainable development concept.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development met at the twentieth anniversary of Stockholm Conference, in 1992 at Rio (Rio Earth Summit), and became a milestone in the design and orientation of both national and global environmental policies. The Rio Earth Summit produced five key documents including the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, the Convention on Biological Diversity; the Framework Convention on Climate Change and Principles of Forest Management. Agenda 21 makes planning for the world for the twenty first century. Contracting countries undertake the responsibility of preparing their local Agenda 21s through local governments.

An important outcome of the Rio Summit is that, in 1994 the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) entered into force. Over 179 countries, including Turkey, have signed the convention until 2002.[52]

The World Summit on Sustainable Development, which was held in Johannesburg in 2002, aimed to assess Rio outcomes and implement concrete activities. The

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[51] In this section we mainly benefited from the interview with Nuran Talu, and N. Talu, Avrupa Birliği Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'de Çevre Politikaları (Environmental Policies in Turkey and EU accession). TMMOB, 2006.

[52] http://www.unccd.int

Johannesburg Summit examined problems related to globalization extensively, and adopted the principle to achieve and protect 'sustainable and balanced development' in cooperation with other countries. The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development addresses major environmental problems, and adopts an implementation plan that outlines steps to be taken. Johannesburg Summit is an important step both in the world and in Turkey for the development of environmental policies and civil environmental organizations and their participation in Turkey.

European Union (EU) and Environment in the EU Enlargement Policy

Environmental management was integrated into action plans in Europe in the 1970s. However, the mentality which was based on polluter pays principle was replaced by the precautionary principle and the prevention principle only in 1980s. The goal for the EU, then known as the European Economic Community, was to harmonize environmental policies with policies of other sectors, such as agriculture, energy, industry, transportation and tourism.

In 1987, the Single European Act came into force, which enabled integration of environment as a title into acquis communautaire. The milestone for environment in the history of Europe came with 1992 Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union), which focused on environmental protection as a matter of common decision-making and cooperation among European Union members. With the Treaty of Amsterdam, which was signed in 1997, a new economic growth perspective that is based on sustainable development and sustaining nature's production by addressing nature's needs also became a fundamental objective of EU.

In 2001, EU countries launched the first EU Sustainable Development Strategy, which brought about concrete actions for many priority areas such as climate change, better management of natural resources, protection of biological diversity, and protection of public health (from threats such as chemical pollution).

EU Environmental acquis covers about 300 legal documents including treaties, directives, regulations and Commission Recommendations. Environment is also one of the important titles under EU enlargement. Agenda 2000 Report, which is one of the crucial documents for EU accession and harmonization, requires the member

countries to integrate environment into business policies, to distribute responsibilities among private sector, public and the state, to make necessary legal and administrative arrangements to adopt acquis and to emphasize transparency, knowledge sharing and participation while taking all these steps.

Harmonization with the acquis requires some steps such as capacity building of the public, strengthening of individuals and organizations that are conscious about the environment, and public participation in decision making on environmental matters. Hence, it becomes crucial to build the capacity of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in the environment and develop their cooperation with the state. "During the formulation of the Sixth Environmental Action Plan, which covers the period 2001-2010*, EU leaders envisaged the enlargement of the EU. The plan emphasizes that acceding countries which are funded by the European Commission are responsible to implement environmental policies in line with the acquis."[53] The four priority areas that EU emphasizes for the acceding countries for the period 2002-2012 are nature and biological diversity, environment and health, sustainable use of natural resources and waste management.

Important Regional Organizations for Turkey

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): OECD deals with environmental problems through its various expert committees. OECD's main environmental policies support policies based on precautionary principle and preventive action, and aim to develop the priorities of environment with economic development.

Mediterranean Region: The Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP) of which Turkey is a part, is adopted within the framework of Regional Seas Program under the auspices of United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in 1976, and it is the oldest and most extensive work on this subject. It covers certain measures against dumping from ships and aircraft, fuel pollution, pollution from land-based resources, and hazardous waste and their disposal, and implementing such measures in cooperation among signatories. In 1995, the Action Plan for the Protection of the Marine Environment and

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* [The Sixth Environmental Action Plan covers the period 2002-2012, not 2001 – 2010, but since this information has been quoted from an outside source, it has been left as is. (ed.)]

53 Nuran Talu, *Avrupa Birliği Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'de Çevre Politikaları*. TMMOB, 2006, p. 69.

the Sustainable Development of the Coastal Areas of the Mediterranean was designed and MAP Phase II started. According to MAP Phase II, major measures that contracting parties should take cover development of solid waste management systems, reduction of pollution from industries, control of hazardous waste and improvement of air quality.

Black Sea Region: The first attempts against pollution in the Black Sea region started with the signature of the Convention on the Protection of the Black Sea Against Pollution and its additional protocols among Black Sea countries including Turkey in 1992 in Bucharest. A commission and a permanent secretariat based in Istanbul, Turkey, were established for the implementation of the Convention. With the support of Global Environment Facility (GEF), Black Sea Environmental Management Program project was launched in 1993. The project is connected to the goals of Agenda 21 and other GEF projects in the Black Sea region.

Environmental Policies in Turkey, Harmonization with the EU Acquis and Some Legal Issues

The dominant mentality in 1950s in Turkey was the denial and ignorance that environment can be polluted. Current environmental policies of Turkey have been improved parallel to the developments on international agenda following 1972 Stockholm Conference.

"When the relationship between environment and development is examined, it can be seen that environment as a title has been integrated into the Five Year Development Plans beginning from the 1973-1977 period. The first legal document on environment is the 1983 Environment Law. Ministry of Environment was established in 1991, and it was integrated with Ministry of Forestry in 2003. The perspective on environment has begun to change since 1980s, but major changes occurred in early 1990s. Those were the years when Turkey started to sign international agreements such as 1994 United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) and 1973 the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) that it had not signed before. In 2004, Turkey adopted the Framework Convention on Climate Change, one of the most important outcomes of Rio Conference. However, Turkey has not signed the Kyoto Protocol, which is a continuation of that Framework

Convention, yet. 'The perception that the cost of protection of nature will threaten development goals and divert Turkey from its path of development has brought about Turkey's hesitant approach to international measures on environment.[54] Although 1990s is marked with the rhetoric of becoming a proud member of international community, national interests and costs have become more dominant with the Climate Change convention. Environment has also become a bargaining and power balance tool in the process of Turkey's accession to the EU.'' (Personal communication with U. Ozesmi, TEMA)

Turkey has formulated many legislation on environment in line with the acquis since 1987, its application for EU membership. Some of these are: Regulations on Protection of Air Quality, Regulations on Noise Control, Regulations on Control of Hazardous Waste, Regulations on Packaging and Packaging Waste, and prohibition of chemicals and chemical products that are banned from use in European markets. Some of these regulations are adopted from the EU regulations but some others are only partially in line with the EU regulations. There are also revisions or attempts to prepare legislation on issues such as collection and disposal of batteries (both household and car batteries) which do not have an equivalent title in the acquis. However, as Nuran Talu puts it, 'implementation counts'.

''If

> environmental risk policies are not implemented,

> risk-posing buildings such as oil refineries (i.e. TUPRAS) are built in earthquake prone areas,

> facilities for chimney gas emissions at the Yatagan Coal Plant which is in activity since 1982 cannot be built for the last eighteen years, and local people are banned from going outdoors because of high levels of air pollution for the first time in the history of the country,

> revisions on regulations that violate Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process are done directly by the authorities who are in charge of implementing EIA,

> legal decisions to outdo the harm of environmental violations are not implemented by the administration,

> Draft Law on Industrial Regions that will provide unlimited exemptions for fore-

[54] Semra Cerit Mazlum-Erhan Doğan, Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika. Bağlam Pub. 2006, İstanbul, p.297.

ign investment, including exemptions from Environmental Law and Environmental Impact Assessment is prepared in a country, then the assessment that 'environmental protection in Turkey is far from the expected levels' which is stated in EU Progress Reports becomes more than correct.''

3. Environmentalism and Civil Environmental Movements in Turkey

It is pretty difficult to assess the environmental movements only tracing their establishment and development history since the institutional story of every movement is shaped according to local/national conditions, its size, its legal status, the geography it is taking action, the political and military conditions within which it develops and its organizational characteristics. Still, we can talk about some general characteristics by keeping in mind that the observations stated here are not generalizations representing all of the movement.

The period from 1950s until 1970s marks itself as the starting point in the establishment and development history of environmental movement in Turkey. The basis of some of the institutions was formed in these years when environmental problems were not a priority on national or international agenda but among prestigious people or personalities with strong political or bureaucratic connections. Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature (TTKD) which was established in 1955 with the support of Süleyman Demirel, then the General Director of State Hydraulic Works, and TURCEK (Turkish Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society) which gained its institutional status through the political and bureaucratic connections of a team led by Selahattin Özer in 1972, are such institutions.

The period between 1970s and 1990s is marked with the rise of environmental issues on the global agenda and activities of institutions working on environment. This is the time when environment became a prestigious topic in both national and global agenda. In 1975, Society for the Protection of Nature (DHKD) was established with the leadership of a group of volunteers and amateur naturalists. At the end of 1980s, the environmental civil society movement strengthened in line with Turkey's EU accession process. However, institutionalization had not started yet and we can talk about social movements forming around issues such as energy or coal plants in those years.

Environmental movements evolve further towards a more organized and institutional character starting from 1990s onwards, with the rise of significance of environmental problems on the international policies. "With 1992 Rio Summit, environmental movements are no longer just volunteer bodies supporting the state's attempts on environmental protection but become partners in environmental governance with the public and private sector."[55] 1996 Habitat Conference, especially the organization of the conference in Turkey, has become a keystone event for environmental organizations in Turkey. The period is marked with the development of many NGOs at local, national and international scale. Some of the national NGOs, which have significant achievements in the environmental sector in Turkey, such as The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (TEMA) and The Foundation for the Promotion and Protection of the Environment and Cultural Heritage (ÇEKÜL) were established in these years.

Many civilian attempts that were established with volunteer attempts were small formations and lacked institutional capacity. These organizations entered the third important evolutionary phase with the 2000s. The dynamic atmosphere led to emergence of many more flexible and dynamic non-governmental organizations set up by young environmentalists and experts. 2002 Johannesburg Summit is a milestone in the history of the development of NGOs. NGOs participated both to the preparation of the conference and the conference itself. As they were also key actors in preparation of national reports for the Summit, environmental NGOs in Turkey gained the power to influence decision-making mechanisms for the first time. The significance of the Johannesburg Summit for the young NGOs was the development of international networks and new establishments. An important achievement during the 2000s has been the emergence of platforms and federations. Some of such platforms and federations which have been crucial in the development of the capacity of local environmental NGOs can be stated as follows: National Environment Platform and its regional sub-components, AKCEP (Mediterranean Environment Platform), EGECEP (Aegean Environment Platform), ICACEP (Central Anatolian Environment Platform), MARCEP (Marmara Environment Platform), and Kardoga Platform, which was set up to develop the capacity of local environmental NGOs and Icdoga Platform, which can be said to be the descendant of Kardoga.

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[55] Semra Cerit Mazlum-Erhan Doğan, Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika. Bağlam Pub. 2006, İstanbul, p.299.

Especially in recent years, the capacity of national environmental NGOs increased and there has been a proliferation of local networks and non-governmental bodies. If the funds Turkey received and reforms realized for the development of civil society, and adoption of environmental acquis in the framework of harmonization with EU acquis has been one factor causing this outcome, another was the rise of environmental problems on the global agenda, such as the increase in the activities of institutions like GEF / SGP in Turkey. The goal of the funds and reforms in those years was to build institutional capacity on organizational strategies as problems related to socialization and lack of power to affect political decision making was perceived to be the result of inadequate institutional capacities. The evaluation criteria for EC funds such as sufficient operational capacity and expertise have produced a new sector: project specialization.

If we leave aside the recently formed civil society establishments, we can state the following about the evolution of environmental NGOs that were established between 1950s and 1990s and their current situation: There have been significant changes in the administrative structures of NGOs parallel to their development and institutionalization goals. As a result, expertise and hierarchical structures are emphasized more now. This has caused dissolution within some NGOs where those naturalists who wanted to protect the amateur perspectives and volunteerism chose to continue their activities within different frameworks. Some other NGOs have kept some of their old structural elements while incorporating young environmentalists and continued their institutionalization and democratization activities. Although such an approach includes openness to novelty and is an important step for institutional development, there are still old/new tensions in the administrative structures of these NGOs.

Some of the NGOs which emerged around the leadership of a personality has kept their leader-based structures until today, and shaped their activities successfully based on the expertise of the leader to address contemporary problems and priorities, and capacity to adopt structural reforms with the support of the public. However, there are exceptions, at least regarding the environmental NGOs examined within the framework of this study: TEMA, which was established in 1990s, is in the process of making the administration structure younger after approving this approach by its board. Within a framework of this approach, the administrative structure has been

renewed systematically, which can be interpreted as a tool to protect the NGO against potential pains of evolution and growth to some extent.

Some NGOs could not address current needs and priorities as their structural reforms were not sufficient. Hence, their institutional capacity was not developed and they have lost their past success and prestige to some extent. We should examine the establishment and development in environmental NGOs in Turkey not only from the perspective of institutional structure but also from a cultural and geographical perspective.

Regarding the cultural aspect, the perception on environmentalism and environmental NGOs in Turkey has passed through critical phases.

The environmental movement was almost non-heard of before 1990s. With the 1990s, there has been an increase in the awareness of environmental movement. However, as Oktay Konyar says, environmentalists have then been perceived as 'activists with daisies in their hands'. "In the period after 1995, important global environmental problems such as water and biological diversity crisis have occupied international agendas. This has caused environmental NGOs to be perceived as partners of first Ministry of Environment, then Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. In 2000s, environmental NGOs turned out to be institutions that address problems, cooperate on solutions and protest when needed. The perception of national NGOs about the local NGOs has changed in this period as well, and there has been more supportive relationship and cooperation between local and national NGOs" (personal communication, U. Ozesmi, TEMA) Despite such positive achievements, the perception about NGOs has degraded in recent years. Some NGO managers and employees have stated that the image of NGOs has degraded especially with the proliferation of EU grants, in the sense that the increase in the number of NGOs has not resulted in a parallel increase in the quality of achievements. The image of NGOs has degraded towards a project making/fund receiving NGO that one cannot trust financially.

The geographical variation in the establishment and evolution of environmental NGOs shows close connections to the regional differences due to political-military and diplomatic-economic conditions. We can talk about three major regional variations among environmental NGOs: Metropolitan districts of Istanbul and Ankara, East-Southeast Anatolia region and Western Anatolia region.

Let's start with the metropolitan districts. It has been important for NGOs to be located in Ankara and Istanbul, which are considered to be the diplomatic capital city and economic capital city respectively. Indeed, it has been considered the condition for becoming a national NGO or developing towards this goal. Environmental NGOs in these two cities have established close ties with echelons of the political and private sector, and these close relations have marked their development. The boards and administration of NGOs based in Ankara and Istanbul include mainly eminent industrialists, businessmen, politicians, academicians with close ties to politics and experts. To be located in one of these cities also enables NGOs to have strong lobby activities towards international funding agencies and diplomatic institutions. As a result, these NGOs have further opportunities for institutional development and various other aspects such as power to affect national regulations and decision making authorities for public interest, access to international funding, sources to develop expertise or access to human resources and knowledge related to the conditions of the metropolitan area, and being renown.

The NGOs of the East Anatolia region are marked by the regional political-military sensitivities, which emerged because of the Kurdish problem and the conflict that has been continuing for about thirty years in the region, and feudal paternalist culture. Hence, it is almost impossible to create a civil movement in this region without an institutional identity. Besides, although it is not a sensitive issue, to establish an institutional movement about environment requires cooperation and organic ties with the public sector. The civil society-state relations in the Western region are the opposite of those in the East. The civil society and the state have a more conflicting but working relationship (as long as both parties fulfill their responsibilities) in the Western region since the relationship is based on mutual respect and empathy. The voice of the Western region is stronger. The public/ state listens to (or at least respects) this voice. The NGOs in the Western region are more open to institutional or non-hierarchical formations. This can be best exemplified in the history of civil disobedience of Bergama.

"The villagers were told that there was gold in their land and they perceived this as a luck, as a hit of the lottery. Then respected scientists talked about the disaster that came with the gold. The villagers were told that they would have to leave their

land, their village if they did gold mining with cyanide. The land is the life of the villagers, their most important possession. (...) We went to courts. The court decided that gold mining with cyanide does not serve public interest; however, there was a Bergama-specific court decision which suggested that there was public interest. We had to protest in extraordinary ways. Bergama villagers have learned to seek their democratic rights through peaceful, legal protests and various activities on the streets. Bergama has set an example.'' (Personal communication, O. Konyar, leader of the Bergama Peasant Movement)

Although the protest of the Bergama movement has failed against the global economic order, the movement itself, when the villagers learned that there is only death, toxic and heavy metals left out of gold, has become an important milestone in Turkish environmental history.

Problem Definition and Scope of Activities

Although not extensive, we can talk about some main titles that address the scope of activities and structures of environmental NGOs in Turkey.

a. Some NGOs define their fundamental purpose as dealing with a specific subject, producing expertise by bringing together amateurs and experts on that subject, developing policies about problem areas and lobbying. Getting massive is not a priority for such organizations. Their members are usually those people who are interested in the subject. Although they have close ties with the universities and cooperation with academicians, they sometimes face criticisms as they are trying to do the work of universities. Still, the general perception about such organizations is that they have achieved a substantial amount of work which the state and universities have not done so far, such as providing data about Turkey's natural resources, monitoring and establishing international cooperation. Environmental NGOs prepared majority of Turkey's database on various subjects such as birds, marine life, Mediterranean seal, marine turtles and coastal areas. They have also brought the problems in these areas to the agenda and engaged in developing solutions to address these. These NGOs have been crucial in the increase of Chalcalburnus tarichi, a fish endemic to Lake Van which was threatened by extinction, the protection of Mediterranean seal and increased awareness about them on the Aegean coast, the declaration of marine turtle nesting sites

as protection zones, and preparation of databases on important bird areas, important plant areas, important natural areas based on internationally accepted criteria.

b. Another category is civilian protests that form around a local environmental problem. Typical examples include Bergama Peasants, Manisa Peasant Movement or the Platform against Nuclear Plants. Another example is the local Hasankeyf movement which started as campaigns against the impacts of Ilısu Dam and gained an institutional identity through time. A common aspect of these movements is that their target population is the general public and their work based on campaigns. We can state that civilian/citizen movement in Turkey is almost non-existent in the environmental sector, like in other subject areas except for a few examples. Such movements benefit from new strategies to attract attention of the public in all their activities. Another common aspect of their activities is that their negligence of seeking professional support or using professional methods such as developing public relations strategy or achieving sustainability through project preparation. Indeed, they perceive that such an approach would harm the free mentality of their activities.

c. Local formations, which aim to address local environmental problems and find solutions as well as increase awareness and build capacity on environmental consciousness, form the third group. Such organizations, which are mainly local, are not very active except a few examples. This is because they often work around a certain environmental problem and work to address an existing or an emerging environmental problem at the local level and its effects by carrying the problem to the local agenda. Such local problems may include the pollution from a cement factory, the waste from a slaughterhouse or pollution around a river. They have been formed by a group of people who work for their wish 'to live in a better and habitable environment'. They carry out similar activities to increase awareness on environmental matters and they are mainly engaged in lobbying at the local level. They often establish networks as regional environmental platforms by cooperating with other local NGOs.

d. There are other organizations which define their problem scope around a local-national-global mission and bring together volunteers and experts. These are national NGOs and mainly associations or foundations. However, there is great variation within this group. The main difference between associations and foundations is that asso-

ciations emphasize the amateur mentality and volunteerism, no matter whether the association is established by experts or volunteers. Some of the foundations have been established with the initiatives of the private sector or eminent people in the society with the goal of supporting private sector-public sector relations. Some other foundations which bring together academicians emphasize research and publications.

e. The last group includes recent civil formations which aim rural development and prioritize protection of environment and natural resources and sustainable development. These are mainly organized as associations or cooperatives, and sometimes include groups which do not have an institutional identity. They emphasize the protection of local production methods, the need to change production/consumption patterns to protect natural resources and the ways to live peacefully in nature rather than struggling with environment problems. The common aspect of these formations which are increasing in number is to show that there is always a solution in nature and we should seek that in our increasingly artificial lifestyles. We can predict that such groups can affect national agricultural policies in near future through their cooperation with producer/ farmer unions.

We can categorize environmental movement as following based on their scope of activities:

> Global environmental problems, climate change, global warming, desertification
> Biological diversity, protection of natural resources
> Environmental education and increase of environmental awareness
> Environmental policies, their implementation and the effects of these at the local level
> Advocacy for ecological lifestyles, eco-tourism, eco-agriculture
> Waste management, recycling and waste treatment
> Agriculture, animal husbandry, rural development and other economic activities related to environment
> Activities for improving urban infrastructure and city planning, protection of natural and cultural values.

Based on the range of activities stated above, we can make three statements about the perceptions of environmental NGOs of the problem and their capacity to develop solutions:

> Many NGOs focus on the effects rather than the causes of problems as often they do not carry out problem analysis. In many cases, there is no problem analysis at all.
> In some cases, NGOs develop action plans without the input of other stakeholders. Hence, the action to address the environmental problem causes other problems in such projects.
> As local needs and local characteristics are not prioritized in problem analysis as much as they are supposed to be, the effect of activities, their success and their acceptance at the local level are adversely affected.

Mission, Vision and Goals of Environmental NGOs

The mission and goals of those NGOs which work towards a specific goal or to address a specific problem are usually in line with the implementation of their activities as the problem and/ or scope of activities have been clearly defined and framed; for example, the mission of Hasankeyf volunteers which is to prevent flooding of Hasankeyf under dam waters. Similarly, Underwater Research Society (URS) defines itself as an institution focused on a specific subject rather than a public association, and its goal is to carry out research about the historical and cultural values in Turkey's marine and underwater areas and protect natural resources.

On the other hand, there are a huge number of small and middle sized organizations which define a wide range of activities including many areas. Unfortunately, these organizations lack a clear environmental organization vision, and in related fashion, a clear mission and goals. The approach can be due to the desire to access various funding. Hence, their activities are varied, not consistent and independent of each other.

There are also a big number of organizations, which gather around the theme of love of nature and environmental protection, especially at the local level. However, they are either passive or totally stagnant.

In some other cases, the mission, vision and goals defined by the environmental organization exceed the scope of activities or there exists a huge discrepancy between the institutional goals and the activities. This can be better observed in the case of organizations which define mission and goals at the national or global level but have activities only at the local level or organizations which define themselves as envi-

ronmental organizations but have various activities other than environment. We can argue that organizations are not sufficient in strategic planning and implementation of strategies, and have difficulties in defining their priorities in line with the goals of the institution. This can be related to financial worries to some extent, but it is also a fact that local needs drive the activities of these NGOs out of their scope of activities in certain cases.

Decision Making Mechanisms and Organizational Structures

The administrative structure of many small and middle sized local associations, which form the majority among all environmental NGOs, is formed by a board which both actively produces political decisions and carries out activities. As the institutional structure and the scope of activities of such organizations expand, an alternative administration or coordination system develops: Project teams handle project coordination and often the board exists just as a super-structure that is regularly informed about activities but does not engage in these activities. In some cases, the project teams and administrative boards are within each other. In sum, although their roles and power vary to a great extent, administrative board and project teams are the main bodies in associations. As the scope of activities and influence extend, the funding sources diversify and develop, the number of employees and volunteers increase, organizations that are formed as foundations become more dominant.

The structure of foundations, regarding both their administrative board profiles and decision-making mechanisms, is more professional, more hierarchical and less flexible. These are related to the close ties of foundations with the private sector and their legal and financial structure. Although this presents itself as unique to foundations, it should be kept in mind that the organizational structure evolves from a horizontal hierarchy to a more vertical one in every organization, whether it is an association or a foundation, as the resources (i.e. human resources, financial resources) develop.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that there is no mention of members, target groups or volunteers in the decision-making mechanisms described above. We can talk about a top-down information transfer system in political and administrative decisions rather than a bottom down participatory approach. However, many NGOs have understood the problems of a top down, non-participatory approach in project

planning and implementation stages. Hence, they have grasped the significance of incorporating local stakeholders at every stage of the project and at the decision making mechanisms for the success.

Financial Management and Financial Sustainability

Foundations come on top of the list of civil society with professional financial management, as they often have organic ties with the private sector and their administrative board mainly consists of businessmen or businesswomen. Foundations also have the right to carry out income-generating activities by establishing economic enterprises. They can also legally benefit from the state budget and other opportunities to create financial sources. On the other hand, associations have only developed their capacity in financial administration and monitoring in recent years through a transition from their amateur-volunteer structure to a project-management one. As the institutionalization process is very new, the financial systems of associations have not totally developed yet. Problems in the financial administration of associations often stem from lack of financial transparency. Unfortunately, the audits of funding agencies are not enough to address these shortfalls in financial transparency and to develop their financial systems. All these factors lead to an erosion of trust to associations among the public.

From the point of view of financial resources, there has been an increase in the number of NGOs that exist through funding from EU and other international funding agencies and work project-based in recent years.

A volunteer-based fund raising approach is almost nonexistent among associations. Associations have difficulty in finding diverse financial sources. In foundations, volunteer management is relatively more successful (the membership mechanism in associations is replaced by supporters in foundations who are also called volunteer members) and volunteers are perceived as an indirect source of income. Foundations being perceived as trustworthy can rely on donations and volunteer aid to a great extent.

Associations have difficulty in achieving a trustworthy image. This was related to other concerns in the past, but today, the negative image of a project-making NGO is

a result of EU funds. The trust felt for associations in Western countries, and hence the deep rooted volunteerism and donation tradition, is a privilege that only a few well-known foundations can enjoy in Turkey.

As a result of these, a group of NGOs are hesitant about using funds from the EU and other international funding agencies. Some other NGOs have voiced their concerns that only certain organizations have access to the funds and certain NGOs are more privileged as they have lobbying power. The professional level required by the grants/ funding agencies intimidate small associations and make them preys to consulting firms. Those NGOs which cannot benefit from grants of funding agencies maintain their activities through the personal sources of the founders and indirect financial sources.

In sum, we can observe that many environmental NGOs in Turkey do not have specialized or institutionalized financial administration and audit systems, they have limited capacity in diversification of financial sources and funding. These factors threaten the sustainability of environmental NGOs.

Human Resources Management

Many environmental NGOs in Turkey lack a professional human resources system because of either the size of their organization and their legal status or the volunteer-amateur mentality that dominates the rhetoric of many activists and ecologists. In fact, the professional management of employees is related with the size of the NGO, the number of employees and the administrative structure. As the organization develops qualitatively and quantitatively, it requires more human sources, which brings about the need for professional human resource management. The administrative structure affects human resource management; the system becomes closer to that of private sector if the administrative board members have close ties / connections with the private sector. The human resources management in foundations is once again different from that of other NGOs. Examples of such foundations include CEVKO (Foundation for Environmental Protection), whose employees of the economic enterprises and the foundation are the same, and TEMA, which has a hierarchical structure based on delegation with its wide human resources base (as it has 152 employees). However, as in the words of Uygar Ozesmi: "As the human resources management becomes more

professional and the structure becomes more hierarchical, there will be debates about the weakening of participation into top level decision making mechanisms, weakening of creativity and initiatives.''

When we examine volunteer management (both recruiting and effective use of volunteers) as a part of human resource management, we observe various difficulties faced by every organization, no matter their size and status. Volunteer management is not very common except big and known organizations as it requires autonomous resources, the energy of one or more assigned employees, a positive image of the organization, which people know and trust. Another reason for lack of volunteer management is that the work styles of some NGOs do not require volunteers or the NGOs have adopted work strategies which do not create the need for volunteers. Here, the perception of the society and the state about volunteers becomes important. For example, TURMEPA (Turkish Marine Environment Protection Association) have ended its coastal cleaning activities carried out with volunteers because it observed that both public institutions and the public perceived volunteers as garbage collectors, which made both TURMEPA and its volunteers uncomfortable.

In conclusion, organizations have problems recruiting volunteers or managing volunteers who want to support the organization. Many NGOs do not have a systematic and planned approach towards guiding volunteers according to their qualifications to areas needed by the organization, and educating and organizing them.

Planning and Implementation of Activities

The decisions taken for the planning and implementation of activities are not based on short / long-term strategic planning and institutional goals. Unfortunately, the conditions and sources of the organization rather than the needs and the problems determine the tendencies and activities. Hence, we have to admit that the increasingly popular rhetoric on 'institutionalization and strategic planning' fall a prey to concerns on funding. Methodological mistakes such as taking daily decisions, leader-based decision making mechanisms or creating projects based on the grant profile are common mistakes in the planning and implementation of activities. Those organizations which do not benefit from grants of funding agencies design and develop their activities to minimize financial sources and receive support from the public sector and local governments. Such organizations often have activities in education, awareness

raising, awareness meetings, lobbying, or activities with in kind donations (such as reforestation with donated tree saplings).

A positive development for the environmental NGOs in Turkey in 2000s is the change in the perception about environmental protection and the move from a "protection from human" or "protection despite human" mentality towards community based environmental protection. This has resulted in the rise of the significance of local actors and acknowledgment that environmental movement can be successful in the long run only with the support at the local level. We can also state that the participation of local stakeholders and target groups have increased in the problem analysis, decision making and action planning stages. To achieve these, various mechanisms such as diverting attention to the problem and creating public opinion at the local level, and orienting the movement from the local to the national as the demand / source of movement comes from the local level.

Impact and Efficiency of Environmental NGOs (Institutional and Political Sustainability)

Institutionalization seems to be the main problem of all NGOs in Turkey, and it is not possible to make an exception about environmental organizations. Some NGOs define institutionalization whether their strategic plan documents exist of not. Some of the NGOs contacted for this study have showed us pages of bound documents on their mission-vision and their action plans. However, it was obvious at first glance that most of the statements in those documents have not been implemented.

We think that institutional sustainability is a problem because NGOs have not defined institutionalization as one of their needs. A general habit of environmental organizations is to react to emerging environmental problems. However, when addressing the problem, the reacting NGO usually ignores the causes of the problem or is weak in activities to change main policies. A typical and known environmental action is to organize a press meeting with some volunteers of the NGO and its director in a polluted area. It is rare that such actions turn into a campaign consisting of lobbying and communication strategies, and we can talk about only a few examples of such actions by big NGOs: i.e. TEMA's activities on Pasture Law, TURÇEP's (Turkish Environmental NGOs Platform) campaign in Akkuyu.

Relationships of Environmental NGOs with other NGOs and the Public Sector

Relations with the Public Sector

The state neither systematically isolates the demands of environmental NGOs nor prevents their establishment. However, the characteristics of the organizational structure, its methods and the scope of its activities become the defining element of state's attitude. The state does not have difficulty to address environmental problems that overlap with its own policies whereas it can either ignore or prevent activities towards environmental problems that are in conflict with the national interests it defines or the developmental goals.

One of the positive outcomes of the institutionalization process for the civil society movement is the opportunity to develop action methods. Rather than having a binary approach, as either with the state or against the state, environmental NGOs have developed more flexible and moderate relationships according to the characteristics of the problem based on a non-political attitude, and methods such as communication, dialog establishment, negotiation and participation. This has followed the same path in Europe. However, unlike Europe, the relationship of environmental NGOs with the state show regional differences based on social, geographical, political and military conditions.

Environmental NGOs in especially Istanbul and Ankara follow methods for participation in administrative structures and decision making mechanisms, provide expert opinion and lobby to influence decision making mechanisms in cases where dialog and cooperation fails in their relationship with the state. Other activities such as actions, protests, meetings, press releases and petition campaigns can be added to this list. However, such NGOs mainly prefer cooperation and dialog-based methods in their relationship with the state, except the citizen movements. Other than these groups, there are formations which emphasize academic research and publications, and support state or state-private sector relationships.

In the Eastern region, the state intermingles with the NGOs to a great extent and they perceive the state as the guardian or problem solving authority. The employees or

volunteers of environmental NGOs are mainly state employees, this is because employment opportunities in the region are limited and educated class is usually employed by the state. Although the pressure of the state is felt over the civil society, we can argue that it is possible for environmental NGOs to work more independently from the state as a result of recent changes in the Legislation on Associations and Foundations. Still, the relationships with the state are defined based on who represents the state and can become complex at certain times. We can exemplify the hesitant approach of the state with the story of establishment and development of Association of Hasankeyf Volunteers:

"We have engaged in activities since 1996. As we did not have any institutional identity, we met with the doubts and obstacles of state security forces. It took us a long time to gain an institutional identity because people were afraid of protesting a project of the state. It was disadvantageous to be involved with an NGO and one could easily become the target of conflicts. The reaction of the public sector varied as the mayor, district governor and governor changed. We were heroes at certain times and traitors at others..." (Personal communication, R. Cavus, Association of Hasankeyf Volunteers)

Relationships with Funding Agencies

Organizations in metropolitan areas have great advantage in their lobbying activities towards funding agencies as a result of their geographical location and also the existence of experts or people with close ties to the state within their bodies. NGOs emphasize subjects such as defining grant titles, orienting project evaluation, implementation and monitoring systems or raising criticisms in their lobbying activities. The relationship of local NGOs with funding agencies is weak.

The relationship with funding agencies is also shaped according to the policies of the funding agencies. We can exemplify this in EU funding policies: The evaluation and monitoring processes of EU funding are heavily based on a mechanical and technical structure and it is very difficult to develop a one-to-one relationship with the NGO in concern or know it very well. However, "an important characteristics of funding agencies such as GEF/SGP is that they work in close cooperation with the NGOs. They encourage capacity building step-by-step by being present at the project preparati-

on stages and prepare NGOs for bigger funds and project management gradually.'' (Personal communication, Z. B.Bulus, National Coordinator of GEF/SGP)

International Relations

National NGOs have a certain vision towards realizing activities at the international level by becoming members of international networks, platforms, or membership of important institutions and participation in international meetings. However, this vision is weak except than a number of national NGOs, such as Nature Association, which is a member of Bird Life and TEMA, which is a member of many international networks, platforms and formations. The perspective of becoming an international organization within the framework of global mission, vision and goals has not developed among Turkish environmental NGOs yet. The World Summits organized by United Nations and especially the organization of 1996 Habitat II Conference in Istanbul have been crucial in the development of international partnerships of NGOs. However, the level of international relationships of Turkish environmental NGOs is not adequate. We can count various factors such as lack of foreign language, inadequate experience and knowledge on lobbying, lack of dialogues, shortfalls in the relationship with the state, and lack of knowledge and expertise on international organizations, global environmental policies and global development that cause this limited level of international relationships.

Relations with other NGOs

Almost every organization working as a part of civil society states that it is open to cooperation. However, this rarely produces concrete cooperation. It is especially difficult to gather national and big size NGOs around a common goal. Small NGOs established at the local level are hesitant towards cooperation with big NGOs. A common concern of these small NGOs, as voiced in the interviews, is that 'bigger NGOs will swallow and eliminate us'. An NGO representative elaborates this as: '' Bigger NGOs always assume that they know the best. Hence, they would like to define, determine and manage all activities in our name. They show off themselves on every occasion. If we organize a common press meeting, they decorate the meeting room with their flags or logos. Why should we cooperate with them?'' Besides this, another perception is that ''Having local partners earns the project extra points. To gain points, big NGOs want to cooperate with the local.''

Regarding cooperation, it is interesting to note that none of the big environmental NGOs have become a member of TURCEP. It is also true that members of this platform are concerned about the participation of big environmental organizations in their activities.

We can state that the mentality of developing a capacity among partners has not developed yet because of the fear and anxiety that the partnership can harm the existing capacity.

"It is striking that the NGOs actively participating in the EU process neither share their experiences nor exchange opinions with other NGOs. We can exemplify this with the activities of Turkish NGOs which participated in EU NGO Forum project, implemented by leadership of European Environment Agency. These NGOs have not shared their experiences in Turkey although the goal of the project and their participation was to share the experiences of the Turkish NGOs in their own countries." (Personal communication, N .Talu, Society for Global Balance)

4. Conclusion

We have to keep in mind that recent problems in the world of civil society interact with each other and have cause-and-effect relationship in certain cases. We have developed the following hypothetical classification to facilitate reading.

Institutionalization Problems

Those NGOs who take great steps to develop their institutional structure have problems in catching up with the fast and sensitive continuum. They do not want to lose their amateur-volunteer mentality and seek solutions to synthesize professionalism with volunteerism. The bases of many institutional problems are the anxieties and conflicts caused by this fast process.

Participation and Democratic Structure (Mentality Problems): Main problems present themselves as internal conflicts, old/new conflict, and problems to question the democratic structure in leader-based organizations. Although local partners become

more and more involved in the planning and implementation of activities, neither members nor stakeholders actively and adequately involve in determining institutional policies. The participation of members to administrative and decision making mechanisms is usually in the form of informing them about the general meetings through tools like e-mails or bulletins. In organizations with vertical hierarchical structure, participation becomes more and more difficult from top to down parallel to the number of employees, and flexibility and democratic character of the administration. Sunay Demircan from Civil Society Development Center (STGM), argues that environmentalists flow in the streams of policies they have formed, have not adapted to current situation, use a different and difficult language; hence, they are perceived as sophisticated groups by the public (Radikal, 07.06.2006). "The biggest problem in the environmental sector is participation. For many years, environmentalists have designed projects in their seats and protected nature without considering the natural areas and the people dependent on those natural areas. Now, they call it participation but still they try to define what it means. They never invite a local, such as the fisherman, a forest villager, a contractor to their workshops or conferences on participatory approaches. Participation becomes important as funding agencies like EU, World Bank and United Nations emphasize it. Indeed, this is the real problem, the main dilemma of environmentalists. This should be examined in detail." (Personal communication, S. Demircan, STGM)

Problem of Expertise: As Nuran Talu summarized, one of the important problems of NGOs is lack of knowledge and technical expertise on Turkish public administration, their status within the legal system and their rights. It is true that civil society has become an important party in shaping environmental policies, environmental administration, laws and regulations. Yet, many regional and local workshops, and meetings are carried out, and decisions taken without the participation of NGOs as they are not aware of their rights, and the public sector does not inform NGOs and support their absence from decision making. Indeed, regarding the NGO representatives within the framework of this study, we can state that the relationships with the public sector continue based on personal relationships (i.e. Diyarbakir Environment Volunteers, Antakya Environment Volunteers). In some other cases, the NGO may have a conflicting relationship (i.e. Bodrum Volunteers). Whether the relationship between the public sector and environmental NGOs is good or bad, it is interesting to note the absence of NGOs in their official status as defined by laws and regulations.

Financial Resource Management: There are many problems, especially regarding financial and political sustainability, due to insistence of NGOs' on keeping the amateur mentality in financial resource management. NGOs often implement a professional financial resource management as required by funding agencies and in line with their financial systems or legal sanctions. However, they face problems in developing holistic and realistic financial management systems (i.e. budget management, finance management, annual plans).

Problems Related to Strategic Planning: An important problem is funding-based tendencies of NGOs in the planning and implementation stages rather than needs. The strategic planning approach requires that policies and activities are developed along needs but this is usually kept in rhetoric. The projects and action priorities are defined by grant packages (also their budgets and terminologies) of funding agencies such as EU, UNDP, and GEF. Such an approach has produced a negative image, which has caused some local NGOs and formations to keep away from international funding.

We can state that national organizations are more flexible in developing strategies and principles on finance resources. For example, many NGOs benefit from the environmental grants from the company that carries out BTC (Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan) pipeline project. However, they do not question whether it is useful to receive funds from a company that is engaged in environmentally harmful activities or to support the clearing of a multinational corporation with the rhetoric of corporate social responsibility.

Relations with the Society and Problems in Lobbying: Weak relationships of environmental NGOs with the press and community adversely affect their activities to create public opinion and their power to influence the public. It is crucial to note the small number of cooperative projects among NGOs. At the international level, international recognition, lobbying or participation in international networks are limited to certain NGOs and not at a satisfactory level.

Problems in Financial Sustainability

Problems of Fundraising and Diversification of Funds: Although NGOs have a tendency to perceive financial problems at the root of other problems, financial sustainability problems emerge as a result of other problems such as political and institutional problems, especially reliability, expertise, and lobbying power. NGOs have difficulty in fundraising. Especially in recent years, they have become more dependent on EU funds. Donation and aid systems do not function except for a few foundations. The negative image of associations stemming from different reasons in the past persists. NGOs have not yet proven that they are capable of managing their financial resources in a transparent, correct and trustworthy manner. They still have difficulties with institutionalization and expertise requirements.

Financial Reliability: Another discussion subject is the distribution of international funds, in other words project evaluation criteria and whether such funding is efficiently used by the NGOs. As NGOs do not have adequately professionalized financial management, financial reliability concerns bring about further problems, which causes other problems at the political and institutional level.

Problems at the Political Level

Representation Problem: Turkey has received a substantial amount of funds from the EU for the development of civil society in a very short period. Turkish NGOs, which have not achieved institutionalization yet and have limited capacity in fund management and project implementation, had to take quick steps to adapt to the institutionalization and expertise gaining process. "NGOs now run after EU grants rather than sharing their experiences with other NGOs. This is the end of NGO mentality in Turkey, and the beginning of NGO sector period." (Personal communication, N. Talu, Society for Global Balance) Hence, the already negative image of associations as "organizer" have been doubled with "EU-supporter, project maker" image. The conspiracy theories such as existence of secret political and economic goals behind EU funds create an image of NGO employees as "traitors and collaborators" especially among the nationalists.

Problems in Reaching Masses: When we examine the development of NGOs in 1990s and 2000s, we can observe that the number of environmental organizations have

increased but there is no parallel increase in the number of members. NGOs have then taken steps for institutionalization and professionalization to improve their image and increase their institutional success. However, they have not adequately addressed the problem of reaching masses.

Problems of Influence and Efficiency: Any formation that cannot get the support of the public, adequately improve its skills in creating public opinion and develop expert approaches to environmental problems has been inefficient in creating policies and affecting existing policies.

Relationship with the Public Sector: Although the relationship between the public sector and NGOs have improved in the EU accession process, the emphasis of EU grants of public sector-NGO cooperation gives the upper hand to the public sector and acknowledges their dominance. The political/military sensitivities especially in the Eastern region adversely affect public sector-NGO relationship. Volunteer organizations are usually provided the role of education and awareness raising, which reinforces state's paternalist approach and limits the participation of NGOs in policy making.

Perception of EU and STGM

There is no doubt that the funds Turkey received and reforms it achieved to develop civil society and adopt acquis in environment in line with EU accession has contributed to the development of civil society mentality and strengthening of civil formations. However, majority of NGO representatives acknowledge the negative impacts of EU funds.

The dominant idea is that project expertise as required by EU funds leads NGOs either to theoretical specialization or to the control of consulting firms. Project management trainings provided either by STGM or other organizations do not seem to be adequate in providing real project planning and implementation skills. Moreover, some argue that these trainings have contributed to the development of the project-making NGO mentality. UNDP GEF national coordinator Zeynep Bilgi Buluş agrees with this statement which was voiced by directors of some NGOs.

STGM emphasized the expectation to increase NGO participation in its activities with the public sector. We can observe that NGOs with strong specialization and lobbying

power are more successful in their relationship with both STGM and EU, and other funding agencies. However, some organizations think that STGM privileges those organizations and people within its axis, and call this discrimination.

Still, we can argue that the trainings STGM provided since its establishment led to its recognition among Turkish NGOs and contributed to the development of a civil society culture in Turkey to a great extent. Although some of these trainings lacked some issues and had some negative effects, nobody can deny the contribution of STGM at the national level to develop civil society in line with EU accession. These trainings had an important effect for development of ties between local and national NGOs and recognition of local environmental NGOs.

Recognition of STGM by local organizations can be taken as one indicator of fulfilling its goals and mission. The significance of STGM for local NGOs can be better assessed when the limitations to access to experts and knowledge are acknowledged. We can argue that the difference between the perception of local or big metropolitan NGOs and financing agencies stems from this factor. However, even some institutions whose activities are mainly funded by EU (up to ninety percent) criticize the EU policies on development of civil society and increase in participation. Some argue that EU funds enable the public sector to gain power over NGOs, whereas some others criticize artificial or excessively technical approach in project evaluation as it leads to unsuccessful projects. Some criticize also STGM on the grounds that it creates "assembly line project implementing NGOs". Some local NGOs have a distant relationship towards EU relations as they would like to avoid the negative image of "project making NGO".

In sum, the opinions of local actors, national NGOs and international funding agencies about STGM are totally different. Much of the criticism is focused on the methods. This difference stems from the high level of expectations of national NGOs compared to small local NGOs. However, we cannot argue that national or big NGOs criticize STGM. All the organizations interviewed for this study stated that STGM has played an important role in the development of civil society in Turkey. (We cannot know whether the rejection for participation in this study by some NGOs is related to their attitude against STGM).

When asked about the future role of STGM, NGO representatives told that STGM should develop a non-partisan approach over all NGOs and even become an auditing civil authority. We can find traces of the paternalist culture in these words, which have been especially raised by local NGOs. However, the following issues are also crucial: Firstly, NGOs are aware of their current situation of degradation, degeneration of values, becoming more artificial and alienated. However, they cannot resist the current situation and they seek an internal legal order that would coordinate, regulate and impose sanctions for the protection of NGO ethics. Secondly, environmentalists do not feel strong enough in global environmental problems and decisions, and seek a structure that will provide solidarity. Third, NGOs are aware that they cannot cooperate or agree on common aspects, leave aside conflicts or develop common action plan around a common goal. However, they expect to gather under the structure of an authoritarian super-structure.

NGOs expect STGM to overcome its weak aspects in the short, middle and long run, address the expectations better, and improve and broaden its role of providing coordination among and integrity of EU, NGO and the state. An important concern raised is the need to increase participation of local NGOs especially with weak capacities and weak communication opportunities in the determination and improvement of methods and mechanisms in distribution and use of EU funds.

Epilogue

NGOs face the tension between the institutionalization and specialization priorities and maintaining the amateur and volunteer mentalities. They attempt to unify these two approaches, grow and adapt EU standard, but they are threatened by the degradation of civil society mentality. The degradation process which started in 2000s and accelerated recently will be the determining factor in the evolution and future of the NGOs.

Although the priorities mentioned above bring about many problems, NGOs should consider negative experiences as much as the positive ones. However, the most important aspect is that the process should be observed and assessed carefully, lessons should be drawn from contradictions, and all measures should be taken for the development of a civil society culture where the NGOs question, demand and feel accountable in their relations with the funding agencies and the public sector.

Contacted Organizations and Formations

TURMEPA (Turkish Marine Environment Protection Association) / Istanbul
TURCEK (Turkish Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society) / Istanbul
ÇEVKO (Foundation for Environmental Protection) / Istanbul
Buğday Association / Istanbul
Greens Movement / Istanbul
TEMA (The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) / Istanbul
UNDP-GEF/SGP National Office / Ankara
KAD (Bird Research Society) / Ankara
Küresel Denge Derneği (Society for Global Balance) / Ankara
Doğa Derneği (Nature Association) / Ankara
SAD (Underwater Research Society) / Ankara
TTKD (Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature) / Ankara
DoğaBel (Association of National Documentaries on Nature and Culture) / Kayseri
EGECEP (Aegean Environment Platform) / Izmir
Bergama Peasant Movement and Oktay Konyar / Izmir
Association of Bodrum Volunteers / Bodrum-Muğla
Antakya Association for the Protection of Environment / Antakya
Association of Hasankeyf Volunteers / Batman
Diyarbakir Association of Environment Volunteers / Diyarbakır
Adıyaman Air and Nature Sports Club / Adıyaman

GENDER

ZELAL AYMAN | Translated by Özden Ocak

PAINFUL ASPECTS OF CHANGE

As in the entire world, in Turkey too, women are oppressed, subjected to violence, subordinated, and their lives are controlled. Against this, most of the women develop various fighting and coping strategies to get rid of this oppression and the subordinate relationship, and to get liberated. Though most of the people tend to undervalue these strategies viewing them as 'aspects of womanhood', these strategies of survival developed by women deserve to be analyzed with utmost attention within the framework of civil movements. For, regardless of their class, religion and ethnic origin, the lives of women are controlled at multiple levels and by multiple identities, and reactions against this can be multi-component and multi-strategic. The civil movement space, that constituted for women a strategy and a base for fight against oppression, has flourished in 1970's and developed largely in 1980's synchronous with the entire world.

The terms 'civil space', 'civil' or 'civil person' refer in general to autonomy, and being independent and distant from state, government, private sector, army, military structure, hierarchy and patriarchal mentality. This definition expresses terms, conceptualizations, daily practices and policies which are distant from and generated against state, private sector, military structures that build the patriarchal structure and the cornerstones of the system. Within this conjuncture, it can be asserted that in Turkey like the entire world, there is a physical discontinuity and distance between women and the afore-mentioned institutions of patriarchal structure which put women under pressure. If this distant and antagonistic relationship is taken into consideration, we can argue that women do develop in their civil daily lives, that are 'private spaces', an accumulation of civil experience of their own.

This assertion does not mean that women do not produce directly or indirectly the patriarchal structures, militarism, state and private sector, rather it underlines the distance between them. Women in Turkey scarcely take place at state's administra-

tion levels. They are represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey only by twenty-four deputies, represented (or not) by one within the cabinet, and take place in the labor market with a rate of twenty-five per cent. At a global level, women do possess only one per cent of the total capital and the eight per cent of the total property. One third of the women are subjected to physical violence, and almost all of them are subjected to violence in some way. Women are still murdered in the cause of virtue and do not benefit sufficiently from educational facilities. Even these indicators and numbers show that being distant from obligatory military duty, arms, military drills and muscle force as per men put women in a different space than men in the debates on the relations between 'women' and 'civil space'.

The lives of millions of women who round the clock rush, grapple and wear themselves out for their children if they have, trying to save the day between the "Bermuda devil triangle", that is kitchen, hall and bedroom, have a course relevant to the definitions of civil space and civil. As the main actors of civil life, the militarist and patriarchal violence to women makes the lives of women unbearable, who reproduce life from within the center of it. Women do not participate in the production of these directly or physically. Usually, this does not result from a political and conscious preference, yet they form a crucial part of their values constituted in their private spaces due to their social roles in this self-developing processes.

In general this paper is about the problems of existence and preferences that differ from the patriarchal structure but in particular it is about the movement initiated by brave women who produced and embraced the civil and simple daily life practices in their own private lives and who later longed for change, transformation and betterment that is the 'women's movement'. Women's movement has problems concerning the concept of "societal gender", the perception of this concept and its substitution with feminism. Within this paper, rather than exploring and developing these debates, we will try to elaborate the social sides that are put under pressure due to their different sexual preferences or existences along with the women's movement. Considering the historical accumulation and the related quantitative dimension (the amplitude of woman in number), we will conclude our paper by putting the women's movement in the center which has started as a movement in civil space, that is wend with intense labor, solidarity and ambition, that continues to struggle, that enlarges itself and

makes itself felt within the civil space with its both opponent and transforming nature and also orderly and reformist character. Within this framework, the brief history of the movement, its structure, its influence, elements, activity areas, problems with regards to institutionalization and sustainability, relations with public authorities, problems and drawbacks of getting organized and the suggestive solutions in relation to all of these problems will be elaborated.

We can say without doubt that this elaborative and analytical essay is created collectively from interviews made with forty people from twenty-five women's, one homosexual's, one travesty-transsexual's organizations listed below in detail. For this paper, we have conducted face to face interviews with eighteen organizations working in Ankara, Van, İstanbul and Diyarbakır, and conducted correspondence with nine groups from Bartın, İzmir, Antalya, Bursa, Çanakkale, Adana and Muğla. Considering the range and variety of women's movement and the struggles undertaken within the scope of gender problems, it is obvious that the number of organizations we have contacted with is small, yet we had to consider the time constraint. Furthermore, the allocation and number has been arranged like this as we preferred to contact with groups that reflect the variety of the movement and its politico-ideological substructure. With our contacts, we have carried out intense and detailed discussions on shaping the general frame, building main and sub-titles, definition of the problems and suggestions for solutions. The paper follows this course.

1. A Brief History of Women's Movement in Turkey

The struggle of women in Turkey for emancipation dates back to the later periods of Ottoman Empire, and it intensified during the foundation era of the republic. The strength of the then liberal-egalitarian feminism in the world made itself felt in Turkey as well, and women have founded journals, books, newspapers, communities and even a political women's party. The then active women have sought to get benefit from the public and legal rights provided by the foundation of the republic, and this process has continued without a pose until the annihilation of the first mass women's association, namely the Turkish Women's Association (TWA) in 1935. Following this, in spite of the challenges to get over the difficulties, a stagnant period has been lived through until the 1950's.

Beginning from 1950's, various women's organizations revived, as well as the TWA. After the second half of the 1970's, those women's associations mainly conducting charity activities, aspired women to create a social transformation in societal life as social actors and individuals, an approach that came forth with the foundation of the Progressive Women's Association (PWA). PWA, with its fifteen thousand members and thirty-three affiliations has been the initiator of women to produce policies in nationwide political parties. The bans along with the martial laws and 1980 military coup had severe effects on women as on all segments of society. Yet women, with various reasons that are beyond the scope of this paper, have more rapidly rallied compared to various other segments and came into being as a civil and opponent movement.

The women who were predominantly professional, had a certain income and coming from middle and lower-middle classes and most of whom were engaged in left-wing political parties yet experiencing difficulties to express themselves as women, within this process laid the foundation of a dynamic movement through activities of intense reading, discussion, awareness raising and solidarity. Founding an axis of struggle and forming a consciousness and awareness above their bodies, labor and identities, women started to feel a need for a major organization. With the 1990's, this process ended up with the movement's generating its own institutions. Ranging from group activities of raising awareness and consciousness to publishing journals, reports, newspapers, from conducting mass and effective campaigns such as Purple Needle, Campaign Against Beating (1987) to collaborating under associations, foundations and co-ops, women have developed various models of organization and struggle and formed their own civil movement.

Initially, women aimed at raising awareness of both their own and the women's in their surrounding against violence as they viewed violence as a collective phenomenon that affects all women alike and violate the human rights of women radically. At the same time women have been carrying out hot discussions on themes such as rights, equality, difference, collective subordination, private space and public space. In line with this, from 1990's to 2000's, as the women's rights movement strengthened along this axis all over Turkey, there has been tremendous effort for the establishment of consultation and solidarity centers, platforms, associations against violence, and lobbying and advocacy activities. Maintaining the independent and feminist line, the women's organiza-

tions, forming perhaps the most dynamic civil movement in Turkey today, have been actively engaged in issues, apart from familial violence, like securing rights for women and forcing them to participate in education, politics, business and academic life.

The political, social and economic reforms and development realized at both national and international levels within the last five years enabled women's organizations vary and strengthen their activities at these levels. Getting empowered also by international women's movement and emphasizing cooperation, women in Turkey started to engage in lobbying and advocating activities at the UN level and to contribute internationally to the struggle for women's rights. For example, the Women for Women's Rights (WWHR) -New Ways conducted a national campaign with the participation of various women's organizations to make the government sign the voluntary protocol which would allow the Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) be executed in Turkey and decree the necessary recommendations and carry the results of it to the UN. At present, the Head Office of the Turkish Women's Association executes the secretariat of this campaign in the name of CEDAW Women's Platform and pursues the resolutions.

The intense effort for cooperation and creating a network between women and women's organizations should be emphasized boldly as the characteristic of the recent years. Taking advantage from the reform process in Turkey that rose from the EU integration process, many women's organizations played an active, constructive and transforming role in all the legal reforms regarding the daily, politic, social, economic, and human rights of women, with a rate and determination never seen before in any civil movement in Turkey. Moreover, these achievements have been realized by a nation-wide network organization and with a collective spirit on the basis of the necessary ethical principles of civil movements and confidence relationship. In that sense, it has been a historical example.

Hence, stating that women's movement in Turkey preserved its both reformist and revolutionary character, undertook public duties while trying to solve its inner problems, have the capacity to put pressure on public authorities and actualized all these with financial resources found or generated by itself and hence bear all the characteristics of a real civil movement would not be an overstatement.

2. The Structure of Women's Movement and Organizational Models

When we look into the structure of the components, activity areas and organizational models of women's movement in Turkey which has a history, variety and capacity as mentioned above, we see that the movement has a range of different organizational models.

To put briefly: Women's movement can produce transformational policies or seek for the betterment of the present conditions within the system or outside the system, and be revolutionary or reformist. It may be egalitarian, liberal or radical; it may display activities at local, national, international levels. Its operations may be or may not be project-based; it may establish officially or unofficially institutionalized or non-institutionalized group, foundation, association, cooperation and non-profit corporations. It may subsist as a platform, action/campaign group or initiative. It may define itself as feminist or not; may emphasize homosexual, travesty-transsexual or heterosexual situations. It may work as women's research and praxis centers in the academic area, as women's branch or unit within structures like political parties, trade unions, chambers, as women's consultation centers and councils within local administrations, and may specify the Internet as a platform. It is a multi-component, wide, assemblage, dynamic, diverse, loose and segmented structure that comprises of Kemalist-secular or religious women, Kurdish, Turkish and Armenian women, all the women's formations-ultimately not the anti-feminist formations- constructed for the women and acting for the benefit of women and individual women.

Concerning the activity areas of the movement, women's organizations display activities across Turkey in areas denoted below:

- Struggle with violence and setting up shelter/ consultation/ solidarity centers,
- Human rights of women,
- Lobbying and advocacy,
- Education and training courses for a profession,
- Political participation,
- Women's health, family health and planning, birth control,
- Sexual rights,

- Culture and communication, media, cinema, arts,
- Women's entrepreneurship and employment,
- Income raising activities,
- Care and education of children…

It is seen that there are various women's formations, groups, initiatives and individual women who define themselves as independent and even feminist, specialized in many areas that perform much better than the government in some aspects and even undertake many responsibilities of the government.

Today in Turkey, there are more than four hundred women's organizations spread out to all the regions of the country. Although they are concentrated mainly in the metropolis, there has been an increase in the number and variety of women's organizations mainly in Eastern and Southeastern regions but also in the Aegean, Central Anatolian and Mediterranean regions especially in recent years. To exemplify, in Van only, there are ten women's organizations and this situation opens up the way for those in surrounding cities such as Muş, Ağrı and Hakkari. In Diyarbakır, first and foremost the Ka-Mer Foundation, with consultation centers in twenty-two cities, children's houses and economical operations, and other independent women's organizations conduct effective activities. Besides those, there are women's units working adherent to local governments such as Kardelen Women's House (Bağlar Municipality), Epi-Dem Women's Education and Psychological Consultancy Center (Yenişehir Municipality) and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality (Dikasum). Only last one year, nearly four thousand women benefited from laundries and tandooris set up by Dikasum and received consultancy support in terms of employment and violence.

In addition, in Muğla, Muğla Women's Platform was established, and in April 2007 a young organization Çiğli Evka-2 Women's Culture House Association (ÇEKEV) hosted the third Aegean Women's Meeting. Women's organization has been weak in Black Sea Region for long. Yet, even here there has been a livelihood in the last two years. In the Western Black Sea region, Bartın Women's Solidarity Association made an attack and entered a process of institutionalizing its organic bonds with women's movement. Besides, in Trabzon and Samsun, women in the women's rights commissions of the bar council are individually raising their voices.

The Ground and Importance of Feminism and the Concept of Societal Gender

There are many reasons for the strengthening of women's movement in Turkey from 1980 onwards. Perhaps, the most important of these is that the concepts of feminism and gender have been put on the agenda of women for the first time in this period. The simultaneous emergence of these two concepts in the emancipation struggle of women at ideological and practical levels causes radical changes in mentalities and policies. Most of the essential components of the movement in 1980's particularly, constructed their vision and policies basing from these concepts and tried to reflect these to all other women's groups. In other words, most of the women's organizations and associations gained its strength regarding their aim of bettering and transforming the lives of women, from the feminist ideology and the analysis of the concept of gender.

The struggle and aim of the feminist-activist women particularly in big cities have been to produce arguments and concrete actions as women in all spaces which interest women and hence to render this space autonomous and independent. This autonomy would serve the civil space being saved and preserved from the state, private sector and all the other sexist structures via constructing the civil space by the organizational structures of women so that women would be liberated as much as possible. For example, organized as an action platform in women's movement that entered to a process of institutionalization in 1990's, structures like March 8 Women's Platform and afterwards the Independent Women's Initiative struggled to construct arguments and actions against various trade unions, left-wing parties and chambers via raising certain principles. In recent years, similar attempts have been put forth in Ankara under the leadership of Ankara Feminist Group in Ankara Women's Platform and in Diyarbakır by Diyarbakır Women's Platform.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the emphasis of the homosexual organization Kaos Gay and Lesbian Association and the Pink Life Association on the need of questioning and changing the female and male roles basing from the concept of gender has crucial importance. The Pink Life Association, one of the homosexuals' and travesty-transsexuals' rights organizations that define themselves as part of the women's movement, take place in Ankara Women's Platform and declares overtly that change will only be possible at such conditions. Kaos GL Association, like other

women's organizations, played an active role in the Turkish Criminal Code Platform that conducted one of the most successful campaigns in the recent years.

Today, the ground and importance of the analysis concerning gender and feminism has become a critical issue in terms of forming the main understanding and axis of the movement. Many women's organizations that we had contacted expressed that the analysis of the patriarchal system be a requirement for the organization of the actions that support women and in the support and empowerment of women, the approach of gender equality -not necessarily feminist- should be taken as a guiding principle. Additionally, women demand the civil society organizations to pay attention to these two concepts especially in their projects related to women's rights. Furthermore, they pointed out that the concepts of feminism and gender are intermingled, defined falsely and even most of the time that the concept "gender", which seems more "neutral" or perhaps safer, has replaced feminism.

Participation, Domestic Law and Democratic Course

Unlike other civil movements, participation, constructing domestic law and democratic course had a prominent importance for the women's movement and its components. It is inevitable to have such an issue in women's organizations that have long established and complex problems, that is not homogeneous and that is constructed by women who represent a "community" which forms half of the population, and inhabits variety and differences and where collective oppression is experienced strongly. For that reason, almost all the women's organizations have dwelled on issues like hierarchy, equal participation in decision processes, horizontal and vertical organization and democratic course, and carried out extensive discussions on these. With these in mind, they have generated various important methods and mechanisms. To exemplify, in decision making processes within the organizations, except a few, nearly all the organizations prefer taking common decisions in the regular meetings or in commission/workshop-based practices, securing consensus and persuasion rather than using voting technique.

Moreover, structures organized as foundation, association or cooperative have formed their internal law and regulations in order to challenge legal, official and bureaucratic conditions and in line with this, many organizations work via commission/workshop

groups composed by women working on that period, rather than drawing on executive board. For example, Amargi Women's Cooperative and Kaos GL have adopted commission-based working as a principle. Some women's organizations work as volunteer groups, some in a collective structure formed by both volunteers and paid employees, some in a team where the paid employees work in case of a work/project and some work as structures like small groups or wider consultation groups. In case of conducting campaigns where different groups work collectively, the conduct of the action by the secretariat of the defined group or groups has been a method found by experience. In any case, women's organizations pay attention to collective decision making processes and do try to implement this collective movement principle as much as possible.

At this point, as in all other organizations it is inevitable that certain women or 'sects' in groups stand out in women's organizations, and that the situation of leadership authority comes forth. The women we have contacted with argued that rotation, initiative, responsibility taking and an approach that goes beyond the volunteer/professional duality would contribute to the solution.

Women's organizations began to use technology more efficiently and to use telephone and electronic mail in their internal correspondence and communication more than ever. Yet, for most of the groups the main internal communication method remains to be meetings that enable face-to-face relation and conducting shared actions in line with the collective decisions taken in these meetings. Although the organizations are open to the participation of all the members, as the more hard-working women get more influential in decision-making processes, certain members remain inevitably passive in terms of participation. Obviously, the efforts with regards to participation remain insufficient. It should be noted that this situation arises mainly from the general apolitical atmosphere in Turkey, bureaucratic and legal difficulties, the lack of women's organizations in their endeavor for encouraging participation due to their overwhelming workload and not engaging with propaganda efforts directed towards their members.

Especially in well-attended organizations such as campaign groups and platforms, collective action is based on a confidence relationship. This confidence relationship

has been brought about by the movement's efforts for collectivization in the last ten years and has had a prominent role in providing participation and democratic course of actions. The vertical organization model that seeks to establish the participation, equal recognition and decision making right for each subject has played crucial role in the development of the criteria, and principles in the campaigns for building pressure on law makers concerning the regulatory process of the laws that affect women largely such as Civil Code, Turkish Criminal Code, Code for the Protection of the Family. For example, 2007 General Election Campaign conducted by the Association for Supporting and Educating the Women Candidates (KA-DER) has been arranged by a wide women coalition departing from these principles. Here, the essential perspective has been to provide equal recognition, to establish equal rights for opinion and decision and to enable horizontal and equal participation of the components.

Discussion on Volunteerism Concept

Another important issue expressed by the women in the women's organizations we had contacted has been the concept of volunteerism in the movement. Many of them argued that women's organizations that draw largely upon volunteer work should revise this concept, for both the needs of the widening and empowering structures and the needs of the women that work in these structures do change; yet the long-established definition of volunteerism remains unsatisfactory in responding to these changes. It has been particularly emphasized that volunteers cannot undertake the mounting workload and hence especially in project-based works there arises the need for full-time employees who would work professionally in specific areas. For example, most of the women's consultation centers suffer from difficulties in finding psychologists that have a woman's perspective and volunteers can hardly solve this problem.

In related discussions, the problems among the volunteer and professional/paid employees in project-based organizations have also been mentioned. It is seen that the volunteers with all the decision-making rights at their disposal regard the professional and paid women almost as "implementer" and hence do not recognize and grant them decision-making rights. In a similar fashion, it has been emphasized that, being regarded as "implementers", the professional and paid women fall short in undertaking responsibility, which brings forth an obstacle in achieving success in praxis. This situation led to tension and problems between these two groups which even resulted

in severe conflicts and ruptures in some organizations. The need to discuss and clarify the issues like financial relations, value of labor, need and importance of specialization and volunteerism has been specifically underlined.

Furthermore, certain women expressed the need of a discussion carried out by the participation of all sectors on the value of volunteer labor for the lack in remunerating the volunteer labor could mean the 'exploitation of the invisible labor of women'.

Several women's organizations defined the problem as deficiency in professional and full-time employees that would work in areas essential for NGO's like constructing institutional strategy and planning and creating projects, rather than problems concerning volunteerism. Women's organizations in Van explained that they don't have the adequate capacity to get empowered and support the women in a city like Van where forced migration and violence against women are experienced heavily. They further declared they welcome training and support for the development of their capacity but due to the deficiency in individuals and institutions which would provide this support locally, they remain 'dependent on external means'. For example, women from Bostaniçi Women's Cooperative struggling for existence in the Bostaniçi district of Van, where the population exceeds twenty thousand with the recent migrations and with inhabitants extremely poor, even under-class, argue that their problems do not root from deficiency in volunteers but rather they lack in financial and human resources and they need serious support.

What attracts attention here is that a few people have to undertake both the ideological, political and the practical workload of an organization. This situation increasingly annoys more women and an exhaustion caused by intensive working arises in women who work in effective women's organizations. For the efforts directed to find necessary resources to respond to women's demands, to develop programs and policies, to conduct projects, to sustain the organic bond with the movement and to perform various other actions require sustainable resources. This remains as a problem for many groups due to deficiency in financial and human resources.

Participation of Supported Groups

The concept of "target group" has been spread from project terminology and been a matter of questioning and debate. This concept, which is used most of the time with additional explanation, is criticized for having a militarist background and its reference to inequality and hierarchy. Instead of this, the term 'supported groups' has been widely used.

Women's organizations do define this group at first hand as 'all women'. Almost all the women's organizations we had contacted expressed that in general they support all women regardless of their working areas. For, it is thought that all women are oppressed regardless of their class, religion, race, ethnic origin and age and hence their support should cover all of them. Moreover, WWHR-New Ways and Foundation for Women's Solidarity stated that members of media, deputies, ministers and decision-makers are also among their target groups in their lobbying and advocacy activities.

Still, some women pointed out to the various drawbacks of the perspective and requirement to support 'all women who demand and need', which is in a way true. These women overtly declared their sensibility in categorizing women as 'emancipated', 'conscious and informed' and 'helpless, victim' and 'uninformed, unequipped' and hence the resultant hierarchy. Departing from a feminist assertion that there is no 'uninformed' woman yet women are imagined as such because of the repression in patriarchal system; these groups underlined that they are not absolutely 'emancipated' and do not aim at 'emancipating' others. For example, women from Amargi Women's Cooperative, Kırk Örük Cooperative against Violence and Günyüzü Women's Cooperative have stated that their 'target groups' are personally themselves and that they strive to be emancipated along with other women. They said 'collective emancipation' can be only achieved by acknowledging differences and responding to common oppression with collective reactions. They stated further that this would be possible by implementing such a perspective in their practices in an effective and sincere manner.

In line with this approach, they hold the idea that a careful determination of the women's demands and needs, and granting women the right to express themselves and to make decisions in collective actions is an essential necessity. For example, women

working in WWHR- New Ways explained that the women they met in social centers of SHÇEK within the scope of the Education Program for Women's Human Rights formed their own groups and organizations after the education. Members of Kaos GL also stated that as they struggle for homosexuals' rights, they support everyone who is subjected to discrimination and needs support.

Although certain organizational mechanisms are formed within this framework and the methods that are learned here are applied by women's organizations, it is seen that these remain inadequate and need to be generalized. The widespread political mistakes of NGO's in Turkey in their approach to this issue, the debatable character of 'target group' definition that is imposed by project-based works, reduction of the problem almost to 'number of people' by organizations living with funds do affect women's organizations adversely, and though they resist against it, they cannot succeed in making a radical and widespread transformation.

Still, there is an ongoing debate and sensibility on the methods and mechanism that would provide the participation of the 'target group'. Anyhow, this is defined as one of the most important ethical problems, and the differences and commonalities of the supported women continue to be a matter of discussion. Yet, due to the blockage in the components of women's organizations regarding the different identities, it is hard to say that a detailed analysis of the issue has been made. In spite of this, there is an increase in the number of women's organizations that gives priority to women from certain sectors such as Kurdish women and women from lower classes. If we leave aside the women's organizations that work by means of executive boards and in a hierarchical structure, most of these organizations pay attention to meet other women and arrange meetings with this aim.

At this point, we should emphasize the impediments and drawbacks facing effective and active participation of women in the actions of a certain organization because many participating women cannot attend to activities due to the pressure from their husbands or fathers, and the workload like child-care and house work. This leads to a situation that corrodes mutual relationship. The representatives of women's organizations mention women who cannot attend the activities due to lack of money for transportation to women's centers.

Beside this, another important point should be emphasized which results from the problems in getting organized. The laws constraining getting organized, control of men, traditions, financial constraints and ignorance are the impediments at a local level facing women with a certain level of consciousness and awareness. Difficulties in getting organized results also from the inability to make long-term plans and develop models. This results in the interruption of the empowerment processes of supported groups that impedes formation of permanent organizations; hence, what remains solely at hand is trained women.

With regards to this, the organizational model implemented by KA-MER Foundation and WWHR-New Ways can be suggested as a solution. This model can be defined as giving temporal support to women in their own localities to constitute their own organizations in line with their own demands and needs with the help of an organization to complete its institutionalization process, to make these groups meet with other components of women's movement, providing interaction with the local, national and the international and at the end granting independence to these groups when they are ready.

3. Problems of Women's Movement and Suggestions for Solution

With an increasing influence and variety, the women's movement has naturally many problems and suggestions for solution. Almost all women's organizations we have contacted with underlined that the state has not been undertaking its responsibilities, there are problems in getting organized, bureaucratic and legal impediments, financial constraints and shortage of employees with a woman's perspective. Apart from these, there are also political problems in terms of collective action and acknowledging differences which arise as important concepts to develop collective policies within the movement.

Definition of the Problem and Getting Organized

Almost all women we have interviewed defined their main problem as struggling against both their own and other women's oppression, bringing this oppression, vio-

lence and pressure into the light at social level, making their collective voice against collective problems heard, improving the solidarity relations between women and constituting independent women's organizations that will contribute to the solution of these problems. Some aim at equality between men and women and view this as an essential problem, whereas others think that struggle for equality obscures the main problem and hence the struggle should aim to form an axis of struggle that empowers the women to stand up to the patriarchal and sexist system and structures.

Our interviewees argued that the problems and needs related to organization emerge and develop parallel to the development of the movement, and that these problems can be solved only with new perspectives that will be developed by an open, transparent and participatory discussion process. Another problem that is expressed in the interviews is that women's organizations try to exist in various areas, which results in disorganization. It is emphasized that this problem urges to form new meeting and discussion platforms where the issues related to movement will be discussed and clarified. For example, some women think that General Assembly of Women's Shelters and Consultation/Solidarity Centers, most widest and permanent women' platform organized in the last nine years fall short in responding this need and hence new meeting points where the current problems of the movement will be discussed are required. They further stated that a network structure like federation is relevant for the solution of the problem.

Moreover, it has been argued that growing action and communication platforms on Internet are necessary yet at the same time these lead to a blockage and turns out to be exhausting. Therefore, the participation of women's organizations, which already lack in human resources, in these actions and platforms generates an organizational problem.

Collectivization and Multi-Identity Driven Policies

Drawing attention to the need of improving the base of collectivization and collective action that is formed with great efforts in the last ten years, women emphasize that they will not resign the culture and perspective of collective action. Women from Turkish Women's Association with its branches in eighty cities, and Foundation for Women's Solidarity which is among the first foundations established in the area of

struggle against violence asserted that new models for organization is a requirement and primary provision for it be political insistence on this. Women from Kırk Örük Cooperative argued that the movement is in a process of cutting loose from street and getting more elitist. They argued further that for a widespread and effective organization a new perspective is required and one way to achieve it is to resign the statue of 'emancipated, upper class, privileged, educated woman'.

Another issue in organization is diversity. In the last three years women's movement, where women worked in collective platforms to develop collective solutions for the oppression of women, has been experiencing problems in developing policies that roots in collectivization and multi-identity approach. Some women asserted collectivization to be a very important strategy yet at the same time has a uniform perspective towards all the women. They stated the tension that arose in the recent years between secular-religious, Kurdish-Turkish, Alevi-Sunni and upper class-lower class women have put the network organization into risk.

These long-established problems of Turkey inevitably show itself also in the women's movement, but being a civil movement, it should develop reactions and reflex action for these issues. Some women assert putting woman identity into center as supra-identity and keeping sub-identities in the background until collectivization reaches a certain level be the most relevant strategy, some other women asserted it is the right time to discuss the different identities. For example, Capital City Woman Platform argued that women wearing head scarves find wider acceptance in the movement than before, but stated that there is long way to go. The organization which defines itself as a component of the women's movement criticizes their members' exclusion because of their head scarves by several women's organizations, and the perception of head scarf wearing women as 'people who lack free idea and will' or 'tools of others'.

In a similar vein, Kurdish women's organizations argue that in the name of collectivization they are considered to be the 'other', their identities are rendered obscure, and their differences are not acknowledged. Furthermore, they state that many women's organizations with which they work in collaboration change their attitude and perspective when Kurdish women's peculiar problems becomes matter of discussion, and relate this situation to the dominant nationalist attitude and the hierarchical

relationship between East and West. The Kurdish groups who grow both in number and working areas in regions intensively populated by Kurdish people point out the similarity with other regions regarding violence against women, and also to point out differences resulting from the conflict situation. They emphasize that this situation urges the demand and need to develop new approaches and policies. Furthermore, they state the resistance against responding to these demands and needs can be overcome via an improved political perspective with relation to differences.

The organizations struggling for the travesty-transsexual rights also argue in a similar critical fashion that women's organizations do not have adequate sensibility towards heterosexuality and different sexual identities, and that they do not establish a basis in their organizations to allow and sustain sexual identities. They argue that women's organizations cherish the homosexual formations in recent years so much that it becomes overwhelming and becomes an impediment for them to express themselves. Indeed they think that this is a matter of conscience rather than sensibility towards different sexual identities.

When we look at these debates, the need to pay attention to peculiar problems of different identities becomes obvious. The groups that bring forth criticism on these issues underline that women's movement has to question the dominant ideologies such as Kemalism, leftism and socialism. Regarding this point, WWHR-New Ways stated they plan to add a new module related to suggestive solutions on this in their forthcoming training program. Within this conjuncture, it appears that all the problems related to getting organized mentioned above can be redefined. Furthermore, the need for platforms where new demands and needs will be defined and discussed arose as a common requirement.

Problems of Institutionalization

Almost all women's organizations stated that the official-bureaucratic impediments hinder institutionalization, action and diffusion. Aiming an anti-hierarchical structure and horizontal organization, women's organizations have difficulties in accommodating themselves to strict regulations defined by law, and spend excessive resource, energy and time. New Regulation on Foundations banned affiliation of new members to foundations when it came into effect in 2002. This is an impediment in front of

participation in women's organizations. This legal impediment, which especially constitutes a great disadvantage for the participation of young women oppresses existing members and puts the institutional burden always onto the same people. According to some women, behind the hindering decision lies the aim of shrinking and finally seizing the grand and wealthy organizations. They criticize the sacrifice of women's organizations that try to survive in spite of great difficulties among others.

It is obviously seen that the expert knowledge and hierarchical structures required by these legal regulations are contrary to the nature of women's actions and hence various organization have to account for bureaucratic, financial and official matters, and spend time and money. For example, existing regulations do not allow civil groups to be granted 'non-profit' organization statue that is valid for other civil groups in the world. Furthermore, the high rate of taxes paid regularly by employees to state leads the organizations pay higher wages for the employees, which arises as an important problem for the movement at large.

As it was stated by an organization that struggles against violence, women's organizations not only fulfill the duties of the state but also they are made to pay to the state.

Several women's organizations state they try to fulfill the bureaucratic and legal requirements though with difficulties, and parallel to this they adopt a principle of management in line with their internal regulations. In our interviews a more flexible arrangement of legal regulations by state that would facilitate the actions of NGO's arose as a suggestion. Furthermore, some women's organizations stated the need of platform-like civil formations which will be led by strong and institutionalized organizations and work for changing impeding legal regulations like these.

Financial, Political, Institutional Sustainability

In general, developing components of movement, experience more difficulties in terms of sustainability at financial, political and institutional levels. Sustainability is the leading problem for the organizations whose needs increase and varies along with institutionalization. The intensive oppression and control over women lead to establishment of new organizations and at the same time endow them with power and determination for securing sustainability at political and institutional levels. Günyüzü

Women's Cooperative, Pink Life Association and Amargi Women's Cooperative emphasized that organizations should try to survive ultimately relying on their self-power and resources before trying to get benefit from project-based founds. This facilitates especially the survival of the organizations working in areas that do not require financial resources. For example, organizations like Capital City Women's Platform which receives the setting and operating costs as donation can easily survive without dealing with financial problems. Yet, not everyone is that much lucky and the organizations aiming at fund-raising and effective activities have serious financial troubles in terms of setting and operating costs.

Women's organizations generate financial resources via allowance donation, sales, festival, festival-like organizations and projects and in a minimum amount via economical operations, but these remain insufficient for active organizations. There are organizations whose expenses of telephone calls made for the payment of allowances exceeds them. Besides being used for certain aims, funds get terminated and finding new resources becomes necessary. The people in women's movement who succeed in reflecting various opinions and problems to public, accept that they cannot express their problems regarding sustainability and financial resources adequately. The reasons for this can be defined as concern for independence, problematic relations with finance and funds and competition in this area. However, the most important problem of women's organizations that became and aim to become more active is their financial sustainability rather than institutional and political sustainability and this should be immediately overcome.

Almost all our interviewees state the primary reason of the problem as the state's inefficiency in fulfilling its responsibilities. They emphasize specifically the duty of state that is driven from being a social state, to develop central policies for all legal, social, economic and political measures that will prevent violence against women. In this regard, they draw attention to the importance of the arrangement and implementation of existing regulations that protect women against violence in a rightful and adequate manner, the allocation of sufficient lot from central budget for the independent or public shelters and consultation/solidarity centers, the necessary arrangements to provide the participation of women in labor market and the central measures to facilitate women's participation in political life, namely quota-like positive discriminatory measures.

Criticizing that they are overburdened in relation to the issues that affect women's social and economic positions and where the problems can be overcome only by central policies, many women's organizations express that they are ready for financial cooperation provided that they preserve their independence. For example, they said if government pays the setting and operating costs via local governments, they will feel at ease in their supportive actions and will be able to take part in similar activities. The necessity of an emergent intervention is obvious if it is considered that there are various women's organizations the branches of which get closed as they could not pay the setting and operating costs and that even in Diyarbakır, where women's organizations are in a better situation regarding variety and effectiveness roughly eighty thousand women and young girls are assigned to each women's organization.

Debates on Project-Based Working

Another problem related to financial resources is that women's organizations became obliged to engineer projects to generate financial resources. Organizations other than a few women's organizations that are able to create their own resources and those aiming at fund-raising activities are obliged to carry out projects and this turns projects to aims of the organizations whereas they should be the tools of them. Hence, this process forces them to design projects according to the fund programs rather than developing these in line with their own needs. Consequently, this results in organizations' carrying out activities outside their interest areas. This attitude in its own right generates a political and ethical problem for NGOs.

Apart from this, another severely criticized topic is that certain NGOs whose aim of existence is not directly supporting women and who do not carry out gender and patriarchal structure analysis do have project proposals made by certain consultancy agencies and get benefit from the funds that are merit of women. The unsatisfactory sensibility of the funding organizations constitutes another side of the problem. In interviews, it is said that all NGO's aiming at empowering women are supported. However, it is stated that both project owners and fund-giving organizations should discuss the accordance of the project with gender sensitivity criteria.

Another emphasized issue is the stereotypes and prejudices developed by NGOs and public against project-based working women's organizations. Prejudices ranging from

receiving funds to whether these are used relevantly or not, and to the higher wages paid to women working in these organizations do result in irritation in many of the women's organizations. Project-based working is itself widely discussed yet most of the time with several misunderstandings. As this is a matter beyond the scope of this paper, suffice it to say that as nearly all the organizations aim primarily at securing their independence they are very sensitive on the relevant use of the funds received via projects. Many women's organizations working for long years on a volunteer basis and insisting on using projects instrumentally, underlined the necessity of developing the critics and interpretations along with a fair discussion process in the field of NGOs. Some women argued that within this debate a style and content that oppress and exclude women is adopted; however, they expect an approach which will contribute to the effective work of women's organizations that are in close relationship with thousands of women. The major deficiency of women's organizations can be stated as putting the financial problems on the public agenda and developing common principles regarding funding.

The necessary information, expertise, effort, energy and time to find funds appear to be another problem. Women's organizations working currently in a tough area and with troubles in finding professionals argued that raising funds takes a long time and they experience great difficulties till they find further funds for later periods. They point out to the fact that even institutionalized structures can hardly overcome this problem and experience continuous tension in finding long-term financial resources. They also complain about the procedural problems and bureaucratic difficulties in finding EU funds. They said that in May 2006, more than fifty women's organizations wrote a collective complaint letter criticizing the bureaucratic clumsiness and demanded the facilitation of the procedures; yet the respond is unsatisfactory. Nearly all women's organizations argued that they have complex and unbearable bureaucratic difficulties in areas like empowerment and rights of women, issues that should have critical importance for EU and hence they cannot benefit from these funds and expect a positive-discriminatory approach on that as well.

Moreover, groups working in small and local areas do not even get informed of the availability of such funds, let alone preparing projects. Some interviewed women stated large women's organizations should support local women's groups in terms of

information, experience and resources with regards to sustainability. It is underlined that within the women's movement there is the need to develop common recognitions on funds and financial resources, and common principles following a transparent and fiduciary process. The fact that a 15 years old and a newly established organization have similar problems with regards to setting, rents and operational costs make the problem more apparent.

Relations with Public Authority

Many of the interviewed women's organizations expressed that the relations with public authority have been ever problematic for them and they prefer a hands-off relation with patriarchal structures like state, government and local governments that reproduce discrimination and sexism directly. However, it obvious that not all the components of movement have such an obvious stance to state and its institutions, and even some women's organizations are parallel to the state in terms of political, ideological and practical levels. Within the process of the last five years in which lobbying and advocacy activities have gained momentum, there have been lively discussions within the movement about the relations with state. The nature of principles and conventions of relations with state forms the main axis of this debate. Within this framework, the issues like the roles of women's organizations and the duties of central structures as being a social state, within the empowering process of women in Turkey. For, it is expressed that woman organizations inevitably fall short in solving the social problems like violence against women and participation of women in working life, and that these are the duties and responsibilities of state.

In a picture with only twenty-four female deputies[56] in the parliament in the last session, where male deputies are insensitive to the problems of women, where the Prime Minister and Minister of State responsible for women and family openly reject the demands concerning positive discrimination, and where the number of female mayors or assembly members in local governments are only a few, the inevitable outcome is the prejudiced attitude towards the independent women's organizations and their demands. The interviewed representatives of the women's organizations argue and criticize that the state even obstructs the work of these organizations. Women's

[56] By the time this book was prepared for print, the 22 July 2007 elections were over and fifty women have taken part in the parliament.

organizations express that public authorities have come to view their organizations and its members as 'state commissioner' or 'social worker'. The representatives of the organizations further state that local governments have a similar attitude and break their promises, and say that although they try hard to build closer relationships, this issue remains a chronic problem.

It is stated that during the AKP governance a radical worsening is apparent especially in terms of protection of women against violence, employment, participation in political life and headscarf problem. The fact that thirty-five percent rate of employment of women in 1995 is today around twenty-five percent and the rate of representation in parliament is almost same as in 1993 (4.5 percent) are matters of complaint and annoyance. Furthermore, women's organizations claim that central government does not fulfill its responsibilities in implementing the legal regulations arranged in the last years in favor of women. The deficiency in filling the gaps of the Law on Local Governments, Criminal Code and Civil Code are examples for this. For example, there is no local government that fulfills its duty to establish at least one shelter in areas with a population over fifty thousand. The gaps in the Criminal Code regarding the punishment of honor killing have still not been filled and the Law of Protection the Family is not being executed in an adequate and efficient manner by security forces and court authorities.

One of the reasons for this is the dominance of the patriarchal and sexist mentality which is against the empowerment of women. The other reason is the lack in the regulations for the execution of laws and the allocation of sufficient resources. For example, Günyüzü Women's Cooperative complained that local government did not establish a shelter in spite of all their crime reports and legal obligations, and Dikasum stated that although Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality wants to found a shelter since long time, they couldn't realize this due to lack in regulations and financial constraints. Moreover, women have stated public authority be preventive in front of the unification of women via legal regulations exemplifying this with the harsh attitude of security forces in the 'Women's Meetings' organized by Amargi, and with the problems lived with court authorities when Van Women's Association tried to protect women in Van.

In spite of all these, components of women's movement stated they deem it politically right to mount campaigns to intervene the legal regulations and they adopt a certain position as a movement rather than behaving individually. They stated the need to improve this pursued line. To put in other words, as getting in relation with the public authority and gaining effectiveness requires strength and resources, many women's organizations prefer to realize this with women's movement. Some women stated that there is prejudice against state and public authority within the women's movement, and emphasized the need for meticulous discussion of the subject. For example, Ankara University Women's Studies Center (KASAUM) argued that the relationship with the Ministry of State responsible for Women and Family should not be an individualistic but a political and legal relationship. They said this problem is discussed within the movement in terms of distance and affinity to the state which results in a erroneous relationship.

Relationships with other NGOs

Nearly all the interviewed women's organizations expressed that gender problem does intersect with other problematic areas, and hence they are ready for cooperation with all the sectors. They stated that cooperation and solidarity among civil movements developed especially after 1989, is a requirement to generate collective solutions to common problems, and emphasized that working of each organization in its own area and respecting the ethical and political principles will improve the culture of collectivism. As a departure point, they draw attention to the recognition of others in different civil areas that intersect. With a strong emphasis on this point, Pink Life Association expressed that there are many things for those working in civil movements to learn from each other and stated that they need each other in order to change and improve the conditions.

At this point, the most decisive impediment can be defined as the discrimination and sexism applied indirectly in different areas which appear in praxis. Though having a strong collaboration in certain platforms, there are still contradictions regarding the issues that directly interest women. Kaos GL Association explained that they wanted to form a commission related to homosexuality within the Ankara Branch of the Human Rights Association and this has been severely rejected. Yet they said, the process is still inspiring.

That the women's organizations are more institutionalized than many other NGOs has been put forth as a factor impeding the constitution of collaboration. One of the interviewed organizations, basing from a platform experience constituted by organizations from different sectors, explained that as a partner knowing what to do they had to act alone in the name of the platform and undertake all the workload; hence, finally withdrew from the platform for they thought this not be righteous and ethical. The same women's organization and many others stated that they are ready for cooperation with other movements and pointed out to the need for the maturation of inter-civil movements' relationships and collectivism. Another point that is expressed is that women's organizations do not spend sufficient time for collaboration with other civil movements due to workload and constraints on human resources.

4. Relations and Cooperation with STGM

Nearly all the interviewed women's organizations indicated that they know STGM and they are in contact with the institution. Almost half of these organizations told that they attended the trainings organized by STGM and meetings sponsored by it, and that they expect these trainings to continue. They also indicated that they follow the Siviliz bulletin as well as the website. Women's organizations primarily located in the Eastern, South-Eastern and the Aegean regions told that there is a need for such capacity-building trainings and that they would like these to continue. Most of the women's organizations that were interviewed expressed their openness towards being in a relationship and cooperation with STGM.

5. Conclusion

Women in Turkey have been struggling to be equal to men in all fields since the political reforms of 1839, 'Tanzimat'. Starting from those times until the present day, particularly in the last twenty years, women continued to wage that struggle for equality, rights and transformation by developing numerous organizational models and tools as well as by becoming competent in various areas. Currently, over four hundred women's organizations and platforms working actively in almost all regions,

and undertaking effective operations even in areas out of reach of the public authorities continue their existence as a civil movement.

Like any developing and growing civil movement, women's movement also takes action with its components, and embodies problems of its components. The problems experienced by the components of the movement are various and multi-dimensional, and they necessitate solutions with the same level of variety and dimension. The representatives of women's organizations that were interviewed point to the state's inability to perform its duties, their performance of duties in this area with almost non-existent financial and human resources, as a consequence the lack of transformation and development of institutionalization, sustainability and organizational models, the insufficiency of expert personnel with a women's perspective, and bureaucratic and legal impediments among the most pressing problems of the last five years. Interviewed organizations and most of the components of the movement have suggestions for solutions regarding each and every one of these question marks, and it has been expressed that it is essential that they should be handled immediately.

Majority of women's organizations indicated that it is critical not to make concessions with regards to the women's movement's independent position and indispensable principles. Apart from this, there is a lively discussion concerning dual problem titles such as feminism-gender, convergence-difference, volunteerism-professional work, project and non-project based work, grassroots organization-elitism, and academic work-activism, and concerning suggestions for solutions relating to those.

It has been observed that financial and human resource problems experienced by women's organizations, which work for women's empowerment and their lives' transformation not only in the area of equality but also in the area of individual and social empowerment, have increasingly come to the fore in recent years. No doubt, the need for financial and human resources, that dominate the increasing needs as the movement becomes more widespread, should, at the same time, be taken into consideration in relation to the main problems such as institutionalization, sustainability, organization, and participation. It is an extremely positive development that the number of organizations that are established for, to the advantage and by the women are on the rise. However, this positive development should not prevent us from perceiving the problem of institutional operational costs experienced by both a newly established

and a fifteen year old organization in the same way. It should not be forgotten that there exists women's organizations that had to completely close down or halt their operations for a long time since they could not pay their rent. In the same vein, the need for professional staff to work in this field on the part of women's organizations that are 'enforced' to work on a project basis is closely related to this fact.

At this point, it is the main demand of the women's movement that the public authorities perform their duties and support, not become a barrier to civil women's initiatives that undertake these duties. On the other hand, it appears as a clear fact that women's organizations that are the components of the movement need to create new meeting grounds upon which they can develop their inner debates and new action plans with regards to their widespread organizational problems and financial problems.

The List of Interviewed Institutions

1. Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR) – NEW WAYS, İstanbul
İpek İlkkaracan, Karin Ronge, Liz Amado

2. Amargi Women's Cooperative, İstanbul
Pınar Selek

3. Women's Culture and Communication Foundation - *Pazartesi* Journal, İstanbul
Beyhan Demir

4. Feminists of Ankara, Ankara
Yasemin Öz, Dilek Alıcıoğlu Cömert, Lale Düsnar

5. KAOS Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association, Ankara
Yasemin Öz, Ali Erol

6. Capital City Women's Platform Association, Ankara
Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal

7. Ankara University Women's Studies Center, Ankara
Aksu Bora

8. Head Office of Turkish Women's Association, Ankara
Sema Kendirci

9. Kırk Örük Women's Cooperative for Struggle against Violence, Communication, Environment, Culture and Enterprise, Ankara
Nurcan Saraç, Fatma Nevin Vargün, Elif Dumanlı

10. Foundation for Women's Solidarity, Ankara
Gülsen Ülker, Zehra Tosun

11. Pink Life Association, Ankara
Buse Kılıçkaya

12. Ankara Branch of the Association for Supporting and Educating the Women Candidates, Ankara
İlknur Üstün

13. Bostaniçi Cooperative for Women's Support, Environment, Culture and Enterprise, Van
Şehristan Çaça, Nesibe Akdağ, Rojbin Akdağ

14. Cooperative for Life, Woman, Environment and Enterprise, Van
Gülmay Ertunç, Müjgan Güneri, Ayten Enistekin Gonca

15. Van Women's Association, Van
Zozan Özgökçe

16. Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality Center for Women's Studies, Diyarbakır
Handan Coşkun

17. Women's Center Association and Foundation, Diyarbakır
Nilgün Yıldırım, Naime Kardaş

18. Bağlar Municipality Kardelen Women's House, Diyarbakır
Çağlar Demirel

19. Bağlar Struggle for Violence against Women, Communication, Environment, Culture and Enterprise Cooperative, Diyarbakır
Gültan Kışanak

20. Anti-Militarist Feminists, İzmir
Hilal Demir, Ferda Ülker

21. Bartın Association for Women's Solidarity, Bartın
Nurhayat Kemerli

22. Antalya Women's Solidarity and Consultation Center, Antalya
Hicran Karabudak

23. Muğla Women's Platform, Muğla
Gaye Cön

24. Çiğli Evka-2 Women's Culture House Association, İzmir
Kızbes Aydın

25. Günyüzü Women's Cooperative, Bursa
Canan Kızılaltun

26. Association for Domestic Women's Solidarity and Development, Adana
Sema Turan Yapıcı

27. Çanakkale Association for the Appraisal of Women's Handicraft, Çanakkale
Şirin Şıngın

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ALİ FUAT SÜTLÜ | Translated by Erhan Uçal

YOUTH IS NOT PREPARATION FOR LIFE, BUT LIFE ITSELF

The scope of this study that is about structure and attributes of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in the field of youth problems in Turkey is limited by an analysis essay made with twenty three institutions, organizations and initiatives that were chosen as samples and interviewed in a limited time in terms of developments determining the process in recent years. This study does not aim to depict youth field in Turkey as a whole, instead it intends to present a descriptive picture relating to the current situation of NGOs that are not youth self-organizations but work in youth field and youth self-organizations that are directly founded by young people and managed by them. Moreover, the text does not aim to make a definition of youth and youth NGOs, it will content with descriptive explanations focusing on how interviewed organizations that are components of this field define themselves. For that purpose, it has been tried to make an analysis of information obtained through face to face interviews considering texts written in this field, distinctive events, initiatives and developments of recent years.

Organization models of student youth, youth organizations that have political nature and youth branches of political parties have been left out of this study due to time limits. Student clubs or councils have been left out of the scope due to the fact that they are established within the universities, subject to university regulations and relatively different from the mechanism of other civil youth organizations. Youth branches of political parties have been also left out, not because of they represent certain political views or ideologies, but due to the fact that they are under auspices and generally under control of political parties as organization form and mechanism.

Youth NGOs

Due to the variability of the age-range while defining youth that is accepted by the national and international institutions, the objection of the youth workers who may be

over the widest age-range definition that can be accepted as a denominator and the objection that work on youth issues may not be related to age and due to some forms of legitimacy that is obtained as a result of a collective work with the young people, institutions chosen for the scope of the interview without the guidance of a youth definition that is based on age, are considered to be youth NGOs or youth initiatives.

Existing youth organizations display activities in almost every field relating to youth. However, when work fields are considered, it can be observed that youth organizations don't center on themes, with the clearest expression, there is no youth organization that is established around a certain theme exists. Nevertheless, activities on fields of women, the disabled, environment, communication across cultures and generally development are action fields of many youth organizations. For example, a few number of organizations have a working group focused on young women.

During the study, it was observed that there were differences in subjects such as institutionalization, participation, popularization on city or region base. Ankara stands out as the city wherein youth organizations are concentrated while İstanbul is where NGOs working in other fields are concentrated. Number of youth NGOs in İstanbul is less than those in Ankara. On the other hand, some nation-wide NGOs that perform youth studies in Turkey and come first as far as youth field is concerned are in İstanbul. Choices are limited in civil society work field for young student population of Ankara that is higher in proportion. On the other hand, Ankara provides more advantage in terms of access to references, fund resources and information relating to youth field compared to other cities. İstanbul that shelters majority of NGOs which are active in some main fields is an attraction factor in terms of offering more choices for young people who desire to work as a professional or volunteer in this field. As specific to İstanbul, young people prefer thematic fields other than youth. This may be attributed to the fact that field of youth problems has not become prominent enough as an organization motif as yet; especially it may be attributed to the fact that young people who choose to be active in civil society field do not perceive youth subject as a theme and they prefer working in fields such as environment, women, development, and culture-art.

Youth organizations out of İstanbul and Ankara tend to be more concentrated such that they present self-organization nature while their numbers are limited. While making this determination, it should be remembered that it is difficult to find youth organizati-

ons in many cities of Anatolia except local youth initiatives included in communication and collective work networks of existing NGOs founded in the metropolis.

Background of Youth Studies

First of all, it is suitable to touch on important turning points and processes that directly affect youth studies and organizations in brief on the base of expressions of interviewed organizations. While development and change series below refer to periods expressed by most of interviewed organizations, attempts to determine such milestones can be sometimes objected on account of the fact that it would be injustice against Turkish youth movement and organizations history.

Habitat II İstanbul Summit, held in 1996, which is described as one of the biggest meetings of 20th century is deemed as such a milestone in appearance of new NGOs and qualitative change of existing organizations by many organizations in terms of the fact that, in addition to concepts such as sustainable development, participation, governance, it placed problem fields of poverty, sheltering, environment, education in work and focus fields of civil society and make them current issues for country's agenda quickly. Local Agenda 21 is a program supported within this scope and the youth assemblies have been established in many cities in frame of the program. Youth Parliament in nature of national network or platform of representatives recommended by local youth assemblies or governorships and universities were established in 2004.

It is accepted that process of accession to EU that came to the agenda of Turkey thoroughly in 1990's led to quantitative and qualitative changes in a degree that had not been seen in previous periods in terms of youth NGOs in addition to other fields. Before the establishment of the National Agency and before Turkey started to benefit from the 'Youth' program completely, Turkey was included in Europe-Mediterranean Youth Action Program (Euro-Med) that covers twelve countries in Mediterranean Basin as a Mediterranean country in 1999, and it was represented here by a national coordinator. By this means, more than fifty international youth projects were organized between the years 1999-2006. Euro-Med national coordination was turned over to National Agency which was founded in 2002. National Agency[57] that was founded

[57] Republic of Turkey State Planning Organization, Presidency of European Union Education and Youth Programmes Centre. http://www.ua.gov.tr/portal/page?_pageid=240,36450&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

with the aim of providing cooperation between public institutions and private sector, NGOs and youth organizations, presentation of EU Education and Youth Programs to people to benefit from it in Turkey and building up necessary infrastructure, preparing related documentation, giving advice to related parties, functioning as an application and a consultation authority has played an important role in increasing the number of youth organizations especially in cities apart from İstanbul and Ankara.

Search for a nation-wide umbrella organization in youth field has always been on the agenda. National Youth Council Initiative was started in 2003 with the collective initiative of various NGOs working in this field, student councils and youth branches of some parties with the purpose of increasing communication and cooperation facilities between related organizations, forming nation-wide youth policies and institutionalizing international representation.

Association Law no. 5253, legislated in 2004, that organizes foundations and mechanisms of associations has facilitated the use of international funds and works of associations. While this development is far away from being an ideal regulation about foundations and working basis of NGOs, it is important that it partially meets the demands raised by today's conditions[58]. Municipality Law no. 5393[59], legislated in 2005, has obliged municipalities to make cooperation with civil initiatives, give support to establishment of city councils and evaluate suggestions of city councils in municipal councils.

Transformation of academic interest in youth work into concrete attempts has started in 2000's. İstanbul Bilgi University Youth Works Unit[60] was established by the cooperation of Community Volunteers Foundation and İstanbul Bilgi University in 2005 with the aim of contributing in formation of youth policies by combining field and academic accumulations of these two institutions.

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[58] Association Law, Law No. 5253, Date of Legislation: 4.11.2004, Official Gazette: 23.11.2004-25649.

[59] Municipality Law, Law No. 5393, Date of Legislation: 3.07.2005, Official Gazette: 13.07.2005-25874 Article 76, City Council.

[60] http://genclik.bilgi.edu.tr/default.asp?pageID=1

The Age 25 Campaign that was carried out by various NGOs to reduce the election age to parliament to twenty-five in recent years and completed in 2006 is a noteworthy process in terms of presenting opportunities to make cooperation in addition to pointing out success that youth organizations displayed in the sense of youth policy and participation.

The youth portal named Youth Post[61] established with the cooperation of Youth Services Centers (GSM) and British Council, Turkey targets to facilitate access of people working in the field of youth problems and youth NGOs, to accurate information and international sources relating to youth policies and youth studies in the world. Moreover, this youth portal will be official the website of 2007 Turkey Human Development Report with the theme of 'youth' the preparation of which has been started by UN Development Program (UNDP).

Even though they haven't been mentioned, studies parallel to the examples given above and the studies of current academic units and currently continuing initiatives should be evaluated as the outcome of several years' hard work. The oldest of the interviewed organization was established in 1985. It can be observed that there were important increases in the number of youth organizations especially in the second half of 1990's. However, majority of existing youth organizations have been established in 2000's. The arrangement of this process into periods above has been prepared in parallel to this process.

1. Institutionalization of NGOs Working in Field of Youth Problems

Matter of institutionalization is generally linked with organization conditions in Turkey, foundation purposes and activity fields, administration and execution capacities, adequacy of human resources and financial resources of youth NGOs. If viewed from this point, differences are seen in institutionalization levels having a very broad interval among NGOs working in the field of youth. If an abrupt differentiation is made, institutionalization levels, institutional capacities and sustainability facilities of organizations that are not youth self-organizations but main working field of which is youth, are in a better condition compared with youth self-organizations.

[61] http://genclikpostasi.org

Reasons for the Foundation of Youth NGOs and Their Self-Definition Patterns

Eliminating barriers in front of the participation of youth in social life across-the-board, making young people, as active actors of social life, involved in decisions both in their own environments and administrative decision processes are, in general terms, objectives of non-governmental organizations working in the field of youth. Here, the generality of description should be considered. This ideal but non-specific definition holds true for almost all youth organizations. However, a youth organization model determining its foundation purpose and objectives through a specific theme, for instance, encouraging young people who are Linux users in coming together and asserting their rights or using software with open resource code among young people have not been in existence yet.

Target Groups and Their Activities

Concerning foundation purposes, target groups of organizations and initiatives working in the field of youth problems and activities and projects executed by them, following classifications and groupings were made with the aim of providing general information based on their own declarations and publications.

Activities relating to different themes and works connected with this field have been executed together with youth groups in parallel with comprehensiveness of the foundation purposes of NGOs. However, it is possible to observe that some of the associations have included youth works and international young people exchange or learning projects across cultures among their activities beyond their foundation purposes after the National Agency was established. This state resulted in an environment in which young people also participated in decision making processes and age average of the members of organizations working in this field decreased.

It should be stated that even though organizations corresponding to differentiation briefly specified under the title reasons for foundation have not been established in Turkey yet, taking the mushroom growth of youth organizations into account, it is reasonable to expect that differentiation between the organizations working in the field of youth and youth self-organizations will be clearer in the future. These factors are taken into consideration by many youth self-organizations although the mentioned differences

do not correspond to a categorical differentiation today. Accordingly, organizations that were not established by young people but are in the field of youth display inclusive activities in the field of general youth policy (such as needs, democratic representation and participation of young people, social responsibility and volunteerism) together with young people for all sections of youth. Youth organizations or self-organizations; however, may select any target group composed of young people who came together around a definite problem or may have been established by young people who consider a definite issue a problem. In this sense, organizations such as young women, young Linux users, young environmentalists and young disabled can identify young people corresponding to these categorizes as their target group even though examples of this have not been seen yet.

At present, activity fields and target groups of self-organizations correspond to those of organizations displaying activities relating to youth policy. It is possible to roughly classify existing activity fields of youth NGOs as follows:

> Networking and youth policy studies: Networking studies are oriented towards establishing experience sharing and discussion environments among youth groups relating to the ways of defining the problems and producing solutions in the fields of their living spaces through the communication networks on national or regional basis. Attempts and initiatives for forming umbrella organizations or structures in which it would be possible to discuss youth policies on a national basis and make suggestions in this direction are also included in this group. Young people are encouraged to take initiative in their living spaces through these networks thanks to the meetings, discussions and workshops oriented to participating in decision making processes concerning matters especially in connection with themselves. In addition, other than local youth initiatives included in these networks, undesignated cooperation and communication networks between other youth NGOs organized in cities may be observed.

National Youth Council initiative is another example of defensiveness and policy making studies on national basis executed by youth NGOs. Age 25 Campaign that is dealt with by different youth NGOs individually or by cooperation is another example of networking attempt on definite themes.

Collective works and meetings executed by young people who are activists and volunteers of NGOs living in metropolises together with the ones living in Anatolian provinces, various web sites established for the purpose of information and experience sharing, establishing youth clubs in universities, establishing youth assemblies, councils and parliaments and similar activities may be considered in this context.

> Intercultural studies for learning: Youth exchange projects and intercultural study projects which are supported by National Agency have been organized and executed by almost all youth organizations but predominantly by youth self-organizations. Studies for being involved in international youth networks, and national and international youth camping projects may also be included in this category. Intercultural studies, as a field of activity in itself, seems as current reflection of self-organizations' quantitative and qualitative change in Turkey. It should be taken into consideration that many recently-organized youth NGOs have been in existence and started to enlighten their environments about differences thanks to this reflection.

University students who want to study in Europe abroad through the Life-Long Learning Program (Erasmus and Leonardo da Vinci) are being trained about intercultural studies by various youth organizations before they leave.

> Capacity building studies: These are capacity building studies executed by youth NGOs for both their members, volunteers and target groups. Many NGOs have executed institutional capacity building and perfection in participation studies by arranging trainings, seminars, conferences and workshops in various fields. Many youth organizations have focused on arranging seminars, conferences and workshops for their members and target groups on actual matters such as violence, respect for differences, culture of cohabitation, European Union, varying age and values, human rights, public health, breeding health, arts, media and discrimination, participation of disadvantageous groups in society.

Trainings such as project cycle management and capacity building have been provided by sources outside the institutions such as National Agency or STGM. In addition, some organizations trained on this field or well-informed and competent on project cycle management and project arrangement have trained other youth organizations or initiatives.

Other fields of training are vocational trainings such as computer literacy, advanced user trainings, organization and participatory trainings and cooperation/collaboration trainings. Most of these trainings have been executed by NGOs that have nationwide networks and that display regional and local activities through these networks. These NGOs are centered in İstanbul and have a relatively larger target audience.

The method that rightfully emphasized by activists working in the field of youth and youth NGOs in trainings and capacity building studies is 'peer education'. It is possible to observe that NGOs which are centered in İstanbul and Ankara and implement training and capacity building works have tried to realize peer education in all fields as an internalized method. The most charming aspect of this method that is based on the fact that young people trained on a specific field, transfer this information to the ones, in other words peers in their target group together with other activists and volunteers, is to teach while learning and to learn while teaching.

> Participation and volunteerism studies: Support activities for disadvantageous youth sections, the disabled, street children, and young people living in regions where access is limited, are among social rehabilitation and cooperation activities of youth NGOs. Comparison of these types of activities to charity work would be incorrect because the objective of these activities from the point of youth NGOs is to teach and strengthen volunteerism, to generalize these abilities in the society, in particular among the young and to naturalize those as a participation style in addition to giving support to disadvantageous groups. Some of these activities, for example projects to integrate the disabled in society or social rehabilitation of disadvantageous children through the way of football are problem-focused works. The main difference between the activities executed in these fields by youth NGOs and the NGOs specialized in the fields of disabled or children is that, these activities are not based on long-term tracking but on studies developed by volunteers who learn while doing and who develop responsibilities in the meanwhile. In a sense, youth NGOs function as the schools of democracy culture, participation and volunteerism.

It is to be emphasized that this classification, as a formal differentiation, is nothing more than a facilitation of description of the activities executed in the field of youth studies and some or all of these above mentioned classifications are intermingled in the studies of NGOs simultaneously.

Youth NGOs In Terms of Sustainability

It is possible to evaluate the matter of institutionalization by taking two interconnected dimensions, both administrative / structural institutionalization and financial sustainability into account. From the point of human resources (professional and voluntary activists and members) and administrative sufficiency and continuity, it is possible to mention that there exists a gap between two ends in variation of youth NGOs. It is well observed that on one side there are NGOs in which division of tasks are well-built, administrative mechanism is clearly visible and they display activities with a volunteer network including more than ten thousands people at different times, on the other side there are NGOs that have the minimum amount of board members required by law and that work with only a few people whose home and business addresses are used as the communication address for the NGO.

It may be stated that NGOs that have been established on relatively earlier dates and are able to establish international relations more easily are more competent; on the other hand, many youth organizations, particularly the ones in Anatolia, have more fragile structures in terms of institutionalization. Nevertheless, foundation age should not be considered as absolute data regarding competency, due to the fact that there are some NGOs that had been established in the last five years but have been well organized within a reasonably short time thanks to their founders' administrative experience and social references.

Abiding by above mentioned classification, it is understood that NGOs in the first group are able to communicate well-defined objectives, methods and principles to their members, activists and target audience while the NGOs established in the last few years, particularly the ones in Anatolia, are not able to put their objectives, methods and principles into writing and communicate these documents to their members, activists and target audience persistently. That these organizations do not have definite objectives and principles should not be inferred from this situation. However, it may be stated that those are largely based on ambiguous definitions that have been communicated by means of verbal communication. Main disadvantage of this situation has come into existence in popularization attempts and relations with public authorities. Many organizations have also had difficulty in preparing published advertising file and information notes relating to the studies for which they look for support. Many

organizations located in Ankara and İstanbul submitted advertisings, publications and digital materials and web sites after interviews while almost none of interviewees from Anatolia had this possibility.

Certainly, NGOs located in Ankara and Istanbul have advantages in terms of volunteer or professional human resources by comparison to those located in Anatolia. Density of young and student population in metropolises have brought about literacy at a desired level while they have tried to organize through close friendship relations in Anatolian cities with lack of human resources. Still, it is possible to observe that some youth NGOs located in Anatolia have started to attract volunteers' attraction at city level beyond primary friendship relations.

Difficulties in getting qualified activists and members, and continuity of acquired memberships are more important problems from the point of institutionalization of youth NGOs. One of the important reasons of this problem is related to the structures of many youth organizations. Youth organizations predominantly demanded and sustained by students have the disadvantage of losing their workforce when those students graduate. Those students participate in studies actively, learn about youth organizations, methods and networks and gain administrative skills while at school. A little portion of the said young people has been employed as professional personnel by the organizations having relatively better financial resources and institutionalization level. The others have turned their steps towards various employment choices.

It is known that in many organizations, members or employees who are still students, spare a limited time for their institutional responsibilities or offer project-based contribution because of their scholarly studies. Therefore, lack or weakness of mechanisms through which knowledge and experience would be transferred from predecessors to successors among the components of relatively rapid circulation stands out. In this case, organizations need a permanent guidance counselor, coordinator or manager. This situation may not be deemed as absolutely negative; there exists some cases where a permanent guidance authority may be beneficial to provide coordination between studies and activists as well as communication between predecessors and successors. However, this situation may lead to laziness among members and activists, and abstention of young people from taking initiative and manager's standing on the same position for years in many cases.

Even though it is early to make comment, the circulation at administrative levels of new NGOs tends to confirm the continuity of persons who are active and have ability to produce and manage projects in the medium run. Most of the young organizations are following educational facilities so that the other members or volunteers would benefit from capacity building and project cycle trainings so as to overcome actual circumstances.

In addition to being an legal entity, economical income or support is one of sine qua non institutionalization requirements for a youth NGO. Almost all of interviewed organizations and initiatives lack own resources and are in necessity of external financial support. Among interviewed organizations, the only youth NGO that is not in necessity of funding support is Sema Yazar Youth Foundation with its own resources. Organizations displaying activities at national level make use sponsorships from companies as well as national and international funding resources. However, local organizations have considerably limited sponsorship facilities and have difficulties in gaining them.

Impact and Functionality Assessment of Youth NGOs

Generally impact and functionality assessment on the basis of works of the organization and projects may vary depending on the degree of organization. A little portion of youth organizations may make impact and functionality assessments through measurable criteria and submit measurable indicators. Majority of youth organizations have arranged various statistical analysis on target groups for which they provide benefits, and have possibility to give some figures relating to target groups with whom they communicated for specific works. However, qualitative impact functionality assessment that necessitates complex methods to measure and assess has been made systematically by just a few organizations.

Thanks to the impact of the demand for reporting that is required by almost all funding resources, literacy of monitoring and assessing the impact of implementation according to definite criteria has developed in all of the youth organizations to a certain extent. Assessment among youth organizations has generally been executed through the observations of project activists and managers. While participation and interest level of target group have been considered as general indicators for studies, problems at assessment of communicating to secondary impact circles have been

experienced. Monitoring the target group in the medium or long term is possible to be put into practice only in case sustenance studies are enabled. These kinds of processes have been conducted in a relatively systematic way in terms of NGOs having large networks, while many difficulties in similar functionality and impact assessments for many volunteer networks and target groups have been experienced.

2. Youth NGOs in Terms of Participation

Internal Communication and Institutional Democracy

All interviewed organizations stated that they were careful about institutional democracy and participation and that were able to find communication channels so as to enable members, activists or volunteers communicate their opinions easily. Even though this declaration does not reflect the truth precisely, it is important in terms of intention. It may be a true statement in term of the communication and continuous participation of the core personnel of organizations, but it will also be true to state that this would be more difficult for secondary and tertiary circles that did not participate in the processes from planning to management of activities sufficiently; thus, did not have sufficient information about activities.

A more democratic process of participating in organization management, decision making process and use of initiative by members or activists has been achieved in the field of youth in comparison with other fields. By the nature of this field, because of the fact that relative homogeneity of age interval may correspond to the member profiles of target groups, demand for participation and tendency for using initiative have stood at a high level in almost all youth organizations. Nevertheless, definite differentiations between organizations have stood out. Sema Yazar Youth Foundation that was established to support the training of disadvantaged young people, is trying to find ways to have the young people in its target group to have a say and assume responsibility in the organization's studies; whereas young people are in the management in many youth organizations.

Currently, it is clear that NGOs generally do not have multiple hierarchic steps as seen in public sector or public institutions, but the negative effects of a two-step actual

hierarchy in the form of general coordinator and all other activists or members should not be disregarded. Because of the reasons mentioned above, accepting guidance and coordination mechanism as necessary, it may be observed that general coordination or management position is unalterable for long years in many NGOs. This situation appears as a contradiction for youth NGOs. Member circulation that constitutes a problem against institutionalization and regarded as the reason of transitory nature of qualified activists or members and the need for a long-term general director can lead to negativity about participation. Members that change in several-years period may abstain from undertaking administrative responsibilities or they may not find enough time to mature. This brings the risk that directors may manage organizations according to their personal accumulations for long periods.

While decision making processes and work planning are performed by direct participation method in youth organizations that have few members or activists, youth organizations that have a great number of members and activities ensure participation of the management in decision making processes and work planning through various working groups and commissions. Youth organizations that execute studies in places other than their hometown, do not open local branches and they close existing ones and try to structure themselves as independent organizations. Negativities of branch-type organizations such as dependency to and expectations from the headquarters are avoided.

When homogeneity of youth NGOs in terms of age interval and natural advantages of peer communication are considered, extent of their contribution in implementation of institutional democracy, formation of democracy culture and democratization process of the country can be more if compared with other sectors. The extent this potential is realized among the young and youth organizations, and whether this potential is transformed to an opportunity or not, is controversial due to various reasons. It is impossible to explain this without considering current democratization level, participation opportunities, youth perception of official authorities connected with socio-cultural environment and perception of the young in Turkey, in addition to the energy spent by youth organizations to make institutional capacity and financial sources continual.

Volunteer Participation and Management

An important number of NGOs in Ankara and İstanbul that have more activists, volunteers or members can reach people who are included in their networks by periodical meetings, e-mail communication and bulletins within primary, secondary or tertiary access circles. Communication is provided by one-to-one interviews and meetings in Anatolia due to low number of participants. Organizations that extend to various cities and have volunteer and local networks specific to them can convey their announcements to the largest member or volunteer networks by websites and e-mail groups and make call for participation in activities. However, this method is not widespread enough and it is not used efficiently among youth organizations. Many youth organizations try to keep away from that to remove barriers directed to participation and undertaking responsibility that come from the nature of membership system and they try to generalize volunteerism system, to record membership, if it is required, after a certain observation period.

The stress and level of volunteerism in youth NGOs is higher compared with other fields when general difficulties and level of understanding and functioning of volunteerism in Turkey are considered. This is a fact that can be observed in almost every activity field. Many youth organizations emphasized that studies were built on volunteerism completely. When it is considered that young members or volunteers are not expected to stay in the organization for long years as it has been seen in other themes, it is a subject to be examined separately that what young people who depart from organization, who are not volunteers of the organization any more do about volunteerism and social responsibility in places where they go, and to what extent their former works are reflected on these places.

3. Relations between Youth NGOs

Even it is not much possible to talk about a communication and cooperation form between youth NGOs that has continuity, tendency and susceptibility toward cooperation and collective work can be observed. Generally, youth NGOs are acquainted with works and projects of each other; however, their communication forms do not have a certain systematic. Communication and partnership level can change accor-

ding to closeness of fields of study and forms. Likewise, tendency toward abstention, moreover keeping away can be observed about collective work and establishing a permanent communication between some NGOs concentrated on similar themes due to differences in approaches.

Critical points and developments should be considered while examining facilities of communication and cooperation between NGOs working in the field of youth problems that can be considered young and of which number of active organizations is very few. Partnerships on the basis of projects or certain studies can be seen in all cities and almost every organization within the scope of the study, close contacts or mutual support relation between NGOs that have continuity can be observed even they are few. In some cases, more than one organization can share office facilities.

Communication networks that has continuity or forums in which organizations from all regions can exchange experience and information is regarded as a need by the majority of youth organizations, and several different e-mail groups have been formed. However, it is difficult to say that this is sufficient because while such communication groups function actively in big cities, the communication between the NGOs in Anatolia s and with those in Ankara and İstanbul is not sufficient. Nonetheless, a deeper communication can be observed between local youth NGOs that are founded and are working in the same city.

It is beneficial to have a look at National Youth Council initiative and campaigns organized to reduce the age to be elected to the parliament to twenty five in terms of realizing cooperation and communication facilities of youth organizations and organizations working in the field of youth.

The Age 25 Campaigns

Many youth organizations and some other organizations make attempts to reduce the election age to the parliament to twenty-five in recent years. The interesting point here is the differences that occur in approach to cooperation between youth organizations. While some youth organizations say that this campaign and its result are an achievement of a collective work and cooperation of youth organizations, there are different organizations expressing that it is their achievement that elective age was

accepted by political power in principle. Some organizations expressed that they did not regard making cooperation with other youth organizations working for the same purpose as necessary due to the reason that their own facilities and networks could reach to enough number of people. However, almost all of youth organizations accept that mobilization of a great number of organizations for a common purpose brings achievement even if they work separately.

Roof Organization / Platform Initiatives

Matter of roof organization is a subject required to be especially examined in terms of presenting positive and problematic dimensions of youth organizations movement in Turkey. National Youth Council, as a roof organization model, suggests an umbrella organization that facilitates collective movement of organizations relating to youth, strengthens communication between them, facilitates representation of the young, and helps the formation of youth policies of its country. National Youth Council that is formed by memberships of youth organizations can also affiliate with Europe Youth Forum that represents youth, that is recognized at governmental level, but applied by EU for opinions on policies related to youth as a superstructure independent from governments. Youth Parliament model also suggests a superstructure for collective movement, communication, representation of youth initiatives and youth policy works. The clearest difference between these two models is that council suggests an organization that has legal personality and official representation at governmental level, but parliament suggests a platform model that is not based on legal personality; while constituents of council are organizations, constituents of parliament can be individuals.

National Youth Council Initiative

National Youth Council Initiative is an initiative to establish a superstructure that has legal personality to cooperate to form common aims, targets and values in the direction of a national youth policy among youth organizations as a discussion platform that throws together youth NGOs, student councils, youth branches of parties, youth units of trade associations and trade unions from all regions. The initiative is deemed as a progressive step in favor of both cooperation of youth organizations and organized democracy culture by youth organizations that are partners of it as a platform wherein discussions relating to establishing a cooperation among constituents of youth in the

most concrete way and at the highest level and formation of a common discourse as to youth area, its problems and participation are produced in recent years. Same intentions and desires are still alive in organizations that are partners of the initiative even it is in silence now. However, it is observed that there is an ambiguity in the proposed methodology and an uncertainty as to the starting point for these intentions.

Almost all of interviewed organizations that are parties of the initiative regard legal barriers an obstacle to form a national platform wherein they can incorporate to produce common discourses and policies in the field of youth.[62] Almost all organizations that expressed their opinions on this matter deem a change in legislation as mandatory for the mentioned representation form and express that cooperation to achieve this is obligatory.

National Youth Parliament

This initiative that started in Youth Association Coordination for Habitat almost at the same times with council initiative, preferred to stay out of council initiative claiming that council initiative opinion appeared early as an immature suggestion; therefore, there was no such need and that the council was developed as an 'NGO project'. According to this approach, youth NGOs do not have the capability to represent Turkish youth; the most probable way of a national youth roof organization is to include local youth initiatives that do not have legal personality in the process by supporting them, moreover, to let local youth to form the spine of such kinds of initiatives. Several local youth assemblies that take place in Youth Parliament have also taken place in Youth Council initiative.

The platform that is composed of representatives of local youth assemblies and initiatives supported within the scope of Local Agenda 21 program from about seventy cities executes works of youth policies with representatives that it renews with meetings at national level in certain periods. National Youth Council initiative regards representation form of this initiative as controversial due to the fact that it has an organization and

[62] While Association Law no. 5253 allows organizations that have similar purposes to found roof organizations that have legal personality in the forms of federations and confederations, it does not allow to foundation of superior legal personalities that organizations, federations and confederations that are founded for different purposes may wish to constitute, so it does not allow to foundation of council. These kinds of intentions are only allowed to establish temporary unions in the form of platforms that have no legal personality.

action program that is based on Local Agenda 21 program, it only gives place to youth assemblies and it was founded under coordination of a central association.

Situation seems a little complex for other youth organizations in Anatolian cities that are not participants or parties of discussions that are tried to be summarized above but positions of which we can examine as a third group. First of all, it should be accepted that concepts such as 'youth council', 'youth assembly', 'youth parliament' or actual structures that go on in the form of various initiatives or discussions lead to serious confusion among youth organizations in Anatolian cities. Therefore, to be able to see the current situation as objective as possible, in addition to organizations that participate in council process or that are acquainted with this, that have expectations from organizations in Ankara and İstanbul, organizations that are not acquainted with both 'council' and 'parliament' initiative or seem to be confused about who is who and who does what among various initiatives among youth organizations in Anatolian cities should not be ignored.

According to many youth NGOs, national networks that are formed by gathering youth initiatives from various cities of Turkey including youth assemblies within the scope of Local Agenda 21 program are relatively closed representation forms executed under coordination of NGOs, centers of which are in big cities, but primarily in İstanbul. In other words, these networks are regarded as networks of 'A' or 'B' organizations that execute the coordination by other NGOs and so their representation scopes are deemed as controversial. Nevertheless, positive dimensions of these networks in terms of their contributions in organization of youth are recognized. Organizations that execute coordination of the said networks indicate that local initiatives included in these networks could cooperate with other organizations in the frame determined by them as initiatives independent from them.

It would not be wrong to say that the unique structure that has legal personality gathering youth organizations from various cities is Turkey Youth Federation in terms of roof organization in the field of youth. The federation, with which more than twenty associations are affiliated, is a representative of the opinion supporting that superior unions or platforms as parties of Youth Council initiative can only be active having legal personality.

Youth NGOs and International Relations

Turkey youth can not be represented in Europe Youth Forum which is the highest-level representation authority of Europe youth due to absence of a national council.[63] On the other hand, various youth organizations develop cooperation and permanent partnerships with youth organizations from many other countries relating to their activity fields or in various projects they execute. Many Anatolian youth NGOs founded in the years following foundation of National Agency have met with international relations and had a chance to form national and international partnerships easily within the requirements of Youth Program. In that way, cooperation among youth NGOs became possible.

4. Relations of Youth NGOs with Public Authority

In addition to the perception of youth NGOs by public authority, similarities and differences among them on the basis of regions and cities are also a determining factor in their relations with public authority including local governments. It can be observed that perception and policy of public authority about civil society and youth, and differences in this perception on a city basis by local governments is determining in the current form of relation between NGOs working in the field of youth and state institutions.

Therefore, it may not be sufficient to talk about a relation type between youth NGOs and public authority that is possible to be generalized as 'good' or 'bad' for explaining current situation. It is possible to mention many youth organizations that have good relations with state institutions and many others that do not have good relations. At first most interviewed organizations stated to be on 'good terms with the state', but later during the interview they talked about the difficulties of forming relations with the state and of making themselves understood. Almost all of organizations working in the field of youth and youth NGOs expressed that they regarded current state of Turkey as an important progress compared with the situation ten years ago, today the state presented a more positive approach against civil society works in general and

[63] Representation of Turkish youth at national level by European youth communities ended actually after Turkey National Youth Organization was closed following 12 September military coup.

especially youth works. However, it is not possible to talk about a consistent official youth policy.

Almost all the youth organizations emphasized the necessity to continue cooperation with public institutions and organizations. No discourse excluding cooperation with public was met in this sense. However, due to a point of view based on safety, a deliberate attitude against state administration stands out especially in youth organizations in Anatolian cities; it is understood that they make maximum effort to be able to show that they don't execute any work to disturb safety or they are not in any attitude possible to be related with that. Cooperation with public authority and support of public authority becomes possible after this stage. State preserves its place as an authority to be asked for consent rather than being a body integrated with the society from which support and cooperation can be required, as the youth NGOs perceive it.

Organizations that are relatively well-established, recognized by the society and public authority in time and execute extensive works are able to establish healthier and permanent relations with state institutions. It is possible to say that these relations were not established all at once; problems they faced at the beginning were eliminated after studies were observed by central government and local administrations, and they became familiar with the studies, many young people demanded similar works, number of participants increased and participants' positive feelings towards the institution increased by time. It should not be ignored that long-term references of youth organizations and personal references of founders are effective in acceptance of youth studies by public authority. Establishment of interstate partnerships and facilitating effect of new responsibilities that central government transferred to its affiliated units in accordance with international agreements it signed, are between the reasons of acceptance of works of the said organization by public authority and partially being supported by it.

When considered from the point of view of youth organizations, the situation is not this much positive in terms of being recognized by public authority or being able to find cooperation chances. Youth organizations in big cities can establish relatively better relations with public institutions thanks to contribution of general environment generated by intensity of civil society works. However, an unstable and generally more

negative environment exists for youth organizations in Anatolian cities. Reliability problem is one of the determining factors. Primarily safety problem and drive to ensure social safety can present itself in various ways at the point of general view of public authority about civil society studies and especially youth studies. For example, they are faced with reactions such as 'Youngsters, do not start divisive behavior' when they introduce themselves or 'Why do you protest?' as during projects prepared by National Agency within scope of Youth Actions Program. Youth organizations expressed that prejudice of public authority about them in the form of "they certainly ask money" affected communication attempts negatively and they had to visit administration many times for necessary support statements. At this point, to have directors who have personal references, to have acquaintances at important positions of governorships or municipalities are factors that facilitate the process. Decisiveness of personal relations is a factor that can not be ignored in relations between public authority and youth NGOs. It can also be seen that there are situations when a few number of local officers induce local civil initiatives to form an association with their own initiatives and give support for project production.

That local administrations do not know legislations relating to civil society studies or they are not acquainted with implementations, and they are not familiar with civil society studies appear as complicating factors for youth organizations. For example, youth organizations can take their tax exemption documents with difficulty although it is legal and in some cases they have to go to Ankara. On the other hand, the reason that youth NGOs are alien from functioning and correspondence form of state bureaucracy may sometimes complicate communication and execution of works at desired speed.

Another actor required to be mentioned about relations with public authority is universities. Universities are almost completely inefficient in works of the field of youth except for a few examples. Despite the number of universities spread to all regions of Turkey and students educated and thousands of academicians and scientists, it is thought that effects of universities on cities wherein they are located are very indirect and in some cases they have no effect. Especially youth organizations in Anatolian cities express that universities are very reticent about orientating young people to civil society studies in which they would be included in city life or encouraging them, and cooperation and support calls demanded by various faculties or departments are looked down. Some youth organizations working in the universities also express that the

environment is not facilitating, although they execute studies directed to all students of the university, for example, allocation of halls for various meetings can take long time; moreover, money is demanded by the university administration for using their halls. It should be noted here that several youth organizations that have references at national scale have very advantageous positions about including university students in their studies compared with others.

Relation between youth organizations and state is generally executed in the form of permissions necessitated by fund organizations, support statements and various cooperation that go beyond this covering for certain projects or studies. Strategic cooperation and long-term partnerships are situations that are rarely met. More than three hundred youth and sports club are registered by General Directorate of Youth and Sports (GSGM) and they receive annual financial support at certain rates.[64] These clubs are obliged to submit report to GSGM at certain periods in return for this registry and financial support. Other youth organizations criticize registry obligation of GSGM and the fact that financial help is conditional upon registry and they defend that if financial help would be given to youth NGOs, this help should be given to all youth NGOs on egalitarian basis.

Obligation of local governments to facilitate foundation of city councils in accordance with the law has increased number of local youth assemblies. This development is an example for mutual interaction between NGOs and public authority based on long years. However, reluctance of public authority on forming an overall youth policy aimed at participation of the youth and solution of their problems are a reason that is highlighted by almost every youth organization to explain existing negativities of relation between NGOs working in the field of youth and public authority, variability and auspiciousness of positive relation forms. Reluctance of the government about making a legal arrangement to allow to the foundation of a national youth council and so discussion of problems of various youth sections at national level and representation of Turkish youth in international youth platforms is regarded as one of the most important reasons of obstruction of youth policies. This legislation change is pointed out as the point where the relation between youth organizations and public authority is locked and again can be unlocked for youth organizations.

[64] Association Law, Law No. 5253. Date of Legislation: 4.11.2004, Official Gazette: 23.11.2004-25649 Article 14, Youth and sports clubs.

While General Directorate of Youth and Sports Head of Youth Services Department[65] that is interlocutor of the said council initiative by public authority expresses that it looks on the opinion of formation of a council with favor and the process can be performed positively in case a matured suggestion comes from youth NGOs despite the legislation is not compatible, youth NGOs express that they advanced a well-prepared suggestion and in case a legal arrangement to open the way for organization of youth at national level is brought to maturity and implemented by the state at that date; besides, in case it is implemented today, the youth would present maturity to establish its own superstructures and maintain them with intensive discussions.

Determining axis of relation between public authority and youth organizations that has been tried to be explained above with various dimensions appears as perception type of youth by public authority. It is abstained from satisfactory arrangements, moreover making of comprehensive policies in favor of removing existing barriers in front of organization of this big mass that is expected to grow older without stirring up trouble as a section of society that is regarded as "temporary" by public authorities including university administrations. More comprehensive demands beyond official youth policy[66] that foresees taking precautions necessary for protecting from habits such as alcohol, drug use are expressed by youth NGOs. Saying "Youth period may be a kind of preparation for life as role that people try to attribute to themselves in the sense of profession, spouse, etc. to be chosen; however; on the other hand, it is the life itself", youth organizations demand from public authority removal of barriers in front of active participation in all dimensions of social life, formation of legal and social environment required for it beyond getting away from bad habits.

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[65] Today, there is a considerable imbalance between two components of General Directorate of Youth and Sports that is the institution of public authority responsible for works related to youth, "youth" and "sports" units in the disadvantage of youth in terms of budget and opportunities. Moreover, many ministries and organizations affiliated to ministries have units relating to youth separately and there is not a common policy and coordination between these institutions and units.

[66] Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, Law No. 2709. Date of Legislation: 18.10.1982 Official Gazette: 9.11.1982-17863.
IX. Youth and Sports
A. Protection of youth
Article 58
B. Development of sports
Article 59

5. Relations of Youth NGOs with STGM

All of NGOs working in the field of youth knows STGM and they are acquainted with its activities. Most of them ensured participation of their members, activists or volunteers in trainings organized by STGM. In this sense, it can be said that training programs of STGM have contributed in project cycle management literacy among active members of youth organizations in addition to other sources.

Expectations from STGM vary depending on the form of perception of it by youth NGOs. Majority of youth organizations, especially the ones in Anatolia, perceive STGM predominantly as a training institution. Therefore, their expectation is generalization of trainings. Organizations that are founded in Anatolian cities indicate that participation of their members or activists are generally limited, in some cases participation is impossible due to the reason that trainings are organized in central cities on regional basis. They demand training programs that are easy to access in their cities due to this. Project design and project cycle management trainings stand out as trainings which are popular and demanded predominantly. In addition to that, they have indicated that they need studies directed to institutional administrative capacity building that are more specific and prepared considering their local needs.

Despite the fact that nearly all the NGOs execute studies on certain themes that they are concentrated on or certain problem fields belonging to these themes, STGM is regarded as an application authority at least among youth NGOs due to the reason that target group of STGM is generally 'civil society' and ''NGOs'' and it performs well to support them. Therefore, many youth organizations have a tendency to attribute a kind of patronage function to STGM in addition to studies such as networking, capacity building trainings.

On the other hand, it should be accepted that there are views supporting that STGM is not equivalent to other NGOs working 'in the field', while they regard its works as generally positive and functional, and not looking with favor on legitimization of STGM itself through civil organizations displaying activities in the field although it does not work in the field. According to this view, STGM is criticized for obtaining legal personality with its existing activists before EU commission called for tenders

and so it can be regarded as a structure foundation of which was completed with an anti-democratic process. Therefore, it can be preferred to keep STGM and its works at a distance.

6. Conclusion

There are inequalities among youth NGOs that are organized in various cities in terms of capacity, facilities about youth policies and their formation and access to information. While some of them have this information and reflect them in its implementations, some of them have difficulty in accessing to sources and act without information. A similar type of peer interaction on individual basis can function between youth NGOs at institutional scale, well-intentioned cooperation and solidarity facilities can be enhanced combining it with volunteerism inclination.

It is one of the barriers in front of youth organizations that subject of youth as a field of work and direct organization of the youth develop in Turkey newly and participation has not matured sufficiently both in public authority and civil society and minds of young people. It won't be an exaggeration to state that youth can be organized just to spend time with peers without a certain aim or on a theme, and to struggle for this purpose is regarded as legitimate by all sections of the society and the young, and this would be an important achievement. At least, when existing organizations are considered, it can be observed that young people are generally responsive to agenda of the country and its problems, especially youth problems, and they feel themselves as responsible and demand initiative.

Interviewed Organizations

Organizations or initiatives, nine from Ankara, three from Erzurum, six from İstanbul, one from Mardin and four from Muş were interviewed within the scope of the study. Mardin Modern Arts Initiative, a youth group continuing artistic works in Kızıltepe, Mardin, is distinguished from others as the unique initiative that does not have legal personality and Youth Services Centre, located in Ankara, is distinguished from others as an organization legal personality of which is in status of "a non-profit company". General Directorate of Youth and Sports Head of Youth Services Department is the unique public institution that was interviewed.

İstanbul: Arı Movement, Association for the Blind, Youth Association for Habitat, Society Volunteers Association (TOG), Environment and Woodlands Protection Society of Turkey (TURÇEK), Hope Foundation.

Ankara: Turkey Youth Union Association (TGBDer), Turkey Youth Federation (TGF), AEGEE Young Leaders Association, Sema Yazar Youth Association, Anatolian Youth Folk Dance Club (AFDAG), General Directorate of Youth and Sports Head of Youth Services Department, Youth Services Center (GSM), Youth Culture House Association (GENÇEV).

Muş: Young Accumulation Association, Muş Civil Youth Assembly, Muş Branch of the Association of the Physically Disabled, Oncology patients Aid and Love Association (ONKOSEV).

Erzurum: September Fine Arts Youth Association (EGSD), Civil Society Support Association (SİTODED), Eastern Anatolia Youth Sports Club (DAGESK).

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THE DISABLED

NAZMİYE GÜÇLÜ | Translated by Ebru Özberk

HANDICAPPED, DISABLED OR CRIPPLED*?

Although a definitive census has not been conducted as yet, it is assumed that 8.5 to 13 millions of crippled people live in Turkey. This assumption is based on the thesis of the World Health Organization (WHO) that 10 to 12 percent of country populations are made up of cripples. In addition, this ratio is 12.29 percent in Turkey according to the findings of the "Research on the Handicapped People in Turkey" [67] conducted by the collaboration of the Handicapped Administration, TUBITAK and the State Planning Organization in 2002. Accordingly, it is accepted that around 8.5 million people have various disabilities. When this number is viewed with regards to the families, it will be seen that the issue interests around 25 million people.

Again according to this study, 8.5 million people of which 5 percent have mental, 65.7 percent have physical, 12 percent have hearing and 8.3 have visual disabilities, are deprived of certain services and chances in social life as well as being left out of education and production. For this reason, the cripples cannot fully enjoy their basic human rights and liberties.

Contradictory figures are given regarding other issues related to the cripples, as is the case with their total population. Again, according to the most optimistic of uncertain data, only 0.4 percent of cripples have education and 0.7 percent work. Apart from secondary or high education, 30 to 60 percent of the cripples, varying according to the disability group, are illiterate.

There exist around 700 associations, 2 confederations and numerous foundations and sports clubs for the cripples whose plight is described as a "social disaster" and who

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* [Although the use of the terms crippled and cripples in English may seem politically incorrect, the author deliberately uses the equivalent of these terms in the Turkish version (sakat) that has similar bitter connotations. (ed.)]

[67] *Türkiye Özürlüler Araştırması 2002*, Dr. İsmail Tufan-Özgür Arun, T.C. Başbakanlık Özürlüler İdaresi Başkanlığı, http://www.ozida.gov.trthat

are the most disadvantaged group in society. More than 300 thousand people are members of these associations or foundations established mostly by the cripples and / or relatives of the cripples. Although they are concentrated mostly in metropolitan cities, there are associations of cripples in almost every city in Turkey.

There are different as well as common problems experienced by the different cripple groups in Turkey. Regardless of the type of their disability (orthopedic, visual, hearing, or mental), crippled children are still not allowed to kindergartens and they are deprived of their right to primary education although it is both a constitutional right and compulsory. If the disability of the child is orthopedic, he or she cannot go to school because of the physical conditions of schools; those who can go to school are made victims of discrimination because other parents do not want them in the school (see Annex 3). If the child is deaf or blind, he or she will not be accepted to the school due to uneducated teachers. Deprivation of the right to education brings about unemployment, and unemployment brings about poverty. Yet, the educated and employed cripples cannot escape the discrimination in the street, at home, on holiday; i.e. in every sphere of life. Physically or visually disabled are mocked, that is if they can go out. In movies, to become crippled is a reason for abandonment. The same holds true in real life, too. Again, "I won't give away my son/daughter to a cripple" is a remark heard often by the cripples.

In addition to these, finding a house is another problem for those who cannot see. Though they do not hear the remark "I won't rent my house to the blind", it is known that house owners do not rent their houses to blind persons.

The topmost problem of those who cannot hear, different from other cripple groups, is not being able to call when there is a fire in the house whether or not they are educated, have or do not have money; because, there is no system in Turkey developed with a view of the conditions of the deaf. A deaf person cannot explain his or her complaint to the doctor or the nurse, because the health personnel do not know sign language. The same problem applies to accidents or crimes; the policemen do not know the sign language either.

Those who are described as autistic, spastic or mentally disabled in general, are in more dire conditions. Apart from finding a school to send their children, going out

to a restaurant can be a problem in itself for the families. Turkey is a country where mentally disabled persons can be thrown out of a restaurant for bothering other customers. One of the most important problems for the families with a mentally disabled child is by whom and how their child will be taken care of when they die. As yet, the state has not made any efforts on this issue.

The problems experienced by the crippled are described in general in the Research on the Handicapped in Turkey as follows: "The current plight of the disabled can be summarized as a "social disaster". Their educational level is very low and poverty prevails among the disabled. Most of them are ostracized; a large group of disabled people cannot get health service which is one of the most utilized services." [68]

In the interview, Hasan Tatar, the president of The Blinds' Federation of Turkey, describes the organization of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) regarding the cripple whose plight has been described as a "social disaster" – he refers to "the blind", but his description is valid for all cripples' organizations: "There are three types of organization. First, there are the organizations, which we can call exploitative. These are predominantly the enterprises of cunning people who, together with some disabled people, try to convert to money the compassion of the society for the blind or the disabled. The second type of organization is protective organizations. These are founded by the wives of the wealthy people, high-level bureaucrats, and owners of capital or well-known politicians, with an aim to aid and protect the disabled persons. The third type of organization is democratic organizations. These are the organizations where the blind or partially sighted are in the management of the associations or organizations, where their word counts in decision-making positions within the association. These organizations try to protect and further the rights and the interests of the blind and partially sighted, to decrease blindness and to wipe it out in time, and to solve the problems resulting from blindness".

The Background of the Study

The aim of this study is to expose in a broad framework the efforts of the NGOs (associations, foundations, federations, confederations etc.) of cripples in Turkey as to their aims, targets, sustainability, functionality and relations with public authority.

[68] Ibid.

Sports clubs have not been included in study. Four federations which are the umbrella organizations of the associations of all cripple groups, one of the two confederations to which the federations are attached, two associations which have the highest numbers of membership, and thirteen randomly chosen associations were interviewed. Within the framework of the study, interviews with the administrators of twenty organizations in seven cities were made. Forty organizations were chosen for this study, yet all of them could not be reached. Of those organizations which we were able to reach, sixteen were interviewed face to face, and four were interviewed on the telephone.

In addition to the interviews, the publications, brochures and the web sites of the organizations and associations have been utilized with an aim to reveal the political agenda of the NGOs of the cripples. In addition to these, academic studies and texts in the media in the last two years have been examined. The fact that the academic studies on the issue are almost non-existent has been a negative factor on the depth and the breadth of this study. Nevertheless, through the interviews, we have tried to provide a photograph of the current situation of the civil society organizations which were included in the study.

In order to reveal the participation and institutionalization levels of the civil society organizations, which were interviewed, the dialogues in the interviews were kept as is. The expressions in quotations marks are the expressions of the interviewee. The justification for this choice is the desire to reflect more exactly the NGOs which work on the issue and their level of organization, as well as a preference for a non-technical language. Similarly, summarized results have been deduced from the dialogues about their relations with public authority and how they utilized the Civil Society Development Center (STGM).

The conclusions reached as a result of the evaluation of the interviews and the research materials are given in the conclusion section.

On the Confusion of Concepts

"Language is a mirror to our way of life." (Oğuz Atay)

It is obvious that there is a confusion of concepts among the cripples in Turkey, as is the case with many other issues. In our country, the cripples are of three categories: 'Cripple'", 'handicapped' and 'disabled'. It is possible to understand a person's point of view of the cripple issue and one's regard of oneself by his/her choice of word to define oneself.

'Cripple' is the word preferred by those – and there are only a handful of those- who know that the reason behind the problems they experience is discrimination and who do not regard themselves separate from the other individuals in the society. Those who find the word 'cripple' unsympathetic, rude, and humiliating, choose 'handicapped' or 'disabled' as a part of the effort to gain social acceptance. The word used by the state, which discriminates in all spheres of life and in laws above all, is 'handicapped'.

The word 'handicapped' is generally used to mean 'defective'*. In stores, there are 'defective' products departments where cheaper products are sold. It is also an acknowledged reality that the state treats the crippled citizens as 'defective'.

It has been observed that some association members and administrators avoid using the word 'cripple' although it is in the name of the association. Some use all three words in their speech, which was the case with the people interviewed during the preparation of this book. Some people did not consider the word choice important and stated that what counts is the point of view not the description.

When the names of the associations are examined, we see that those associations established more than twenty years ago prefer the word 'cripple' while those established more recently prefer 'disabled'.

The explanation could be that first, there were the cripples. As a result of the pejorative meaning attributed to the word 'cripple' in daily speech (see Annex 2), 'handicapped' came into currency instead of 'cripple'. Yet, 'handicapped' ended up like 'cripple' in time. Today, the word 'disabled' is generally used which does not recall pejorative associations, and is said to be modern and sounds better.

Despite the changes in the names and concepts, it is a fact that the way cripples are perceived has not changed at all.

In the sports pages of newspapers, we see that the word 'cripple' is freely used for athletes who are wounded or have had accidents. In the third page news, expressions like 'was crippled in the accident' are used, instead of 'became disabled'.

* [The Turkish word for handicapped "özürlü" also means defective when used for objects. (t.n.)]

When the reasons behind this confusion of concepts are examined, it will be seen that the fundamental problem is the dismissal of the connotations of the words in daily language. For instance, a person with a hunchback is described as 'disabled'. 'Disability' is defined in the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution as 'the reason for something not to be realized, obstacle'. As it can be deduced from the definition, it is thought that the cripples have a reason not to work or to realize something. However, both a person with a hunchback and a person like me who limps because of polio are counted as disabled, not because we have a reason for not being able to do something (on the contrary, we can do most things from walking to running and even climbing the trees, only more slowly than those who are not 'cripple' can), but because of our appearance. On the other hand, someone who has a serious cardiac problem and who can not do many things is not counted as 'disabled' because his or her appearance is 'normal'. Heart patients, even when their 'disability' is known, are not subject to humiliation, while I and other crippled people like me who do not have a 'disability' are mockingly called 'cripple', 'hunchback', 'lame'.

Since the interviews are quoted in their original wording in this study, all three words were used. Out of respect for people's way of expressing themselves, their narrations were given in their own words. Yet, my word is 'cripple', because I am a cripple.

1. Cripples' NGOs in Terms of Participation

It has been observed that the activities, policies and strategies of the NGOs interviewed within the framework of this study are largely determined by the executive board members. Non-participation of the members in the decisions on the activities directed towards the target group prevents democratization. In addition to this, many associations are known as a 'certain president's association', because they are run by a handful of people or by only one person. In such associations, it is the word of the president that counts. Members or sometimes even executive board members are not informed about the actions of the president. It is also noteworthy that in some associations, the presidents have been in the same post since the establishment of the association. The fact that some managers serve as presidents or board members for five, ten or fifteen years leads to a questioning of intra-organizational democracy among the members.

It is also observed that the cripples who form the target group of cripples' NGOs do not actively participate and cannot be effective in the activities. In small organizations with a limited membership, the impact on public opinion of the activities participated by the cripples is not very evident; the type and the quality of such activities is much lower than the expected level as well.

Although approaching masses by means of highly participated projects is among the objectives of all associations and organizations, this objective can only be achieved by associations with high membership figures.

Six Dots Association for the Blind, which has around six thousand members and is one of the oldest associations, can be pointed out as one of the associations with highest levels of member and volunteer participation. Yet, this may not be the case if the participation level is compared to the number of members. Nevertheless, it is one of the most effective associations whose activities have considerable impact both on the target group and on the public opinion. Cerebral Paralysis Association of Turkey, which has less number of members and has been recently established, is also an association where member and volunteer participation is high; and despite that it has been recently established it ranks high among the associations most effective on public opinion.

In small organizations with a limited membership, the impact on public opinion of the activities participated by the cripples is not very evident; the type and the quality of such activities is much lower than the expected level as well.

The Association of the Cripples, which is one of associations that makes extensive use of technology, tries to make its voice heard through the forums on its web site, which engage both the crippled and the other segments of society in the discussions on every issue concerning the crippled. In addition, by means of membership in news groups formed together with other NGOs, the association aims to increase the participation in its activities by reaching the segments of society other than its members.

The interviewed administrators have stated that despite their intention to increase membership figures, their efforts do not suffice or do not work. The administrators

have generally complained that the cripples become members of NGOs with an aim to take, not to give.

The fact that most members do not pay their fees is an indicator of a serious problem of participation. Şükrü Boyraz, the president of The Cripples' Association of Turkey, which has the highest number of members, explains the situation clearly: "We have 15 thousand active members; the number of registered members is around 100 thousand."

Although most of the interviewed managers have stated that the cripples do not know their rights, only a few are engaged in activities to inform the members of their rights. In addition, this factor decreases the participation of members. In their own words, while 'struggling with loads of problems', 'trying to make the society accept us', most associations cannot organize activities for their members.

It is worth notice that the interviewed managers refer to their members or to the cripples in general as 'my crippled' or 'my handicapped'. This attitude may also account for insufficient participation in both decision-making mechanisms and activities. In addition, that the associations, which aim to explain themselves to the society in order to exist, do not consider it necessary to explain themselves to their members can also be regarded as a reason behind low levels of member participation.

Volunteerism in Cripples' NGOs

The volunteers' importance is obvious, given that the cripples' NGOs, similar to others, try to produce a lot of work with a few professionals due to scarce resources. In the interviews, it has been observed that only a small number of associations are aware of the importance of the volunteers in terms of the sustainability of the NGOs as well as their helping with the activities. As a result, it has been observed that the associations do not make a special effort to include the volunteers in their structures or to create a volunteers network. Some of the answers to the question "Do you have a volunteer's network?" are thought provoking:

> "Yes."

(Çan Öz-Kur Association for the Construction of Care, Education and Rehabilitation Centre for the Mentally Disabled, Ayten Kurcan)

> "There is an architect, an engineer, there are friends in the municipality who follow up our works"
(Confederation of the Physically Disabled, Cemalettin Gürsoy)

> "None other than our disabled friends. Theirs is a bond of love."
(National Federation of the Hearing-Impaired People, Ercüment Tanrıverdi)

> "We are volunteers, too."
(Federation of People with Orthopedic Disability, İsmet Gökçek)

> "No."
(Batıkent Association for Protecting the Mentally Disabled, Ömer Koç)

> "My family."
(Diyarbakır Branch of the Association of the Physically Disabled, Fevzi Tanış)

Today, cripples' NGOs that have a volunteer network are only a few; the biggest problem of the majority is to attract volunteers. Since they act in a spirit of volunteerism, some associations' administrators think that their members are volunteers.

Six Dots Association for the Blind is one of the few associations with a volunteer network. It has a large network ranging from academics to students, and especially the readers of the vocal library are entirely volunteers.

2. Institutionalization in Cripples' NGOs

Aim of Establishment and Objectives

According to the results of the Research on the Handicapped People in Turkey, "The main idea behind the projects and the efforts of the NGOs working in this field is to increase the quality of life of the crippled and socially disadvantaged people within the framework of basic human rights, to provide an opportunity for them to realize their potentials and to discover their talents, to guide and encourage them, help them acquire a profession; thus, to ensure them a place in the spheres of education and production."

Visual, hearing, mental or orthopedic.... There are considerable differences as well as similarities between the aims and targets of cripples' associations whichever disability

group they serve. We will not be exaggerating if we say that there are as many different aims and targets as there are associations. The opinions of the administrators cited below are so clear as to leave no room for comments:

> "Only to make the disabled have a place in life…"
(Federation of the Physically Disabled, Cemalettin Gürsoy)

> "To gather the hearing impaired together... Our only target is to survive."
(Association of the Hearing –Impaired People GD, Ünal Öner)

> "Primarily to prevent accidents... To ensure that the civil society network in Turkey is more conscious, has a wider vision, and is capable of producing projects on the issue."
(Cerebral Paralysis Association GD, Ramazan Baş)

> "To make the society accept the autistics as they are; that is not to force the autistic people to conform to the society but to ensure that the society accepts them as they the way they are."
(Autistics' Association, Şua Eriç)

> To increase the life standards of our citizens with a hearing disability to the highest level... To find a solution to their education problem."
(National Federation of the Hearing-Impaired People, Ercüment Tanrıverdi)

> "To work in order to ensure that the handicapped are accepted, and accept themselves as individuals."
(Modern Handicapped Life Association, Vedat Başer)

> "We demand equality in access, in transportation and in education. We want equality in terms of all human rights. We strive to prevent the cripples from being a pain of remorse for the healthy people, to prevent the spreading of a policy of begging, and to make the crippled people have a say in the decisions in every sphere of life. Our current target is to raise the consciousness of the cripples to enable them to organize and seek their rights, to inform them of their existing legal rights. And to seek the ways to realize our rights in a more democratic manner in the long run."
(Cripples' Association of Turkey GM, Şükrü Boyraz)

> "To integrate the handicapped to life, to serve the handicapped citizens..."
(Diyarbakır Branch of the Association of the Physically Disabled, Fevzi Tanış)

> "To construct the Life and Employment Centre for the Mentally Disabled where the mentally disabled will experience the pleasure of producing and earning a living, being together with their peers and being protected, this centre is also planned as a protective workplace."
(Batıkent Association for Protecting the Mentally Disabled, Ömer Koç)

> "To transform or at least contribute to transform the disabled movement in Turkey from a "wheel chair" movement into a civil society movement based on human rights which is really against discrimination."
(Engelliler.biz, Bülent Küçükaslan)

Despite the variety in their aims and targets, raising consciousness of the society is among the objectives of numerous associations. Some also aim to raise the consciousness of the cripples, while others aspire to raise the consciousness of the state, government or local officials. Hardly any mention raising their own consciousness. Some associations aspire to solve the entire load of the problems of the cripples; they try to be active in every field. Association for Horse Riding and Therapy with the Horses for the Disabled, established in 2003 in İstanbul has chosen a narrower field, declaring that "the horses do not have prejudices": "To ease the adjustment of the physically and mentally disabled people to life using the therapeutic effect of the relationship with horses, to enable them to exercise, and to provide rehabilitation services in a safe, professional and ethical framework based on training and research."

The Target Groups of Cripples' NGOs

The wide range of differences among the aims and the objectives of the cripple's NGOs in Turkey can also be observed in their definitions of their target groups. Some state that they have only one target group while others state that they have many: 'the state', 'the society', 'everybody', 'visually disabled', 'those with a hearing disability', 'those with an orthopedic disability in the first degree and all other cripples'. Naturally, the activities are directed towards the target group. It was only Bülent Küçükaslan, the administrator of the website engelliler.biz, who defined their target group in a different manner: "Primarily the cripples and anybody who is against discrimination." The aim of the activities and actions of those who define 'the state' as their target group is to make the state hear their voices. Some associations try to be heard by the society. They state that their actions do not find the desired response from the society.

Nevertheless, it has been stated that some campaigns on specific issues were effective from time to time: "There is a specific medical device used by those with cerebral paralysis, catheter. Two or three years ago, the Social Insurance Institution stopped paying for this vital device. We started an initiative on the issue. We sent thousands of messages to the related institutions. After two or three months, they started paying for this device again." (Engelliler.biz, Bülent Küçükaslan)

Media representation of the actions and the activities is considered as equivalent to finding a social response. Despite its little impact on the society, most associations can be satisfied with a media representation of their activities: "We have a good representation in the media." All associations attach too much importance to media representation, but it seems that almost none cares about how they are represented. However, the results of the "Survey on TV Programs and Disability"[69] conducted by Semra Çalık, of the Prime Minister Administration for Disabled People, is worth notice:

"In the recent years, the way the handicapped individuals are represented in media broadcasts and how this reinforces negative attitudes has become an important issue. The dominant image in the mass media is that the handicapped lead an unsuccessful and 'tragic' life, and the way to lead a 'normal' life is to have a superhuman strength and talent. These convictions result in two basic forms of representation: the victim and the hero.

The general conviction in our country, too, is that the mass media representation of handicapped people is negative. In order to test this general conviction, the respondents were asked how the handicapped were reflected on the television. 76.7 percent of the respondents have stated that the handicapped were represented as 'needy' persons. 48.9 percent think that the handicapped are represented as inadequate individuals in terms of participation in social life. The proportion of the respondents who think that the handicapped are represented as individuals who pity themselves is 38.7 percent.

It has been stated by the 26.4 percent of the respondents that the handicapped are represented as 'very talented' in television programs. These results support the literature.

[69] http://www.ozida.gov.tr. Özürlülük Araştırmaları.

Only 12.2 percent think that the handicapped individuals are represented as normal individuals. These negative viewpoints are the most effective factor leading to the increase in the discrimination against handicapped people. The results demonstrate that the television, which could undoubtedly change this negative viewpoint; on the contrary, reinforces discriminative attitudes.

Cripples' Problems According to the NGOs

The answers of the administrators of associations to the question "What is the real problem?" indicate the consequences of the problem, i.e. the hardships they have to suffer, rather than the problem itself:

> "The disabled primarily have a problem of employment and access. Architectural obstacles have to be overcome. The disabled persons do not know their rights."
(Confederation of the Physically Disabled, Cemalettin Gürsoy)

> "To have a job, a car, a flat to live in... Architectural obstacles have to be removed in order for them to adapt to social life..."
(Federation of People with Orthopedic Disability, İsmet Gökçek)

> "Those who learn the sign language at school in the west, and those who have developed their own sign language in the east since they cannot go to school, they cannot communicate because they do not use a common sign language. A common sign language has to be developed..."
(National Federation of the Hearing-Impaired, Ercüment Tanrıverdi)

Another problem of the hearing-impaired and their associations is that while projects for the development of the labor force are granted allocation, projects for developing the sign language are not. In fact, it is one of the consequences of the problem.

The only interviewee to provide a different definition of the problem was the administrator of the web site engelliler.biz, Bülent Küçükaslan: "Undoubtedly discrimination!"

Cooperation among Cripples' NGOs

It has been observed that the interviewed administrators are generally positive about cooperation, but the level of cooperation is low both among the NGOs operating in the same field and those operating in different fields. There are associations, which cooperate with the Chamber of Architects in activities for accessibility, with bars for legal

rights, and with universities for health issues. Yet, the interviews have revealed that the relations with organizations working on the same or different fields are weak.

However, most organizations seem to be unaware of the importance of cooperation. Yet, many managers including Hasan Tatar in the first place agree with the president of the Federation of the Orthopedically Disabled, İsmet Gökçek's words: "To find a solution, we need unity at first. All handicapped friends and all of their societies should come together and constitute a force with an NGO perspective. In order to solve these problems, people have to come together and realize that they have power, they have to endeavor to solve their own problems without expecting everything from the state or from their organizations, conscious of the fact that both their organizations and the state consists of people."

In 2004, three hundred representatives of organizations had delivered to the political parties and to the President of the National Assembly the draft Law on the Handicapped, supported by all of the cripples' organizations in Turkey. Later, they ensured that the draft law was taken into the agenda of the government and the public opinion through actions like sending letters to the members of parliament or going on hunger strikes. These activities had considerable effect on the enactment of the law. This collaboration for the Law on the Handicapped is known as the most important cooperative effort in the history of the cripples' NGOs in Turkey.

Cripples' NGOs in terms of Sustainability

Sustainability is one of the biggest problems of organizations. Insufficiency of resources is the topmost obstacle to the sustainability of the activities of most organizations. The president of the Federation of the Orthopedically Disabled, Celalettin Gürsoy's statement summarizes the plight of most of the associations: We cannot foresee." No organization can foresee in financial terms. The answer we get when we ask their resources is quite striking: "We are kind of modern beggars. We get donations for fuel oil. Restaurants provide for our daily food."

Donations are among the principal resources of cripples' organizations. Apart from the donations, organizations try to survive on the revenues of the money boxes, charity nights, concerts, dinners, fêtes, festivals, etc. Only a small number of organizations

conduct activities that bring regular revenue. Some associations run a prêt a porter atelier while others sell handicrafts. Thus, they supply employment opportunities to the association members. In the recent years, projects financed by the EU funds have also become means of livelihood for some.

One of the most significant impediments to institutionalization is the lack of regular income in these largely non-institutionalized associations. For most of them, the future is foggy; many say that they cannot foresee. Some associations have come to the point where they cannot pay even their rent while others have due electricity or water bills. Some have even forgot about the aims and targets and are striving to keep the association afloat. Some administrators assert that their associations have come to the point of closing down. For this reason, there are association administrators who declare that their 'only target is to survive'. Most of the organizations state that they need the support of the state to survive. Ramazan Baş, the president of the Association of Cerebral Paralysis, summarizes what most NGOs demand from the state as: "If an NGO is working well, the state has to give it adequate support, must open doors for them to reinforce their status, give them equipment or provide for their basic needs. (...) We are one of the associations in utmost hardship and we expect the state to clear our path".

Federations and some associations demand not only state support but also a regular income. Only a few of these associations have a web site, because some do not have even computers. While the institutionalized associations can employ professional staff, non-institutionalized; thus, low - income associations try to survive on the rotating work of the members. For this study, approximately a hundred associations were called but they could not be reached. After seeing the economic conditions of the interviewed associations, the first possibility to come to the mind has been that the telephone lines of those who could not be reached might have been cut.

3. Impact/ Functionality / Activities

According to the results of the 'Research on the Media Representation of the Handicapped[70] conducted by the Prime Minister Administration for Disabled People, associations organize cultural and arts activities mostly, and activities against discrimination the least: ''Social activities and culture and arts are the most frequently represented news items in the media. Following this item, the negativities the handicapped are subject to comes next. The least frequent news topic is discrimination and abuse.''

The associations that aim to merge with the society via cultural activities, though they cannot completely realize their targets, at least achieve media representation.

The volume of the literature on discrimination can be deduced from the media representation percentage.

Many organizations strive to finish the construction works of the rehabilitation centers started long time ago. These organizations do not have the energy and the time to do other things after so much effort goes into high budget projects. Yet, an increase can be observed in the activities and in the variety of activities of especially big organizations with a large membership.

Cerebral Paralysis Association of Turkey

Cerebral Paralysis Association of Turkey, which has a high social impact despite being a young organization, 'was established in 1998 in order to find solutions to the medical, occupational, economic and social problems of the cerebrally paralyzed and to prevent cerebral paralysis'. The association, as well as being one of the most active organizations since its establishment, is highly acknowledged for its activities and actions and has approximately 1700 members. In the recent years, the following activities were organized: in the field of health, First Aid and Monthly Seminars on the Problems of the Cerebrally Paralyzed; in the field of employment, Additional Vocation and Production Ateliers, Textiles Production Atelier, Folio Cutting Unit, Canvas and Frame Production, Neck Collar Production Atelier, Wood Painting,

[70] http://www.ozida.gov.tr. Özürlülük Araştırmaları-Basında Özürlülük

Relief, Bijou Design, Textiles Dying, Modeling courses; in the field of education, EU-Unemployment Agency funded Computerized Accounting Training, Basic Computer Training, Literacy Courses; in the field of culture and arts, a theater group, Folk dances on wheelchair etc. The revenues obtained from the ateliers meet a part of the expenses of the association.

Six Dots Association for the Blind

Kendi anlatımlarına göre: "Ülkemizde görme engellilerin ekonomik, toplumsal, eğitsel, kültürel ve mesleki sorunlarına çözüm yolları üretmek amacıyla 1950 yılında In their own words: "The association was founded in 1950 with an aim to provide solutions to the economic, social, educational, cultural and occupational problems of the visually disabled, and is the oldest and the largest association in this field. Today, it has thirty-two branch offices countrywide and around six thousand members. All the members and the administrators are visually disabled."

The association, which is the largest organization in the field covering the sixty percent of the blind, is among the numerable organizations that cooperate with various civil society organizations such as the Cripples' Association of Turkey, Human Rights Association and labor unions. In addition to collaborations with local civil NGOs, it has relations with European Blind Union and the World Blind Union.

The Association, through the Six Dots Foundation for Serving the Blind, runs the Six Dots Education and Culture Center that consists of various units like a Braille printing house, vocal computer laboratory, book recording studios, Braille, vocal and CD libraries, guest house and restaurant. In 2005, they established the Family Counseling Center within the headquarters of the Six Dots Association for the Blind. This center was established to provide counseling services to the blind or to the partially sighted and their families for psychosocial and familial problems that they cannot handle by themselves or with the support of their close circles. The Family Counseling Center provides the services of individual counseling, family counseling, training activities, advocacy activities and a consultancy hot-line.

Apart from these, the following projects were realized recently: project of computerization of the headquarters and the branches of the Six Dots Association for the Blind,

office management and secretarial services course for the visually disabled, massage course, and the project for the Development of the Library of the Six Dot Education and Cultural Centre for The Blind and its Related Units.

The association organized a march and a press release in İstanbul in order to attract attention to the 15 October White Cane Safety Day for the safety and the independence of the blind, and to point out the bottlenecks and the inadequacies in the implementation of the Law on the Handicapped. As a result of their works, the products of a white goods company was made user friendly for the blind, and some pharmaceutical firms had the names and the dosages written on their packages in raised letters.

Cripples' Association of Turkey

Cripples' Association of Turkey, with its nearly a hundred thousand members, is the largest organization in its field of work. The aims and the targets of the association is, in president Şükrü Boyraz's words: "With our 70 branches all around Turkey, we are striving to prevent the cripples from being a pain of remorse for the healthy people, to prevent the spreading of a policy of begging, and to make the crippled people have a say in the decisions in every sphere of life. We had our contributions in the amendments in the traffic law making it possible for the crippled people to drive vehicles, in the employment law and the tax exemption law."

The most recent activities of the Cripple's Association of Turkey, whose headquarters is actually more active than the branches, are the training seminars on legal rights and advocacy. In these seminars, issues such as the rights and the liberties of the handicapped within the framework of international norms, the regulations of the association and the bottlenecks in implementation, basic information and skills for efficiency and effectiveness in association's activities, were discussed.

Another recent activity of the headquarters of the Cripples' Association of Turkey was to support to the activities of the Initiative for a Turkey without Land mines, which was launched against the death and maiming of many people by land-mine explosions all over the world. The association, which justifies their support on the grounds that "since this activity aims to prevent disablement, it would be beneficial to support this initiative", also collaborated with other civil society organizations such as Social Democracy

Foundation, Turkish Association of Doctors, Turkish Association of Architects and Engineers, Human Rights Association, Mazlum-Der and Göç-Der.

Apart from these activities, they conducted projects on informatics without barriers, ateliers for handicrafts and occupational rehabilitation, vocational training for office personnel, and they organized a painting and handicrafts competition.

National Federation of the Hearing-Impaired People

According to the information on their web site, the aim of the federation is 'as the highest level agency representing the hearing impaired persons in Turkey, our mission is to raise the social, political and economic life standards of the hearing-impaired persons and to ensure that they participate in social life on equal terms'. The Federation states that the Turkish sign language is important for encouraging equality by means of bringing together the chasm between the hearing-impaired persons and the others. The Federation, which is the only authorized institution for organizing sign language courses, organizes Turkish sign language and sign language trainer courses in various regions of Turkey.

The Disabled and their Friends Club

The Disabled and Their Friends Club is an active Internet platform with more than six thousand members established "to transform or at least contribute to transform the disabled movement in Turkey from a 'wheel chair' movement into a civil society movement based on human rights which is really against discrimination." The platform established by Bülent Küçükaslan in 2003, has been producing and sharing with the public, ideas on the issues concerning the cripples. With the extensive participation of the members, they have put forward ideas and showed their reactions on many issues concerning the cripples ranging from opposition to discriminatory attitudes towards the cripples to making suggestions to relevant institutions about the legal arrangements regarding the cripples; crowned by more than three thousand signatures sent to the authorities for the enactment of the Law on the Handicapped. Currently, they are rerunning the Problems and the Solutions Regarding Automobile Purchase and Use by the Cripples Campaign that they had organized twice but could not get satisfactory results. On the web site engelliler.biz, all issues concerning the cripples are open to discussion both in the forums and the articles written by Bülent Küçükaslan. At the

same time, this site is the only formation which argues that establishments such as schools, buses, holiday resorts or hotels for the cripples (see Annex 2) which have been advocated or supported or constructed by hundreds of cripples' organizations for years, are actually reinforcing discrimination against the cripples (see Annex 5).

Federation of the Blind

The Federation of the Blind, which holds the first place among the associations with foreign relations, is preparing for the eighth general assembly of the European Blind Union consisting of 45 member countries, to be held in Turkey in October this year.

4. The Relations of the Cripples' NGOs with the State

The interviewees expressed their problems with the state in different words. This sentence, uttered by one interviewee summarizes what all others have stated: "The state does not give us money." Nevertheless, the organizations try to keep good relations with the state; they act as if it is not the state that is responsible for all these experiences and as if it is not the state that discriminates: "The state does not try to stop the handicapped. The state does not develop a special attitude towards this specific group. That is, it will not say I will not grant you your rights or will not do anything for you. The state may not be adequately sensitive, may not try to implement the laws, in this sense, the state does not act on intention but is at fault. We have to define this very clearly. The state does not have a systematic policy about the handicapped. It is not the state's intention not to provide services to the handicapped and to isolate them in their homes. Ignorance of the problem is due to insensitive behavior, it is not on purpose. Here, what we call the civil society comes to the forefront. That is to have the rights implemented, which should have been done by the state." (The Cerebral Paralysis Association of Turkey, Süleyman Akbulut)

The effort to get along well with the state could be explained by the desire to get state support for the solution of their economic hardships.

The quotation reads 'to have the rights implemented', yet, an examination of their activities reveals that rather than seeking remedies, the associations try to provide

the services and to perform the responsibilities which actually belong to the state. For instance, while the state has to build all schools in a design accessible by every child, some associations are trying to make the existing schools accessible to children with orthopedic disabilities, and others are endeavoring to build schools for the deaf, blind or mentally disabled children. Moreover, they build those schools, too; without ever thinking that they themselves are practicing discrimination through the very school that they had built by years of striving. Nearly all associations make reference to social adaptation. Yet, they do not realize that separate schools isolate the children from the society. While it is the responsibility of the state to take measures against traffic accidents in order to prevent further disabilities, some associations have assumed this responsibility as their first priority. Instead of reminding the state of its responsibilities, they try to undertake those responsibilities. Some build schools, and some build rehabilitation centers. Most of the associations are angry with the municipalities who open 'centers for the handicapped' instead of fixing the pavements and the roads. However, their anger is not only because these municipalities do not fix the roads, it is because these municipalities are stealing away their members.

5. The Relations of Cripples' NGOs with STGM

In the interviews, the below answers were given to the questions "Have you considered getting assistance from STGM?" "Have you made any requests?" "What kind of a request did you consider to make?"

> "We did... We would like to benefit from their data and the knowledge on their projects both shed light to our studies and to collaborate with other civil society organizations."
(Cerebral Paralysis Association, Ramazan Baş)

> "We do get assistance, and do some projects together. We request support from time to time. "
(Cripples' Association of Turkey, Şükrü Boyraz)

> "Our meetings are going on. They inform us about all activities regarding the disabled. We express our support for their activities in our field or their more general activities concerning the whole society of Turkey."
(The President of the Federation of the Blind, Hasan Tatar)

Many organizations have heard the name of STGM, yet only a few have benefited from this institution. Some organizations have participated in the symposium organized by STGM. Majority of those who have benefited from STGM consulted about their legal problems. The only person to state that they were considering getting STGM's assistance for capacity building was Şua Erinç, the executive board member of the Autistics' Association. In addition, they are also very appreciative of the flagship role of STGM in the establishment of the Autistics' Platform.

6. Conclusion

Some associations have done nothing since their establishment, apart from organizing campaigns to find wheel chairs for their members. As far as we know, none has run a campaign for roads and pavements convenient for wheel chairs. Some associations were established only because their presidents considered this position as the only way to exist in a society that perpetually humiliates and isolates them. There are even associations that are known by name of its president rather than by its formal name. This kind of associations are known as "so and so's association".

Deducing from the names of some associations, it is possible to mistake the cripples for an extinguishing species: "Association for Protecting the Cripples", "Association for Developing the Blind", "Association to Perpetuate the Deaf", "Association for Educating and Protecting the Blind" etc.

Especially, nearly all the associations established by the families of spastic, autistic or mentally disabled children are trying to build what they call 'life centers' with the anxiety of taking care of their children after they die. Since these are big budget projects, they do not have any energy or time left for other things.

As it can be figured out from the results of the Research on the Media Representation of the Handicapped[71] conducted by the Prime Ministry Administration for Disabled People, being a cripple in Turkey is hard work: "This report has been prepared as a result of the research on the data on the years 2003, 2004, 2005 and the first six

[71] http://www.ozida.gov.tr

months of 2006. The subject topics were determined at the same time with the scanning of the news. The abundance of the news under the heading 'other' is meaningfully worth attention. In this context, the finding that many news items about the handicapped have magazine quality, are related to the individual, and have news quality only because they are about an handicapped individual, demonstrates that our society considers the handicapped individuals as separate and different from the rest of the society.''

Wherever it is hard to be crippled, it is also hard to be a cripples' organization. İsmet Gökçek, the president of the Federation of the Orthopedically Disabled, criticizes that the associations did not attend the negotiations on the Law on the Handicapped for whose enactment they had run campaigns and strove for years: ''No disabled person attended the commission meetings for the secondary legislation meetings of this law. In these meetings for the circulars, sixteen articles regulating how the handicapped people would get medical reports, how they would apply to a hospital, how they would be recruited, or how they would get assistance. Do you believe that you can get a sound result if you do not include the handicapped people, the beneficiaries of this legal arrangement? Let us have a look at the parties who prepared this circular: Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Prime Minister Administration for Disabled People and the other elements of the state. All parties are from the state, the government side. Of course, they will firstly be taking the revenues and the expenditures into consideration, but why don't the civil society organizations participate? Are we not a party? They had to take us into this commission equally with the state or the government. We should have at least defended our rights; we could have evaluated the data they provided or the implications of the circular. We could have negotiated, too. When the law was passed, it was seen that while some things were given to the handicapped, there were also things taken back.''

If we compare discrimination to a bog, the problems created by discrimination are as many as mosquitoes. NGOs are struggling with the mosquitoes instead of drying up the bog; because there is a huge cloud of mosquitoes, which makes it impossible to see the bog itself, and they hurt badly. Yet, they fight the mosquitoes individually, instead of uniting their forces. If a culture of unity and solidarity can be developed, maybe then the cripples' organizations can exterminate more mosquitoes with less effort.

And then they may see the bog.

It is interesting that nearly all associations that state that unemployment is one of their biggest problems and invite the employers to recruit crippled personnel, employ non-cripples in paid secretarial or managerial positions. However, there are hundreds of people both among their members and in their environment who could perform these duties regardless of their disability.

Another interesting situation is that all federation and confederation presidents are men; majority of the association presidents are men, too. However, the percentage of crippled women in Turkey is much higher than crippled men: 11.10 percent men, 13.45 percent women.[72]

Schools for the cripples, buses for the cripples, holiday resorts for the cripples, hotels for the cripples. (...) It is noteworthy that these have been the achievements or the targets in the last decade. To build a school is the first thing that comes to the mind of the family who cannot find a school to send their spastic, autistic or down- syndrome child. They do not seem to have other options since there is no short-term solution. Yet, it is quite alarming that the cripples' organizations are after projects that will increasingly reinforce discrimination and isolate the cripples from the society.

Though we live in an age of rapid change, the transformation and the development processes in cripples' associations are very slow. Yet, it is inevitable that the cripples' associations are in dire conditions where being a cripple is extremely difficult.

Though their endeavors may be inadequate or wrongly placed, they have at least one crucial benefit. The cripples who are humiliated in the street, at home and practically everywhere, are not humiliated in their associations; they realize that they are not alone. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that the cripples' associations in Turkey unknowingly serve as rehabilitation centers.

Nevertheless, whatever they accomplish, these organizations have too little impact on the society. After half a century's struggle, unfortunately, it is still not possible to refer to a cripples' movement, and it is not counted among the opposition movements.

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[72] http://www.ozida.gov.tr. Özürlülük Araştırmaları

The Law on the Handicapped, enacted as the result of nearly fifty years of struggle, seems to be the greatest achievement of cripples' associations. Yet, today even those who fought for it criticize this law, and find it inadequate and miscalculated. There are even organizations preparing for an amendment of the law.

In conclusion, if we measure the achievements of cripples' organizations against their impact on the society and whether these achievements have eased the life for the cripples, this fairy tale rhyme summarizes the situation in very apt phrasing: "I walked and walked over hills and streams. I looked back only to see that I have walked as distant as the size of a barley grain."

7. Annexes

Annex 1. The List of the Interviewed NGOs and their Administrators

1. Confederation of the Disabled People of Turkey
President Şükrü Boyraz, Ankara

2. Federation of the Blind of Turkey
President Hasan Tatar, Ankara; http://www.korlerfederasyonu.org.tr

3. Federation of the Mentally Disabled
President Ömer Koç, Ankara; http://www.zihinselengelliler.org.tr

4. Federation of the Physically Disabled
President Cemalettin Gürsoy, İstanbul

5. Federation of People with Orthopedic Disability
President İsmet Gökçek, İstanbul

6. National Federation of the Hearing-Impaired
President Ercüment Tanrıverdi, İstanbul; http://www.turkdeaf.org.tr

7. Six Dots Association of the Blind Headquarters
Executive Board Member Turhan İçli, Ankara; http://www.altinokta.org.tr

8. Six Dots Association of the Blind Diyarbakır Branch
President Akif Kurtuluş, Diyarbakır

9. Cripples' Association of Turkey Headquarters
President Şükrü Boyraz, İstanbul; http://www.tsd.org.tr

10. Cerebral Paralysis Association of Turkey Headquarters
President Ramazan Baş, Executive Board Member Süleyman Akbulut, İstanbul; http://www.ofd.org.tr

11. Association of the Physically Disabled Diyarbakır Branch
Financial Accountant Feyzi Tanış, Diyarbakır

12. Batıkent Association for the Protection of the Mentally Disabled
President Ömer Koç, Ankara; http://www.zed.org.tr

13. Association of the Hearing-Impaired
President Ünal Öner, İstanbul

14. Society of Horse Riding and Therapy with the Horses for the Disabled
Founding President Şule Erhun, İstanbul; http://www.atlaterapi.org.tr

15. Engelliler.Biz
Administrator Bülent Küçükaslan, İstanbul; http://www.engelliler.biz

16. Autistics' Association
Director of the Executive Board, Şua Eriç, İstanbul; http://www.otistiklerdernegi.org.tr

17. Çan-Öz-Kur Association for Constructing Care, Education and Rehabilitation Centre for the Mentally Handicapped
President Ayten Kurcan, Çanakkale

18. Modern Handicapped Life Association
President Vedat Başer, İzmir

19. Association of the Physically Disabled Hakkari Branch
President Ali Mesut Keskin, Hakkâri

20. Mersin Support Group for the Disabled
Aytürk Eroğlu, Mersin

Annex 2. Example to the Pejorative Use of the word 'Crippled'

''(…) Most of us have technology on our minds as the real motor of these developments and changes; we think with reference to technology. This is a crippled way of thinking. Thinking in reference to technology finds its most gnomic expression in the saying 'the

rifle was invented; thus, came the end of bravery'. This saying is the meatiest expression of the understanding known as 'technological determinism'. Just like the idea that 'the computer was invented, and a possibility for democracy came into existence', this understanding which places technology at the base of social organization. (...) In fact, this is a crippled idea, because within the expression 'the rifle was invented; thus, came the end of bravery' there is the assumption which already contradicts that proposition.'' (Prof. Dr. Aydın Uğur, STK'lar ve Ağ Tipi İletişim, Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları. No 8, 2004. Edited by Arzu Karamani; http://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/ugur_std_8.pdf)

Annex 3. The Kid not Allowed to School

Reported by Timur Soykan on Radikal dated 23 February 2004.

Quarantining Ali Can

Necmiye Varış, carried in her arms every day, her eleven year old son who cannot walk to the school, she took care of all his needs. One day, some people deprived Ali Can of school.

Necmiye Varış, carried in her arms every day, her eleven year old son who cannot walk to the school, she took him to the toilet during the breaks. Due to her altruism, Varış was chosen as 'the mother of the year'. One day, Ali Can had to go to the toilet during class. He was ashamed to tell his teacher, and wetted his clothes. On the next day, his mother was told not send Ali to school any more.

He is now doomed to stay at home

After that day, Ali never went to school again. He was at home all day, save for the short promenades in his mothers arms. He did not have any friends apart from his two siblings. His mother tried to ensure that Ali did not forget his learning by making his small brother Ismail study his lessons with Ali. The mother, who had primary education, taught Ali what she knew. Yet, Ali was growing aggressive away from school. His behavior was maladjusted. Day by day, he retired into himself. He liked painting a lot. He filled up the walls of their humble one-room house with paintings. When the weather was good, his mother placed Ali on a rug by the window.

Annex 4.

Sabah Newspaper

16 July 2004

Special Holiday Resort for the Handicapped

PERVİN METİN

"Holiday Resort for the Handicapped" project, launched last year by the Cerebral Paralysis Association is being realized. The holiday resort to be founded in the Enez district of Edirne on a 7.5 acres land by the sea will cost more than a trillion Lira and will serve 1200 people.

The Cerebral Paralysis Association that provides vitality to the handicapped with its projects has become a beacon of hope for the families with its new project. The handicapped that constitute the 12.29 percent of the population will be integrated to the society with a holiday resort in which all their needs are taken care of. The project supported by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, Municipality of Enez, and Lions Club will be established on 7.5 acres of land by the sea. The construction works for the holiday resort in which twenty modular housing units and containers will be used, have started. The mayor Kadir Topbaş, who signalled for the starting of the infrastructure works and the construction of modular housing units, stated that this phase of the project would be completed in a month's time.

All Services Free of Charge

Everything for the handicapped and their families are taken into consideration in the holiday resort that will be opened next summer. In the resort where sports, training, camping and all other services will be provided free of charge, there will also be basketball and volleyball playing fields, tennis courts, archery fields, a social activity center, and an amphitheater. In addition, there will also be facilities for water sports such as surfing, scuba diving and canoeing.

The resort, in which occupational training courses will be given in addition to health and education services, will comply with the international standards for organizing water sports tournaments.

Sponsor support is also needed for the holiday resort, which has been reported to cost more than one trillion Liras.

Ramazan Baş, the president of the Cerebral Paralysis Association has stated that: "The handicapped cannot participate in social life given the conditions of Turkey. Physical conditions prevent their traveling and going on holidays. Some handicapped people have never put their feet in sea water. This resort will provide an opportunity for them to mingle and to be productive. Our target is to ensure their participation in social life."

Baş, who pointed out that the resort will be open to all handicapped people, stated that hundreds of handicapped persons who had heard about the project have been calling the association: "Physiotherapists, physiologists, doctors and social service experts will be serving 900 handicapped people in one season. Both paid employees and volunteers will be working. Our door is open to every volunteer who wants to support us. This project is an indicator that the civil society organizations can cooperate with the state if wanted."

Annex 5.

The Root of Social Groups and Discrimination *

"Levinas, refers to a "restlessness felt in his cells" when he writes about responsibility. It is a question of not being able to stay still, not to overlook the events. "We are living the impossibility of remaining silent."

ASUMAN BAYRAK

"In 1970, a primary school teacher (Jane Elliott) used an extraordinary method to demonstrate to her students what it was like to be discriminated on the basis of outward appearance. She divided her students into two groups as the blue-eyed and the brown-eyed. She told them that the blue-eyed were more intelligent and superior than the others, and that the brown-eyed should not be playing where the blue-eyed played, because the brown-eyed students were not good enough. Then, she had the brown-eyed students wear signs which indicated that they were brown-eyed. After a short while, she noticed that both of the groups adapted to their situation. While the blue-eyed

* http://www.engelliler.biz/Makaleler/bulent/sosyalgruplarveayrimcilik.htm

started to act like little Nazis, the brown-eyed started to develop hatred towards the teacher and the blue-eyed students.''

Before you continue reading, please read the above quotation once more (and this time, word by word).

Now think about the 'special' driving licenses given to the crippled, the 'special' number plates on their cars, the 'special' phrasings on their ID's, the cadres of 'manual labor recruited on handicapped status' imposed on them with total disregard of their occupational skills, think about the 'special' parks, hotels, buses, train coaches, closets; and then think about the parents who say ''I don't want a crippled child in my child's class, it disturbs his/her psychological well being'', about the families dispossessed from their rented flats on the grounds that ''they bother the neighbors'' and who cannot find a place to live because they have a crippled child, about the teachers who say ''the other children are mocking him/her, I cannot attend to him/her. Send him/her to a private school.'' Think about the school administrators who say ''This child cannot be educated, take him/her home'', about the academicians who say ''If you cannot hear/see, do not come to school'', about the high level bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education who say ''What's the use, God created them that way. Will you be giving what even God cannot give? You want to race Murat 124* with a Mercedes. I do not understand why you want these kids to take the high school entrance examinations'', about the university administrators who turn down a student who wants to apply for foreign education activities like everybody else, saying ''We are not informed about the handicapped quota''. Then think about the sentences ''I will not give away my daughter to a cripple'', about ''Oh pity!'', ''If it were me, I could not bare with it, I would commit suicide'', about ''Who knows whatever sin he/she has committed to be punished by god'', ''Let that be a sacrificial offering for your health and your body'', about ''Look, his/her children are being punished for his deeds''. Then remember the ''curses'' befalling on people on TV series and program like ''The Eye of the Heart'', ''The World of Mysteries'' or ''The Fifth Dimension''.

Now leave the blue-eyed aside and think about the brown-eyed saying ''Nobody except ourselves can understand us'', ''If you are not crippled, what do you think you are

* [A local car brand of 1970s, not of high quality. (t.n.)]

doing on this web site for the cripples?", "I think this web site should admit only the cripples." Then think about the cripples talking back to the other cripples who say "H Class driving license, special number plates and special phrasing on the ID cards are discriminatory and should be abolished": "Are you ashamed of your disablement?", "It's ok when you enjoy the special rights but are you offended by the special signs?" Then think about the cripples who say "We are crippled and are in need of aid under any circumstances." or "I think that the cripples should go to separate schools, too".

Now think about the understanding which applies the formula cripple=needy to find 'solutions' to the problems and considers the cripples as a uniform group (in disregard for their other qualifications and disadvantages), with its implementations such as 'tax relief for the cripples', 'fifty percent discount for the cripples in intercity travels' , 'three percent employment quota for the cripples', 'dependency pension for the cripples' or 'priority for cripples in hospitals'.

Lastly, remember that the cripples are nearly non existent in the civil society movements, that they are in a separate position and are active only on issues related to disablement, and that they are not seen on the streets, at workplaces, cinemas, in the shopping malls, at schools or in the neighborhood although they make up the twelve percent of the population of the country.

Now if you are not drained, answer this question (this time without thinking): Do you think that the cripples are dissociated or integrated in our country, and what do you think is the solution? Dissociating or integrating?

Note: Do you know my eyes are blue, and my sibling's eyes are brown!

CENGİZ ÇİFTÇİ | Translated by Ebru Özberk and Verda Genç Sel

IN THE NAME AND ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN

Children's issues are one of the primary fields in the development of modern non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Sensitive, fragile and under risk individuals of the society attract the attention of responsible citizens due to ethical values of conscience and religion, the fact that children's issues are too important to be left to persons or public institutions, observing public interest and development of public field. Social, cultural and political dynamics in this sense can be influential on the organization of NGOs and on conducting studies. Although NGOs studying in the field of children's issues in Turkey have got through a similar process like the NGOs in the West, the degree of development is not at the expected level. The relationship between public authority-civil societies has undergone periodic radical changes, and the progress or regression of the field has been upon the decisions made by public authority according to periodic difficulties.[73]

Institution for the Protection of Children was founded in 1921 in Ankara as Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti. Until 1923, the society implemented various studies. Institution for the Protection of Children which was organized nationwide in 1941 and supported the studies in the field of social services continued its studies mainly with public administrators. Until 1960, policies on children's issues had followed an ambiguous progress,

[73] Darülhayr-ı Ali was founded in 1903 and was abolished in 1909. The insufficiency of the institutions established by the government had brought up new searches, and in 1914 Daruleytam homes were opened for the protection of crphans. In 1917 Himaye-I Etfal Cemiyeti was established. While İstanbul Himaye-I Cemiyeti was conducting its studies, on July 30, 1921, a new Himaye-I Etfal cemiyeti was founded in Ankara as a result of the attempts of some members of Grand National Assembly. These two institutions worked concurrently for a while; however, İstanbul Himaye-I Etfal Cemiyeti was abolished in 1923. The organization, which was abolished in 1923, had studied in the fields of "preventing cruelty towards children, not having services that can be dangerous for physical and psychological state of children by anyone-including their parents-, providing the treatment of poor and sick children, protecting children from addictive materials such as tobacco and others, securing to send the poor children to countryside or summer houses in the holidays, not mistreating the servant or adopted children, (…) establishing library, constructing reformatories for children who are sentenced or who can not be disciplined well by their parents, constructing recreation ground to bring up children in a healthy way, and connecting to international institutions working for the protection of children. The extent of problem definition and conducting the studies on an international level shows the power of the institution.

and child protection policies were commissioned to the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health. Generally speaking, the family has been highlighted in policies on children's issues and the issue was characterized as a field of women. Furthermore, affiliated organizations were founded for the solution of children's issues.[74]

Founding new organizations on children's issues and related fields in the period subsequent to 1983 has contributed to the monitoring, assessment and criticism of the public praxis. We can say that the history of NGOs working on children's issues in this respect is short and diversification in terms of focusing on different issues and service types has started. Increase in the number of organizations and accessing to local areas have followed a path parallel to the increase of issues related to children.

The approval of the "Convention on the Rights of the Child" in 1989 by the United Nations has contributed to the improvement of children's rights by bringing forth a new debate in the world and in Turkey. Although NGOs had been interested in children's rights for a long time, specific organizations on this field started after 2000. So far, children's rights are considered within the field of service based organizations.

1. Children's NGOs in Terms of Participation

Participation in NGOs working in the field of children's issues started to undergo a change from traditional organization culture, but have not reached the desired level yet. The recent increase in the number of NGOs working in this field has also brought up debates about organization model and participating. In our interviews, it is denoted that participating is quantitatively dense, but still not at a sufficient level as a result of various reasons, and it is seen that participation in NGOs working in the field of children's rights has been questioned.

An approach, in which administrative councils are highlighted as decision making mechanisms and in which the members who take the problem seriously work more actively than others, is dominant in the organizations. In the administrative councils the decisions are made together after discussions and with consensus. Organization

[74] Öntaş, Özlem Cankurtaran. "*Tehlikeli Çocuklar ve İktidar*", Birikim, issue 192, 2005.

strategy and politics are usually determined by a close circle consisting of members and experts who are active in the institution. In this context, it can be said that, a structure far from improving participating approaches is dominant throughout the institutions.

Making decisions by certain members in the organization can either be as a result of the active status of these members or because of the low participation level to organization's activities and inevitable work load on certain people. Due to the functionality principle, the administrative councils are constructed with active members' standing forefront. In the interviews, it is indicated that the number of members is between fifty and hundred, and only thirty percent of them are working actively. Newly established NGOs, in order not to have participation problems, in a sense with a corporatist approach, prefer individuals who are experts in their field, who can work actively and who can provide qualitative contribution to the organization.

Recently, some praxis such as; administrative councils' making decisions about routine works or urgent issues, and having functioning advisory councils to create strategy and policies are seen. Advisory councils started to be widespread as units meeting rarely. In spite of the problems in participating members, advisory councils composed of experienced and qualified members can be effective in planning.

The establishment of foundations with a limited number of members brings on the survival of the structure with participation and contribution of existing members. However, it doesn't mean that they are less democratic than the associations since they are established with a limited number of members. Some NGOs, in order to solve participation problem and make the decision making process transparent, prefer horizontal organization by developing ethical working principles. This preference points out that participation and transparency problems can be surmounted with various expansions in the recent period.

In the interviews with the NGOs it has been understood that the inactive or non-participating members are not excluded from membership. Many organizations, envisaging their members' potential contribution, want to use their linkages and periphery when necessary. Some members' participating in various activities periodically and paying subscriptions are shown as reasons for not being excluded from membership.

The Participation Mechanisms in Children's NGOs

NGOs working in the field of children's issues differ from other NGOs in that they have a passive target group and studies are conducted by people sensitive to the field. Since the children are not included in the organization process, and policies are constructed, the praxis is implemented and activities are developed in the name of children externally, the participation of the target group is questioned. Although the debates on the participation of children to the process of organizing and decision making are increasing, an authentic model for the solution of involvement problem could not have been developed yet.[75]

Ankara Child Rights Platform underlined the importance of children participating in its strategy document. Although, there is consensus among the NGOs on the necessity of children's participation, in practice, legal difficulties and lack of examples prevails.[76]

It doesn't seem possible to mention an alternative approach created by NGOs for the participation of the target group. Yet, it can be said that the field research about the study of target group and studies on problem definition became widespread. Planning activities depending on research, studies and observations became widespread with the development of project-conducting culture. In needs analysis, together with families, public institutions and establishments in the work fields are seen as consulted sources.

In the studies based on establishing rights, in a framework of building up consciousness and advocacy studies, target group differentiation progresses as a positive pro-

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[75] The child assemblies constituted under the structure of local governments can be shown as samples in the sense of children's participation. Diyarbakır Municipality International Child Festival is an activity which was organized according to the decisions of Sur Municipality Child Assembly, attracts attention.

[76] Organizations Law, numbered 5253 regulates child participation: "The young above 15 years old, who has the ability to know, aiming to protect and develop their sports, education and schooling rights, social and cultural existence, family structure and private life, can establish children's organizations or be a member of them with their social, psychological, moral, physical and mental abilities by the written permission of their legal representatives. Children above 12 years of age can be members of children's associations with the permission of their legal representatives; however, they can not work at administrative or advisory councils. Young people above 18 can not either be a founder or a member of child organizations". However, for other organizations working about child issues the 64th item of Turkish Civil Law numbered 4721 defined the membership requirements according to reel people having actual license and legal individuals. Since actual license includes adolescence, that is individuals above 18, the legal barrier in front of children's membership to organizations or trusts keeps going.

cess; the definition of policymaker started to broaden as a result of educating adults about children's rights, institutional capacity improvement studies in a collaborative framework of central and local administrations, and field-problem focused research. However, demands of families are still taken into account in service organizations. Home visits, face to face dialogs, tutoring, sanitary control, sportive activities, donation in kind and cash donation to the families, cultural activities and performances (screening, drama activities, concerts etc.) are considered as main methods providing participating of target group.

Although a participating needs analysis method is mentioned, it can be said that at the praxis stage, a participating approach is not followed and the target group remains passive. In the studies conducted with Social Services and Society for the Protection of Children institution needs are still primarily taken into account.

Rights-based organizations adopt an indirect problem reflection and public opinion shaping approach about the target group in their policies and activities towards the resolution of the issue, because they implement studies based on samples of current issues and abuse. In sustainable studies, the trust relationships established with the children in the target group and the mastery built gradually of the data of the field can bring up various praxis. In these kinds of long-term studies, participation of target group can develop during the process.

Volunteer Administration and Participation

The NGOs working in the field of children's issues, use a more widespread volunteer contribution than the other NGOs. It is understood that the most important and the most powerful properties of the NGOs that are predominant in their fields is endearing the volunteers to the association and benefiting from them at functional fields. In this context, volunteer administration has started to gain an increasing importance among NGOs working in this field. Yet, it can be said that, more than participation of the volunteers, these members' contribution and functionalism is highlighted. The opportunity to use volunteers in project implementation and activity conduction, serves for meeting the qualified people and experts that the organization needs over the long term as well as providing cost control and increasing the quality of efficacy.

The volunteers who can participate at decision making process in a limited rate, have important roles at representing their organization and at the relationships established with the target group. The institutions use these volunteers also as staff.[77] Volunteer orientation and supervision stand out as methods used by organizations in volunteer administration. Orientation studies, trainings about activity fields, social sensitivity towards volunteers are organized in order to increase knowledge and skills by instructing about civil societies. In a similar way, regular meetings creating agenda for volunteers stand out in the attempt to sustain organizational relationship.

2. Institutionalization in Children's NGOs

It is seen that the NGOs working in the field of children's issues are generally founded both to overcome the problematic state and to do supportive studies where public is insufficient. Basically, two main tendencies can be seen: providing service and working to establish rights. In terms of organization and implementation approach, benevolent, philanthropist, secular NGO structures appear to be gaining influence.[78]

The Reasons for the Establishment of Children's NGOs

Not having self-organization in the institutions working in the field of children's issues and having NGOs active in different field also deal with children's issues is due to various establishment reasons. In order to make a classification in this field, we examined 624 organizations at International Child Center database and 143 NGOs at Civil Society Developing Centre (STGM) data base. It is seen that organizations especially studying in the fields of education, women, youth, disabled and human rights are established for different purposes;

[77] "Semi-volunteer" definition becomes widespread in NGOs working project based. In order to increase the motivation and provide continuous contribution, meeting the work field costs (road, communication, food) and paying symbolic wages are commonly seen praxis. When it is considered that volunteer potential is especially composed of university students and young, the participation of the volunteers to the praxis process can be possible by partial rewarding mechanisms. The volunteers used to work to the working culture in the long term can be employed in the institution as professional employees.

[78] Since the NGOs working in the field of children's issues are not self-organizations, that is these organizations are not established by the target group, they show differences according to the properties of the founders. Furthermore, NGOs working in the fields of education, women, youth, disabled, health, development, human rights, urgent period- humanitarian aid and charity also widely work in the field of children. The 12 fields defined in a study done by STGM in 2005 in order to classify the NGOs can also be used for children's NGOs. ("Non-Governmental Societies: Needs and Limitations", October 2005, www.stgm.org)

however, they are also loomed large as organization conducting studies about children. When looked at their establishment purposes NGOs can be classified in seven categories;

1. Organizations protecting and supporting orphanages

These are organized in a widespread area for children who are orphans and dependent. These organizations have originally been founded to collect donation to the orphanages; however, with the Law of Relationships of Organizations and Trusts with Public Institutions and Organizations numbered 5072, they were converted to independent structures.[79] Associations for protection continued their studies as friends of children. In terms of field of study, organizational support, supporting orphanages, guidance and efforts to construct orphanages come forth.. Aims and activities are limited in this field where association type organization is widely accepted.

2. Associations and foundations established for groups under risk

These are organizations either established as a result of differentiation of children's issues as a separate field and sociological problems' being apparent with the appearance of the definition "children needing protection" in the period following 1990, or they are organizations that changed their aims in a way to work in this field.[80] These organizations working in the problem fields of children living and/or working on streets, committing a crime or inclined to crime, maintain their studies in context to the broad definition of "children under risk". Among the study fields there are

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[79] In order to accept in-kind and cash donation, and to support the needs of social service institutions, NGOs in this field were founded. These- far from having civil organization qualities- were organizations founded for a limited work. Recently, since these organizations caused a lot of problems, with the broken relationship between civil organization-public, a platform is constituted to make civil organizations stand on their own feet and be organized for their own independent aims. However, this wasn't a non-problematic process; both public institutions and civil organizations were uneasy about this situation. These were using the opportunities of others mutually. Civil organizations could work under social-service units, gain donation and use organization opportunities. With the "Law of Relationships of Organizations and Trusts with Public Institutions and Establishments" numbered 5074 published on 22.01.2004, it has turned up to be that; the organizations and trusts can no longer have the name of public institutions and establishments, can not have activities in these institutions' and establishment' service buildings, and can not use the instruments of these institutions. The law, not only forbids collecting donations and getting contribution from public services, but also prevents the public employees to be a member of an organization or a trust by using their job title.

[80] The concept of being under risk started to define a broader field by including the term "children needing protection", which has started to be discussed after 1994 period and used widely recently . The term is used in the context of including every child that needs protection. In this context, it has started to include children under treat in a wide scope such as children; who can not get education, who have problems related to poverty, who are exposed to in-family violence and sexual harassment, who lack family protection, who are under care, who are homeless, who are immigrant or exile.

studies for children living and/or working in the streets, sheltering and health studies, studies to establish the rights of children in reformatories and house of detentions, and cultural and artistic activities. In this category, organizations such as associations and foundations draw attention as indicators of institutionalization capacity.

3. Organizations aiming to support education

These are radical and pioneer organizations working in the field of children's issues with a variety of characteristics. In this category, philanthropic organizations and modern, secular NGOs are active. Among the main activities of these institutions are; supporting education institutions, supporting basic facilities, constructing schools, kindergartens, dormitories, collecting donations and providing scholarships. In the subcategories, there are associations supporting pre-school activities, education and schooling for poor children and girls' education, and associations trying to expand the scientific studies about children.

The organization model, the founders and working hours of organizations in the field of education show important differences. Institutions aimed at education have contributed to the expansion of the approaches and methods in this field by carrying out national studies based on activities. Having methodological and ideological differences in organization and establishment purposes is one of the important elements in the increase of organization number in this field. Yet, it can be said that the dominant tendency is benevolence and philanthropic approaches.

4. NGOs founded to support health

These are organizations founded by the efforts of academic experts working at health centers and the sick children's families in order to overcome children's diseases. Since social sensitivity is developed in the field of children's health and diseases, and the donations are much more and continuous than the other fields, organization as foundations are more common in this field. In this category, where awareness raising studies are done, children's health, children's diseases, guidance studies, mother-child health, children's hospitals praxis are done, and studies are conducted for 0-6 year's old children and disabled children. For physically and mentally disabled children, constructing guidance centers, schools and day care centers is predominant. It should be highlighted that although studies of rights and awareness raising are insufficient

in the field of disabled children, new methods such as society-based rehabilitation are implemented.

5. Organizations founded to encourage children's activities

These are organizations established with the purpose of organizing cultural and artistic activities, establishing clubs and theaters, constituting children's library in order to encourage children's creativity. It is seen that social, cultural and artistic activities are forefront in these organizations which are increasing in number recently. Although "association roof" is preferred widely, child clubs and child houses can be seen as extension of commercial corporations. Child clubs and child houses supported by local governments are also seen frequently.

6. Organizations concerned in studies for family and children

These are organizations doing educative and instructive activities about family planning, mother and child health, and improvement studies about public health and poor families. In order to make the studies effective, including the families into the process is a common approach.

7. Rights-based organizations

Existence of NGOs working in the field of children's rights has been possible in the recent period. Although there were associations providing services before, in the recent period, organizations studying only on advocacy, monitoring praxis and informing public is seen more often. NGOs working in this field are organizations conducting every study about problems of children including; child negligence and exploitation[81], physical violence, sexual, emotional and economical harassment, and problems about poverty.

Problem Definition and Activity Areas

The problem definitions and accepted activity area in children's organizations, although faithful to establishment aims, can change by time. The expansion of problem definition with the increase in institutionalization and being active at different fields

[81] The behaviors or acts done by an adult, society or government deliberately or unintentionally that is affecting the health; physical and psychological development of the child negatively is called "child exploitation". Not meeting the needs necessary for child's health; physical and psychological development of the child is defined as "child negligence".
(http://www.sosyalhizmetuzmani.org/cocukistismariveonlenmesi.doc)

from establishment aims is a widespread tendency. While institutionalization requires mastery about the target field, the capacity increase of institutions brought up holistic approaches to the defined problem. For instance, an NGO established in order to study on children working in the street, can expand its activity field in the long term by regarding the reasons that make the child go to street. In this context, focusing on poverty and the structure of family, working on fields such as developing institutional capacity, can become a part of the purpose.

We could say that there is a difference between the service-based and rights-based NGOs in terms of the definition of the problem. The aims of organizations which work on children in prisons, detention centers or reformatories, or on children's rights or delinquent children and children with a tendency for delinquency are clear as to the definition of the problem.[82] The definition of the problem according to organizations more inclined to service and charity may vary according to the dimensions of the problem or daily events. Organizational identity brings about a different approach towards the problem area. It is a frequently observed feature of NGOs working on a service basis to conduct activities in areas secondary in terms of their definition of the problem, according to the capacity of financial resources.

As the problems about child labor, children living and working on the street, and their families increase, the struggle in education and health services and children's rights comes to the fore. In the recent years, intensive studies are being carried out for the children working on the street, and many NGOs give priority to this problem area. As the problems of the children working / living on the streets gets bigger in metropolitan cities like Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Antalya and Diyarbakır, the existing NGOs started working on the issue, and in some cities new organizations related to this problem area are established.

After issues such as sexual exploitation of children, child porn, and Internet addiction began to appear on the public agenda, many NGOs headed by rights-based NGOs

[82] In the juvenile execution institution there are 394 children. A new juvenile execution institution is being built in İzmir. There are 3 educational homes with a capacity of 100-250. These institutions shelter children who were at the age of 12-18 when they committed a crime and who had not completed 18 years of age. In places where there are no reformatories or detention centres, children are kept in the "children's divisions" of prisons. (http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr)

started to work on the issue. A similar approach was observed in terms of the issue of children exposed to violence.[83]

The definition of the problem according to various associations and foundations, their target groups are given below in the context of their constitutive aims.

Target Groups and the Work Fields of Associations and Foundations

> To raise children in need of protection between the ages 0-18 with a perspective of care for their physical and psychological integrity, to look after the children of low-income working mothers, to take children under protection before they are in the street. To determine the measures to be implemented for the children who no longer fulfill protection criteria, and to monitor the lives of these children after the implementation of these measures.

> To raise the consciousness of the public, the administrators, the children and their families, by approaching the problems of disadvantaged children and adolescents with a children's rights perspective, to meet the needs of the children, to keep them away from substance use and crime, to work for their protection from negligence and exploitation.

> To support the social services institutions.

> To work with the disabled children in the local framework, to build creative spaces for these children.

> In order to ensure equal and modern education for everyone, to conduct social work for raising consciousness, educating generations respectful to the universal human and children's rights, and sensitive to the environment.

> To solve the problems of the children living in orphanages and children who leave the orphanage; to ensure solidarity in economic, social and cultural spheres.

> To provide psychological and financial aid to the children in the reformatories and to help them be raised as functional citizens of the society, to provide scholarships.

> To provide gratis scholarship and boarding facilities for the primary, secondary and high school education of orphaned and poor children.

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[83] According to the records of the Ministry of Justice General Directorate of Judicial Records and Statistics, between the years 2002-2005, 18 thousand 788 lawsuits were filed in relation to the crimes of "rape, assault against chastity, seduction of minors" committed against children under 15 years of age. In these law suits in which 21 thousand 111 children were the injured party, 4 thousand 167 children were tried as the accused.

> To conduct research on the social, cultural, economic and educational problems of children, to find solutions to these problems.
> To investigate the causes of migration and to support the children affected by migration in terms of nutrition, education, health and social life.
> To help the children who have left their family, live in the street, maladjusted, in need of psychological help, have substance addiction, give up their negative behavior and addiction, to readjust them to their families and the society, to meet the sheltering, health and educational needs of the children and adolescents living in the street, to establish workshops in order to help them acquire occupational skills and employment.
> To support the educational activities, and maternal and child health, to improve the conditions of children by providing social aid to the families.
> To help cancer-sick children who need long term and expensive treatment, to support them psychologically and financially.
> To provide scholarship, money, food, clothing needs of poor and needy children, to take care of their health problems, to find them employment, and to educate them about environmental health and cleanliness.
> To take care of the problems of children who come out of prison and who have no place to go to. To aid the education of delinquent children and adolescents, to re-adapt these children to society, and to help those who have dropped out continue with their education.
> To work in order to provide help and better services to those children who cannot adequately utilize standard educational services due to their exceptional physical, mental, psychological or social characteristics.
> To help restore the social and cultural structure disturbed by war, terror, migration or similar social or natural events
> To work in order to overcome legal problems, to conduct scientific research on issues regarding the children, to publish the results of such research, to organize panels and symposiums, to provide scholarships.
> To improve pre-school education, to expose the problems of children at pre-school age countrywide.
> To investigate and discuss the scientific problems regarding child health and child education, to publish on these issues, to support and evaluate such studies with the collaboration of pediatricians and medical associations.

> To realize and fully implement the basic criteria of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which are; the principles of non-discrimination; devotion to the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; and respect for the views of the child.

Inter-Organizational Communication and Collaboration

The NGOs working on children's issues cannot develop an effective collaboration in comparison to NGOs working in other fields. Although a variety of reasons are pointed out, the determining factor is that the NGOs are not established by the owners of the problem and that those who are not children are working in the name of children. The efforts of the NGOs to stand by the public institutions and not to contradict these institutions, prevents the opportunity to extend collaboration in other fields, as well. The general line of criticism against these NGOs is that despite they can come together on certain platforms, their cooperation is far from conclusive decision, they cannot suggest solutions to public institutions, and they cannot act as pressure groups. The second reason behind lack of cooperation is pointed out as the incomplete institutionalization processes of the NGOs working in this field; high turnover of staff and members, and lack of experience due to inadequate institutionalization, prevents the development of cooperation. Underdevelopment of a civil society perspective is mentioned as another factor leading to inadequate cooperation. Conflicts between the organizations, inadequate knowledge and experience sharing, individual rather than institutional approaches taking over the scene, ideological differences in the policy making processes are cited as other barriers to cooperation. The interviewed NGO's take NGO's working on women's issues as their role model and state that the most developed forms of cooperation are observed in this area.

Although the cooperation between the NGOs is not sufficient, recent years have witnessed the efforts towards umbrella organizations, towards a culture of co-acting. For instance, when a topic related to children's rights was on the agenda in the recent years, NGOs working on the issue started to come together and react more rapidly, and were able to form platforms albeit ineffective. They were effective in the amendments of law articles regarding children as a result of their joint work. In this context, Children's Justice Platform is accepted as an exemplary implementation in which the NGOs were able to come together and produce ideas.

Formations Which Come to the Fore in Umbrella Organizations

Umbrella organization and network efforts have not been effective due to the weakness of cooperation culture and of the institutional structures of the NGOs working on children's issues. That the formation process of such organizations takes long and it remains voluntary rather than a legal organization is one of the basic obstacles.[84] Since organizing on the basis of a platform is a relatively new approach, it is necessary to state that these problems are not unique to the NGOs working on children's issues; there are similar difficulties in NGOs working on other fields, too.[85] Some umbrella organizations formed by NGO's working on children's issues are below:

Coalition of Children's Rights of Turkey

Twenty-eight NGOs have constituted the Coalition of Children's Rights of Turkey (CCRT) in January 2001.[86] The aim of the coalition is to fully realize the rights of the children. The coalition was established with the goal of preparing the country report and alternative reports on the issue of children's rights and to develop a culture of cooperation among the NGOs working on the issue. CCRT has determined five principles within the framework of Voluntary Partnership Agreement:

> Every child has the right to live in a perfect world.

> In order to ensure that children start life with the required knowledge and resources, it is necessary to work for the children without leaving out any child.

> Families, societies and the children themselves need to endeavor in order to ensure that the children live in a decent, safe and prosperous world where they can discover and realize themselves.

> It is necessary to focus on the problems of the children and to endeavor to develop apt solutions.

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[84] International Children's Center, in its study titled "Guidelines for NGOs: Networking for Children's Rights" (2006) has pointed out that competition between the institutions, personal conflicts at the level of leadership, inadequacy of attachment, uncertainty of the contributions by the member organizations, conflict of interest between the member organizations and umbrella organizations, and financing as the basic difficulties.

[85] Article 25 of the Law on Associations No: 5253 regulates the formation of platforms by the associations: "Associations can form platforms among themselves or with foundations, unions or similar civil society organizations in order to realize a common goal, about issues related to their aims and in fields not prohibited by law. Platforms cannot be formed or work for aims and activities prohibited for the associations by law. The punitive provisions of the related laws will be implemented for those who act in contradiction of this prohibition.

[86] CRPT has 32 member organizations. (http://www.cocukhaklarikoalisyonu.org/detay.asp?hid=232)

> On the eve of the new millennium, it is necessary to work for equality, justice, peace, health and happiness both for the children in Turkey and for the children of the world.

Until today, CCRT has organized the Children's Assembly together with the Municipality of Şişli, a painting competition, worked towards the establishment of a local coalition within the framework of Southeast Anatolia Project (SEAP), put plays on stage and organized a workshop on art techniques, and worked on the country report and alternative report on children's rights. Yet, due to the conflicts which came about between the coalition member organizations in 2006, and their differences of approach towards the children issue, an effective activity could not been sustained.

National Communication Network of Children's Rights

National Communication Network of Children's Rights was established in 2003. It has 358 members from various fields. The communication network was structured on virtual reality. On the internet site of the communication network, (http://www.0-18.org) the agenda is followed weekly, and weekly articles are published with the support of NGOs. The website which is updated weekly is sent to 30 thousand e-mail addresses every Monday. The content of the bulletins consists of the activities of the member NGOs, results of various research and suggestions as to solutions. The mission of the communication network is: ''to extend the education and monitoring activities as to the rights of the children to life, development, protection and participation in line with the principle of devotion to the best interests of the child; and prevention of all kinds of discrimination against the children; and to realize the volunteers' communication network among the NGOs which are established with an aim as to support and monitor the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and to put children's rights on the agenda of the country, public organizations and institutions, media and the citizens.''

Ankara Platform of Children's Rights

The negotiations which were started in 2005 with the initiative of nine NGOs resulted in the establishment of the Ankara Platform of Children's Rights in March 2007 with the participation of eight NGOs. A wide field of study was determined for the platform:

> The strengthening of the internal organizational capacities of the organizations which made up the Platform.

> Strengthening of the advocacy capacities of the organizations which made up the Platform.

> Strengthening of the capacity of cooperation and solidarity among the platform members.

> Ensuring the effective participation of children in the decisions taken by the platform.
> In relation to the public authority, strengthening the intervention capacity of the platform members and the other elements of human rights movement –specifically children's rights movement – with regards to the processes of policy making based on children's rights
> To spread the children's rights agenda nationally, regionally and globally.
> Strengthening the intervention capacity of rights based NGOs and academic institutions with regards to the processes of policy making based on children's rights.
> Strengthening the intervention capacity of the media with regards to the processes of policy making based on children's rights.
> Strengthening the intervention capacity of the children with regards to the processes of policy making based on children's rights, to ensure the participation of children in every sphere, to remove the obstacles to their participation.

Diyarbakır Children's Initiative

As the problems related to children increased in Diyarbakır, 18 organizations including the local administrations and the NGOs came together in 2006. With respect to the previous experiences which demonstrated the need for a cooperation culture, it was decided that a children's rights initiative should be formed and studies should continue. It was also decided that a platform would be established if the joint efforts proved to ripen and processes of cooperation were developed.

Sustainability in Terms of Children's NGOs

One of the most serious difficulties of NGOs working on children's issues is sustainability. Institutional differences between foundations and associations are evident and obvious. Foundations are much more effective in terms of the strengthening of the institutional structure, sustainability and proliferation of the efforts.

Sustainability of the activities is not adequate because of the insufficiency of the resources, financial weakness and lack of staff. Different approaches have been adopted in terms of sustainability. Union of associations and foundations has come to the fore as a different model of effective working. Two successful examples of this model are Turkey Freedom to the Children Foundation and Turkey Can Foundation for Educating and Protecting Children. Both of the organizations started their work as associations and went through a process of becoming a foundation with the development of institutiona-

lization. The transfer of the local capacity building works to the local organizations or establishment of new organizations can also be pointed out as successful instances of sustainability. For instance, Children under the Same Roof and Face to Face associations have become local organizations which are mentioned in this context.

Lack of experts and resources is a determining factor for the sustainability of works after the halt of financial support for project based works. In conditions of scarce resources, those organizations which succeed in managing voluntary support, can sustain their activities albeit partially. Thus, volunteerism has become an important need for the NGOs working on children's issues. A similar trend can be observed in their membership profile. It is observed that middle class professionals take the front scene in NGOs working on children's issue. Among the reasons behind the proliferation of this trend are; the need for saving operational costs of the organizations, making use of experienced experts in field studies and project implementations.

Organizations try to overcome resource scarcity by resort to different fields, since their work covers a wide area. The donations of charitable people are the primary resources of NGOs working on children's issues. In the recent years, considerable donations by capital groups or their sponsorship of activities have become an important development. Yet, the existing NGOs do not benefit from the recent development that aid and activities are carried out by the NGOs established by capital groups. The proliferation and implementation of the understanding of institutional social responsibility in Turkey; however, slowly it may be, will provide a partial solution to the resources problem of NGOs. With the amendment of the Law on Associations, it has been made possible for the NGOs to be allocated funds for their joint works with public institutions; yet, the implementation has not produced results due to insufficient resources.[87] The basic problem of the NGOs is the interpretation of the status

[87] Article 10 of the Law on Associations No: 5253 regulates for the associations the process of benefiting from aid: "Associations, in order to realize their aims indicated in their bylaws can get financial aid from associations with similar aims, political parties, labour and employer's unions and professional chambers; and they can provide financial aid to the above mentioned organizations." The execution of the principle of getting financial aid from political parties has been stopped by the Constitutional Court. In addition, Article 10 regulates how the associations can benefit from public resources for the project implementations carried out jointly with public institutions: "On the condition that the provisions of the Law No 5072 on the Relationship of Associations and Foundations with Public Institutions and Organizations are protected, associations can carry out joint projects with public institutions and organizations on issues which fall into their area of work. In these projects, public institutions or organizations can provide cash or in-kind contribution not exceeding the 50 percent of the total project costs."

of associations established for public benefit. Since the basic feature of the Law No. 5253 is its avoidance of detailed arrangements, the details were left to be regulated by by-laws. In the law, a six month period was foreseen for the by-laws to be passed; a by-law on the Law of the Associations has not been published in the Official Gazette, yet. Consequently, it is not possible to know the exact details of the arrangements to be made.[88] Other sources of funds for the organizations working on the basis of projects are the World Bank and the Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP), European Union Fund, and the funds provided by embassies and consulates. Since the amounts of the funds are limited, the desired works are realized with great difficulty.

Membership fees are defined as regular resources that associations can legally collect. Yet, in an environment where member participation is low, membership fees are far from contributing to the basic needs of organizations. Although sales and other income producing activities contribute to the organizations, apart from a few successful examples, they are ineffective due to irregularity. Since it is a new practice of associations to establish economic enterprises structured as foundations, the contribution of these enterprises to the institutional structures is still controversial.

Since NGO's define institutional sustainability as their prioritized problem area, they regard the issue of finding resources for institutionalization and for continuity as their leading concern. Some noteworthy expressions regarding this point are as follows:

> "Foundations helped us. Later, UNFPA and UNICEF supported the researches. We received support from certain institutions. We are not a well-off centre, but we are a serious centre which has completed its institutionalization process. We do not make any concessions as to quality."

> "We have membership fees, donations, firms which support our projects. For instance, (a firm) donated a five thousand dollar fund to the youth centre. We organize revenue producing activities, cultural city tours or tours to other cities. Twice a year, there is the association's fair. These fairs bring revenues through the sale of knick knack. There are also people who make donations. We also accept in-kind donations.

[88] The advantages of an association established for public benefit can be counted as follows: it is easier to allocate a share for the association in the general budget, they can collect aid without taking the permits according to the law on collecting aid, the donations and aids they collect are subject to discount according to the Law on Income tax and Corporation Tax, crimes against the properties of the association are penalized as crimes against state property.

There are people who donate transportation services, clothes, educational support and food.''

> ''The NGOs need to write projects and find resources in order to survive. These are generally international funds; European Union funds, funds of the embassies or the UNICEF. In the recent years we have started to turn towards national resources. We aim to get institutional support.''

> ''No NGO can carry out their works with the membership fees. When this is the case, it is necessary to access funds through national or international projects. We have membership fees, national contributions and international support. Yet we need to develop projects which can bring financial contribution. However, project alone do not suffice to carry out the works. We have a common ground with those who have a children's issues origin. Currently we are working jointly with the existing NGO's. We are trying to reduce the costs.''

> ''We have revenues that we obtain in the form of donations or from the fairs or tea parties that we organize. We get support from (a firm) in terms of institutional social responsibility. Organizations working in the field of education and health are luckier than us; since we are an association working on human rights, we are very careful about the life area of the target group. (...) The implementation regarding the associations established for public benefit is problematic. The tax relief implementation for associations not working for public benefit is an obstacle to donations. Some arrangement has to be made regarding this issue.''

> ''We find funds according to the type of the study. For instance, a documentary on children's rights will be made for the political parties in the elections; we will try to find support for the works to be carried out in this framework.''

> ''When the project about children in institutions is finished, if continuity cannot be sustained, it can be harmful. (...) We do not get external support. If there is the support of the volunteers, there is nothing you cannot solve. There are works carried out by voluntary support, without any financial contributions.''

> ''We are implementing the project of ''one child supports another one'' especially for the nutritional needs those children between the ages of 3-6 who are in need of protection and by giving kindergarten service for their care and education.''

> ''An NGO which cannot sustain its capital cannot survive. The development of organizations which do not depend on capital is very weak. In Turkey, philanthropist groups

based on capital are coming to the fore gradually. Social responsibility is gradually developing. The basic deficiency is that the state does not ensure the continuity of capital. If the state does not transfer cash, even on a project basis, there is no chance for the development of such tradition for associations living on membership fees. In Turkey, the approach to the civil society is that "they should come to the stage without capital and be established by membership fees". However, there is need for both channels: either the state will cooperate with NGOs and sustain their work without making an issue of money, or capital groups will get more organized in this field. Under normal conditions, the state can invest in the social sphere as much as its savings from the funds obtained by tax allow. I think that the state remains remote to both of these channels, but the capital groups are included in this. The understanding of the state is "if you are non-governmental, your members should produce the funds", this understanding has to be overcome. NGOs are an issue of understanding, not of money.

3. Impact-Functionality Evaluation

NGOs working on children's issues have stated that those organizations which carry our impact-functionality evaluation are generally weak and inadequate. Inadequacy of the methods, use of similar methods by different organizations, non-testing of the methods, and the non-compliance of the activity indicators with measurement and evaluation criteria have resulted in deficient impact-functionality evaluations. The fact that qualitative indicators come to the fore can be a result of the extension of the relationship of the NGO's to their field of work, as well as a result of the large size of the problem area and the inadequacy of the contributions to the solution. Right-based NGOs initiated the qualitative measurement and evaluation studies in this field, too. The determining criterion which occupies the forefront in impact evaluation is the media representation of activities. With the development of project implementation method, the working methods of their donor institutions have put impact evaluation on the agenda and recently, this activity became an important element of the studies. Development of different methods will contribute to the measurement and evaluation of the activities. The comments of the interviewed organizations as to impact-functionality evaluation are as follows:

> "We conduct impact evaluation studies especially in the field of children's rights. We made impact evaluation studies on media and the participation of children and on peer studies."

> "In our study with children living on the street, we carried out certain practices with the participation of mothers. In general, there is no method in this field; we do not believe that there are NGOs in Turkey which are inclined towards research. This is another reason why there are many NGOs with a service basis."

> "We think our contribution to the field is considerable. Ministry of Justice has opened the previously closed doors to the public. We have tried to make the public aware of the need for sensitivity to juvenile delinquency, and were successful to a certain extent. Our slogan is "The children are not dangerous, in fact, they are themselves in danger". The awareness that the children are not criminals; it is the society that directs them towards crime, has developed. Number of academic studies increased."

> "We have reached thousands of children in closed institutions, but we were not able to determine the rate of reengagement in crime, because it is very difficult to access the released children. In fact, the child does not wish to remember that period again. In our youth centre, there are only two children who were engaged in crime."

> "Recently, we are making many impact evaluation studies. In the beginning, we were sort of neglecting this issue. In general, NGOs would intervene when there was a need for urgent aid or urgent precautions. Impact evaluation was introduced because we needed to discuss the achievement of the targets and what happens after the implementations. In order to make social policy, we need to see whether the implementations work by impact evaluation studies. We saw that we achieved our goals in terms of getting results and in terms of localization. There were implementations, too, with which we could not achieve our aims."

> "There is no measurement in NGOs; consequently, there are no data as to the extent of the success of the efforts. There is considerable development in the field of children's rights, but I am not sure whether this development can be attributed to the works carried out. The efforts are effective."

> "While impact evaluation is carried out for European Union or UNICEF sponsored projects, this routine is not applied to the activities in general."

> "We cannot see our mistakes if we don't make impact evaluation studies. There are many things to do to achieve the aims. Are there not any shortcomings? Yes, there are. The society accepts you gradually."

> "The ultimate aim is taken as a basis of measurement. We decide what to do, determine a method and aim at the target. The final measurement is very important; if we can help pass a law, add an article to the law, and make a legal proposal, we see that we have achieved our aim. (...) The number of news items on child prostitution and child porn has increased. It is an important measure that the issue has come to the front page from the third page and began to be discussed.

4. The Relations of Children's NGOs with the Public Authority

Since the NGOs working on children's issue are not self-organizations; i.e. that is they are not established by children who are the target group, their relations with the public authority is affected by their characteristics and approaches related to their membership profile.

Before 2004, NGOs established by people close to the public administration or by the public administration were prevalent especially in the fields of social services or the policies for child protection; this was effective in their adopting a less critical approach towards the public authority. We can say that the aims and the fields of activity are the basic determinant of the relationship between the NGOs and the public authority.

In general, the public-NGO relationship has been evaluated on a trust axis. After 2000, the increase in the number of project based works, the execution of these works with EU funding and the provisions of these funds for multi-partner and stakeholder execution, has forced the NGOs to cooperate with the public authority. The initially formal invitation of the NGOs by the public authority to the EU accession process has provided an opportunity to lay the foundations of a functional cooperation in time. In this context, some of the evaluations which came to the fore during the interviews are as follows:

> "The state-NGO relationships are in their infancy stage. An association comes forward and takes away something, yet it cannot develop a continuous cooperation with the state. The fundamental reason is that the state is reactive against the criticisms by the NGOs in relation to the problems in social services; the state regards the negative events as individual processes. The approach of the state that "I am strong, and can handle that" is still prevalent in the public authority with regard to the problems.

> "It is a fragile relationship. In principle, you have to find the issues which will be to the advantage of both sides. If you promote the principle of mutual benefit, relationships with the public authority are not that hard. If you know what you demand from the public authority, and if you give support within the fields which are within the plans and programs that do not contradict their policies, there is no problem. Those who endeavor to transform the public authority with regards to advocacy and children's rights must be very experienced. If you bring the un-experienced people and the public authority face to face, this will create a different environment. The NGOs must be emphatic of what the public authority will demand from them. If there is no empathy, the relationship will be broken. It is necessary to contribute to the program of public institutions."

> "The Ministry of Justice knows us and we don't have many problems between us. Laws at international standards have been passed, but there are difficulties of implementation. For instance, a custody delegate must be appointed for a child who has relations with a juvenile court, yet due to scarcity of personnel such appointment cannot be made. The Ministry declares that this is due to the scarcity of personnel and financial difficulties.In addition, as the Platform for the Development of the Juvenile Judicial System, we demand that a department must be established within the Supreme Court of Appeals in order to speed up the juvenile cases. Two years ago, the office of the governor of (....) worked with us. The office of the mayor knows us. We are members of the provincial and Prime Ministerial Commission of Human Rights. One representative carries out the membership duties. (...) There is huge inadequacy in the institutions where children are kept. The children need to be kept in separate institutions for children."

> "In state institutions there is a more hierarchical structure, there is a lot of red tape in communications that takes a lot of your time. The problems in the East and Southeast are very different. The elected and the appointed do not work together."

> "The children's issues are somewhat more innocent and more open to discussion. The public is more open on this issue. In the past, it was hard to access the institutions. In terms of the topics on the agenda, the public authority is not as closed as it was before. Hardworking NGOs have made the public authority accept them. In addition, the efforts of the NGOs with clearly defined objectives have created trust. The public authority also developed an approach to open to the civil society and to work together. This approach materialized on the basis of providing services rather than a give-and-take of ideas. If the civil society donated or was ready to provide a service which

satisfied a need, this was more acceptable. This has changed a little, now there is cooperation both in the production and the provision of services. If the approach is to 'plan the works together with the civil society, to discuss the problems, and to find the solutions together' but financial contribution cannot be given; this is not acceptable for the NGOs. (...) The point of view about foundations which is residue of the past still persists in the public. This point of view results from regarding the civil society as a means for finding resources and financing the deficit. The public authority does not establish relationships because it regards the civil society as institutions in which decision making processes are more democratic. It considers cooperation in order to meet the needs by financing resource deficits."

> "In the past, we could not enter the prisons. We could enter the reformatories but legally we could not enter the prisons, this was not a habitual practice. A pedagogue in children's custody centre conducted successful works with the NGOs. Feasts, entertainment and health activities were carried out. After periodical visits, the institutions developed the idea that they should work with the NGOs. (...) We think that it is not easy to work with the public authority. We have a relationship with the Ministry of Justice for years; this relationship has become routine and less problematic. But of course we have problems from time to time. For example, there have been times when we were told 'You shouldn't have said this, or done that' and times when we were punished for a sentence we uttered."

> "We act very carefully, because the children can be actually punished for a sharp sentence. Among the public institutions, we work with the Ministry of Justice most comfortably. The most difficult institutions to work with are the offices of the district governors and mayors."

> "The relationship with the public authority fluctuates according to politics. The closest institution is the Social Services and Child Protection Institution. Criticism of this institution is not accepted, we could speak of tense or broken relationships."

> "We are open to cooperation. The expectation of the public authority from the NGOs is to provide for certain needs; such as toys, stationeries etc... They do not know how to work with the NGOs. They perceive the issue as charity. The year 2000, with the EU process, witnessed a cracking of the understanding of charity. In addition, there is the state tradition, the state does not know how to establish a dialogue with the NGOs or how to utilize the NGOs; the state is not fair minded as to such relations-

hip culturally and traditionally. NGOs are also confused about how to cooperate with such a structure. It can be said that the approach of the state towards NGOs with a service basis has improved compared to how it was in the past. There is a structural transformation and administrative differentiation."

> "We convey our activities to the Ministry of Labor. There are no barriers. In EU projects, everything is given to the related ministry. The state mostly carries out its own work. They use your name in other issues. Projects are accepted on the condition that partners are involved. When this is the case, we wonder whether there is genuine transformation or whether this interest has its root in the need for participation. The state does not respect the NGOs as much as it respects the universities."

> "Civil society and public authority cooperation starts at the individual level and its reflection extends into the public. If we look at the relationships of the NGOs with the state, we did not experience any difficulties in the projects we carried out. We never found the public authority on the opposition. I think that the NGOs are a sine qua non element of democracy; they are established not against the public authority but to act as opposition. When you explain your issues clearly and present your objectives in writing, they will not say 'We won't cooperate'."

> "There was no dialogue between the public authority and the civil society. We can even say that whatever dialogue there was, it was below zero. For the public authority, the NGOs were the enemy; for the NGOs, the state was the enemy which had to be overcome. In the recent years, some things have changed, yet not in the way we wish them to. At least, there is some kind of acceptance. The public authority is now clear about the fact that participation of the NGOs is a must and that the NGOs are not voluntary but expert organizations. In the public sector, funds are allocated to internal training. Now the public institutions know that they can get training from the NGOs free of charge and reallocate those funds to other needs. Even if this could be seen as a kind of relationship based on mutual interest, when we take the best interests of the children, some things can be achieved. The public authority has learned it very well that the source of knowledge and research is the civil society, and the EU accession process cannot be handled without the NGOs. A sincere environment has not yet come into existence, but the public authority invites the NGOs to the meetings, at least formally. For instance, we will start the preparation of the alternative country report. They invited us to join, but the NGOs declined this invitation. We will prepare an alternative report, too."

5. Relations with and Views about STGM

All of the interviewed NGOs have stated that they knew STGM and its activities. The NGOs generally share the idea that STGM contributes to the development of the civil society consciousness and that it ensured a more effective utilization of the EU funds for many organizations. Some NGOs stated that they took their first project after the training activity of STGM and that this training made an important contribution to their institutionalization.

The publications of STGM and its web site are regularly followed by the NGOs. Announcements regarding the NGOs ensure that other organizations working in similar fields are informed about the activities of others. While the participation of the NGOs to STGM training was at every level of the organization in the beginning, with the recent increase in institutionalization, their participation is predominantly at the expert level.

The recently established NGOs follow the activities via the Internet, and in this context, the relationships with STGM depend on the use of the Internet in general. Yet, it is sometimes perceived as segregation that STGM publications are not distributed to all organizations. Organizations which initially followed STGM publications and activities via the Internet have developed an expectation that STGM should be more active in their local environment and should contribute to solve the problems of local NGOs. Within this framework, it has been stated that the penetration of STGM to the local field would contribute to the solution of the problems of NGOs in the various regions of Turkey. In a similar vein, the request that STGM should strengthen its educational and informational capacity building activities with practical applied trainings given to local NGOs, comes to the fore.

The NGOs which do not participate in STGM trainings and request support have stated that STGM would support them when they needed; and that STGM was a trustworthy structure in this sense.

Ankara based NGOs have stated that they utilized STGM's support effectively, that STGM supported the Ankara Platform of Children's Rights and that close relationships with STGM strengthened the NGOs working on children's issues. It has been expressed that the STGM training was useful in the establishment of the network, and

that there was the positive contribution of STGM's providing of certain facilities and physical space to the Ankara Platform of Children's Rights.

İstanbul based NGOs have pointed out that as a result of the weak communications of STGM in Istanbul where the NGOs are more active, they can not adequately utilize this organization. They have stated that the efficiency would increase to a great extent through communications with organizations in Istanbul. In this framework, the criticism that STGM has a limited effect and benefit on İstanbul based NGOs is often pronounced.

The areas in which the concrete contributions of STGM are most felt are capacity trainings, contributions to expert trainings, support for advocacy activities, campaigns and network building, strengthening of communication skills and management of volunteers.

The demands of the NGOs from STGM are below:
1. To increase the studies and supports aimed at local NGOs, in addition to trainings, cooperation with local NGOs in implementation.
2. To conduct impact evaluations for the trainings, to improve the quality of the trainings through the establishment of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms; to report in which fields and how the trainees are working.
3. To conduct training programs on the legislation about NGOs; to increase the efforts to develop the civil society in terms of its knowledge of the legislation concerning the field.
4. To carry out advocacy activities against the negative and slanderous news about the NGOs which benefit from the EU grants program.
5. To support the campaigns for a children's library.
6. To conduct advocacy activities together with local organizations in order to spread the civil society culture, and to contribute to the process of writing alternative reports.
7. In addition to the appreciation of the close relationship with STGM, to sustain the active interest and the need for continuous communication.

6. Conclusion

The new generation of modern NGOs went through a difficult institutionalization process. Formation of intra-organizational democracy culture, participatory approaches,

children's participation, institutional sustainability and inadequacy in social policy making are the foremost problems.

While it is a positive development that the aims and the founders began to differentiate, hegemony of individuals still persists in organizations. Ideological differences between the organizations and organizations established for different aims working on children's issues makes it difficult to determine the borders of the field of children's issues. Especially, those organizations working on health, education, youth or women and sometimes development organizations work in the field of children's issues. Limited cooperation among different fields renders it difficult to determine specific targets for the field of children's issues and to establish umbrella organizations.

Financial difficulties and lack of experts has led the NGOs towards working on a voluntary basis. Despite that the relationship with the volunteers is based on institutional benefit, it contributed to the advancement of a new generation of experts working on children's issues. Similarly, people who were experts in their own fields were recruited as members as a result of the lack of experts and personnel, and the organizations solved their problem of inadequate know-how and method through this approach.

The deficiencies in terms of development of social policies result from the fact that the determining role rests with the public authority within the framework of the relationships of the NGOs with the public authority and that the relationship cannot be sustained on the basis of trust. The NGOs, though they deem it as a problem that they cannot / do not criticize the public authority, prefer not to change their positions since a common reaction and approach cannot be developed. The fundamental justification of this preference is the belief that the works they carry out are beneficial and effective. The NGO's prevalently hold the belief that they come to a turning point in the relationship with the public authority and that they have to take a definite stand. Another reason for the deficiency in social policy making is the lack of institutionalization and personnel. Lack of experts and personnel makes it difficult to make researches and to produce knowledge through new publications as well as affecting institutional capacity. This is the reason why knowledge in the area of children's rights is produced by a limited number of NGOs and activists. In the recent years, NGOs which implement projects have concentrated on the publication of bulletins, brochures and project books.

The increase in the number of right-based NGOs has put on the agenda the advocacy and consciousness-raising activities, activities for affecting the legislative organ, revealing violations of rights, making research and publications on children's issues, making social policies, children's participation and umbrella organization structures. Right-based NGOs will clear the path for the NGOs working on children's issues to go through an identity transformation and to focus on qualitative areas, as well as contributing to determine the borders of the NGOs working on children's issues.

The List of Interviewed Organizations

The right-based and service based NGOs working on children's issues have been interviewed both face to face and via e-mail as to the problems of the field, activities, aims for establishment, sustainability, umbrella organizations, relationships with the public authority and impact evaluations. Within the framework of the study, forty NGOs were chosen on the basis of service provision or working on the basis of rights, and on the basis of their representative power with respect to education, health, social services, and working with children exposed to risk; with consideration of regional differences. The NGOs mentioned below from Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Diyarbakır and İstanbul participated in the interviews: Association of Children Under the Same Roof, Umbrella of Love: Solidarity Association for Children Living on the Street, Diyarbakır Children's Initiative, Peyas Education and Culture Home, Turkey Can Foundation for Protecting and Educating the Children, Adana Association for Children Living on the Street, Antalya Foundation for Helping the Orphaned and Needy Children, Citizens Movement for Children's Rights, Turkey Foundation for Freedom to the Children, Association for Protecting the Children From Exploitation and for Rehabilitation of Abused Children, Children's Agenda – Association for the Promotion, Proliferation, Implementation and Monitoring of Children's Rights, Fişek Science and Action Centre for Working Children, Association for Solidarity with the Young Deprived of their Liberty, Turkey Coalition of the Children's Rights, Ankara Platform for Children's Rights, Children's Rights Commission of the Istanbul Bar Association.

The NGOs in Eskişehir, İzmir and Muğla could not be reached. With some of the NGOs in İstanbul and Ankara, the interviews could not be made either because they did not respond to the request or because they could not be reached at their address.

CELAL İNAL | Translated by Burcu Toksabay

DISSEMINATING THE HEAT OF STOVE

The culture and art activities, one of the fields in which the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Turkey are most active, started in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana and Antalya, the cities that can be described as cultural metropolises, and spread to other large cities in Anatolia and particularly to provinces like Bursa, Diyarbakır and Kars.

Following the face-to-face interviews with the administrators of NGOs active in the field of culture and art in Turkey, the following issues were taken into consideration: The date of establishment of these associations and foundations, the activities that support their purpose of establishment, the kind of mechanisms they develop for intra-institutional decision making processes and the participation of stakeholders, and their ideas about volunteer management, institutional sustainability, the relation between NGOs and the state, cooperation with other civil society organizations, the representatives of public institutions, local administrations and private sector, and their views about the foreign funds, EU funds and the Civil Society Development Center (STGM).

This report was written following the face-to-face interviews with twenty-six people and institutional representatives in Ankara, Konya, İstanbul, Edirne, Aydın, İzmir, Diyarbakır, Urfa - Viranşehir, Mardin - Midyat and Antakya in order to reflect the profiles of NGOs active in the field of culture-art in Turkey.

Interviews were held with the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association (Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği) and Caucasian Federation (Kafkas Federasyonu) in Ankara, Konya Residents Federation (Konyalılar Federasyonu) in Konya, 500th Year Foundation (500. Yıl Vakfı), Mesopotamia Culture and Solidarity Association (Mezopotamya Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği), a public opinion leader from the Armenian community, European Culture Association (Avrupa Kültür Derneği), AICA Turkey, Intercultural Communication Association (Kültürlerarası İletişim Derneği), Roma People from Edirne Federation (Edirneli Romanlar Federasyonu) in İstanbul, AYKARYAY in

Aydın, İzmir Konyalılar Federation (İzmir Konyalılar Federasyonu) and İzmir Roma People Federation (İzmir Romanlar Federasyonu) in İzmir, Culture and Social Affairs Department managers of Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipalities in Diyarbakır, the mayor and Culture Center officials in Viranşehir and a Yezidi public opinion leader (Yezidis define themselves as Ezidis because of the negative connotations of the word Yezidi; therefore, Yezidis will be referred to as Ezidis in the rest of this article), Midyat Assyrian Culture Association (Midyat Süryani Kültür Derneği) in Mardin Midyat and Aalen Antakya Culture Art Club Association (Aalen Antakya Kültür Sanat Kulübü Derneği) in Antakya and two public opinion leaders and journalists.

While the people and institutions to interview were determined, the ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity was taken into account, and face-to-face interviews were held with the representatives of NGOs active in culture and art fields not only in large provinces but also in other cities in Anatolia.

Regarding the general characteristics of the institutions visited, we can say that İstanbul was the primary province in this regard. The festival that is called after the name of the city developed to cover various disciplines later, and gained an international character. The symposium, panel discussions and conferences in İstanbul, which are organized to develop tolerance between cultures, religions and civilizations also made significant contributions to the urban identity culture and the ideal of peaceful coexistence.

Having been engaged in significant initiatives regarding the spread of culture and art related activities not only in three large provinces but also in other Anatolian provinces, and having established culture centers in Diyarbakır and Kars, the Anadolu Kültür responded to a significant need through disseminating the transforming effect of culture and art from the center to the periphery.

In Ankara, the Ankara International Film Festival organized under the leadership of the World Mass Communication Research Foundation (Dünya Kitle İletişimi Araştırma Vakfı), International Women Film Festival of the Flying Broom (Uçan Süpürge), European Film Festival of the Ankara Cinema Association (Ankara Sinema Derneği), International Ankara Music Festival of the Sevda Cenap And Music Foundation (Sevda Cenap And Müzik Vakfı) and the international "Short Novel Days" organized by Literati Association (Edebiyatçılar Derneği) contribute a great deal to the city's cultural life.

The "Short Novel and Poem Days" organized in İzmir by the Konak Municipality, Turkey Pen Center (Türkiye Pen Merkezi), Turkey Writers Union(Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası) and Literati Association (Edebiyatçılar Derneği) serve as a platform for the getting together of Aegean writers and literature-lovers with the literati from other regions.

The Golden Cocoon Film Festival (Altın Koza Film Festivali), which has been revived in Adana and the second Adana Literature Days, Golden Orange Film Festival (Altın Portakal Film Festivali) that has become institutional in Antalya, and the festivals that aim to make Diyarbakır a culture and art center assume significant roles regarding the transforming effect of art in daily life.

The activities mentioned are usually held with the contribution of local administrations, NGOs that are active in culture and art field and the writer organizations.

1. Culture-Art NGOs in Terms of Participation

The NGOs active in the field of culture and art make participation more efficient compared to those working in other fields. We cannot say that there is a fierce competition between them that run similar activities. Because of the diversity of activities to be held in culture and art field (film festivals, theater activities, music festivals, activities regarding plastic arts etc.), many NGOs active in this field choose to specialize in one of these disciplines; therefore, have the opportunity to cooperate with others that held similar activities. The NGOs specialized in different fields of culture and art can easily come together and are able to engage in advocacy activities for the city, like the activities regarding the 2010 İstanbul European Capital of Culture Project.

All the people interviewed regarded participation primarily as the official procedure required by the clauses of the by-laws and don't make any statements about the role of stakeholders in the designing and implementation of the activities. Another important problem is the fact that the activities of the civil society are, to a large extent, run by the president, the active members of the executive board and a limited number of volunteers.

The NGOs that work in the culture and art field in provinces other than Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir are observed to be generally neglecting expert support and the activities held are not based on any needs assessment analysis.

The fact that the decisions within the organization are not made through democratic participation and transparently, is one of the major obstacles in extensive participation to the activities. As the activities of the NGOs require specialization, the attempts to increase the number of their members are lacking. The number of members in associations is usually limited with the executive board members and a few other members and this figure for most institutions varies between thirty and fifty.

Participation Mechanisms

The investments of some non-profit organizations other than associations and foundations in the culture and art field, and the efforts of local administrations in Anatolia to establish culture and art policies at the local level and their proposals of new participation mechanisms that prioritize the local initiatives regarding decision-making processes and aim to revitalize the almost-forgotten "working together communally" spirit are heartening developments for a more effective participation of the target groups who are provided culture and art services.

The designing of culture and art policies and the new organization styles in right-seeking initiatives (like platforms, initiatives and Autonomous Art Council) contribute to the realization of activities in a more flexible and more to-the-purpose manner.

The NGOs active in the culture and art field are inspired by the successful role models both at the national and the international scale while designing their cultural activities, and consider the groups to be provided the services only at the final stage. As the experience and relations of people in decision making positions are usually sufficient for the activities to be organized, new participation mechanisms are not considered necessary. The fact that the audience and opinion leaders are usually overlooked in the designing of related activities and the decision making processes usually lead to the failure of even some large-scale activities, as in the "intercultural dialog" initiative in Antakya.

The activities towards the selection of İstanbul as the 2010 European Capital of Culture indicate the level of civil society development and urban consciousness in İstanbul. The selection of activities that will make possible the promotion of İstanbul, infact Turkey and the meeting of European culture and art actors with the Turkish artists, among a number of similar proposals was the achievement of NGOs that have the ability to work in multiple sectors.

The participation of the target groups is vital for the NGOs active in the culture and art field. Whatever the form of the activities, the participation of the target group is taken into account in every phase from the designing of the projects and their implementation, and the level of participation by the target group help to decide the scale and form of the consequent activities. Usually the passive participation of the target group is taken into account.

Almost all of the NGOs active in the culture and art field stated that the state does not have a "policy on culture," particularly that the former support of the Ministry of Culture to culture and art activities are abolished due to political reasons, and that in all developed countries, both the state and the local administrations give significant support to the NGOs working in this field. The organizations also said that the tool for this in Turkey may very well be the Autonomous Art Councils and a bill about this issue was submitted to the Ministry of Culture. They hope that the state will provide funds to the Autonomous Art Councils at the local level in order to support culture and art and will not pursue an interventionist policy regarding the use of these funds.

The local administrations in large provinces like İstanbul, İzmir and Diyarbakır play a significant role in the realization of activities of the NGOs, alongside the foundations, associations and the private sector. The festivals, symposiums, conferences and panel discussions organized in the different branches of culture and art such as short novel, poem, novel, theater, music etc. become more compatible with the expectations of the target group every day, and lead to the establishment of institutional identities of the organizations and institutions that realize the activities. Through the activities organized, increase in the taste of the target group regarding culture and art is aimed and these activities contribute to the meeting of the target group with the works of art (sculpture, photograph, painting exhibitions, theater performances, music concerts

etc.) that will increase the aesthetic taste of the audience, contrary to the activities that reproduce the popular culture as in many cities. This, in turn, encourages more efficient participation of the target group to the activities organized.

The ethnic and religious diversity in Turkey sets a major advantage for the NGOs active in the culture and art field. Some groups that refrain from disclosing their ethnic and religious identity, realize activities that help to spread their traditions, customs and cultures through the organizations they establish in order to keep their communities together. While real politics highlight cultural identities and discrimination among communities, culture and art produce exactly the opposite effect and gain a character that contributes to the meeting of communities in common reason. Through this way, culture and art make unique contributions to the coexistence culture of the communities in Turkey in the daily life.

Volunteer Management and Participation

Non-governmental organizations active in the culture and art field benefit from expert support and volunteers' contributions the most. As seen in the European Culture Association example, the coverage of the expenses of experts that are brought from other countries by the institution enables the institutions in Turkey to realize high value-added activities with limited budgets. This, in turn, reduces the costs of projects to a significant extent and proves that the spirit of working communally, which is about to be forgotten in modern societies, can be turned into gains in NGOs.

Non-governmental organizations active in the culture and art field do not only focus on culture and art activities. However, such activities enable the organizations to mobilize more volunteer support as they enable the involved people to express their identities about their religious belonging and contribute to the social and cultural formation of the communities.

These organizations, which benefit from the contributions of volunteers to a significant extent, do not get involved with specific activities regarding volunteer management and lack the training support needed to use the volunteer support in a more efficient way, change the understanding of volunteerism as a random support and make it gain an almost semi-professional character.

However, a training support regarding volunteer management will help to develop communications both within and among the organizations and will contribute to the institutionalization of NGOs in this field.

Culture and Art NGOs in Terms of Institutionalization

The majority of NGOs active in the culture and art field, other than communities, achieved a great deal about institutionalization, while the activities of NGOs working with community support are still run by a limited number of administrators. This leads to dependence either to foreign support or to the support of certain people and institutions. Such a dependency relation can at times direct such organizations to work in secondary fields rather than their own purposes of establishment.

2. The Purpose for the Establishment for Culture and Art NGOs

All of the NGOs met for this study realize activities in line with their purpose of establishment. Besides, the majority of culture and art activities realized became one of the most important tools for various ethnic and religious communities in Turkey to protect their own social, historical and cultural values.

The NGOs using the transforming effect of culture and art can be classified as follows regarding their purposes of establishment with the examples of the organizations met:

1. Non-governmental organizations working in the fields of the rights of artists, who are the main actors of culture and art, and culture and art management (European Culture Association, Intercultural Communication Association, Istanbul Foundation of Culture and Art).

Running its activities with the aim of establishing mutual exchange between domestic and foreign culture and art actors, the European Culture Association defines its purpose of establishment as follows: "The issue of how Europe will be shaped in the future is of close concern for Turkey seen either within the perspective of accession process or independently. We believe that not only the European Union, but also the Turkish intellectuals and artists, who has both Eastern and Western characteristics as living in between the two continents should be involved with the process of shaping the cultural policies of Europe in the future and that they should assume a bridging role between

the Eastern and Western cultures as in the geographic location of İstanbul. We advocate that intercultural dialog should be developed in order to maintain tolerance and peace in Europe and in the world."[89]

Having run a series of projects contributing to the cultural diversity in Turkey since 2003, Intercultural Communication Association defines its purpose of establishment as follows: "Establishing intercultural dialog and coexistence between the different cultures in our country, highlighting the forgotten cultures and encouraging mutual production between the world cultures and our country."

2. Non-governmental organizations coming together around a religious identity (Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association, 500th Year Foundation, Mesopotamia Culture and Solidarity Association, Midyat Assyrian Culture Association).

The Ezidis to be analyzed within this category still refrain to be seen in the public sphere with their religious identity and establish NGOs that bear the name of the group. Ezidis are claimed to be coming from Arabic, Kurdish and ancient Assyrian origins. Ezidis are a religious community like Bahai people in Iran, Druze people and Maronites in Lebanon, who do not have a national identity in the Middle East where various cultures are mixed. Having been involved with the efforts of finding themselves a historical national identity for the last thirty years, Ezidis are trying to choose among the Kurdish and ancient Assyrian identity rather than the Arabic identity.

The number of Ezidis, which was found to be 37,000 in a census in 1912, the last years of the Ottoman state and 18,000 in the 1923 census, decreased because of various migration movements due to the pressures of some circles in Turkey and is estimated to be around 3 or 4 thousand currently. Settled as small communities, the majority of Ezidis live in the Southeastern Anatolia region and some of them live in metropolis cities. The number of Ezidis around the world is estimated to be around 700,000, with 300,000 in Iraq, 100,000 in Russia, 60,000 in Georgia, 40,000 in Armenia, 10,000 in Syria, 50,000 in Germany, 2000 in Iran and the rest settled in India, Lebanon, Switzerland, Belgium, Estonia and Ukraine.[90]

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[89] Avrupa Kültür Derneği "AB'ye Giriş Sürecinde Düşüncede, Düşte ve Günlük Yaşamda Değişimler" (Changes in Thoughts, Dreams and Daily Life in the EU Accession Process) 2005, İstanbul, p. 9-10.

[90] http://www.dunyadinleri.com/yezidilik.html

Considering the other organizations in this field, while its dominant character is faith-based, Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association is also active in basic human rights and the advocacy of democratic rights and freedoms.

For similar reasons, as a faith-based organization, the 500 Years Foundation stresses the promotion of the country more than the advocacy of cultural, historical and social rights of the Jewish community, while defining its mission.

Regarding Assyrian organizations, which are involved in activities with an ethnic and religious character, a striking characteristic is their stress on the advocacy of cultural and social rights of Assyrians, who have been able to claim their demands most directly, and their opinions about the establishment of a future when the communities in the Anatolian geography live harmoniously.

3. Non-governmental organizations that stress ethnic identities (Caucasian-origin people, Kurds, Roma people).

As an active group among the organizations that stress their ethnic identities in culture and art activities, Kurds are particularly worth attention because of their language courses and culture and art activities in their own language through organizations such as Mesopotamia Culture and Solidarity Association in İstanbul, Dicle Fırat Culture and Art Center (Dicle Fırat Kültür Sanat Merkezi) in Diyarbakır, Güneş Culture Center (Güneş Kültür Merkezi) and Çıra Culture and Art Center (Çıra Kültür ve Sanat Merkezi). Their efforts to write out the folk legends and tales, which have been able to stay alive through oral literature from the past to the present, to make them last, are ongoing. Running a series of activities to publish the modern literature types of short novels and novels in their own language, Kurds started to produce modern examples of Kurdish language and literature, to give theater performances and to produce songs in their own language through the culture and art centers, all of which work as NGOs and the Kurdish authors achieved a great deal in short novel, poem and novel branches.

Çıra Culture and Art Center was set up to conduct academic studies about the Kurdish language and literature and the authorities of the executive board are shared by commissions.

Another example of cultural identity based activities can be seen in the activities run by Caucasian-origin people under the roof of the Caucasian Federation. Established in 2003 with the aim of voicing and advocating the common cultural problems of Circassians in Turkey, the Caucasian Federation has been running activities for three main purposes:

1. Relations with Caucasus (homeland),
2. Relations with international NGOs,
3. Systematic implementation of culture and art activities.

The primary demand of Circassians is the recognition of their identity and the protection of their language and cultural characteristics. (On this issue, they say, ''The languages of the nations are like clothes, when you take them off everybody would look like each other.'') The activities towards the spread of mother-tongue use under the federation are ongoing. Aside from a series of activities in line with its purposes of establishment, the Federation trained forty teachers so far for the teaching of three different Caucasian-origin languages.

Circassians are following democratic values both in their family structures and in associations and other institutions. Aside from the general assembly meeting, the Federation has a ''managers' council'' composed of the head of executive board and executive board members of associations, although this body is not stipulated in the Associations Law. This body convenes at least twice a year and decisions are made regarding the future activities in long meetings. However, despite the advisory decisions made regarding the efficient involvement of women and young people in the administrative bodies of the associations, gender equality has yet to be established in administrative bodies.

Roma people, who have established associations and federations (Federation of Roma People from Edirne and İzmir) on the basis of their ethnic identities with the European Union process, constitute another group in this category.

The Gypsies of Edirne Culture Research, Development, Aid and Solidarity Association (Edirneli Çingene Kültürünü Araştırma, Geliştirme, Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği – EDÇİNKAY), which was established in Edirne in 2004 in order to hold social activities about Roma people in Edirne, realized the 1st International Roma

Symposium for the first time in Turkey together with Attainable Life Association (Ulaşılabilir Yaşam Derneği) in 2005. Through this symposium, the organization process of Roma people in Turkey was accelerated and contacts were established with international institutions such as the European Roma Platform. Through an efficient cooperation with governors' offices, local administrations and NGOs, summer camps were organized for Roma children with the support of the Society Volunteers Foundation (Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı) and courses were given to children in these camps in many issues ranging from swimming and drama to hygiene.

Another project realized by the association together with the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (Helsinki Yurttaşlar Meclisi) was about the human rights of Roma people. Through this project, the awareness of the international public about the issue was raised and through a cross-border music activity, the preparations for a Bulgarian, Turkish and Romanian music album were completed. In a project aiming to increase the institutional capacities of Roma associations, realized with other Roma organizations, all the preparations of an online interactive portal were completed.

Another important development about Roma community and culture was the completion of preparations of a theater play on the experience of a Roma youngster to get acceptance from the society, which will be staged in the Roma language.

Involved in activities about the Roma community, İzmir Roma Platform (İzmir Roman Platformu) indicated that it sent members to the European Roma Forum and helped the recognition of that in the public institutions. They also said that an increased awareness among the Roma community regarding the protection of their own culture was possible through the activities realized, and that the Roma community can express their problems more easily. They also claimed that this can be identified as socialization and right-seeking struggle. This platform attended many festivals with a group called Roman Ateşi, realized many photograph exhibitions on the lives of Roma people and completed the preparations for theater performances with a small team under an EU project implemented with the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality.

4. Non-governmental organizations working in any field of culture and art (Aydın Scientific Cultural Research Publication and Production Cooperative-AYKARYAY, World Mass Communication Foundation, Flying Broom, Sevda Cenap and Music Foundation).

AYKARYAY, which is hosting the drama and theater days in Aydın through the theater activities they organize one after another, İstanbul Culture Art Foundation, which is playing a leading role in the institutionalization of film festivals in İstanbul named after the city, World Mass Communication Foundation, which has overcome all kinds of problems for the uninterrupted continuation of film festivals in Ankara and the Women's Films Festivals organized periodically by the Flying Broom, which has realized a number of projects in order increase the public awareness about gender constitute the examples for the activities under this category.

5. Culture and art activities by the groups that cannot be represented in the public sphere with their ethnic identity (Arabs, Laz and Ezidis).

Arabs, Laz people and Ezidis still refrain from being seen in the public sphere with their own ethnic and religious identities. Ezidis also have serious problems regarding the sustainability of their presence in Turkey and the migration movements of the community members lead to a continual decrease in the Ezidi population. Experiencing a decrease in their number due to economic, social and political reasons, Ezidis are yet unable to attend the civil society activities efficiently because of their concerns. With this characteristic, Ezidis seem to be the most disadvantaged group regarding the civil society activities and have been involved in a struggle for existence rather than activities towards the other groups in society.

Meanwhile, Laz people and Arabs take their place in the civil society arena through fellow citizen organizations, although these are not called after the ethnic groups, and run a series of activities about the ethnic group they belong.

The Aalen – Antakya Culture Art Club Association, which is established in Antakya, where the Arab population is concentrated, has been running successful activities in issues that are in the sphere of interest of Turkish Pen, Turkish Authors Union and Literati Association.

For Laz people, the sensitivity about ethnic identity is shaped by the mother-tongue awareness, periodical magazines are published under the leadership of Çiviyazıları Publishing despite the limited number of academic studies about Laz culture, history and way of life and the preparations are ongoing for encyclopedic publications on the Laz culture.

6. A Different Example: Anadolu Kültür A.Ş.

Established in 2002 as a non-profit company, Anadolu Kültür defines its purposes as follows: "Anadolu Kültür was established to enable the culture and art activities in large cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir to spread to Anatolia and the activities in Anatolia to spread to the large cities and to ensure that the culture and art actors find channels to express themselves." Running activities in the different branches of culture and art such as film screenings, theater, short novel, poem and novel workshops, poem-reading performances, sculpture, painting and photography exhibitions with the support of Anadolu Kültür A.Ş., Diyarbakır Arts Center is interesting particularly as an initiative enabling the institutions working in culture and art field to develop initiatives at the local level.

Problem Definition and Spheres of Activity

The NGOs active in culture and art field, other than the ethnic and religious communities, do not become specialized in any branch of culture and art and expand their range of activities in time with other sub-disciplines. For instance, the foundations and associations that run activities to organize film festivals in the beginning tend to direct their attention to spheres such as music in later stages.

Except for a few foundations and associations that are strong institutionally and regarding their financial structure, NGOs active in culture and art field usually tend to start from the issue they know the best and continue their activities on that issue.

The main problem in the culture and art activities of ethnic and religious communities is shaped around the identity definition and all fields of culture and art are considered tools to reinforce the ethnic, religious and cultural identity claims of the community.

The problem definitions and groups are narrated below in line with the statements of representatives of associations, foundations, and non-profit organizations and the officials of local administrations specialized in culture and art field.

Target Groups and Work Fields

As activities in the field of culture and art are the least controversial fields for ethnic-based NGOs, the groups aim to increase the public awareness about the history, culture and literature of the community in order to resist to the chauvinistic and assimilationist practices that reject cultural diversity; thus, benefit from culture and art to a significant extent to shape a future in which the group will coexist with the other groups in society in harmony.

Religious communities try to conduct their activities silently, instead of expressing their rights under international agreements. Rather than engaging in advocacy activities about minority rights, these groups usually tend to limit themselves with activities aiming to improve their cultural and social structures.

A bill on the improvement of employee rights for culture and art actors and on the Autonomous Art Councils, which will help the state to contribute to culture and art at the local level was prepared and submitted to the Ministry of Culture.

The culture and art activities of local administrations are organized to respond to local needs and expectations, although they are limited in number.

The culture and art activities of local administrations made significant contributions to the development of urban consciousness among the people who recently came to the urban space due to forced migration, as well as to the culture of coexistence.

Numerous workshop activities realized through cultural centers contributed to the generation of new pieces of work in cinema, short novel, poem, novel and theater branches.

Culture and art activities enabled the members of minority groups to establish more direct relations with the people sharing the same ethnic identity, contributed to the increase of language awareness through training programs and enabled the generation of pieces of culture and art through the use of mother tongue and the generation of numerous documentaries, movies and theater plays.

The organizations that aim to help the culture and art actors to establish cooperation both at the national and the international level and reach the national and international networks in their field contribute to Turkey's integration into Europe.

Forums and workshops are being organized, enabling the culture and art administrations meet their counterparts that are well known internationally and share their experiences.

Organizing a series of activities in order to improve art environment in Turkey, the European Culture Association states in a publication about the event on culture and art management, "The culture and art field in Turkey is in a process of major change and even a leap. It is necessary to ensure the sustainability of this qualitative and quantitative development and to improve the infrastructure and the resources necessary for the flourishing of new art products, which emerged in parallel with the socio-cultural developments. Significant roles should be assumed by all stakeholders in the field and particularly the culture and art actors to realize this aim." [91]

Academic studies are conducted and published and panel discussions and symposiums are held in order to spread the activities of NGOs active in the culture and art field and of the culture and art actors.

3. Communication and Cooperation among Culture and Art NGOs

Non-governmental organizations active in culture and art field establish efficient cooperation with those involved in similar activities in case of necessity. Compared to others, the NGOs working in this field take significant steps towards institutionalization through the long-lasting activities they realize. However, despite some positive initiatives of the NGOs active in this field (examples can be cooperation for Autonomous Art Council and the designation of İstanbul as the European Capital of Culture for 2010), the bureaucratic obstacles before their recognition as pressure groups at the national level has yet to be removed.

[91] M. Mahir Namur, "Avrupa Kültür Derneği Kültür-Sanat Yönetimi, Nereden Başlasak?" (European Culture Association Culture and Art Management: Where to Start?) 2006, İstanbul, p. 8.

One of the most important obstacles before the realization of cooperation at the desired level is the insufficiency of the sharing of information and experience both within and among the institutions and that most of the activities at the national and international level are referred to with the name of persons involved, instead of the name of the institutions. Ideological differences in the creation process of culture and art policies are also mentioned as a significant obstacle before possible cooperation.

The fragmented structure of organizations active in the culture and art field in line with their purpose of establishment also hinder the development of culture and art policies and action plans at the national level.

4. Culture and Art NGOs in Terms of Sustainability

NGOs active in the culture and art field seems to be more advantaged than others in terms of sustainability. The foreign fund support (European Cultural Fund, Open Society Institute, the supports of embassies and consulates), as well as the support of the state, local administrations and private institutions investing in culture and art, play a significant role in achieving sustainability. Regarding institutionalization, foundations have more sustainable structures than associations.

The Diyarbakır Arts Center, established with the support of Anadolu Kültür A.Ş. sets a significant example regarding sustainability with its use of local resources following its establishment to sustain its activities at the local level and its positive cooperation with local administrations and professional chambers.

One of the NGO groups that make use of the volunteer expert support the most are the culture and art institutions which are also one of the more advantaged group in resource generation and project development.

The large support of private sector institutions that provide project support in line with their institutional social responsibility projects constitute a significant contribution regarding the sustainability of institutions.

Membership fees and donations are usually insufficient for the institutions to sustain their activities. Many institutions are not successful in collecting the fees, which seems to be the major source of revenue. Although the clauses of the by-laws stipulate that members that do not pay their membership fees regularly are excluded from membership, this rule is almost never applied in practice and the institutions let such members stay as members considering their possible contributions to the institution in the future.

Non-governmental organizations active in the culture and art field usually focus of fund supports about institutional sustainability, except a few institutions that highlight the spirit of solidarity and working together communally. Some NGO employees interviewed stated the following about the issue:

> "Our economic situation is not very well. We sustain our activities with the personal support especially of Kamhi family."
(500th Year Foundation-Naim Güleryüz)

> "We believe that our institutional sustainability is only possible if culture and art field will turn into a sector. If this happens, we will be able to take steps regarding economic sustainability. The only way for this is the establishment of a national fund resource. If there is no national fund, the activities of civil society in this field will remain weak. We have to mobilize the existing dynamism and potential. If these will not happen, we won't have the chance to realize the civil society dialog because creating dialog will not be possible when NGOs struggle to stay active."
(European Culture Association-M. Mahir Namur)

> "The Ministry of Culture does not give any support. However, you can get almost limitless support from EU countries for such activities. Onat Kutlar defined the ministry as a "stove that only warms itself." We are trying to stay active only with projects now."
(AICA Turkey-Beral Madra)

> "We still run our activities on project-based work. We still work with very limited budgets. We determined some strategies towards the efficient use of resources. The majority of our economic resources are provided by the company management and Bilgi University. We also took some support from the Open Society Institute and the EU funds in the first years. We got some support from institutions like Cervantes

Culture Center, German and British Culture Centers, Matra Kap from Dutch Embassy, Greek Embassy and European Cultural Fund.''
(Anadolu Culture-Mine Özerdem)

> ''We still have some problems about resource generation. Volunteer support and the spirit of working together communally are the most important resources for our activities. We could complete some of our projects with the aids in kind (like food, drink, clothing) provided by the private sector.''
(EDROM-Erdinç Çekiç)

> ''If the economic, social and cultural relations in society are not developed, the fund support will only remain figurative. We shouldn't see the issue only from the financial aspect. The commercial institutions that produce projects are an important problem. I don't reject the importance of fund support but these should be used in line with the purpose.''
(AYKARYAY-Hüsnü Ertung)

> ''We had an initiative last year with a private sector institution to find employment for young people. The federation does not have a sustainable economic resource. The membership fees paid by people who were found employment may cover the running costs of the federation.''
(İzmir Roma Federation-Özcan Purçu)

> ''We do not have a source of revenue except the annual membership fees and donations. The EU projects we implement provide a significant contribution. Even the idea of being a member to the association leads the people to remain distant to NGOs. Associations are perceived like political parties here, as though being a member might set a problem.''
(Midyat Assyrian Culture Association -Yakup Gabriel)

> ''We run our activities mostly with sponsorship support. We have good relations with other NGOs. We both get financial support from professional chambers (Chamber of Architects, Chamber of Civil Engineers and Chamber of Physicians) and ensure that they participate in our activities. For the last three years, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry has been giving significant support. We realize our activities with the donations we receive from various segments of society.''
(Antakya Culture-Art Club Association-Mehmet Karasu)

5. Culture and Art NGOs in Terms of Effect-Functionality Evaluation

Civil society groups active in culture and art field conduct activities that may lead to a change in attitude at the political level. Civil society organizations attract a lot of attention in ethnic, religious and cultural communities as well. Local administrations running activities about culture and art ensure the spread of urban consciousness and enable the people to reach cultural activities easily.
The following quotes are the statements of institutions interviewed about the effect-functionality evaluation:

> "We found out that we provided an important intellectual support to the Civil Society Dialog activity of the European Commission. We mobilized all the basic principles of our activities for the İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Project. We will convene a meeting with the representatives of former European capitals of culture and the administrators of İstanbul 2010 and the culture and art actors. The most important problem is about the organization of culture and art actors in Turkey. There are no successful initiatives in this regard so far. We want to contribute to the solution of this problem through networks and platforms."
(European Culture Association-M. Mahir Namur)

> "Our association sides with workers if they have a right-seeking activity. It sides with students if they have a right-seeking activity. Our association is trying to assume whatever is necessary in the democracy struggle."
(Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association-Kazım Genç)

> "Cultural activities help to overcome our prejudices about the "other." If we don't know each other, our prejudices prevail. We argue in our weekly meetings that cultural diversity is not a threat. These meetings help us to promote ourselves better and to know the others better. We believe that similar activities by other ethnic and religious groups will make significant contributions to the idea of mutual understanding and cooperation and to the ideal of peaceful coexistence."
(Kafkas Federation-Cumhur Bal, Betül Çetkin)

> "We are one of the NGOs that contribute to the promotion of the country. As Jews in Turkey, we took the imitative to influence the lobbying institutions towards the world of Jews. The picture becomes clear if we consider the tragic days of the Second

World War. We should tell people about these and influence the public opinion."
(500th Year Foundation-Naim Güleryüz)

> "The media has important roles about intercultural convergence. We should be able to overcome our prejudices about each other. Some confuse our activities with the activities of foreign imperial powers. We oppose the U.S. invasion in Iraq as well. But sometimes we are perceived as American or French."
(Beyazıt Lions Club-Nazar Özsahakyan)

> "We can talk about an increased awareness among local administrations about cooperation with NGOs. The vote potential of NGOs also plays an important role in this change."
(AICA Turkey-Beral Madra)

> "In the new era, initiatives and groups highlighting the spirit of solidarity and collective working consciousness in plastic and performing arts emerged. From time to time, we see that these initiatives and groups run more efficient activities than established organizations. It is becoming more possible that organizations and initiative groups form a pressure group and influence the state policy regarding modern art management."
(Intercultural Communication Association-Vecdi Sayar)

> "I believe that we make contribution to the relations between Turks and Kurds in Diyarbakır and the relations with the Caucasus and Armenia through our activities in Kars. We prioritize local participation. We work not with templates but in line with the local needs. The scientific measurement and assessment criteria alone are not sufficient at times."
(Diyarbakır Culture Center-Melike Coşkun)

> "We wrote down fourteen important decisions in the decision book of the association and realized eight of them. We took important steps about the construction of schools, gave scholarships, provided stationery materials for children, realized collective marriage ceremonies, and raised the awareness of the international public with the project we implemented about the human rights of Roma people, realized a cross-border music activity, and completed the preparations for a Bulgarian, Turkish and Romanian album. A three-storey office was allocated to us by the governor's office to serve as the Roma Cultural Center. We completed the preparations for an interactive web portal under a project aiming to increase the institutional capacity of

Roma organizations in cooperation with other Roma organizations.''
(EDROM-Erdinç Çekiç)

> ''We sent members to the European Roma Forum. This helped us to be recognized by the public institutions. We increased the awareness of Roma community, they can express their problems more easily now. This is a socialization and right-seeking struggle.''
(İzmir Roma Federation-Özcan Purçu)

> ''So far, civil society was an unknown concept for the Assyrian community. We realized activities that help the Assyrian community to integrate with the other communities in the region instead of being a closed group.''
(Midyat Assyrian Culture Association -Yakup Gabriel)

> ''We held regular literature days, poem activities and symposiums after 2004. We pioneered the translation of literature works to Turkish and Arabic together with Arab Authors Union. With these translations, we enable the Arabs in Antakya to meet their historical roots. The relations we initiated in the culture field also helped the development of economic relations.''
(Antakya Culture-Art Club Association-Mehmet Karasu)

Non-governmental organizations active in the culture and art field realize important activities regarding the acceptance and recognition of the ethnic and religious identities they represent and also contribute to the cultural diversity and the ideal of peaceful coexistence in Turkey. The activities in the culture and art field by the circles that come together around ''national values,'' which is a natural consequence of localization developing as a reaction to globalization, in an environment where all kinds of ethnic, religious and cultural differences can be perceived as a threat, make significant contributions to the breaking of prejudices and the establishment of tolerance. Such activities will help the protection and establishment of the sustainability of religious and ethnic diversity, material and spiritual heritage.

Non-governmental organizations that are organized around their own ethnic identities (Caucasian, Roma, Armenian), around their religious identity (Alevi, Jewish, Assyrian) around their fellow citizens and the NGOs that solely focus on culture and art (European Culture Association, Intercultural Communication Association, AICA Turkey) assume an important role in realizing the ideal of unity within diversity.

6. The Relations of Culture and Art NGOs with Public Authority

Non-governmental organizations active in the culture and art field regard the lack of a state policy about their field differently. The NGOs that oppose such a policy as it would carry an authoritarian character, define the lack of a policy with the words of Onat Kutlar and liken the Ministry of Culture, which does not provide enough support to culture and art, to a "stove that only warms itself."

As in the area of human rights, the NGOs active in the culture and art field have a rather distanced relationship with the public authorities. There are only a few organizations that are known with its closeness to the political center and have a rather debatable civilian character in the culture and art field.

Almost all of the NGOs active in the culture and art field indicated that the cooperation with public authorities, local administrations and private sector institutions is not at the level it should be, that the red tape and the dominant approach in ministry and public institutions working in the culture and art field of the state apparatus could not be broken yet, the majority of local administrations consider culture and art activities opportunities to get more votes and that the private sector only provide a partial support taking into account its contributions only to their institutional identity and public relations activities.

The institutions interviewed stated the following about their approaches to the support given by the state, local administrations and the private sector to culture and art projects:

> "Public authorities disregard our association. The official ideology rejects us. Other than a few exceptions, our relations with social democrat municipalities are good. We realize projects and activities together. The private sector in Turkey acts like the state. They don't consider us close to them. They support the Alevi organizations that are close to the political center like the Cem Foundation (Cem Vakfı)."
(Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association-Kazım Genç)

> "Konya is 150 kilometers far from Ankara, but Ankara is 2500 kilometers away from Konya."
(Konya Mevlana Platform-Ali Gürbüz Dayıoğlugil)

> "The state and the Ministry of Culture are insensitive. Bureaucracy is very strong. The relations that cannot be established between the state and NGOs can be established with the local administrations to a certain extent."
(AICA Turkey-Beral Madra)

> "Over the last years, the private sector started to make significant amounts of investment to culture and art. The state has been implementing an "un -cultivation" policy instead of a culture policy through mass communications tools. The local administrations started to take a more active role with the influence of the changes in the world. The latest legal adjustments enabled the local administrations to take a role in culture and art field. Previously such activities would result in investigations launched against the municipalities. Some municipalities are involved in such activities just because it would a shame to stay outside of it but some others are sincere. However, the level of their involvement is still insufficient. The support given by the Ministry of Culture to theaters is cut and cinema is only partially supported. We have all seen how the previous support given to cinema made our national cinema gain more reputation in the world, through the awards received. I believe that the state should support the culture and art field in order to achieve the level of success in cinema in other fields of culture and art."
(Intercultural Communication Association-Vecdi Sayar)

> "The decision-making processes are very slow and one-way. This situation is changing slowly. The public authorities, local administrations and universities are becoming aware of the necessity of cooperation with NGOs in the EU accession process. However, I believe that the level of cooperation is not what it should be yet. The NGOs started to use the opportunities for cooperation with the private sector more efficiently. Unfortunately, both the state and local administrations use their cooperation with civil society as window-dressing. The main function of NGOs should be to warn the state and local administrations about their tasks and to call them for fulfilling their tasks."
(European Culture Association-M. Mahir Namur)

> "Both the government and the opposition are not sincere about the relations with NGOs. The current government, opposition and local administrations still regard them as rivals."
(United Konya People Association Federation -Mehmet Aydoğan)

> "There was a prejudice against us only two years ago. We established the right relationships with both the Roma community and the related state institutions and local administrations. Following these relations the other NGOs started to regard us more seriously."
(İzmir Roma Federation-Özcan Purçu)

> "We get a major support from local administrations. They help us particularly regarding space and logistical support for our activities. We run many activities towards women and children with professional organizations. There are still bureaucratic obstacles before an effective cooperation with public institutions. The interest of the private sector to culture and art activities is still very weak. The awareness about the issue is not sufficient."
(Anadolu Culture-Mine Özerdem)

> "While there is a need to further develop the relations with public institutions, the activities of education support and culture houses were limited. Some of our activities are tried to be restricted as they are not considered services provided by municipalities."
(Diyarbakır Kayapınar Municipality-İhsan Avcı)

> "We don't have cooperation with governor's offices and local administrations yet other than protocols. We believe that the state and the NGOs should cooperate. We want to serve as a bridge and mediate between the state and society."
(İzmir Roma Federation-Özcan Purçu)

> "We have good relations with the Governor's Office, Provincial Directorate of Culture and Provincial Directorate of Education. Particularly the governor's office provides all kinds of support to all our activities about culture and art. While we receive space support from the metropolitan municipality, we can also get financial support from other district municipalities."
(Diyarbakır Culture Center-Melike Coşkun)

> "I think that the potential of NGOs are exploited by some local administrations. What some local administrations understand from cooperation is culture and art services they can reach free of charge. Local administrators usually consider such activities as tools to increase their vote potential."
(Intercultural Communication Association-Vecdi Sayar)

7. Views about and Relations with STGM

All the civil society organization representatives interviewed indicated that they know about the Civil Society Development Center (STGM) and that STGM plays an important role in the development of civil society consciousness in the country.

Following the interviews, we found out that NGOs from almost all corners of the country participate in the training seminars organized by STGM and a number of institutions either develop a project based on local problems or prepare project proposals for EU grant programs, about which there are many complaints because of the bureaucratic procedures, following these seminars. However, many institutions that know about STGM and its website do not learn about the grant programs through this channel. A significant number of institutions interviewed said that STGM should open branch offices as soon as possible for a more efficient cooperation.

The expectations and demands of civil society institutions about STGM are given below:

> "We are currently considering establishing close relations with STGM. I think the activities of STGM are very good. We are looking for answers to questions how we can establish cooperation and how we can benefit from each other. A wise man told me once, "Wait if you have hesitations"; therefore, we are waiting for the time being."
(500th Year Foundation-Naim Güleryüz)

> "We've been following STGM since its establishment. We had the chance to meet all the staff at their opening meeting. That meeting contributed a lot to personal relations. Many institutions in Europe led to disillusionment for us. They had an extremely professional atmosphere. However, at STGM the working atmosphere was very warm contrary to its counterparts in Europe. STGM is becoming more specialized every day in its publications and working methods. I believe that the efforts of it about civil society, public authorities and local administrations are very important."
(Europe Culture Association-M. Mahir Namur)

> "Let's make a congress with STGM for the activities on İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture. Let's invite a well-known author or an intellectual from abroad. That will be an effective initiative to get more support for civil society activities. Particularly slogans containing the messages of civil organizations to society to be

broadcasted on radio and TV channels would be effective, even if they are broadcasted for one second. Like "Protect your freedom and future – Turkish Civil Society Organizations. This would also motivate the NGOs."
(AICA Turkey-Beral Madra)

> "I know about the activities of STGM with the aim of making the EU project a source of attraction. They are useful, but I don't think it fulfills its main function. First of all, it should make contribution to the establishment of healthy NGOs. The project support should be directed to local NGOs financially."
(Intercultural Communication Association-Vecdi Sayar)

> "There have been important activities since the Civil Society Development Program, and the quests are making me more hopeful. STGM also developed. I believe that my third eye opened with the help of STGM. I think it is fulfilling its mission throughout the country."
(Anadolu Culture-Mine Özerdem)

> "STGM made significant contributions to civilian organizations in Turkey. It has realized important contributions regarding the use of EU funds in line with its purposes. What I will say might be a little different from the philosophy of civil society, but I should still say it, I think STGM should act as a guardian for civil society in Turkey. It should also find different ways to promote its activities. The information support given by STGM is vital for us."
(Konya Mevlana Platform-Ali Gürbüz Dayıoğlugil)

> "STGM helped us in project proposal preparing for our activities and excited us with its training seminars. After that, we became able to apply for funds. We need more cooperation with STGM regarding project preparation."
(AYKARYAY-Hüsnü Ertung)

> "We were expecting more about the registration of Roma community. Education, employment, women studies, human rights and children rights constitute almost all the spheres of interest for STGM. Our community has a lot of problems. We need more cooperation and the guidance of STGM about the projects on Roma community in Turkey."
(İzmir Roma Federation-Özcan Purçu)

> "We know about STGM activities. We want to deepen and develop our relations."
(Midyat Assyrian Culture Association-Yakup Gabriel)

8. Conclusion

Civil society organizations active in culture and art field in Turkey are usually based in large cities, except for Anadolu Kültür.

It was observed from the attitudes and statements of many people and institutional representatives that there are still important obstacles at the level of ideas regarding basic rights and freedoms, that the concerns regarding the expression of membership to ethnic and religious communities are not overcome, that some people highlight their religious identity instead of ethnic identity as it is regarded as a more acceptable one and that the religious authorities regard the civil society development in their communities as a sharing of their authority. Different community representatives stated that there are still serious obstacles before the realization of universal human rights and freedoms in Turkey and that the EU accession process has a key role in the normalization of life.

Almost all of the NGOs, except for the project-based and commercial institutions, were established in order to respond to an important social need. Although they get partial voluntary support, the running of daily work is usually assumed by the founding managers and the active members of the executive board in many institutions.

The number of institutions that are able to run their activities with their own resources is limited and the majority of NGOs need funding support while implementing their activities. Meanwhile, some institutions are able to realize high value added activities with small funding support with strong local support or through mobilizing the spirit of working together communally. The cooperation of such institutions with strong NGOs from abroad enable these institutions to provide some services such as the coverage of all the expenses of foreign experts that attend their activities.

Regarding the financing of activities, the representatives of NGOs said that the public authorities do not give the desired level of support and at times prevent the activities. The representatives of many NGOs said that particularly the Ministry of Culture cut the former partial support to art activities and halted its efforts to design the culture and art policy of the country.

Some people and institutions are rather cautious about the foreign funds such as EU funds as they believe that such funds may lead to a dependent relationship, a limited number of institutions believe that the use of EU funds will harm the unity and integrity of the country for purely ideological reasons and many NGOs, which regard the funding support as a successful of financing their activities, believe that this opportunity makes significant contributions for the realization of basic human rights and freedoms.

Almost all the institutions interviewed stated that they know about STGM and that they are particularly content about the contributions of it for the spread of civil society awareness and project cycle management trainings. Some people and institutions said that they want to establish a more active cooperation with STGM and that the center should open branch offices for a more efficient local participation.

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The Strengthening Freedom of Association for Further Development of Civil Society Project is implemented by STGM and supported by the European Commission.

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