EUROPEANIZATION OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN TURKEY:
THE CASE OF IZMIR METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

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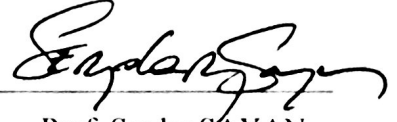TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY

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THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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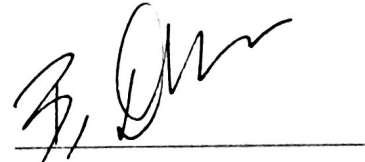
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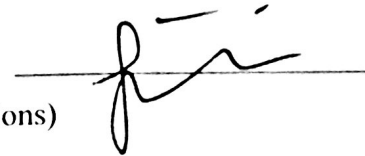
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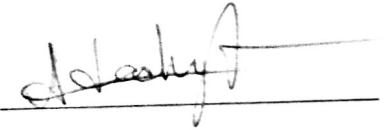
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Anıl ADADIOĞLU

ABSTRACT

EUROPEANIZATION OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN TURKEY:
THE CASE OF IZMIR METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

ADADIOĞLU, Anıl

M.A., International Relations

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European Union has offered many opportunities for local administrations in the EU. When Turkey's official accession process has started in Helsinki Summit 1999, local administrations in Turkey have found a chance to take advantage of these opportunities. This thesis focuses on the question of how the local administrations in Turkey established relationships with the EU from 1999 to 2018. Europeanization is used as a conceptual framework. In this context, different Europeanization models are presented. This thesis is based on John's ladder model. By providing a comprehensive literature review, this thesis also mentions the evolution of EU funds, the role of city networks for the EU and Brussels offices. To understand the interplay between the EU and local administrations in Turkey, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality is considered as case study. Documents related to Izmir Metropolitan Municipality were analyzed and 12 elite interviews were conducted. At the end of the process tracing, it is stated that Izmir Metropolitan Municipality had been Europeanized at the level of networking.

Keywords: Europeanization, Local Administrations, Ladder Model, Izmir

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ YEREL YÖNETİMLERİN AVRUPALILAŞMASI: İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ ÖRNEĞİ

ADADIOĞLU, Anıl

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Başak YAVÇAN

Türkiye'nin 1999 Helsinki Zirvesi'yle başlayan Avrupa Birliği'ne adaylık süreci Türkiye'deki belediyeler için AB'nin yerel yönetimler için sunduğu fırsatlardan yararlanabilme olanağı sunmuştur. Türkiye'deki yerel yönetimlerin AB ile olan ilişkilerini merkezine koyan bu çalışmada, belediyelerin 1999 ile 2018 yılları arasında AB ile nasıl bir ilişki kurdukları üzerinde durulmuştur. Teorik olarak Avrupalılaşma literatüründe yararlanılıp farklı Avrupalılaşma modelleri sunulmaya çalışılmıştır. John'un "ladder" (merdiven) modeli temel alınmıştır. Geniş bir literatür taramasının içinde, merdiven modeli bağlamında AB fonlarının gelişiminden, şehir ağlarının rollerinden ve Brüksel ofislerinin öneminden bahsedilip Avrupalılaşmanın yerel yönetimlerde uygulandığı örneklere yer verilmiştir. Türkiye'deki belediyelerin AB ile kurdukları ilişkileri anlamak için ise İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi vaka çalışması olarak ele alınmıştır. Belge taramasını desteklemek için 12 farklı elit ile mülakat yapılmıştır. Yapılan süreç analizi sonunda İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin ağ kurma seviyesinde Avrupalılaştığı belirtilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupalılaşma, Yerel Yönetimler, merdiven model, İzmir

For my beloved aunt Halise Adadıoğlu

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATION

AER   : Assembly of European Regions

CEMR   : Council of European Municipalities and Regions

CIVITAS   : City-Vitality-Sustainability

COFRS   : Coordination Office of Foreign Relations and Sister Cities

COR   : Committee of Regions

DEUGP   : Directorate of EU and Grants Project

DFR   : Directorate of Foreign Relations

EAZA   : European Association of Zoos and Aquaria

ENAT   : European Network for Accessible Tourism

EU   : European Union

IMM   : Izmir Metropolitan Municipality

IOM   : International Organization for Migration

IPA   : Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance

ISPA   : Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession

IZKA   : Izmir Development Agency

OICC   : Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities

OWHC   : Organization of World Heritage Cities

PHARE   : Poland and Hungary Action for Reconstruction of Economy

SAPARD   : Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development

SNA   : Subnational Administration

SODEM   : Social Democrat Municipalities Association

TUIK   : Turkish Statistical Institute

UCLG   : United Cities and the Local Governments

UN   : United Nations

VNG   : Association of Netherlands Municipalities

WFB   : Bremen Development Agency

WHO   : World Health Organization

WUWM   : World Union of Wholesales Market

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2017, when Donald Trump decided to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement, the first reaction came from mayors like New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and governors like California, Colorado, Oregon in the United States, and they told that they would stick with the agreement (Andone & Chavez, 2017). When the civil war in Syria broke out in 2011, the refugee crisis shook the national governments in Europe, but in 2018, the efforts showed by the Turkish municipalities were praised in international conferences. The name of the local politicians like Sadiq Khan in London, Ekrem İmamoğlu in Istanbul, is heard more in national and international arenas. This trend has led to the question of why local administrations have become more prominent in the international arena.

Peter John states two phenomena to explain this process. The first phenomenon is the economic competition among nation-states, which is the result of globalism (John, 2001: 62). As stated by scholars like Sassen (2001), Friedmann (1986), certain cities have become the pioneer in global context following the evolution of capitalism. The second phenomenon is the establishment of the European Union, which is the main interest of this thesis (John, 2001: 63). The EU evolved into a governance structure that embraces supranational, national, and subnational actors. Adopting the principle of subsidiarity, establishing Committee of the Regions for local administrations to have a say in EU level and enabling funds for local administrations have provided unique opportunities to cities/local administrations/subnational administrations (SNAs) ranging from providing multilateral, town twinning opportunities dated back to the 1950s and to lobbying in Brussels to influence EU

policies (Herrschel & Newman, 2017: 133). Also, since the EU has enlarged towards other areas in Europe such as post-socialist countries and Balkans, it attracts many local administrations in those countries and candidate countries like Turkey.

Turkey and the EU have a long history back to the 1960s. This relationship started a new chapter with the 1999 Helsinki Summit. In this summit, Turkey has been approved as an official candidate for the EU membership. Starting from this date, the opportunities that local administrations have benefitted in the EU such as EU funds, city networks have been available to local administrations in Turkey. Especially after the installation of Instrument for Pre-Assistance (IPA) funds in 2007, EU funding opportunities have increased. By adding the rise in international activities of local administrations into the picture, sister city or town twinning relationships, city networks in the EU have provided the know-how, good practices, experience sharing opportunities for local administrations in Turkey. In this context, how the interplay between the EU and the local administrations is shaped and during this interplay, how the EU affects the local administrations in Turkey are critical questions to be answered.

This thesis focuses on the relationship between the EU and the local administrations in Turkey. The question of how the local administrations in Turkey interact with the EU institutions, cities in the EU member states, city networks in the EU is asked, since in the international relations literature in Turkey, the effects of European Union on the local administrations have not been studied sufficiently. In the literature, some studies are focusing on the foreign relations of local administrations like Demirtaş (2016) or Kuşku-Sönmez (2014). Some studies are focusing on the globalization and Europeanization of cities in Turkey like Keyman and Koyuncu (2010). Özçelik's review (2017) is one of the few studies that focus directly on the relationship between local administration and the EU. However, instead of

concentrating the municipalities directly, he concentrates on both regional development agencies and municipalities in Izmir, Samsun and Diyarbakır by looking for variation in Europeanization level and why the difference occurs. The period of his study is from 1999 to 2013.

In this thesis, the interplay between local administration and the EU and the change in the local administration is focused. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) is chosen to see the effect of Europeanization. The first reason for choosing IMM is that according to Global Monitor 2014, Izmir was the second-fastest growing economy among the metropolitan economies in the world (p.8). Secondly, it is the third biggest city in Turkey in terms of economics (TUIK, 2018) and population (TUIK, 2019) and according to Ministry of Development Social Capital Index, Izmir ranked the first among other cities in Turkey ("Yüksek Yaşam Kalitesi," n.d.). Thirdly, Izmir is one of the few cities that the Directorate for EU Affairs has a field office. Also, between 2002-2016 period, a total of 1732 EU projects in Izmir was provided with approximately € 77.5 million in grants. (İzmir'de AB Projeleri, 2016: 6). Fourth, Europe and Europeanness are considered as an aspect of Izmir identity in Turkey and it has been ruled by the secular, opposition party of Turkish politics, Republican People's Party during this period. Fifth, among metropolitan municipalities in Turkey, IMM is the only metropolitan municipality which has been a member of Eurocities since 2008. Finally, in terms of collecting data, IMM is an easy case due to its transparent administration. For time restriction, this thesis asks its questions from 1999 Helsinki Summit to 2018, since in March 2019, there were local elections in Turkey.

To explain and analyze the interplay between local administrations and the EU, in the conceptual framework chapter, Europeanization will be discussed. The questions of what Europeanization is, what kind of tools Europeanization provides to

understand the social phenomenon, why Europeanization is a suitable concept in the case of local administrations, how local administration can be understood in the Europeanization framework will be answered. To understand the interplay between local administrations and the EU, John's "ladder model" will be adopted in this thesis since it provides a better, detailed schema for different types of interactions between the local administrations and EU level such as managing EU information, applying for EU funds, developing sister city relations with other cities, influencing EU policy-making process.

In the next chapter, in the light of conceptual framework, i.e. Europeanization and the ladder model, how the relationship between local administration and the EU has been studied in the academic literature will be mentioned in this chapter. The evolution of EU funds, establishment of Committee of the Regions, the role of city networks for the EU and the functions of the Brussel offices will also be discussed. The chapter will mention about the studies from new EU member but post-socialist countries, non-EU European states and accession countries.

The fourth chapter will be the methodology chapter. In this thesis, to find data, documents were searched for Europeanization of IMM in the light of the ladder model. These documents were IMM Activity Reports from 2000 to 2018, Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi (Izmir Metropolitan Gazette) which is the official gazette of IMM, Metro Bulletin which is published by IMM's company Izmir Metro, the books published by Izmir Mediterranean Academy of the IMM, activity reports of Union of Municipalities of Turkey, IMM Strategic Plan 2006-2017, IMM Strategic Plan 2010-2017, IMM Strategic Plan 2015-2019, the booklets that Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs published, and web sites of the IMM, Izmir Development Agency and Directorate of EU Affairs. In addition to document analysis, semi-structured interviews were held

with Aziz Kocaoğlu who has been the mayor of IMM from 2004 to 2019, one of his general secretariat during his term, one IMM Assembly member who has taken a role in the Committee of EU and Foreign Relations in the IMM Assembly, one advisor to current IMM Mayor Tunç Soyer, one official from Directorate of EU Grants Projects (DEUGP) in IMM, one official from Directorate of Foreign Relations (DFR), one official who are working in both Social Democrat Municipalities Association (SODEM) and IMM, one official from Izmir City Council, the president of Refugee Council in Konak District Municipality, one official from Izmir Development Agency (IZKA), one EU expert from Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs and one EU expert from Directorate for EU Affairs between August 2019 to December 2019 to support the data obtained from document analysis. Methodology chapter will talk about how the data was collected and the interviews were conducted.

The fifth chapter will start with the evolution of the Turkish administrative system and how Turkish local administrations located in this administrative context will be answered briefly. Also, the procedure for international activities of municipalities will be presented in this chapter. Since the accession process of Turkey continues, the most important actor is the central administration. The activities of the Directorate for EU Affairs regarding the local administrations in Turkey and the EU accession process of Turkey will be mentioned in this chapter. After setting up the general picture, the interactions of IMM with the EU following the ladder model will be presented under six headlines; EU vision and the identity of the municipality, EU department, EU projects, town twinning (sister cities), city networks and Brussel Office. The fifth chapter will be ended after analyzing the Europeanization of IMM. The result of this analysis is that IMM is Europeanized at the level of networking. The

last chapter will be the conclusion chapter and suggestions for future studies will be presented.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: EUROPEANIZATION

Since the central question of this thesis is related to the interaction between local administrations and the EU, how to make sense of this relationship is a significant problem. In this chapter, a conceptual framework will be presented to tackle with this problem. Europeanization literature provides better tools to explain and analyze the main question. Firstly, the concept of Europeanization and its analytical boundaries will be defined. Secondly, the different usages of Europeanization and how Europeanization process can be identified in policies, policy fields and institutions will be presented. Thirdly, institutional and sociological approaches to Europeanization will provide a depth to the discussion of Europeanization. Later, in this chapter, how Europeanization is used as a conceptual framework for the relationship between local administrations and the EU will be mentioned by providing different models. The chapter will end by mentioning the ladder model which will be adopted in this thesis to understand the activities of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in the EU context.

Europeanization is one of the conceptual approaches to understanding European integration. The increasing number of articles that use the term "Europeanization" shows popularity from the 1980s to the beginning of the 2000s (Featherstone,2003: 6). However, when we are talking about European integration, there are also some theories like liberal intergovernmentalism, which promote the role of nation-states and supranationalism, which focuses on supra-national bodies of the Union. The first distinctive feature of Europeanization from others is neither nation-states nor supranational organizations. Europeanization studies focus on the change in domestic institutions, policy-making, and specific policies that are induced by the EU

(Hamedinger & Wolffhardt, 2010: 11). It also digs more in-depth into the institutions and tries to understand the effects of the EU policies, norms on domestic institutions, or actors' changing norms and policies. Even though this feature might help to answer how Europeanization is helpful to understand the interplay between local administrations and the EU and differentiate it from other approaches or theories, it cannot provide a definition, a causal mechanism to understand political phenomena.

One of the crucial articles about Europeanization is Olsen's "The many faces of Europeanization" (2002). In this article, Olsen searches answers for the questions of what Europeanization is, how it changes domestic structures, and why it matters. The question of what can give us insights about defining the term Europeanization. When he answers the first question, he finds five different usages for the term Europeanization in the literature. The first one is using the term in terms of changing the borders of the EU via enlargement (Olsen, 2002: 923). With each new member, the EU becomes a single political space that expands its sphere of influence. The second usage of the term Europeanization is developing EU level institutions (Olsen, 2002: 923). It means that each member can create structures that participate in the Union's collective action. These structures can be listed as both formal (institutions, assemblies) and informal (principles, norms) structures. The third usage is "the adaptation of domestic (national and sub-national) systems to the EU level" (Olsen, 2002: 924). This adaptation to the EU level includes norms, policies, and all governance systems of the domestic level. The fourth one is related to the neighborhood policy of the Union and how the EU affects actors beyond its borders (Olsen, 2002: 924). The question of how the Union's actions, attitudes towards Russia or Morocco can affect those countries can be asked in this context. The last usage of Europeanization is related to the EU's integration process and how the EU can become

a coherent body operates in the international arena (Olsen, 2002: 924). These different usages Olsen put forward show that Europeanization cannot be defined clearly. As he puts it, even though there are varieties of usage for Europeanization, when we are answering the question of how the institutional change can occur, there is no "the definition of Europeanization" theory which explains this evolution; thus, for Olsen, integrating different approaches is essential for Europeanization studies (Olsen, 2002: 944).

Ladrech (1994) defines Europeanization in terms of the relation between the European and the national level. For him, Europeanization is about changing the mentality that the national administrations have developed and their policy-making procedures. The direction of change in the national level is the same as the EU's political and economic goals. Moreover, the critical aspect of his definition is that he considers this process as an incremental one (Ladrech, 1994: 69). In other words, his explanation expects constant efforts from the EU to national or sub-national administrations to reorient their preferences. Nevertheless, he implies that Europeanization does not challenge the legitimacy and authority of national governments; instead, the implications of Europeanization may provide a suitable ground for multiple actors to involve (Ladrech, 1994: 70). Then, there can be a change towards European ideas, norms, principles, or institutional, policy-oriented shifts.

Featherstone provides a minimal definition for Europeanization, "a response to the policies of the EU" (2003: 3). It means when the EU level has an action towards the members or non-members, the domestic level's reaction creates the process of Europeanization. Featherstone says that this process cannot be the same for every member state in the EU; thus, he describes the Europeanization as dynamic, complex, and inherently an asymmetric process with incremental, irregular, and uneven impact

without permanent or irreversible effects (2003: 4). In other words, Europeanization is like an evolutionary process in which the EU and domestic structures interact with each other. Like Olsen, he also provides different typologies for Europeanization. The first typology recognizes Europeanization as a historical phenomenon in which the EU exports its institutional, administrative, imperial and social conduct (Featherstone, 2003: 6). It implies that this type of Europeanization has roots before the foundation of the EU. It can involve religious affiliations, West-East duality, sectarian divide into the picture. The second type of typology identifies Europeanization as "a transnational cultural diffusion," in which it moves across nations and changes the cultural aspect of every nation it faces in Europe (Featherstone, 2003: 7). It allows us doing researches that can compare a European concept and national concept, such as discussing cultural assimilation in the context of migrants (Featherstone, 2003: 7). The third typology understands Europeanization as an institutional adaptation. It is associated directly or indirectly with EU membership. In this sense, the EU creates pressures for domestic adaptation (Featherstone, 2003: 7). This type of study is necessary because it allows us room for understanding how the EU-subnational interactions occur, and as a result of this interaction, how the subnational administrations can adapt itself to EU eco-systems. The final typology, the largest category in this categorization, is seen as Europeanization "as an adaptation of policies and policy processes" (Featherstone, 2003: 9). Every policy arena that the EU institutions have a say can affect domestic institutions directly or indirectly. By limiting the research on that specific policy field (such as railroads, competition law, water treatment), Europeanization can be examined. For example, for international relations scholars, Europeanization has been used for understanding the EU foreign policy coordination (Featherstone, 2003: 10).

As Olsen said that for understanding the social phenomenon, there is a need for other approaches in Europeanization studies, Featherstone agrees with this idea and states that Europeanization as a conceptual framework cannot explain social phenomenon solely on its own; instead, it is combined with other studies like multi-level governance, new institutionalism, policy networks. (2004: 12).

As mentioned above, the policy field is an essential aspect of Europeanization. To understand this type of Europeanization in this field, Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999) develop three ideal types of policymaking model. Based on the position of EU institutions in the relevant policy arena, these three ideal types explain how policies and institutions affect the domestic structures. They develop these types in a top-down manner. The first mechanism of Europeanization is positive integration (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 2). In this mechanism, the European Union provides a clear guideline, an institutional model for domestic structures to follow. This institutional model given by EU policy is expected to influence members' national or subnational structure positively, i.e., towards the EU (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 2). It assumes a "misfit" in policy-making and institutional composition between the European and domestic level, which transform the domestic arrangements in a way that change the structure towards a European style.

The second mechanism is different from the positive integration. In this mechanism, the EU does not provide a transparent model for domestic institutions. Instead, it tries to trigger domestic change "by altering the domestic rules of the game and domestic opportunity structure via the distribution of power and resources among actors" (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 2). It is called negative integration. Authors give the old regulatory policies implemented to build the common market via liberalization and deregulation as an example of negative integration. These policies are considered

"negative" since EU institutions do not want national governments to make policies for damaging free trade and free mobility (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 3). In other words, policies that are associated with negative integration have a restrictive feature toward domestic structures, and since national governments maintain their national sovereignty against EU institutions, usage of negative integration policies has limited direct impact. Therefore, authors express that negative integration policies cannot be understood in terms of institutional fit or misfit; instead, the question of change in domestic level should be asked whether European policies have provided a leverage for existing actors to challenge status quo, which is vital to understand variation in national or sub-national level (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 4).

The third mechanism to understand Europeanization is framing integration. If we listed these three mechanisms following their direct impact on the domestic level, framing integration is the least direct mechanism to create a change in the domestic level. It implies that European policies affect the domestic system "by altering the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors," i.e., by developing a cognitive logic that aims to revise the current understanding at the domestic level (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 3). If a European policy does not provide direct variation in the domestic system, then what can we say about the Europeanization of that system? Authors state two factors that help scholars to observe domestic institutional change; one is deciding whether European policy beliefs and ideas develop a local or national support from domestic actors for European reform, and another one is triggering a national reform in existing institutional status quo by reformers with the help of the EU (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 5).

While Knill and Lehmkuhl are providing a theoretical model for the implementation of Europeanization in the policy arena, Caporaso, Green-Cowles, and

Risse describe a framework for understanding Europeanization in the context of institutional adaptation (2001). In their book, "Transforming Europe; Europeanization and Domestic Change," they claim that the Europeanization of domestic institutions depends on the national features because these features have an essential role in shaping the process and outcome. In other words, Europeanization is about "domestic adaptation with national colors" (Caporaso et al., 2001: 1). By adding to the national colors, they say that Europeanization process is in favor of strengthening the state autonomy vis-à-vis society, but it does not imply that the EU does not have any or little impact to national governments; instead, they explicitly state that even back-then-EU-big-three, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, have to adopt many European policies or institutions in many issue-areas (Caporaso et al., 2001: 2). It is crucial that when examining the local administrations in this thesis, national governments are important actors in the Europeanization process.

The authors use the term internal structure borrowing from political science discipline. It refers to "those components of a polity or society consisting of regularized and comparatively stable interactions, and the most critical component is institutions that are defined by sociological literature as systems of rules, both formal and informal" (Caporaso et al., 2001: 4-5). In their terms, local administrations or subnational administrations can be considered as domestic structures.

The vital aspect of the authors' point is their explanation of how the adaptation process occurs. They foresee a three-step approach to explain the Europeanization of domestic change. The first step is "to identify the relevant Europeanization process at the European level by stating the formal and informal norms, rules, regulations, procedures, and practices" (Caporaso et al., 2001: 6). It provides the criteria for benchmarking the Europeanization process in the domestic structure. In this respect,

before explaining the Europeanization of local administrations in Turkey, one must give answers to the question of how local administrations are positioned in the political context of European Union, what kind of norms, principles govern the local administrations, what kind of European regulations there are for local administrations. In this step, also, according to authors, the researcher finds his/her research question by asking whether these rules, norms, regulations, i.e., adjustments, lead transformation at the national or sub-national level (Caporaso et al., 2001: 6).

The second step for explaining the change is to identify the goodness of fit between Europeanization processes and national institutional rules and regulations (Caporaso et al., 2001: 6). In this step, the internal structure has to face different adaptational pressures, which are the result of the policy misfit. It means the clash between different sets of rules, regulations, norms. At this point, the researcher examines the existing domestic structures and starts to compare with the European equivalent. By doing that, the researcher finds some extent of fitness between the European and domestic levels. One degree is that these two might be easily matched and national domestic structure can incorporate European norms, rules, regulations into its structure without too much change; another degree is national structure can completely change its domestic structure to follow the European one; if none of these cases does happen, there might be a clash between these two levels and national structure can counter European norms, and regulations (Caporaso et al., 2001: 7).

However, with or without a degree of fitness between the European and domestic level, as the authors suggested, there have to be some mediating factors. These factors can enable European policy or arrangements into the domestic one or block European arrangements and resist the national settings. Based on their role in this adaptation process, the authors suggest three mediating structural factors in the

Europeanization of domestic structure. The first factor is the multiple veto points in the domestic structure (Caporaso et al., 2001: 9). In the process of Europeanization, there might be actors that have a say in the process, so that these actors have to be convinced in order to succeed in the process. These different actors are called multiple veto points. If there are too many actors, the Europeanization process would be complicated since it is hard to convince so many actors. Authors call this process as "winning coalition," which helps or blocks the adaptation that is caused by the Europeanization process (Caporaso et al., 2001: 9). Multiple veto points are mainly considered as blocking the process.

On the other hand, as for the second factor for mediation, if domestic actors support the process, they are provided by facilitating institutions with "material and ideational resources" to initiate the formal transformation (Caporaso et al., 2001: 9). Based on the logic of consequentialism, these actors try to change the direction of the domestic structure towards European structure. The third factor is related to the informal mechanism of institutions, which is called as cooperative cultures such as "consensus-oriented or cooperative decision-making culture," based on the logic of appropriateness (Caporaso et al., 2001: 10).

After stating the structural mediating factors, Caporaso et al. talk about two mediating factors that are affecting the agency, i.e., actors itself (local administrations, for example, can be considered as the agency in this thesis' context). The first agency-centered mediating factor is "the differential empowerment of actors," which is the result of the structural change and redistribution of power among actors in the political, economic, or social systems (Caporaso et al., 2001: 11). The second mediating factor is "learning," which implies a fundamental change in actors' interests and identities that occurs very rarely for authors (Caporaso et al., 2001: 12).

However, even though Caporaso and his colleagues explain a rigorous Europeanization framework, they admit that Europeanization cannot create full convergence to European ideals, but it can create different pressures and change from country to country (Caporaso et al., 2001: 18).

At this point, all the Europeanization definitions are constructed because of institutions, policies, or polities. These definitions are lacking the sociological impact of the European Union towards the domestic level or vice-e-versa. However, Radaelli's definition takes the concept a step further. For him, the Europeanization is defined as;

> "Processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies" (Radaelli, 2000: 5).

This definition, firstly, focuses on the logic of the actor that perform in the process of Europeanization; secondly, this change leads to institutionalization in both formal, informal and cognitive dimension of the domestic system; thirdly, it focuses on not only organizations but also actors (Radaelli, 2000: 5).

Radaelli states four distinct features for Europeanization. Like the previous scholars mentioned in this chapter, Radaelli states that Europeanization should not be considered as convergence because the process and its consequences differ from country to country; also, it is not harmonization because harmonization creates a common playing field, but Europeanization might draw a regulatory competition between actors and even distort this competition (Radaelli, 2000: 7). Another feature

of Europeanization is that since it examines what will happen when EU institutions initiate and affects their influence towards lower levels, it cannot be regarded as one of the political integration understandings (Radaelli, 2000: 7). Finally, in an academic sense, Europeanization and EU policy formation are considered distinct concepts; in reality, they are interconnected (Radaelli, 2000: 7). When we examine the regional policy of the EU, how this policy is formed at the EU level is different from the impact of the policy to the member states, but these two processes are happening at the same time.

Radaelli's point gives the Europeanization studies a sociological perspective. Later, Börzel and Risse add a sociological dimension to Caporaso et al.'s institution-based-perspective and try to smooth the institutional edges of the Europeanization process by preserving most of the institutional understanding of Europeanization.

For Börzel and Risse, Europeanization is about a process of changing the domestic structure by the effects of the European Union, which are met by two conditions, "the misfit between the European and domestic levels" and "facilitating factors" to ease adaptation pressures from the EU (2003: 58). Instead of understanding this process based on institutions, policies, or polity, they focus on the logic of these institutional structures. They identify two basic logic in the Europeanization process borrowed from the new institutionalism.[1] The first logic of change is "the logic of consequentialism" borrowed from rational choice institutionalism, which provides two mediating factors, "multiple veto points," and "formal institutions" (Börzel & Risse,

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[1] "The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supraindividual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991: 8).

2003: 58). The first one implies how many different actors are there in the domestic power structure to resist pressures from Europeanization. The less the veto points in a given structure, the more the possibility of acceptance of Europeanization pressures. The second one, however, is quite the contrary. If in a given domestic structure, the more institutions can provide material and ideational resources to actors, the change resulted from Europeanization can occur more quickly. In this type of logic, actors in local structure interact with the EU based on cost-benefit analysis. For example, if one finds evidence for intention to get money from the EU while initiating any European activity, it can be said that these actors are acting under the logic of consequentialism.

The other logic is "the logic of appropriateness" borrowed from sociological institutionalism (Börzel & Risse, 2003: 59). Contrary to the logic of consequentialism, the logic of appropriateness puts more emphasis on ideational values like norms, values, understandings when examining the Europeanization process. It promotes two types of mediating factors, "norm entrepreneurs" and "political culture" (Börzel&Risse, 2003: 59). The first factor helps to change the context of the local agenda and influence other actors to change their way of defining themselves and interests following the EU. The latter helps to create a consensus among the local actors and the cost-sharing environment through socialization and collective learning process. If promotion for European ideals, norms, values are observed in the context of local administrations, then it can be assumed that those local administrations follow the logic of appropriateness.

After stating the logics and how they initiate the Europeanization process since the Europeanization is not a singular phenomenon and can be changed country to country, as mentioned above, the authors provide three distinct outcomes for Europeanization process which are absorption, accommodation, and transformation (Börzel&Risse,

2003: 69-70). However, when explaining the outcomes of Europeanization, Radaelli uses an extended version of them, which are inertia, absorption, transformation, and retrenchment (Radaelli, 2000: 15). In the context of this thesis, since the case examined in this thesis is a candidate country, Turkey, the most suitable suggestion for understanding the outcomes of the Europeanization process is given by Tekin (2015). Tekin's categorization of outcomes is much more helpful since he considers that in some cases, the EU might not affect and change the domestic structure like candidate countries. Hence, he suggests an updated version of Börzel & Rise;

> "(a) inertia, which is the EU policy/norm/practices causes tension but no alteration ensures, (b) absorption, which is the EU policy/norm/practice is adopted without any tension or need for alteration, (c) accommodation, which is the EU policy/norm/practice causes tension but alters the national system only slightly, and finally, (d) transformation, which is the EU policy/norm/practice causes tension and alters the underlying national political philosophy" (Tekin, 2015: 7).

At this point, different definitions of Europeanization are provided. Europeanization cannot be defined in a precise sense so that it should be implemented the real-life matters with the help of the other understandings. It is mentioned that there are some attempts to explain the phenomena in an institutional perspective like Caporaso et al., sociological points of view like Radaelli's study or approaches that try to combine these two theoretical points like Börzel & Risse's study. In the next section, regarding the context of local administrations and their interaction with the European Union, different models that are using Europeanization will be mentioned.

2. 1. Europeanization and Local Administrations

One of the crucial scholars who deal with the subnational administrations in the conditions of the European Union is Mike Goldsmith (2003). In his article, Goldsmith explains the existing economic challenges European cities and regions have to deal with in the constantly changing environment of the EU (2003: 113). He, firstly, tries to answer the question of how local or subnational administrations can be analyzed in the context of EU integration. The first model for EU integration considers EU as a state-centered organization and focuses only Council of Ministers, which characterized by "Europe de Patries" (Europe with National Governments) De Gaulle's phrase (Goldsmith, 2003: 114). The second model considers EU as a federalist, supranational state which put so much emphasis on Commission, which characterized by "Europe of the Regions," Delors'[2] phrase (Goldsmith, 2003: 115). However, his suggestion is modeling the European Union as "a system of multi-level governance" in which regional and local levels can be a part of the decision-making process (Goldsmith, 2003: 116). In other words, Goldsmith promotes a multi-level governance model so that it can provide an arena for examining the activities, interactions of subnational administrations.

Then, he conceptualizes Europeanization by referring the Radaelli's perspective. For him, Europeanization is a process by which many actors in different levels consider the European dimension of the policy (Goldsmith, 2003: 116). In other words, subnational or national actors consider the European "way of doing things" on

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[2] During 1985-1995 term, Jacques Delors was the president of European Commission.

the policies they are implementing. In the EU context, it means that regional policy is the focus for scholars who are engaging in examining the interaction between subnational administrations and the EU. Nevertheless, focusing solely on regional policy might not provide enough explanation for the Europeanization of local administrations of candidate countries since they are not the subject of these policies directly.

Guderjan uses a fusion model based on governance literature, which initially developed by Wolfgang Wessels (2015: 938). The word "fusion" refers to the combination and emergence of vertical and horizontal institutions, including subnational, national, and supranational institutions, in a given policy field, which is linked with the Europeanization process in the given policy arena (Guderjan, 2015: 938-939). To examine the fusion in the Europeanization of local administrations, Guderjan uses five indicators which are called the five As;

> "(a) the *absorption* of European legislation and policy by local administration, (b) the Europeanization of local actors' *attention* towards supranational policies and legislation, (c) institutional and procedural *adaptation* processes at the all relevant levels of government, (d) bypassing and cooperative *action* of municipal authorities in relation to EU policies, and finally, (e) local actors' *attitudes* towards European policies and governance" (Guderjan, 2015, pp.941).

His indicators provide a cognitive, institutional understanding of the local administration towards EU governance in general. However, it does not shed light on the interactions between the local administrations and the EU.

For understanding the interplay between the local administration and the EU, Kern provides a three-dimensional-approach to Europeanization. As cited in Pollack (2005:

384), she claims that Europeanization can provide "a sense of means to multi-level governance" (Kern, 2007: 3). Her first dimension of Europeanization is top-down Europeanization, which focuses on the EU regulations since many regulations are implemented at the local level (Kern, 2007: 4). The local administrations are the passive implementers of the EU regulations without any active participation in making them. The second dimension is bottom-up Europeanization, which foresees a direct link between local administrations and the EU (Kern, 2007: 4). This type of Europeanization can be seen in the debate of foreign policy of local administrations. The third and final dimension of Europeanization is horizontal Europeanization, which disregards the European institutions and focuses on the relations among cities via best practice transfer, lesson drawing, policy transfer, and policy convergence (Kern, 2007: 5). Although Kern draws a better line in differentiating the role of subnational governments in the European context, her dimensions are not clear to identify the interplay play between cities and the EU.

John's ladder model (2001), however, provides a better and more detailed model for understanding the Europeanization of local administrations by concentrating on the interaction between local administrations and the EU. He suggests that Europeanization can be defined by increasing activities of the local administrations with the European ideas and practices, which is represented by climbing the ladder. His hypothesis is "the more action the local authority undertakes, the greater the interplay with European ideas and practices and the higher they ascend the ladder." (John, 2001: 72). As stated in Figure 2.1 below, he named these steps in the ladder as such (John, 2001: 72);

  a. Responding to EU directives and regulations

  b. Managing European information

c. Communication to the private sector and the public

d. Maximizing EU grants

e. Facilitating economic regeneration (through D)

f. Linking with other local organizations participating in the EU

g. Participating in EU international networks and co-operating in joint projects

h. Advising the EU on implementation issues

i. Making the council's policies more 'European.'

In the first three steps, the local administration is a rather passive position that follows the rules and does not have so much authority in acting. In a sense, it is like a top-down approach. After the third step (step c), financially, the local administration starts to act. The step "e" and step "f" is the representation of horizontal Europeanization, which local administrations can socialize in the international arena. The last steps are the ultimate realization of Europeanized local administration which is full embrace European ideas and contribute the idea of "Europe." Like Börzel & Risse provide a scheme for understanding the outcomes of the Europeanization process, John's ladder also has similar features and provides a general scheme for outcomes of the Europeanization of local administrations. If local authorities climb the first three steps of the ladder (from a to c), he called it has minimal Europeanization. If they continue their activities to step "e," this kind of Europeanization is called as financially oriented Europeanization. If they expand their activities to other local administrations (to step g), the outcome of these activities on the ladder is called networking Europeanization. Finally, if a local authority climbed the last step, John calls this local authority fully Europeanized local authority.

Figure 2.1. The Ladder Model (John, 2001: 72)

EUROPEANIZATION

I	Making the council's policies more 'European'
H	Advising the EU on implementation issues
G	Participating in EU international networks and co-operating in joint projects
F	Linking with other local organizations participating in the EU
E	Facilitating economic regeneration (through D)
D	Maximizing EU grants
C	Communicating to the private sector and the public
B	Managing European information
A	Responding to EU directives and regulations

Even though the ladder model helps to explain the interplay between the EU and local administrations, it has some flaws. As Özçelik points out in his article regarding the Turkish local administrations and their Europeanization (2017: 178), firstly, the ladder model always assumes progressive advance in the ladder. Nevertheless, there could be backward steps in the ladder, with considering the political situations between the Turkish state and the EU. Secondly, some local administrations can skip some steps (Özçelik, 2017: 178). For example, a local administration might interact with other local organizations in the EU without applying for the EU grants. Thirdly, we can expect that units that created for the EU related activities in local administrations might put their emphasis on other international projects because of decreasing EU attractiveness as Özçelik calls it "moving sideways" (Özçelik, 2017: 178). Finally, Özçelik points out that local administrations are not strategically driven; their action might only mimic other organizations (Özçelik, 2017:

178). It means that the initial purpose might be different, but the action that local administration takes helps to the Europeanization of local administration.

In conclusion, in the conceptual framework chapter, the first section is dedicated to the concept of Europeanization and how the term is defined in the literature. Olsen (2002) draws the boundaries of the term Europeanization by providing historical background. Ladrech (1994) focuses on the phenomenon of change in the Europeanization process. Featherstone (2003) adds different typologies for the concept. While Knill & Lehmkuhl (1999) focus on policies that the EU develops and how these policies help the Europeanization process, Caporaso et al. (2001) provide insightful analysis of domestic institutions and how to understand the change in these institutions. As a reaction to the institutional understanding of the concept, Radaelli (2000) provides a more sociological definition for Europeanization by stating that Europeanization is the "European ways of doing things." As the last point in this section, institutional and sociological perspectives are tried to combine in Börzel & Risse's study in terms of understanding the Europeanization.

In the second section of this chapter, it is mentioned how Europeanization is used as a theoretical concept to understand the interplay between the EU and the local administrations. Goldsmith (2003) talks about the evolution of local administrations in the European context by taking into consideration multi-level governance. Guderjan (2015) provides a cognitive fusion model for understanding the effects of the EU. When Kern (2007) discusses the Europeanization, she emphasizes the interactions of local administrations but generalizes the relationship. However, John's ladder model is a more comprehensive tool for examining the interplay between local administrations and the EU (2003). It also provides an opportunity to integrate different types of activities, like both applying for EU grants and opening Brussel

offices. Although Özçelik (2017) states some criticism to model, his usage of the ladder model is beneficial to examine the interplay that will be mentioned in later chapters. Thus, John's ladder model will be used in this thesis to understand the relationship between local administrations in Turkey and the EU. Özçelik's points will also be taken into consideration while examining the Izmir Metropolitan Municipalities.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the conceptual framework chapter, Europeanization as a theoretical concept that helps to understand the relations between local administrations and the EU were explained. Since according to estimation, approximately between 70 and 80 percent of the EU policies need local or regional governments in implementation phases (Christiansen & Lintner, 2005: 10), local administrations have become an essential factor in the EU arena day by day. In this chapter, the studies focus on the Europeanization of local administration will be put forward. While doing that, studies will be presented following the ladder model. Firstly, the development process of EU funds in the EU context, which is one of the critical steps in the ladder model will be explained briefly, and then the studies that focus on the effects of EU funds in Europeanization process will be mentioned. Secondly, this chapter will continue by mentioning about the establishment of the Committee of Regions, which is the primary institution in the EU for the local administrations and how the EU uses the city networks. Later, the studies that emphasize the role of city networks and the bilateral relations between local administrations in the Europeanization process will be put forward. Thirdly, the critical step for full Europeanization in the ladder model, Brussel offices and their functions for local administrations will be discussed. Finally, Europeanization studies that are focusing on local administrations in non-EU states (Switzerland), new EU member but post-communist states (Poland) and accession countries (Turkey) will be mentioned.

The EU funds are one of the critical steps for the Europeanization of local administrations according to the ladder model. Before analysing studies that are

focusing on EU funds and how they help local administrations in the Europeanization process, it will be beneficial to understand how the EU funds evolved in the context of EU treaties.

The evolution of EU funds is related to the development of the regional policy of the EU. The first treaty that talks about the basics of regional policy are the Treaty of Rome. In its preamble, it is stated that one of the purposes of the European Economic Community is;

"[…]to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less-favored regions" (Treaty of Rome, 1957, pp.2).

In order to meet this goal, in 1958, "the European Social Fund," and "The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund" were established; later, due to the economic difficulties of the 1970s, in 1975, "the European Regional Development Fund" was established to provide financial guidance to regional and local administrations (Keleş & Mengi, 2017: 63). These funds became the pioneers of the EU funds for cities.

In 1987, The Single European Act underlined the importance of regional policy again in its Article 130a by saying, "the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the various regions and the backwardness of the least favored regions" (Single European Act, 1987: 9). This treaty was followed by the establishment of so-called "Structural Funds."

The Treaty on European Union or Maastricht Treaty was signed in 1992. It introduced two important structures for regional policy and local governments in terms of EU funds. The first notable feature was that, according to Article 130d, the

European Council decided to set up a "Cohesion Fund" for "providing a financial contribution to projects in the fields of environment and trans-European networks in the area of transport infrastructure" (The Maastricht Treaty, 1992: 54).

The second important feature of the Treaty was that it introduced the principle of subsidiarity. In the article 3b, it is mentioned as;

"The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and of the objectives assigned to it therein. In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be efficiently achieved by the Member states and can, therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community. Any action by the Community shall not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of this Treaty" (The Maastricht Treaty, 1992: 13-14).

This principle means that if a policy arena is not under the exclusive competence of the EU institution, and national governments do not achieve policy goals on this policy arena efficiently, then, the EU can operate in this policy arenas even though it is initially under the competence of the national governments. In the context of EU regional policy, it helps the EU institutions to interact with local and regional actors. According to Keleş and Mengü, there are three reasons for introducing the subsidiarity principle. The first one is that due to the Common Market, there has been an intense need for regulation in the policy areas in the Union, and this process cannot be carried out with the central bureaucracy from Brussels (Keleş & Mengü, 2017: 145). The EU needs information and help from the actors on the ground. The second reason is that subsidiarity has been understood as a reaction to global

tendencies (Keleş & Mengü, 2017: 145). It promotes the localities as opposed to national and supranational voices. The third reason is that because of the Common Market, the Union was the first level in the decision-making process, which made it necessary to share tasks and establish rules between the other management levels (Keleş & Mengü, 2017: 145). Supranational institutions share their decision-making power.

Following the 2000 Lisbon Strategy, this treaty has raised issues such as interregional disparities, full employment, sustainable growth, social cohesion like in the previous treaties (Keleş & Mengü, 2017: 65).

In the 2007-2013 period, previously established pre-accession funds like ISPA (Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession), SAPARD (Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development) and PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Action for Reconstruction of Economy) were combined under the name of "IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance)."

IPA is a vital instrument for accession countries and their local administrations financially. IPA's budget for the 2007-2013 period was €11.5 billion ("Overview - Instrument For Pre-Accession Assistance - European Neighbourhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations - European Commission," 2019). For example, according to Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, "€4,483.6 million was allocated to Turkey under five components; transition assistance and institution-building, cross-border cooperation, regional development, human resource developments, and rural development" ("Instrument For Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)," n.d.). In addition to that, IPA-II which is the second cycle (2014-2020) for financial assistance has four components;

"support for political reforms, support for economic, social and territorial development, strengthening the ability to absorb Union acquis and strengthening regional integration and territorial cooperation with the budget of €4,453.9 million" ("Instrument For Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)", 2019).

As can be seen from above, the evolution of EU funds is an important process. Each year, the extent of EU funds is growing. Thus, to understand the Europeanization process, applying for EU funds and being granted with EU funds is a necessary process, as mentioned in the ladder model. Zerbinati (2004) explains the relationship between Europeanization and EU funding, how local authorities compete for EU funds in the example of Italian and English local authorities, and what kind of adaptation process they had going through. She focuses on the bottom-up approach, i.e., the change in the local level, and understands the term Europeanization as Radaelli understood, i.e., "European ways of doing things" (Zerbinati, 2004: 1004). As for the case selection, she has two criteria; one is the eligibility of EU Structural Funds, and the other one is the success in EU funding competition (Zerbinati, 2004: 1004-1005). She analyzes these cases and categorizes the results in four categories; transformation, inertia, retrenchment, and adaptation, namely (Zerbinati, 2004: 1016-1017).

The critical aspect of her study is her explanation of how local administrations develop themselves institutionally for the EU funds. She explains this process in three phases. The first phase is the identification of EU funding opportunities. She states that EU funding is pursued because the local administration has to find an alternative financial source due to the financial constraints such as lack of resources provided by central governments. By considering this motivation, it is a rational choice for local administrations (Zerbinati, 2004: 1005).

The second phase is the identification of requirements for the bids (Zerbinati, 2004: 1007-1008). Local administrations try to find project ideas. This step is followed by gaining bidding skills such as writing the bids. Political support and partnership are the necessary part of this phase because the former is needed for mainly European-level support in the next bidding round, and the latter is a principal for EU funds stated by the European Commission.[3] At the last step in this phase, local administrations have to find additional funds since the EU only funds half of the project.

The third phase is the development of new organizational initiatives, which are ways to acquire the necessary ideas, skills, support, partnership, and funds (Zerbinati, 2004: 1008). Zerbinati explains that project ideas can be learned through knowledge transfer and best practices. Knowledge and practice are achieved by participating in international networking events and training courses. Bidding skills can be achieved and improved by employing skilled professionals such as people who work for other EU projects, creating an EU office, getting consultants whose expertise is on EU projects, and understanding what the EU wants in the bid. For receiving political support, local administrations cooperate with their neighbors and write bids together. Also, they open offices in Brussels for lobby purposes. EU subcommittees are another ground for local administrations to get political support. To satisfy the partnership principle, Zerbinati says that local administrations seek local partners like non-governmental organizations, private sector partners (2004: 1008).

Furthermore, as a final step to satisfy phase three, local administrations develop an EU strategy to find additional funds. In the strategy documents, they find possible

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[3] For the partnership principle:
"https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/glossary/p/partnership"

money sources. The last step of phase three is the management of the project. Bids are submitted and implemented in a strict timetable, but how the project ran is vital because if it fails, the project might lose its funding (Zerbinati, 2004: 1012).

As a result of these phases, Zerbinati (2004: 1016) concludes that according to findings from English and Italian local administrations' experiences, a local administration's participation in the EU funds is an essential urging force for Europeanization of the local level.

The effects of the EU funds on the cities from East Europe is also discussed in the literature. For example, Lorvi (2013) asks the question of why some municipalities in Estonia more successful than other municipalities in terms of using EU Structural Funds. Although his study is based on the foreign assistance allocation literature, his findings are vital for understanding the effect of EU funds on the Europeanization of local administrations. He states that since there has been an unequal regional development in Estonia, administrative capacities of the municipalities are decisive attribute for understanding the efficiency of municipal performance in EU funds; moreover, large municipalities have a better record than small municipalities since they have stronger administrative capacity and co-financing possibilities (Lorvi, 2013: 119).

For the Europeanization of local administrations through EU funds, Dukes' study is another example (2008). The EU Commission had started an initiative called as URBAN which had two sets of goals; one is the provide the Commission to represent itself a meaningful institution for the citizens of the EU and the other one is to push cities into foreground of the policymaking processes related to urban development ("Towards an urban agenda in the European Union," 1997: 3). Using the URBAN Programme as a tool for Europeanization, Dukes (2008) tries to understand

two questions in the example of two Dutch cities, Hague and Amsterdam, how EU programs can change the internal structure of a local administration and how the Europeanization occurs in urban discourse (pp.108). To answer the first question, she looks at the governance and multi-level governance literature and examines how these cities exercise governance principles like subsidiarity, partnership, participation during the implementation of the URBAN Programme (Dukes, 2008: 107-108).

For the second part of the article, Dukes developed a concept, "European urban discourse," deducted from the EU Commission and Directorate General Regional Policy's policy documents and spoken statements (2008: 112). By using these methods, she expresses whether these cities download Europeanization, change their structure, policies, practices, or upload Europeanization, transfer innovative solutions and best practices to the supranational arena (Dukes, 2008: 115).

As a result of these examinations, she finds out that Amsterdam and Hague had preserved their governance structures created in the Programme while the effect of European urban discourse was minimal; yet, the administrative participation in the European networks, bodies like the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) were increased during the time of the Programme (Dukes, 2008: 116). On the contrary, upload Europeanization mechanisms were quite doubtful since these mechanisms were thematic networks and working groups that are platforms for sharing best practices, she concludes that these platforms cannot imply the transfer to supranational bodies (Dukes, 2008: 117).

In addition to EU funds, the relationships among local administrations and the relationship between local administrations and city networks are also essential steps in the ladder model. To understand the importance of these type of relations, how the EU

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has tried to institutionalize these relations, and how it has benefitted from these types of activities needs to be discussed.

The most crucial step towards bringing the local administrations together in the EU level is the establishment of the Committee of the Regions. It was established in the Maastricht Treaty by Article 4 as "an advisory body to the European Council and the European Commission" (Treaty of Maastricht, 1992: 14). Committee's structure was defined in the Article 198a as "a Committee consisting of representatives of regional and local bodies […] is hereby established with advisory status" (Treaty of Maastricht, 1992: 81). It can have a role in issue-areas related to local and regional administrations, like health, education, employment, transport, energy, and climate change (European Union, 2019). Thus, the Committee can act in many areas to perform. In addition to that, according to Article 198c, Commission or Council can request "opinion" from the Committee about the topic being discussed and if the Committee considers the topic being discussed involves "specific regional interest", it can give an opinion about the matter without any request from the Council or the Commission (Treaty of Maastricht, 1992: 82). However, it is essential to underline that these opinions are only advisory, not compulsory.

In 2003, with the Nice Treaty, the number of members in the Committee of the Regions was limited to 350, and in the amendment of Article 263, Committee was designed to consist elected members;

> "A Committee, hereinafter referred to as the Committee of the Regions, consisting of representatives of regional and local bodies who either hold a regional or local authority electoral mandate or are politically accountable to an elected assembly, is hereby established with advisory status" (Treaty of Nice, 2003: 27).

Thus, the final version of the committee is an advisory body, which consists of local actors who are either elected or have a political responsibility towards its citizens to deal with the matters related to regional or local administrations. Keleş and Mengü explain the establishment of the Committee of the Regions in two ways. Firstly, since the first day of the EU, local governments, cities, regional representatives have been considered as essential assets in the EU policy-making scene, and secondly, the Committee is considered as an institutional way by supranational bodies to approach citizens who were far from the Union (Keleş & Mengü, 2017: 136). In other words, the Committee was founded by the result of the subsidiarity principle and was hoped to solve the democratic legitimacy problem of the EU.

In addition to this EU level structure, in the EU region, there are city networks that are beneficial for local administrations in both EU countries and non-EU countries. The EU treaties do not establish these city networks. However, the EU Commission has an encouraging attitude towards these structures. The question of why EU institutions have such an attitude towards city networks might be helpful in the context of this thesis. Atkinson and Rossignolo (2010) provide nine different forms to explain the "networking" attitude of cities and show how the EU institutionalizes this type of city networks.

The first form of networking is to use networking as a method for exchanging information on projects, knowledge, activities between cities (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 199). Participation in this type of networking activity is essential for sharing "good practices." The second form is networking as a way of connecting cities in order to develop thematic or institutional networks in which cities can exceed information sharing experience (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 199). Authors give "Quartiers en

Crise (Districts in Crisis)," which is an urban regeneration network for cities as a thematic network example.

Moreover, Eurocities can be given as an institutional network since there is a delegation of power from member cities to network (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 199). Founded in 1986 by six European cities, Eurocities aims to reinforce the importance of local governments in the multi-level governance structure of the EU via shaping opinions in Brussel and directing EU legislation towards reducing the challenges cities face (Eurocities Strategic Framework 2014-2020, 2015: 2). It gathers almost 140 cities in Europe in which municipalities from Turkey are also associate members.

The third form is networking as a potential means for accessing financial opportunities like EU funds (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 200). In addition to that, networking can also be used as a means for lobbying in the EU institutions (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 200) They give Eurocities as an example of lobbying because the network is an essential partner with the Commission, EU Parliament, and CoR and provide political support and technical expertise (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 201).

The fifth form of networking is using networks as a stimulus, which helps to increase the capacity of the local actors who are participating in networking activities (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 201). Also, as the sixth form, networking provides a laboratory for bottom-up Europeanization (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 201). Through the information exchange, they can develop new ideas regarding urban problems; later, these new ideas influence the EU institutions when developing new policies.

The seventh form of networking is related directly to the EU institutions since networks provide a "more neutral" arena for EU policies due to the implementation of

pilot projects (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 201). EU institutions can use different methods, tools in pilot projects; later, the outcome of these projects helps them to develop more general policies towards problems. The eighth form is to consider networking as a space between cities and the EU institutions to mutually influence each other positively (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 202).

Finally, the ninth form of networking is related to the new member states since networking as a "fast track" element provides good and bad practices into the platform, which will help the cities from the new member states (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010: 202).

The effects of city networks on the Europeanization process can be seen in another study of the Dukes (2010). She explains the shift in Hague's and Amsterdam's agenda towards European one during the program (Dukes, 2010). She firstly addresses the administrative structure of the local administrations in the Netherlands and how the Netherlands has a relation with the EU. Then, she states that cities enter the European arena collectively through the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG), CEMR and the Eurocities (Dukes, 2010: 47). Also, it is mentioned that individually, cities hosted European summits, participated in the EU programs, European city networks. In the end, cities' attitudes towards the EU changed from identifying Europe as a national government matter to something that can be considered as "solver" for money, the "threat" for national regulations, and "duty" for reactive involvement (Dukes, 2010: 55).

In this study, Duke mentions the role of VNG in the European branch of the United Cities and the Local Governments (UCLG) as an essential international activity (2010: 48). In other words, it can be inferred that being in an active network within

Europe without participating in a city network directly supported by the EU can also be considered as a step towards the Europeanization of local administrations.

Pflieger, in her study, focuses on the CIVITAS (City-Vitality-Sustainability) Programme, which is one of the EU initiatives for urban mobility (2014). This program was initiated between 2002-2006 and continued as the second turn between 2005-2009. Her primary goal is to understand how much local policies of four French cities have been Europeanized during the CIVITAS Programme (Pflieger, 2014: 332). These cities are Nantes, La Rochelle, Lille, and Toulouse.

She uses Europeanization to explain the relation between local and European levels. Firstly, she tries to understand the effects of CIVITAS in local transport policies as download Europeanization and to expect such effects that are like implementing and adapting the new European rules (Pflieger, 2014: 332). Secondly, she tries to show how French administrative authorities developed an institutional capacity to change the local level and influence the European level, upload Europeanization, by lobbying European authorities in an urban mobility context, forming networks of cities (Pflieger, 2004: 332).

These four cities were selected because they were part of the different consortiums in the CIVITAS Programme, which helps to understand the different impacts on top-down Europeanization (Pflieger, 2004: 334). She interviewed with the official who had overseen transport authority, the official who had dealt with the CIVITAS project, and technical officers during this study (Pflieger, 2004: 334). In her findings, Nantes and Lile considered CIVITAS as supporting their existing projects when La Rochelle and Toulouse considered CIVITAS as "an acceleration or reorientation tool" for their transport policies (Pflieger, 2004: 336,338). After her examination, this leads Pflieger to three conclusions; (a) CIVITAS provide limited

download Europeanization since cities had more control over implementation of the projects (2004: 340), (b) participating EU programs increases the local legitimacy of the policies (2004: 341), (c) the Commission plays a crucial role in these strategies (2004: 342).

The most important aspect of this study is that these cities used a "club effect" (Pflieger, 2004: 341). After joining the CIVITAS Programme, these cities improved their skills regarding sustainable urban mobility, and by using this capacity, they were held international conferences, represented European cities in international forums, received awards; as a result, these cities created European units, reinforced international relations departments and bolster their innovative images in European arena regarding the urban mobility (Pflieger, 2004: 341-342). In other words, joining the EU programs increases the institutional capacity of the local administrations, which helps in the Europeanization process of the city.

Another critical aspect of the Europeanization of local administrations is the transnational networks. The transnational networking is defined in two ways; one is the informal networks, and the other one is the more formal way, these networks based on partnerships and associations between cities across national borders (Huggins, 2018: 1). In other words, if two cities opposite sides of the national border agree verbally or on paper voluntarily, their interaction can be considered as a transnational activity. Huggins examined the 14 subnational authorities (SNAs) from France and England and asked the question of why they engage in transnational activities (2018).

By looking at the subnational transnational network literature, he identifies four benefits of these networks; "(a) securing EU funding, (b) lobbying EU institutions and influencing EU policy, (c) increasing the profile of local areas and (d) encouraging inward investment and economic development" (Huggins, 2018: 5). In other words,

the main feature of subnational transnational activity is related to rational choice institutionalism. Cities come together to establish a transnational network; later, they apply for EU transnational grants like URBACT, URBAN, Interreg (Huggins, 2018: 10).

He assessed these networks established by 14 subnational authorities and ask whether the subnational authorities have adopted "the logic of consequentialism" or "the logic of appropriateness." He uses strategic documents of the subnational administrations and interview techniques. He founds that rational motives drive the motivation for SNAs to engage in transnational network activities, and there were a few sociological drivers for SNAs (Huggins, 2018: 14). For example, one of the interviewees stated that their cost for the membership should not exceed the potential financial gain from EU grants (Huggins, 2018: 11). For the absence of sociological motives, although logic of appropriateness claims that behaviors change as time passed in the network, he found that if the network does not satisfy administration's need, they can leave the network, like in the example of Sussex who had left the AER after felt its voice was not represented enough (Huggins, 2018: 12).

Another type of transnational networks is transnational municipal networks. Kern and Bulkeley (2009) examine the Europeanization effect of transnational municipal networks focused on networks related to climate change. These networks were the Climate Alliance, Cities for Climate Protection and Energie-Cités, and their effects are examined in British and German local administrations, which are Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, Kirklees, Leicester, Munich, and Southampton (Kern & Bulkeley, 2009: 310). Their findings can be sorted as firstly, these networks are tools for the Commission to achieve policy goals without any interaction with the national governments as an example of top-down Europeanization; secondly, these networks

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provide reaction mechanisms by lobbying from network's Brussel offices for the EU policies as an example of bottom-up Europeanization; thirdly, cities participated in these transnational municipal networks provide each other innovative solutions, benchmarking options as an example of horizontal Europeanization (Kern & Bulkeley, 2009: 328).

City networks do not only help cities in downloading or uploading Europeanization, but they are also helping cities in horizontal Europeanization through the transfer of knowledge and innovations among cities (Payre, 2010: 262). To understand this horizontal Europeanization, Payre examines Eurocities as a case, but since it is difficult to understand the network itself because of accessibility issues through interviews or archives, he focused on the Lyon and its experience.

As one of the founding members of the Eurocities, he talked about the role of Lyon in the establishment of the network. He mentions that Eurocities is founded by the second city, which was a phrase called in 1980 for the cities which are not capital cities but willing to make a presence in the international arena (Payre, 2010: 262). The idea of the network, according to Payre, has emerged as he called "inter-municipal traditions" (Payre, 2010: 270). It can be understood as sister city relations since he explains these traditions in two ways. Firstly, the network was based on existing twinning agreements like between Lyon and Frankfurt & Birmingham; secondly, the annual meetings between cities transformed the core of the dynamic of the network (Payre, 2010: 270). In other words, sister city agreements evolved into a city network.

After the establishment of Eurocities, Payre states three kinds of interest for carrying the city of Lyon into Brussel. The first one is the domestic utilization of the network. When Lyon hosted the Eurocities Conference in 1989, city council magazine had represented the conference as "Lyon, Capital of Eurocities," which Payre stated

that this image was used in the 1989 Council election campaign and after 1990, it was reinforced by the fact that after losing its administrative position in the network, it had preserved its leading role among the French cities in the network. (Payre, 2010: 276).

Another type of interest is related to the network and its utilization. Payre states that in the network, firstly, Lyon increased its recognition in the fields that it is best, such as urban tourism and then, increased the institutional capacity of the city as a result of interaction with other cities, which, finally help the officials of the Lyon to contact with European Parliament and European Commission as a leader (2010: 277).

The final type of interest is related to the resources that the network offers. Payre points that Lyon's recognition helped them in different European programs like URBAN and when Lyon was the leader in the Environment Committee in Eurocities, in 1994, this committee helped the Commission for developing a renewable energy on urban environment project, RESET, which later, Lyon was benefitted from this project (2010: 277). As a result of these, it can be concluded that city networks are not only helping for negotiating with the EU but also helping their relationship with each other and the domestic context.

Brussel offices are one of the critical steps towards the Europeanization of local administrations according to the ladder model. Currently, there are 212 regional offices, including city councils, regions, city networks, municipal associations, local administrations registered in Brussel. [4] According to Rodriguez-Pose and Courty, these regional offices work with an average of 5 staff in total and have an average annual budget of 400,000 Euros, which can differ from offices to offices (2018: 205).

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[4] Full List: "https://cor.europa.eu/en/members/Documents/regional-offices-organisations.pdf"

Although it is hard to maintain such offices financially, they come with their benefits. Huysseune and Jans (2008) conducted a survey in 2005 with regional offices in Brussel. They identified four functions that offices provided to both the regions they came and the EU institutions. The first function is that these offices maintain information management (Huysseune & Jans, 2005: 5). Since the EU is a transparent institution, there is too much information for regions such as regulations and EU grants. Brussel offices filter this information according to the needs of their regions and provide reports to their regions. They also follow up on current debates in the EU institutions.

The second function is that since these offices represent their home regions, they also provide information, expertise, and data to the EU institutions regarding the policies they want to develop (Huysseune & Jans, 2005: 6). Officers provide valid, legitimate information regarding the "grass-roots" of the EU administration system.

The third function of the Brussel office is to make a stable relationship between the local and the EU level, i.e., networking activity (Huysseune & Jans, 2005: 6). They serve as an exchange mechanism between these two levels. Also, these networking activities are observed in the relations between offices as well by exchanging best practices and information (Huysseune & Jans, 2005: 6).

The final function of the Brussel offices is influencing the EU policies. To influence EU policies, each office develops different strategies. Some offices involves in Council of Ministers meeting like Belgian, German, Austrian and Spanish regions, some offices made contact with the members of the European Parliament from same nations and uses their influence to sit with the EU policymakers, participate in the Commission's consultation events like surveys, panels, expert groups, and conferences (Huysseune & Jans, 2005: 7).

In the literature, some studies are focusing on the interplay between cities and the EU without considering the Europeanization aspect of these relations, but it can be still helpful to understand the role of the EU. Van der Heiden's work can be given as an example of this type of study (2010). He defines city networking and city partnership activities as urban foreign policy (Van der Heiden, 2010: 191). His primary purpose is to understand how urban foreign policies are affected by the EU in terms of the multi-level governance literature. He looks at the urban foreign policies of five Swiss cities (Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, Zurich) and two cities from the EU (Lyon and Stuttgart). He examines the city networking activities of Lyon and Stuttgart and compares them with the activities of the Swiss cities to understand the effect of the vertical governance (in this thesis context, it can be considered as download Europeanization). Unlike Lyon and Stuttgart, he finds that Swiss cities have lack of professional management and coherent strategy in their international activities (Van der Heiden, 2010: 199). However, he states that although Swiss cities are not part of the EU, when they apply for an EU funding through city networking, they have to deal with the EU regulations (Van der Heiden, 2010: 199). For example, in his interview with the city of Berne which is a member of Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC), policy-makers had complained about the lack of profit from the EU's financial opportunities for cultural preservation projects and having no chance of influencing the EU funding procedures (Van der Heiden, 2010: 200). His findings show that the EU is an essential factor in the international networking activities from both the cities in the EU and the cities outside of it.

In the literature, Europeanization and the local administrations' relations are also examined in the post-socialist cities. In this context, Lackowska's study on Polish cities can be given as an example. She conceptualizes the Europeanization as a sub-

topic under the headline of internationalization of cities, especially for understanding the political orientation of outward international rescaling actions (Lackowska, 2014: 33). In other words, since cities have become active actors in the international arena, she tries to understand the EU's effect on these activities in a political sense and ask the question of what the Europeanization of largest Polish cities resemble

She distinguishes four types of strategies borrowed from Klijn and Koopenjan (2000) which are "(a) negation or retrenchment, (b) joining existing networks, (c) taking the leading role in existing networks (d) creation of their network" (Lackowska, 2014: 34-35). Then, she uses three types of strategies for categorizing the city activities. These are networking (activities in city networks), bilateral activities (sister city agreements), and individual undertakings (using EU funds or competing and hosting significant international events) (Lackowska, 2014: 35). She chooses the 12 largest Polish cities which are members of international lobbying organizations such as Eurocities or the Union of Polish Metropolises (2014: 38). The union is a Polish organization that consists of these 12 metropolitan areas in Poland, which are Bialystok, Bydgoszcz, Cracow, Gdansk, Katowice, Lublin, Lodz, Poznan, Rzeszow, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wroclaw.

For networking, she looks at the Eurocities and how Polish cities have participated in it since it is one of the influential city networks. In the beginning, she stated that Polish cities had been enthusiastic about participating in Eurocities that 11 out of 12 members of the Union were also joined the Eurocities in 2012 (2014: 38). In these 12 cities, she said that there was a passive city group whose members had no idea about it and they had seen themselves as an observer, information receivers and learners from other developed European cities (2014: 39). On the contrary, active Polish city group did not only join the network but modify the network by becoming

the president of Eurocities (Warsaw in 2010), chairing in subgroups (Poznan for Economic Forum until 2012), initiating working groups (Branding & City Attractiveness Working Group by Lublin, European Neighborhood Policy & Enlargement Working Group by Warsaw) (Lackowska, 2014: 40). It is essential to mention that Lackowska points out that these network activities were in line with Poland's foreign policy (Lackowska, 2014: 41). Also, these passive members were not active in EU funding programs like URBACT, but in the meantime, the active members were not leaders in the projects either (Lackowska, 2014: 42).

Regarding the bilateral activities for the Europeanization of Polish cities, Lackowska investigated the twinning, i.e., sister city agreements. When she examined these relations, there are two essential aspects of the twinning. The first one is that the policy of Polish cities towards twinning had coincided with the Polish states' foreign policy towards East Europe and Polish cities made sister city agreements with cities from Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania in order to provide the experiences gaining from western cities (Lackowska, 2014: 43). The second one is that after the Polish national state became a member of the EU, Polish cities had changed their mindset and established sister-city relations based on some criteria like similar population size and the almost same level of development, similar conditions to solve similar problems (Lackowska, 2014: 45).

For the individual activities of the Polish cities, Lackowska claims that the purpose of individual activities was to increase the presence and visibility of the cities in the domestic and international scene (2014: 47). According to Lackowska, the EU institutions define rules and general framework for this type of activities, and these requirements can be fulfilled by the cities, which provide both bottom-up and top-down Europeanization, such as awards giving by the Council of Europe, European

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Capital of Culture, organizing cultural, economic, sportive European events, using EU funds (2014: 47). In the context of Polish cities, Lackowska considered four activities as a way for Europeanization such as (a) UEFA EURO 2012 Championship, (b) European Capital of Culture, (c) meetings under the Polis Presidency of the EU Council, and finally (d) Europe Prize (2014: 49).

In terms of the Europeanization of local administrations in Turkey, Özçelik's study on Turkish subnational mobilization is one of the few studies on this topic (2017). Instead of focusing solely on Turkish municipalities, he tries to explain how the EU affects Turkish sub-national administrations and how convergence or variation can be conceptualized within one state by focusing Turkish regional development agencies and Turkish municipalities borrowing from the multi-level governance literature (Özçelik, 2017: 172). He uses John's ladder model to examine the Izmir, Diyarbakır, and Samsun municipalities and Izmir Development Agency, Middle Black Sea Regional Development Agency (in Samsun), and Karacadağ Regional Development Agency (in Diyarbakır). The socio-economic development of the regions, political orientations of mayors of municipalities, pre-existing territorial networks in these regions, and regional distinctiveness are his criteria for choosing these regions (Özçelik, 2017: 175-176). He revised the ladder model and consolidated the steps into five categories; (a) growing awareness which is related to when the SNA realize EU opportunities, (b) changes in organizational settings, i.e., the establishment of EU units, (c) transnational activities including city networks and sister city relations for joint EU projects and (d) conducting activities in Brussels through EU-level institutions (Özçelik, 2017: 178-179). His findings suggest that subnational entities were not mobilized equally and Europeanization of subnational administration varies in a single state; however, for the first two categories, Turkish SNAs have a certain

degree of standard while in the third category, there are some activities Turkish SNAs have conducted, being present in the Brussel was somewhat limited due to the uncertainty of Turkey's accession to the EU (Özçelik, 2017: 194).

In conclusion, this chapter shows what kind of studies have been done in the academic literature in the context of Europeanization of local administration. While various studies have been put forward in detail, the emphasis was given to the studies that may be useful in the scope of this thesis. In this context, Zerbinati (2004) has shown a detailed analysis of the application process to the EU funds. Lorvi (2013) helped this thesis by showing that the size of the municipalities can be an essential factor in the usage of EU funds. Dukes (2010) mentioned how the relations with the EU had changed the perspective of cities towards the EU. In another study by Dukes (2008), she showed that another method (urban discourse) could be used in the context of Europeanization and local administrations. Pflieger (2014) mentioned the club effect developed by cities while describing the city networks created after EU Programmes. Payre (2010) focused on a more specific aspect of the city networks and talked about the Europeanization effect of Eurocities in the case of Lyon. Huggins (2018) and Kern & Bulkeley (2009) show how cities influenced by the EU in networking activities among themselves, and Van der Heiden (2010) reveals that this impact affects not only cities in EU member states but cities in non-EU countries as well. Lackowska (2014), on the other hand, provided us with a general scheme in describing the relationship between the EU and local administrations in the context of Polish cities and represented an excellent example to see the effects of Europeanization in post-socialist countries. Later, Özçelik's study (2017) on three Turkish cities was mentioned as one of the few examples in Turkey regarding the Europeanization and local administrations. Finally, the development of EU funds, institutionalization of the

presence of local administration in the EU context and Brussel offices were mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND CASE SELECTION

As it was mentioned in the conceptual framework chapter, John's ladder model provides comprehensive elaboration for understanding the relationship between local administrations and the EU. His model mainly focuses on the local authorities from the member states. In light of his model and the discussion in the literature, the model can be adapted to the context of Turkish metropolitan municipalities. The central hypothesis is "the more local administrations in Turkey engage with the EU; the more Europeanization occurs in time." Hence, the following steps will be examined in the case chapter;

a. Developing an EU vision

b. Establishing an EU department in the municipality

c. Applying and participating in the EU projects

d. Engaging sister city relations with the cities from EU members

e. Engaging city networks in the EU

f. Opening Brussel offices

In this thesis, the relationship between the EU and local administrations in Turkey will be examined starting from the year 1999 which is the date of the Helsinki Summit where Turkey was stated officially as a candidate country to the year 2018 since there was a local election in Turkey in 2019.

IMM was chosen as a case for understanding Europeanization of local administrations due to several reasons. Izmir is the fastest growing economy among metropolitan areas in the world in 2014 (Global Monitor 2014: 8). Also, it is the third biggest city in Turkey in terms of economy (TUIK, 2018) and population (TUIK,

2019). In terms of EU accession process of Turkey, Izmir is chosen as one of the cities that Ministry of EU Affairs had opened an office due to Izmir's economic development and its success in harmonization with the EU and institutional capacity of local actors (Interview with Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs). According to data provided by Directorate for EU Affairs, 1732 EU projects were implemented in Izmir (İzmir'de AB Projeleri, 2016: 6). Izmir Metropolitan Municipality is the only metropolitan municipality in Turkey to be a member of Eurocities. European aspect of Izmir's identity and considering the stronghold of the secular opposition party in Turkey are other reasons for choosing IMM in terms of analyzing the Europeanization of local administrations in this thesis.

According to Article 41 of Turkish Law on Municipalities, strategic plans are prepared within six months of the local elections, mayor takes the national development plans, programs, and regional plans into consideration and prepares the strategic plan of the municipality in consultation with universities, civil society, and professional organization and then submit it to municipal council for approval (Law no. 5393, 2005). Thus, if IMM has a vision of the European Union, strategic plans can provide clues. In addition to that, according to Article 41 of the Turkish Law on Public Accountancy and Auditing, an activity report has to be prepared every year for public administrations (Law no.5018, 2003). Following the article 41 of Law No.5018, Article 56 of the Turkish Municipality Law states that the mayor draws up an activity report that indicates activities conducted under the strategic plan, states goals, achievements and the reasons for any deviations with municipality's debts (Law no.5393). Therefore, strategic plans and annual activity reports can be examined to find valuable information regarding the Europeanization of local administrations.

In this sense, to understand the Europeanization of IMM in the light of the ladder model, firstly, online research was conducted. IMM was one of the most transparent municipalities in Turkey since it provides all the annual activity reports starting from 2000 to 2018 on its website. Most of the activities in that particular year can be found in the respective activity report. It provides crucial data regarding the EU projects, sister city activities and city network activities. IMM Strategic Plan 2006-2017, IMM Strategic Plan 2010-2017, IMM Strategic Plan 2015-2019 used in this thesis can be found on the website of IMM. In addition to official reports, IMM's official gazette, Izmir Metropolitan Gazette from 2010 to 2018, and IMM's bulletin, Metro Bulletin from 2013 to 2019 has been searched for gathering data. Also, the book published by Izmir Mediterranean Academy of the IMM, "Izmir Model Studies Interviews with Aziz Kocaoğlu" (2018) were analyzed to understand the EU vision of IMM. Activity reports of Union of Municipalities, booklets published by Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, the online database of Central Finance and Contracts Unit which is the main contractor in Turkey regarding the EU projects were scanned.

Secondly, interviews were conducted with the officials of the Municipality. These interviews were semi-structured, and the questions were prepared to correspond to each step from the ladder model. Interviews were held between June 2019 and December 2019. Interviewees have been reached either through e-mail, social media accounts or personal contacts. To understand the vision of IMM regarding the EU, interviews were held with Aziz Kocaoğlu, who was the mayor of IMM from 2004 to 2018 and one of his former general secretariats. To understand the depth of the relationships between IMM and the EU, one official from DEUGP and one official from DFR were interviewed. Also, since a new Mayor was elected in March 2019 local elections in Izmir, one of the advisors to current Mayor Tunç Soyer, and the one

official who is working in both IMM and SODEM's foreign relations were interviewed to broaden the EU perspective of IMM during the period of this thesis.

Moreover, for understanding the activities of Directorate for EU Affairs regarding the local administrations and Turkey's EU accession process, one official from the Directorate for EU Affairs and one official from Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs were interviewed. Also, one official from IZKA, one official from Izmir City Council and the president of Refugee Council in Konak District Municipality were interviewed to provide inside knowledge regarding "the step c" in the ladder model.

CHAPTER V

EUROPEANIZATION OF IZMIR METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

In this chapter, firstly, it will be mentioned that the Metropolitan Law enables municipalities to perform any international activities. This will be followed by the activities of Directorate for EU Affairs regarding the local administrations and Turkey's accession process. Also, the activities of Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs will be mentioned. After that, the chapter will present Izmir Metropolitan Municipality following the Europeanization concept and ladder model, how it interacts with European geography, European cities, and the European Union. This chapter will be concluded with the analysis of the Europeanization of IMM.

5.1. Local administrations in Turkish Administrative System

In the Turkish administration system, the country is divided into 81 provincial administrations, which are controlled by centrally appointed governors. Also, in these provinces, there are local administrations that are governed by elected mayors. Local administrations in Turkey are mentioned in Article 127 of the Constitution, it says;

> "Local administrations are public, corporate bodies established to meet the common local needs of the inhabitants of provinces, municipal districts, and villages, whose principles of constitution and decision-making organs elected by the electorate are determined by law" (Constitution of The Republic of Turkey).

When the Justice and Development Party came into power, there was a discussion of the local administration reform, and for this purpose, they tried to pass "Public Administration Fundamental Law" out of the parliament in 2003, but then-President vetoed the law. However, the traces of the mentality in this proposed-bill can be seen in laws passed later period such as "The Law on Municipality (No 5393), The Law on Greater/Metropolitan Municipality (No 5216), The Law on Special Provincial Administration (No 5302), The Law on Development Agencies (No 5449)" (Savaş-Yavuzçehre, 2016: 292). The critical part of this process is that the laws passed later have been watched and supported by the EU in Turkey's accession process (Eliçin, 2011: 105).

There are two different types of local administrations; one is the municipality, and the other one is the metropolitan municipality. Metropolitan municipalities, which are the cases of this thesis, were established for the first time in 1984 in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir by a statutory decree. These municipalities were limited to city-centers. Later, with the laws as mentioned earlier, the number and scope of local administrations have extended in Turkey. For example, in 2012, boundaries of the metropolitan municipalities extended its area of jurisdiction to the boundaries of provincial administration (Law no.6360, 2012, Article 1). The total number of metropolitan municipalities has reached thirty.

These laws also regulate the international activities of the local administrations in Turkey. The procedure of initiating international activities such as signing town twinning (sister city) agreements, being a member in a city network for local administrations in Turkey is regulated in the Article 74 of Turkish Municipality Law no.5393, it says;

"Subject to the resolution of the municipal council, municipalities may be founding members or members of international organizations or bodies concerned with matters relating to the municipality's purview. Municipalities may carry out joint activities or service projects with such organizations and bodies, and with foreign local administrations or establish town twinnings. Activities undertaken under the terms of the first and second paragraphs shall be conducted in a manner consistent with Turkey's foreign policy and with international treaties and be subject to prior authorization by the Ministry of Interior" (Law no.5393, 2005).

Later, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization started to enjoy this authority in 2018. The municipality law states that when a municipality wants to sign a sister city agreement or decides to become a member of any international organization, they need the approval of the municipal council first. After approval of the municipal council, approval of central government is required. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (back-then Ministry of Interior) considers this sister city agreement or membership to the city network in terms of the Turkish foreign policy by asking the opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Relations. If the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization gives permission, the process is concluded.

5.2. Role of The Central Administration in Europeanization of Local Administrations in Turkey

The Directorate for EU Affairs under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in 2018 to coordinate, monitor and direct the efforts within the EU accession process and coordinate the work after the accession. It was firstly established

in 2000 as a general secretariat under the prime minister. Later, under the chief negotiator and government minister Egemen Bağış, general secretariat became the Ministry of EU Affairs in 2010.

According to interviews from Directorate for EU Affairs and its Izmir Office, during the Bağış term, the question of how the local actors can contribute to the EU accession process has emerged. This question led the Ministry to start working on the local level European affairs. As a result of this idea, Ministry of EU Affairs signed a protocol with the Ministry of Interior and Circular no.2010/6 of the Ministry of Interior dated 26 January 2010 was issued to contribute to EU accession process at the governorships. This Circular can be considered as the primary motivation paper for Turkish state in terms of Europeanization of local administrations in Turkey. According to this circular, the main reason for including the local administrations in the EU accession process was stated as;

> "The EU accession process of our country is a comprehensive process that involves not only the central government, but also its provincial organization, local administrations and all segments of the society… It was stated that our Governorships should contribute more effectively to the EU accession process and have more communication with their central organizations on EU related issues." (Circular No:2010/6, Interior Ministry).

It is essential to state that the central administration realizes that the EU accession process is a complex one, and this process cannot be envisioned solely on the national level. It needs local actors and the citizens of the country. Thus, this circular assigned such duties to governorships;

> "In this context, our Governorships are responsible for full implementation of legal and administrative reforms and to follow up these reforms, to raise

awareness about EU accession process in public, to render themselves more efficient and lead the provinces in terms of utilization of EU financial resources by public institutions, non-governmental organizations, private organizations and individuals" (Circular no:2010/6, Interior Ministry).

Under the vision mentioned above, central administration wanted governorships, which are the provincial organization of the Ministry of Interior, to lead the local actors in the EU accession process. To achieve this leadership goal, this Circular established three important structures for governorships.

The first one is that one of the deputy governors are appointed as "Provincial Permanent Contact Point for EU" who has direct contact with the Ministry of EU Affairs.

The second one is the establishment of "Advisory and Steering Committee for Harmonization with the European Union." These committees were established in all of the provinces in Turkey. The members of these committees include the key stakeholders in the provinces; district governors, secretary-general of special provincial administration, provincial directorates, deputy mayors, assistant to rector from universities, representatives of the chambers of trade, industry and artisans and representatives of non-governmental organizations that are invited by governor him/herself. The Circular envisaged that these committee meetings shall be held four times a year under the supervision of governorship. It was expected that these actors would discuss what can be done in the province related to the EU accession process.

The third structure was a combination of previous points. It foresaw a unit under the appointed deputy governor for building an administrative and human capacity to sustain the efforts that are made by Committee. In other words, EU offices were opened in the governorships to achieve the goals mentioned above. According to

interview with Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, in some of the governorships like Izmir and Bursa Governorships, similar EU units have already been active before this Circular and have regulated EU related activities like applying for EU funds. This Circular made these structures more systematical and extended them throughout the country. However, it is stated in the interview that although these three structures were critical for EU accession process at the local level, some Committees had become inactive due to the fluctuations in EU-Turkey relationship and some Committees like Izmir EU Office under Izmir Governorship have continued to work.

After the establishment of EU offices in the governorships, in 2011, Ministry of EU Affairs had issued a grant program from the national budget, which was called as "Provinces Preparing for the European Union Project" to strengthen the capacity of the EU units in the governorships and to increase their technical capacity and effectiveness ("İllerimiz AB'ye Hazırlanıyor Programı," 2012). The total budget was 1.250.000 TL, and 79 governorships applied for the grant. Twenty-five projects were entitled to receive financial support. The main theme of these projects was building of capacity. These projects included study visits, project development trainings, and education of trainers. Although there was no EU fund contribution in this project, the Ministry of EU has organized, maintained and reported the project like an EU grant call (Interview with Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs). Since this project aimed at increasing the institutional capacity of governorships, it was stated in the interview that the partnership principle was not a criterion for granting the projects. However, in some projects, governorships tried to include other actors in the provinces. For example, the project which was proposed by Izmir Governorship, "EU Wind in Izmir" includes Izmir Development Agency, Yaşar University and Dokuz Eylül University ("Provinces Preparing for the European Union Project Abstracts,"

2011). In 2012, the second phase of this project with a similar theme was conducted with a small budget, 250.000 TL. Fifty-one governorships were applied for the grant and 13 projects were entitled to receive financial support ("AB Faaliyetlerine Destek Bileşeni," 2012).

After these capacity-building projects from the national budget, the Ministry of EU Affairs started another project, "Technical Assistance for Building Capacity for EU Affairs in the Governorates Project (VABpro)." Beginning in 2012, for two years, this project was financed within the framework of IPA with the total budget of 1.950.000 Euro. However, in this project, there were 20 pilot provinces and the funds would not be given to the governorships directly; instead, Ministry of EU Affairs assisted them in their project activities (Interview with the Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs). Within the scope of VABpro, there were needs analysis studies, trainings, regional workshops, capacity building activities, a city twinning program, study visits to Brussel ("Valiliklerde AB İşleri İçin Kapasite Oluşturulması Projesi," 2013). In the city twinning program, pilot governorships came together with 36 EU local administrations which were similar to Turkish counterparts, in a two-days conference in Ankara, Turkey and all participants made presentations about their province and discussed potential bilateral relationships (Çelik, 2014).

Two projects followed governorship focused projects; one was for the municipalities and the other one was for special provincial administrations. The first project was "Municipalities Prepare for the European Union Project" which consisted of an opening meeting, regional information meetings in Izmir, Istanbul, Samsun, Ankara, Elazığ, Gaziantep, Antalya and Bursa, including study visits to EU member states, web-based trainings related to EU acquis in 2011 ("Belediyeler AB'ye Hazırlanıyor," 2017). In addition to that, there were two specific projects regarding

Istanbul and Ankara. For Istanbul, there was "Istanbul Prepares for the European Union Project" in 2012 in collaboration with the Governorship of Istanbul, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Union of Municipalities in Turkey, which included training seminars for EU projects and accession process of Turkey and town twinning program with the participation of 34 district municipalities (Yerelde AB Süreci 2013, 2013: 6-7). Ten district municipality in Istanbul had received financial support from the twinning program. For Ankara, there was "Ankara Prepares for the European Union Project" in 2012 collaboration with Governorship of Ankara, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and Ministry of EU Affairs, which included EU acquis seminars, Ankara EU Projects Fair, Ankara EU Projects Exhibit, Project competition and the celebration of May of 9th European Day (Yerelde AB Süreci 2013, 2013: 8-9).

The second project was "Special Provincial Administrations Prepare for the European Union Project" which consisted of two training seminar and two study trips ("İl Özel İdareleri AB'ye Hazırlanıyor Projesi," 2017). However, according to interview with Directorate for EU Affairs, these projects for municipalities and special provincial administrations were not designed like an EU project; instead, their primary purpose was to raise awareness regarding the EU matters through seminars, and study trips. There was no impact analysis of whether these seminars and study trips affected the participants' attitude regarding the EU matters. Thus, it can be said that these projects were ineffective.

In 2018, "Town Twinning between Turkey and the European Union" project was initiated within the framework of IPA. The stakeholders of this project were Directorate for EU Affairs, Union of Municipalities in Turkey and Union of Provinces and the primary purpose was to "create sustainable structures for exchange between

local authorities in Turkey and EU Member States in areas relevant for EU Accession" ("Town Twinning Between Turkey and the EU," 2018). Governorships, special provincial administrations and municipalities were beneficiaries of this project. The project has two components. The first one was technical assistance component that includes town twinning meetings, capacity building seminars, four study visits to CEMR, CoR and unions of municipalities in the EU member states, online town twinning tool for local administrations in Turkey and International Town Twinning Conference at the end of the project; the second component was a grant scheme which provides grant for 23 town twinning projects ("Project Activities," 2018). The total budget of this project was 2.648.000 Euro.

Although there were projects for increasing the capacity of local administrations, the Ministry of EU Affairs also took an important decision regarding the stakeholders in the local level and opened local offices. In this respect, regarding the local level activities of the Ministry of EU Affairs, opening the local offices of the Ministry was a vital step in Turkey's EU accession process. The first office was opened in Istanbul while the ministry was a secretariat under the prime minister in 2009. After becoming a ministry, in 2014, opening the local offices in Izmir and Antalya by a decree was critical. The purpose of opening new offices in Izmir and Antalya was to raise awareness at the local level regarding the EU process, to encourage participation of local administrations to EU accession process and to make it possible for local administrations and non-governmental institutions in the respective cities to benefit from EU financial resources more effectively ("İzmir'de AB Projeleri," 2016: 4). According to the interview with Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, these two cities were selected due to their high level of economic development in their regions,

their own success in harmonization with the EU, their advance administrative capacity in project preparation and management.

Since this thesis is related to Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, mentioning about the establishment of Izmir Office and its activities is beneficial. It was established in January 2015. According to interviews with Directorate of EU Affairs, opening a field office in Izmir is a sign of the importance that the central administration gives to the city of Izmir and local actors in the Izmir such as governorship, metropolitan municipality, district municipalities, trade and industry chambers and NGOs in Izmir. Also, it was explicitly stated in the interview that the interest shown in Izmir to EU related activities were high compared to other cities. Activities of Izmir Governorship and Izmir Development Agency (IZKA) regarding the EU projects can be given as an example. Izmir Governorship was implementing EU projects before the Circular no.2010/6 of the Ministry of Interior dated 26 January 2010. For instance, Izmir Governorship applied for EU project, "Pro-School" that focuses on improving the institutional capacity of school principals by adopting "project-based management" training in 2008 ("Pro-School," 2018). In addition to that, according to interview form Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, IZKA has been established as the first development agency in Turkey and has shown great interest in EU activities in Izmir. Also, there are Jean Monnet Chair academicians in the universities in Izmir.

After the opening, the Izmir Office held meetings with the stakeholders in the city with the participation of high-level bureaucrats from the Ministry of EU Affairs. Municipalities, public institutions, chambers, universities and NGOs participated in these meetings and shared their vision for the European Union and Izmir. Then, Izmir Office started to provide capacity building training to NGOs in 2015. Yaşar University hosted one of the trainings. These capacity-building training have continued in the next

year under the "Support Activities to Strengthen the European Integration Process" (SEI) program financed by the EU funds. Also, there were training with IZKA to strengthen the institutional capacity of NGOs in Izmir by focusing on the topics that NGOs need such as social entrepreneurship, resource management, volunteer management, project preparation in 2018 and 2019. Each year the Office has visited the universities in the Izmir such as Ege University, Dokuz Eylül University, Yaşar University and Izmir High Technology Institute, for providing information about the Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme.

In conclusion, in this section, the vision of Directorate for EU Affairs regarding the local level Europeanization and the projects implemented from 2010 has been mentioned. The primary purpose was to bring the EU process on the agenda of citizens through local administrations. To achieve this goal, the governorships which are led by centrally-appointed actors considered as target group by the Directorate for EU Affairs. Although there were projects related to municipalities, Directorate for EU Affairs did not consider the elected representatives as the target group, i.e. municipalities. However, the opening of local offices in Izmir and Antalya was an essential step in this process. According to the interview from Izmir Office, although there is no stable, institutional relationship between the Directorate and Metropolitan Municipality, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has an EU vision and a plan to reach EU standards. Thus, to understand the Europeanization of local administration, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and its activities will be discussed following the ladder model in the next section.

5.3 Izmir Metropolitan Municipality

Izmir is the third-largest city located on the west coast of the county, near the Aegean Sea. The municipality was founded in 1868 under the Ottoman rule. It turned into a metropolitan municipality in 1984. The population of the city is nearly 4.3 million. In the period of this thesis from 1999 to 2018, two different mayors served in Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), but these two mayors were a candidate of the same party. Ahmet Priştina who had died in 2004, served as mayor of Izmir from 1999 to 2004. After his death, Aziz Kocaoğlu had served as mayor from 2004 to March 2019 local elections. Tunç Soyer is the current Mayor of IMM.

5.3.a. EU Vision & Identity of The Municipality

The IMM had three different strategic plans. These plans cover 2006-2017, 2010-2017, and 2015-2019 periods. In the Strategic plan 2006-2017, it is said that due to Turkey's accession process to the EU, the management of local administrations has been changed with the new metropolitan law (pp.19). The vision of the city of Izmir was stated as "Being a port city with a sense of urbanism, a pioneer in tourism, trade and high technology, the cultural and artistic center of the Mediterranean" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan 2006-2017: 21) In the "External Analysis" section, Izmir was compared with EU member cities by looking at population, youth-elderly people ratio, the percentage of foreigners living in the city (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan 2006-2017: 64). In the SWOT analysis of the municipality section, the EU harmonization process and benefitting from EU funds considered as an opportunity (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan 2006-2017: 69-70).

The IMM prepared the next strategic plan for 2010-2017 in which it was stated that the IMM could not use the fund opportunities that the EU and the development agency provided efficiently (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan 2010-2017: 155). Also, the changing legal structure of the local administrations with the EU accession process was considered as an "opportunity" for the IMM (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan 2010-2017: 156). The last strategic plan for IMM was prepared for the 2015-2019 period. Izmir is identified as the most "European" city of Turkey (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Strategic, Plan 2015-2019: 48). These three strategic plans imply that IMM considers the EU funds as a way for financial support, which can be considered as an example of the logic of consequentialism.

When the IMM Activity Reports are examined, in 2013, it was stated that IMM applied for the Plaque of Honour (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Reports 2013: 237). It was mentioned that IMM received the Flag of Honour in 1970, and with the Plaque of Honour (later winning the European Prize), it will have a considerable impact on the recognition of Izmir in Europe. Also, in 2019, Izmir was one of the candidates for the European Prize, but it did not receive the award ("PACE: News" 2019). The European Prize has been given to municipalities in the Council of Europe 47 member states since 1955 ("The Europe Prize award system," n.d.). This prize is the final step of the Europe Prize award system. In the first step, municipalities apply for the European Diploma, which is given to 20 municipalities in each year with a ceremony in Strasbourg. The second step is the Flag of Honour, which is given to fifteen to twenty municipalities each year by a member of the parliament. The third step is the Plaque of Honour, which is given to eight to ten municipalities each year with the participation of the local population. The final step is the European Prize, which is given to one or two municipalities awarded to Plaque and Flag winners to

recognize these municipalities' contributions in promoting European unity. The application process for the European Prize requires a letter from the mayor, and an application dossier includes activities carried out by the municipality regarding the four different areas, which are (a) twinning activities, contacts with municipalities abroad, co-operation and partnerships, (b) European events, Europe Day and propagation of the European idea, (c) European and international solidarity and (d) membership of organizations of local authorities ("How To Apply For The Europe Prize And Its Distinctions," n.d.). There have been 79 municipalities awarded with the European Prize since 1955; three of them were Turkish municipalities, Istanbul (1959), Bursa (1991), and Ankara (2009) ("The Winners of The Europe Prize Since 1955", n.d.).

In 2011, Meeting of the Monitoring Committee of the Council of Europe Congress of Local and Regional Authorities was held in Izmir for the first time, with the invitation of the IMM mayor (IMM Activity Report 2011: 240).

In addition to that, in 2011, IMM went out to tender for the renewal of its cable car facility. After learning that the Ministry of Industry and Trade would amend the legislation of cable car facility standards due to the harmonization with EU, IMM had stopped the tender process and waited for the amendments to be done (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, August 2011: 21). It shows that although Turkey is not a member state, IMM responds to the EU regulations, which is a sign of Europeanization according to the "step a" of the ladder model.

In 2012, IMM EU and Grants Directorate (back-then EU and Foreign Relations Directorate) was selected as one of the Eurodesk contact points in Turkey (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2012: 234). Eurodesk is a European Information Network that provides information for young people on European

opportunities in the fields of education and youth and their participation in European activities. It connects 38 information networks across Europe. In Turkey, it has been under the responsibility of the Turkish National Agency since 2008. Contact points provide (a) free question answering service regarding the European activities, (b) suggestion and assistance services for those who ask questions, (c) information on European funds (especially for Erasmus+), (d) organization of trainings, support services, conferences, seminars, (e) distribution of printing materials regarding youth programmes and (d) dissemination of information on the Youth in Action Program ("Eurodesk Türkiye Temas Noktası" 2019). According to IMM Activity Report 2018, since 2012, the directorate has reached approximately 450 people in face-to-face information, 550 people by phone, 355 people via e-mail, 5079 people in events, and a total of 6434 participants (pp.158). In the activities, young people were informed about European Opportunities, Erasmus+ Program, project writing techniques, Eurodesk, and the contributions of the projects to the municipality.

In 2013, IMM signed the "European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life" (Union of Municipalities of Turkey Activity Report 2013: 117). The charter is launched by CEMR in 2006 "to promote gender equality and to encourage local administrations to make a public commitment on gender equality in political participation, employment, public services, urban planning etc." ("Equality of women and men in local life," n.d.).

In 2015, "the 17th Meeting of Working Group on Turkey of the Committee of the Region" was held in Izmir, and the subjects of the meeting were "Subsidiarity: Strengthening Local Authorities" and "Local and Regional Strategies to Improve Work Places" with nearly 300 local authorities within Turkey and the CoR members (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2015: 237).

In 2016, according to "Municipal Wastewater Statistics Survey" published by Turkish Statistical Institute, IMM took the first place in Turkey in terms of number of treatment plants in EU standards, amount of per capita wastewater treatment and purification rate; the official gazette of IMM represented this news as "Although not compulsory, Izmir, which complies with the EU criteria in environmental legislation, prefers to establish advanced biological wastewater treatment plants" (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, January 2016: 4).

Moreover, IMM became the part of Covenants of Mayor as a signatory in the same year. When the local authorities signed this deal, they have committed to work on climate and energy issues by "developing a 'Sustainable Energy and Climate Action Plan,' aiming to cut CO_2 emission by at least 40% by 2030 following the EU's climate and energy policy framework" ("Covenant community," n.d.). IMM was promised to reduce CO_2 emission by 20% and prepared a climate action plan. It is essential to mention that this agreement is not compulsory.

IMM was the first local administration in Turkey to participate in European Mobility Week activities in 2016. In the European Mobility Week, IMM organized "Sustainable Transportation Panel" in which the deputy president of the EU Delegation to Turkey said that the Delegation had been supportive towards Izmir's sustainable urban mobility vision and provided fiscal and expertise support for foundation of sustainable urban transport for Izmir by signing an agreement with the World Bank (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, October 2016: 28). Participation of European Mobility Week has continued in the following years.

In terms of urban mobility and urban transport, starting from 2015, IMM has been stating its intention to join EuroVelo (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, August 2015: 2). EuroVelo is the Europe Cycling Network which includes "16 long-distance cycle

routes connecting and uniting the whole European continent" ("Discover Europe by bike," n.d.). It is supported by EU European Regional, Development Fund with the leadership of European Cycling Federation. To be a part of this initiative, IMM built six different thematic routes in Izmir peninsula. Their application for being one of the cycling routes in Europe was approved in 2019 as EuroVelo 8 -Mediterranean Route.

Before joining the EuroVelo, IMM has participated in the European Cycling Challenge supported by the CIVITAS Programme.

> "The European Cycling Challenge – ECC is an urban cyclists' team competition taking place every May, 1-31.[…] The gamification approach turns trips into fun activities, encouraging people to use the bicycle as much as possible: participants track their bike-trips with a free tracking App contributing to their Team mileage, and through online leaderboards, they can check their City Team position in real-time." ("European Cycling Challenge," 2017).

In 2016, the IMM team was the 17th place among 52 cities. In 2017, IMM became the first team in Europe (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, May 2017: 2-3). Thus, participating in the Challenge can be given as an example of awareness-raising activity before joining the EuroVelo initiative, which shows an integrated approach in terms of urban mobility.

When the perception of Europe was asked to the interviewee from DEUGP, Izmir is considered as "the most western in the east, the most eastern in the west." It always looks to the West. This phrase was also stated in the interview with former Mayor Aziz Kocaoğlu. The same phrase can be seen in the press statements from current Mayor Tunç Soyer (Çalışlar, 2019). It shows that there is a consensus regarding the perspective on Europe and the identity of Izmir. In addition to European dimension

in IMM's vision and identity, according to IMM Strategic Plan 2015-2019, Izmir has set itself the goal of becoming a leading city of culture, art, and innovation in the Mediterranean basin (pp.9). It is the result of the historical background of the city as a famous port city in the Mediterranean.

When the identity of Izmir was asked in the interview with the DEUGP, being a citizen who lives in Izmir (*İzmirlilik*) is an essential component of this identity, which affects the municipality itself. In the interview with Aziz Kocaoğlu, he pointed that Izmir is both a European and an Anatolian city. Thus, it harmonizes these two types of perspective, which might show itself in the form of being a citizen who lives in Izmir (*İzmirlilik*). Yet, in 2014, when IMM had received the European Plaque of Honor, Aziz Kocaoğlu stated that;

> "Despite all the postponement occurred, we argue that from the beginning, Turkey must take place within this Union. As Izmir, we are ready for the EU. Let us define Izmir as a 'pilot city' where we will implement EU projects in many areas from social projects to urbanization, from agriculture to tourism. Let's make a bridge that will carry Izmir and Turkey on accession to the Union. We have the power and determination to do everything we can in the local administration part of such an initiative." (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, December 2014: 16-17).

In addition to that, in the book called as "Izmir Model Studies: Interviews with Aziz Kocaoğlu," Kocaoğlu says that Izmir is the city that approaches EU standards the most in Turkey in terms of quality of life and public consciousness (2018: 6).

According to the interview from ex-general secretariat for Aziz Kocaoğlu, the identity of Izmir can be defined as the most European city in Turkey. In support of this argument, she/he referred to the fact that the number of women working in a

managerial position in the municipality was higher than that of men ("İzmir Farkı," 2015). In addition to that, according to interview from one of the current mayor advisors, Izmir is one of the closest cities to Europe in Turkey due to its tolerance, respect to personal freedom and cosmopolitan historical background regarding Armenian, Greek and Jewish population.

Although there are clear statements from both former and current elites in IMM regarding the European aspect of Izmir's identity, as mentioned in the interview from current mayor advisor, the identity of the city cannot solely be defined from the local administration, i.e. metropolitan municipality, how citizens and other stakeholders in the city perceive its identity is also essential. However, there is a consensus among elites of the Municipality as mentioned above, Izmir is considered as part of Europe.

5.3.b. EU Department

Having a department or directorate whose competencies are solely on the EU relations of the municipality can be considered as an essential criterion for the Europeanization of the local administrations according to the ladder model.

In the case of IMM, the first international relations directorate was founded in 2000. The name of the directorate was "Coordination Office of Foreign Relations and Sister Cities" (COFRSC) whose duties were;

> "To conduct all kinds of legal studies to bring to the attention of the world public opinion that İzmir is one of the most important cities on a global basis from the past to the present day,

> To establish and develop dialogues with foreign local administrations in order to increase economic, cultural and technical level of Izmir in a globalizing world and to establish coordination on behalf of the municipality,
>
> To provide the current information flow to the senior executives of these municipalities and to assist the other relevant units of our State regarding the matter" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2000: 1).

In 2004, IMM had planned to establish a separate unit called as "EU Cohesion Office" to prepare for the negotiation process to be carried out by the Turkish State with the European Union and to structure the municipality according to the European Union acquis during the negotiations, and the establishment process of this department had been started in the same year(Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2004: 1). While establishing this office, the COFRSC had been continuing its duties.

In 2005, the goals of the EU Cohesion Office had been stated as;

> "To make harmonization studies on the laws and rules of local administrations in EU countries and local legislation of our country, to make the necessary comparisons and to contribute to the harmonization of these laws with the laws of our country in terms of raising self and social level.
>
> To prepare and follow up joint projects with the EU and member countries and to ensure structural alignment with the EU" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2005: 1).

After the establishment of the Izmir Development Agency (IZKA) in 2006, the EU Cohesion Office had been renamed as "Development Agency and the European Union Relations Office" in 2007, and its competencies had also been extended to cover grant calls from Izmir Development Agency (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2007: 396). In 2009, the two separate units, EU Office and Foreign Relations

and Sister Cities Office, had been combined into the one department, namely, the EU and Foreign Relations Branch Office (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2009: 128). In 2014, the EU and Foreign Relations Branch Office had been separated by the municipality, and the current institutional structure has been formed. Currently, there are two separate departments for dealing with the foreign relations of the IMM, which are the Directorate of Foreign Relations and the Directorate of EU and Grants Projects (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2014: 198).

Directorate of EU and Grants Projects(DEUGP) has a responsibility to (a) follow up calls for proposals, (b) evaluate the related grant programs, (c) develop possible project issues by considering the IMM Strategic Plan, (d) obtain and prepare the project as well as the documents to be submitted in the application, (e) follow up evaluation process of the project, (f) develop national and international project partnerships, (g) carry out activities to disseminate the project, (h) inform relevant directorates about grant programs, (j) provide trainings to district municipalities, public institutions and non-governmental institutions, (k) organize information meetings, workshops seminars regarding the EU acquis, (l) EU organizational structure, (m) participate in Eurodesk Network activities to inform young people about European opportunities as Eurodesk Contact Point and finally, (n) acts as the secretariat of Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board ("Ab Hibe Projeleri Şube Müdürlüğü," 2019).

According to the interview in DEUGP, the department has ten people who have an academic degree in English skills. It was stated during the interview that all of the officials who work in the Directorate have a university degree, some of whom have an international relations degree. There is no clear indication for an academic degree on EU acquis.

On the other hand, The Directorate of Foreign Relations (DFR) has a responsibility to (a) make contact with representatives of other countries, (b) take part in international organizations, (c) develop bilateral relations, (d) organize the relations between the representative of diplomatic missions in Izmir, (e) provide representation and interpreting services to the delegations visiting the municipality, (f) make organization and coordination related to international travel, (g) ensure the continuation of the existing relations with international organizations that IMM member of, (h) propose the initiation of new relations with international organizations, (j) host foreign mission representatives, (k) come together in order to produce joint solutions with the world cities that share common problems with Izmir, (l) introduce the works and projects carried out by IMM to representatives of foreign missions, (m) organize activities to ensure the continuity of the relations with sister cities of IMM and finally, (n) propose "Honorary Citizenship Acquittal" to some foreign country representatives who promote and develop the city ("Dış İlişkiler Şube Müdürlüğü," 2019). During the interview in DFR, it was stated that ten people who are working in the directorate have a university degree. There is no clear indication for an academic degree on EU acquis. For comparison, according to IMM Activity Report 2018, the total number of white-collar personnel was 3666; 2245 of them was associate degree (*önlisans*) and bachelor's degree (61%) while 318 of them was master and higher degree (9%) (pp.23). It means that the educational level of DEUGP and DFR is quite high.

5.3.c. EU Projects

The EU Projects are one of the essential steps towards Europeanization since these projects provide financial incentives and at the same time, change the way of doing things in the local authorities. In the ladder model, receiving EU funded projects and creating prosperity in the jurisdiction of local administrations are considered as a step from minimal Europeanization to financially-oriented Europeanization (Figure 2.1). In order to understand this impact from EU projects, annual activity reports and websites of the IMM were examined.

Figure 5.1. Distribution of Total number of Projects by donors for IMM (prepared by author)
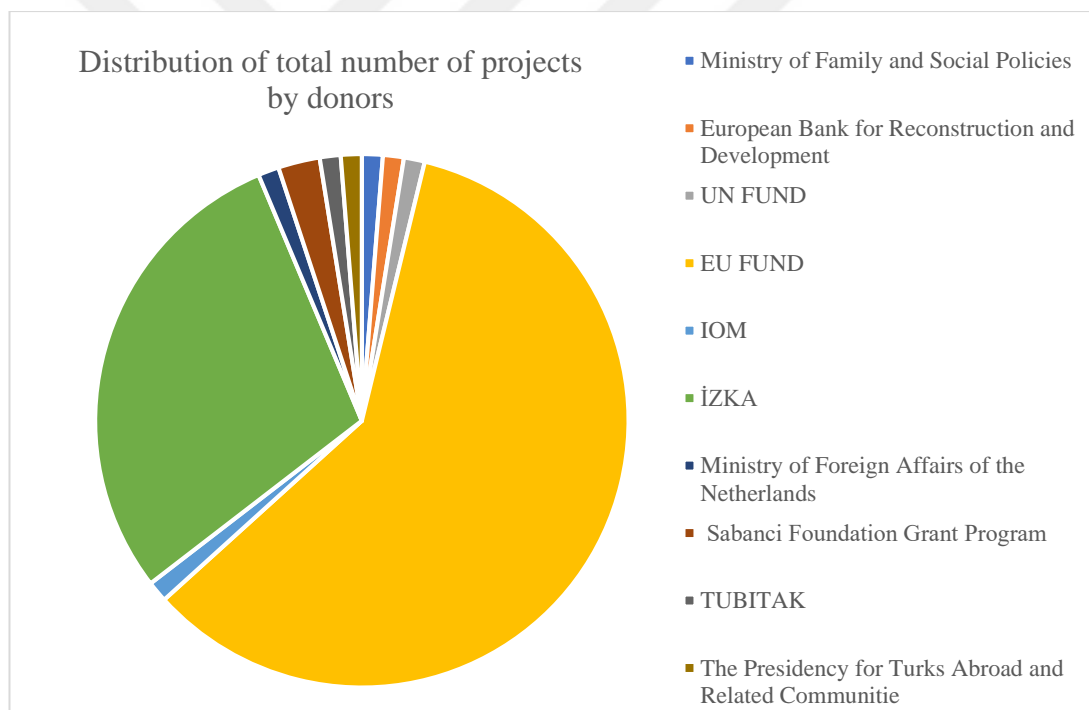
According to data obtained from activity reports and IMM website, the total number of applied projects by IMM is 81. This number refers to all projects that IMM applies regardless of whether it has won the grant. The EU funds have provided most of the grants (60%) with 49 project calls. IZKA is at the second place (28%) with 23

project calls. Above mentioned figure indicates that IMM shows interest in both the EU and the central government for projects.

DONOR	# of Successful Projects
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	1
EU FUND	20
IOM	1
IZKA	19
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands	1
Total	**42**

Table 5.1. Total Number of Successfully Received Projects by IMM (prepared by author)

As can be seen in the above table, 42 project application, which is more than half of the total project applications (81) has been granted from five different donors. These 42 projects are projects that have already finished or been still ongoing. Although the grant provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands is not an EU fund, it can be considered in this context since the Netherland is a member of the EU. Thus, it can be said that half of the successful project applications were EU project calls.

The theme of the Granted EU Projects	# of Projects
Culture and Art	2
Employment	3
Environment	1
Institutional Capacity	5
Smart Cities and Innovative Solutions	5
Transport and Logistic	2
Urbanization and Quality of Life	3
Total	**20**

Table 5.2. Themes of the Granted EU Projects (prepared by author)

All the successfully granted projects are categorized under the themes. In this respect, according to Table 5.2, EU projects that focus on institutional capacities and

smart cities & innovative solutions have the highest percentage (24%). It is followed by respectively, employment (14%), urbanization (14%), cultural and art (10%), transport and logistic (10%) and environment (5%).

Although EU projects have taken a significant share in granted projects as mentioned above, IMM has had a secondary role in these projects. In terms of the role played in these projects, IMM has played 13 partnership, 4 beneficiary, and 2 associate roles while the number of projects that IMM has taken the leadership role was just 2. One of the projects that IMM took the leadership role was related to culture and art in 2007. It was called as "Promotion of Roma Culture Through Theatre" in which the purpose of the project was "to promote the culture of Roma citizens living in Izmir to the people of Izmir by a theatrical play" ("Completed Projects," n.d.). Another project was started in 2017, which was called as "Green Re-vision: A Framework for Resilient Cities." Purpose of this project was "to create a resilient urban area in a context of climate change by using/enhancing/supporting the potential of green infrastructure" ("Projects in Action," n.d.).

However, some of the projects IMM participated as partners can be considered prestigious like being part of a Horizon 2020 project, which is considered as "flagship initiative" for the EU and "biggest EU Research and Innovation program" between 2014-2020 period ("What is Horizon 2020," n.d.). There were two Horizon 2020 projects that IMM has participated. One is "Rural Regeneration Through Systemic Heritage-Led Strategies" project started in 2019 "to create a new rural regeneration paradigm through increasing cultural and natural heritage potential of rural areas" and another one is "Urban GreenUp" project which focused on "sustainable city development and design" started in 2017 ("Projects in Action," n.d.). Moreover, when preparing routes for being part of the EuroVelo initiative, IMM was invited to a part

of FLOW Project funded by Horizon 2020 as an exchange city (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, March 2017: 9). This project aimed "to put walking and cycling on an equal footing with motorized modes as a solution to tackle urban congestion" ("Overview – Flow," n.d.). Being an exchange city has made available for IMM to access an online platform for experience exchange, to participate three learning and exchange workshop, an exchange visit, webinars, e-course ("Exchange cities – Flow," n.d.).

In addition to that, some of the outputs from EU projects were not left idle but were continued by IMM. For example, a "Children and Youth Center" was opened under the Internal Migration Integration Project funded by Phare Programme for 2008-2010 period. After the project ended, since it met a significant demand, IMM has taken the financial and administrative responsibility of the center and it still continues to work (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, August 2011: 30). It can be considered as the benefits of EU projects in the city.

5.3.d. Town Twinning (Sister Cities)

Sister city agreements are an essential tool for information sharing, experience exchange. This type of activity can also produce cultural, economic benefits to both sides of the agreement. These types of relations satisfy the step f in the ladder model, which foresee a link between local administrations (Figure 2.1).
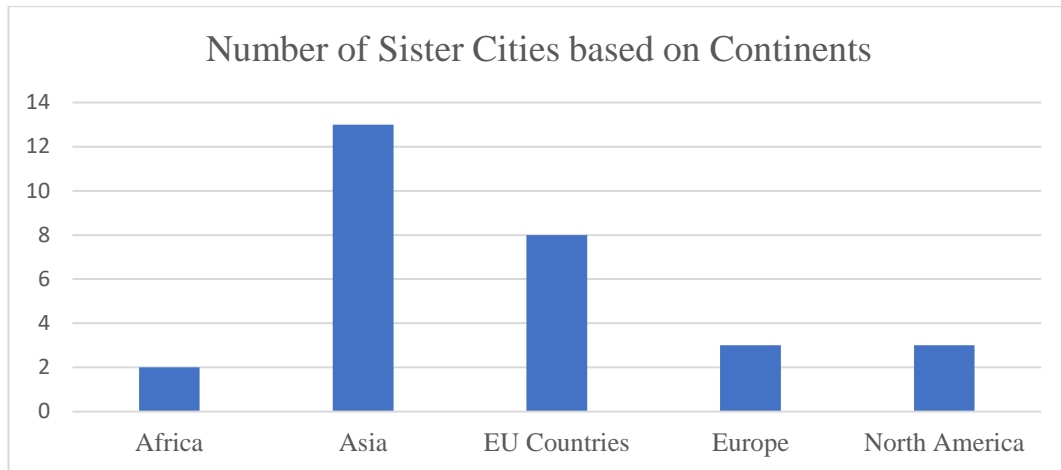
IMM sister city relationships are dealt with by the Directorate of Foreign Relations (DFR). According to the interview in DFR, the criteria for choosing a sister city is that it has similar features to Izmir, such as being a port city, tourism city, similar population, and development level. IMM has 24 sister city agreements, two goodwill protocols, and three cooperation protocols according to their website. 45% of the total number of town twinning agreements (29) has been made with the cities from Asia (13 cities). The cities from Europe is 38% of the total number of sister city agreements (11 cities). Cities in the EU member countries are Plzen (Czech Republic), Odense (Denmark), Constanta (Romania), Bremen (Germany), Split (Croatia), Ancona (Italy) which has cooperation protocol with the IMM, Kircaali (Bulgaria) and Torino (Italy) which has goodwill protocol with the IMM.

According to the interview from DFR, the relationship between Bremen and the IMM is the most active sister city agreement. They signed the sister city agreement in 1996. First of all, according to IMM Activity Report 2000, a student group was sent to Bremen from Izmir, and a delegation from Bremen, including a parliamentarian, business people, and workers with Bremen State Ministry of Interior visited Izmir (pp.1). These types of ongoing and outgoing visits have continued to 2006. In 2006, a

football team under the age of 15 from Izmir joined the One Nation Cup, which has been organized by the Bremen (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2006: 1). In 2011, one artist who resides in Izmir received a "Bremen Art Scholarship" and was sent to Bremen for one month (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 241). In addition to that, in the same year, Bremen Economic Development Agency (WFB) opened a "Bremen Investment Support Office" in Izmir to establish a partnership between German and Turkish firms and attract foreign investors to Bremen. In the Activity Report 2011, it was stated that the sister city relationship between Bremen and Izmir was impactful for opening an investment office by the WFB in Izmir (pp.241).

Moreover, in 2011, IMM applied for a project with Bremen under the CIVITAS Programme. CIVITAS approved this project, and IMM Directorate of Transport Planning visited Bremen for gaining knowledge on urban mobility (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 245). There were also technical visits from Izmir to Bremen. In 2014, IMM Directorate of Social Projects and DEUGP visited Bremen for discussing about students and teaching exchange program, cultural exchange, patient and elderly care, internship program for disabled students and during the trip, parliament member of Bremen Social Democratic Party had led the delegation in meetings with institutions (IMM Activity Report 2014: 200). In 2017, IMM organized a "Sister Cities Camp" for students who came from sister cities, including Bremen (IMM Activity Report 2017: 152).

Date	Name of the Network
2000	Balkan Cities Network (BALCINET) (not active)
2001	United Cities and Local Governments the Middle East and West Asia (UCLG-MEWA)
2005	Mediterranean Cities Network (MEDCITIES)
2008	European Cities Network (EUROCITIES)
2008	Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC)
2009	Cities for Mobility
2009	WHO Healthy Cities
2010	European Association of Zoos and Aquaria (EAZA)
2011	World Union of Wholesales Market (WUWM)
2011	WHO European Healthy Cities Network
2011	CIVITAS Forum Network
2014	ENAT (the European Network for Accessible Tourism)
2014	Délice Network (Délice Network of Gourmet Cities)
2016	Assembly of European Regions (AER)

Table 5.3. City Networks for IMM (IMM Activity Report 2016: 165)

In the table above, there are city networks that IMM has participated in since 2000. European Cities Network (Eurocities), Cities for Mobility, CIVITAS Forum Network European Association of Zoos and Aquaria (EAZA), The European Network for Accessible Tourism (ENAT), WHO European Healthy Cities Network, Délice Network of Gourmet Cities and the Assembly of European Regions are either the networks where most of the members are in the region of Europe or the networks that are supported by the EU. In this section, how IMM interacts with these networks starting from the 2000s by looking at the activity reports that municipality publishes at the end of each year will be explained since participating the city networks in the EU is considered as the last step for networking level Europeanization in the ladder model (Figure 2.1).

IMM applied for becoming a member of the Eurocities in 2008. IMM took part in the participation and collaboration platform of the Working Group on Brand

Management and Urban Attraction in 2009. The working group focused on city identity, governance, and leadership, media, promotion and objectives, assessment, and measurement of attractiveness; it holds three or four meetings each year in different member cities. Working group's goals were (a) developing a shared understanding for city branding and urban attractiveness, (b) sharing best practices, (c) considering the attractiveness in the field of culture, sport, tourism, creativity outside the economic sphere, (d) trying to set effective rules on brand management and finally, (e) building partnership between cities on specific areas of interest (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2010: 214). It is important to note that Izmir Development Agency also participated in the working group meeting held in Tampere in 2010.

In 2009, it applied for the Eurocities Organic Agriculture award (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2009: 130). In the next year, it participated the working group meeting held in Tampere with Izmir Development Agency, which is another institution concerned about the city connected to the central government (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 243). IMM participated in the working group meetings in 2011 in Goteborg, Sweden, and Lyon, France (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 247).

In 2012, IMM participated "the Eurocities Economic Development Forum" held in Amsterdam, the theme of which was the cooperation among the municipality-university-private sector, and the example of this cooperation was the Amsterdam Municipality and how it implements this cooperation in Amsterdam (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2012: 231). In the same year, "Extending the Eurocities European Cities Network" and "Cities and Active Participation of Young People in Southeast Europe" was the two-session IMM participated in the

meeting called "Eurocities in the Cities" in Istanbul (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2012: 231).

In 2013, IMM participated the annual general meeting of Eurocities in Ghent, Belgium, to vote in the elections. Also, in the meeting, it made a presentation about the "Urban Transformation Process in Izmir" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2013: 232).

In 2015, Eurocities had gathered best practice examples from its member cities regarding the "Promoting an inclusive labor market at the local level" publication, which later has launched at the Eurocities Social Affairs Forum in Brussels in the same year. IMM has sent "The Izmir City College Project," which was funded by the Izmir Development Agency in 2014 to aim to help jobless young people, women, the long-term unemployed people while providing qualified staff to companies in need of these type of workers ("Cities at work: Izmir City College Project, Izmir," 2015). This project was selected as one of the 12 best practice examples in the publication (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2015: 374). For IMM, the selection of one project has helped the promotion of the municipality and the project.

In 2016, IMM Directorate of Izmir City College had attended a study visit via Eurocities in Madrid. In this visit, they have observed the Madrid Neighborhood Employment Plans project, which was implemented within the framework of the EU Programme for Employment and Social Innovation (EaSI) to tackle long-term employment in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods in the city (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2016: 234).

Secondly, Cities for Mobility is an independent global network launched in 2006 by the City of Stuttgart. Its main goal is "to create human-friendly, sustainable mobility in cities by promoting close cooperation between mayors, municipal experts,

practitioners, researchers, and representatives from civil society without membership fees or formalities" ("Cities For Mobility" 2019). It holds "International Cities for Mobility Congress" every two years in Stuttgart in order to share good and bad practices and also to initiate cooperation projects among members.

IMM has been a part of the "Cities for Mobility" network since 2009. It participated in the first Cities for Mobility event in 2011, 5th World Congress. In this Congress, the agenda was "social space problems," and in the closing remarks, it was stated that social space investments increase the livability of the city, and using alternative vehicles has a positive impact on citizens (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 243).

Thirdly, CIVITAS Forum Network is a platform that aims to introduce sustainable urban transport policies for European cities to exchange information, ideas, and good practices on workshops and training events. There are two types of membership; one is "demonstration cities" obtained by participating at least one of the CIVITAS Programme funded by the EU, another one is "non-demonstration cities" obtained by committing themselves to the introduction of sustainable urban transport policy, which is self-financed ("CIVITAS Cities," 2019). IMM has been part of the CIVITAS Forum Network as a non-demonstration city since 2011. It has followed the ideas, experiences in the field of urban transportation policy since then (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2011: 243). However, it is essential to note that there has been no information regarding the CIVITAS Forum Network since the Activity Report 2011.

Fourthly, The European Network for Accessible Tourism (ENAT) was initiated as a project in 2006, sponsored by six organizations from the EU members, was also financed by the European Commission from 2006 to 2007; later, in 2008, was

registered in Brussels as a non-profit association ("Who We Are, ENAT", n.d.). Its primary purpose is "to make European tourism destinations, product and services accessible to all travelers and to promote accessible tourism" by (a) connecting stakeholders in tourism field to share their experience, (b) promoting broader awareness in travel and tourism throughout Europe, (c) supporting good policies and practices, (d) developing expertise on accessibility of European tourism, (e) providing a platform for representatives on both side of the tourism like European and national institutions, and finally (f) promoting accessible tourism as a means of combatting discrimination towards disabled people and promoting greater social inclusion at an international level ("Mission Statement, ENAT" 2019).

IMM applied for the membership of ENAT in 2014. The reason for the membership was to continue the municipality's efforts to make the city more "accessible" more effectively within the scope of accessible tourism (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2014: 206). In this context, IMM held three congresses called "Accessible Izmir International Congress" in the city of Izmir with the participation of ENAT. 2013 was the year the first congress convened with the theme of "Urban Problems and Solutions for People with Disabilities." Its outcome was the "Red Flag Project," an award given by IMM for public and private institutions which take measures for indoor and outdoor spaces to ease the lives of the disabled people (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2013: 220). 2016 was the year that the second international congress convened under the topic of "Local Policies Oriented to Enhance the Participation of People with Disabilities to Social Life." The result of this congress was the establishment of the "Izmir Disability Awareness Center" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2016: 165). The last

congress was held in 2018 under the subject of "New Production Models and Employment for People with Disabilities."

Fifthly, the European Association of Zoos and Aquaria (EAZA) is the membership organization of zoos and aquariums in Europe. According to its website, EAZA has been a beneficiary of EU LIFE NGO operating grants, which has been used in expanding its activities related to European environmental and climate action since 2016 ("About Us-Eaza," n.d.). Its primary purpose is (a) to provide financial and human resources to animal related projects, (b) to sustain number of animals and their quality of life in zoos, (c) to educate guests about animals and habitats for sustainable nature and finally, (d) to search all aspects of animal biology ("About Us-Eaza," n.d.). In 2010, IMM's Izmir Natural Life Park applied for the membership and granted with it in 2011. According to Park, EAZA provides the high-quality standard for zoos, aquariums for breeding, and care of animal species by information exchange among experts, regular training programs ("Eaza," n.d.).

Sixthly, although World Health Organization (WHO) is a global organization, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality became a part of WHO European Healthy Cities Network under the WHO Europe Regional office, in 2011 with Barcelona, Madrid, Athens, Vienna, Manchester (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, April 2011: 5). This network's goal is "put health high on the social, economic and political agenda of city governments" while increasing the capacity of member cities regarding the public health ("WHO European Healthy Cities Network," n.d.). In this context, in 2013, IMM hosted annual work and technical meeting of this network. In 2014, it was selected as part of the "Phase 6 of WHO European Healthy Cities Network" for the 2014-2018 period. The framework of phase 6 was linked around the goals of Health 2020 program of WHO, which are;

"significantly improve the health and well-being of populations, reduce health inequalities, strengthen public health and ensure people-centred health systems that are universal, equitable, sustainable and of high quality" ("About Health 2020," n.d.).

Seventhly, Délice World Gourmet Cities Network (Délice), founded by the city of Lyon in 2007, has 30 member cities, and 18 of them are in Europe, including Izmir and Gaziantep. Délice Network considers itself as a tool for cities who believe that food and gastronomy can be used as a boost for urban economic development and city attractiveness, and their goal is to link food and gastronomy to city development, promotion and the overall wellbeing of its citizens ("About Us- Délice Network", n.d.). IMM became a member of the network in 2014 in order to promote sumptuous Aegean cuisine and to use the city's gastronomical and culinary art opportunities provided to young people; moreover, it considered the network as a tool for developing projects in the field of culinary arts (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2014: 206).

The membership was considered as a more institutional approach to become a "City of Gastronomy" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2015: 239). In this context, in 2015, IMM organized the Urla Artichoke Festival with Urla Municipality and Izmir Economy University Culinary Arts and Management Department, then organized the "First Izmir Gastronomy Congress" with the participation of local and foreign chefs and speakers by using opportunities of the "Délice Gourmet Cities Network Membership" and prepared and published "Izmir Tourism Booklet" in seven languages and Yarımada Booklet and Brochures in English (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2015: 239-240).

Eighthly, IMM became a member of the Assembly of European Regions (AER) in 2016. In the same year, it participated the Spring Plenary of the AER in

Temesvar, Romania, and the theme of the meeting was "Communication and Action in Times of Crisis" (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Activity Report 2016: 166). Also, in November 2016, IMM hosted the AER Autumn Committees Plenary with the theme of sustainable mobility. IMM's efforts for sustainable mobility and best practices were discussed in this meeting ("AER'S Committees Meet In Izmir For Talks On Sustainable Mobility" 2016).

Ninthly, although IMM was part of the Middle East and West Asia Section of UCLG, by the UCLG Committee on Culture, IMM was selected as one of the pilot cities in European Programme of Agenda 21 Culture which is run in cooperation with European Culture Action and the CEMR; as a result, IMM will host the UCLG Culture Summit 2021 (Izmir Büyükşehir Gazetesi, April 2016: 5). Agenda 21 Culture is based on Culture 21 Actions which were decided on the UCLG Culture Summit in Bilbao 2015. The objectives of Agenda 21 Culture are;

"(a) to increase local and European understanding between culture and local sustainable development, (b) to enable innovative pilot solutions in areas relevant to culture and sustainable cities, (c) to facilitate exchanges, evaluation, peer-learning and capacity-building among European cities, (d) to provide wide visibility to the participating cities and their policies, (e) to contribute to the advocacy for cultural factors in sustainable cities in Europe." ("Pilot Cities Europe Programme Presentation," n.d.).

5.3.f. Brussel Office

During the interview in IMM Directorate of the EU and Grants Project, there has been no interest in opening a Brussel office in the heart of the EU. However, in 2015, Mayor of Izmir has been in Brussel with a delegation for two days (Izmir

Metropolitan Municipality 2015, pp239). In this delegation, there was the President of Izmir Chamber of Commerce, Aegean Region Chamber of Industry Chairman of the Board, Coordinator of Aegean Exporters' Association, Chairman of Aegean Industrialists and Businessmen Association, Mayor of Konak District Municipality and Mayor of Karabağlar District Municipality in the delegation. On the first day, Mayor of IMM met with the President of the Committee of the Regions and later gave a speech at the Committee of the Regions Enlargement Day Event. On the second day, the delegation visited the High Representative Office of the Union for Foreign Affairs, Office of Permanent Delegation of Turkey to the EU, European Parliament Turkey Rapporteur Kati Piri, Brussel Office of Turkish Industry & Business Association and Republican People's Party EU Representation Office. In addition to that, in the interview with DEUGP, it was stated that during the trip, the Association of Social Democrat Municipalities (SODEM) was helpful for the delegation. District municipalities from Istanbul established SODEM in 2011 and the second article of status of SODEM explicitly states that its primary purpose is creating a dialogue between social democrat municipalities and EU counterparts; in other words, it was designed as a lobbying association for social democrat municipalities in Turkey's EU accession process and IMM became part of this association in 2019 (Interview from IMM).

5.4. Analysis of Europeanization of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality

In this section, the Europeanization of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality will be analyzed, and the findings will be shared. For understanding the Europeanization of local administration, six topics that are discussed in previous sections will be considered in the light of the ladder model.

To elaborate on the first topic, EU vision, and whether the municipality sees itself in a European context, elites who were in charge of the municipality (former mayor and general secretariat) during the period of this thesis, were explicitly considered the city as part of Europe. Also, since the newly elected mayor of IMM, Tunç Soyer's statements were similar to previous elites in the IMM, it can be said that there is a positive attitude towards Europe in Izmir and IMM. Furthermore, IMM has committed itself to non-binding international agreements like Covenants of Mayor for climate change, European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life for gender equality, EuroVelo for urban mobility. These three examples are initiatives supported by EU institutions. In addition to non-binding promises, IMM has had an effort to increase its popularity in the European "club" (Pflieger, 2004: 341). Hosting the Council of Europe Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (p.68), hosting the CoR working group on Turkey (p.69), applying the European Prize and receiving Flag of Honour in 2014 can be given as an example. Also, referencing the EU standards in tenders is an essential clue for understanding the IMM's perspective on the EU.

Since the establishment of the EU department in the municipality shows the institutional aspect of the Europeanization and is an essential structure for every step in the ladder model, the evolution of the EU department was examined. IMM establishes separate departments for both international activities of the municipality and EU activities. The establishment of the DEUGP is a gradual process. Also provided with clear objectives regarding the EU grants, later taking the responsibility of being representative of Eurodesk Network, DEUGP ha an opportunity to develop significant EU experience. It is important to note that the idea of establishing an EU Cohesion Office in 2004 (p.73), was first mentioned with Turkey's accession to the EU. In other words, the domestic structure changes its institutional context with the

EU process. IMM was responsive to what the central government has done regarding the EU process. Also, it develops a significant degree of expertise regarding EU matters according to interviews from both Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs and Izmir Development Agency.

EU projects are vital for both the ladder model (step d and e) and the logic behind the interplay between local administration and the EU. After searching EU projects from IMM activity reports and official website, application for EU funds by IMM were significantly higher than any other donors (Figure 5.1). Besides, EU funds keep its number one place when examining the successful granted projects. Although there is a limited number of projects IMM takes the leadership role, IMM has been a partner to EU programmes like Horizon 2020. According to interviews from DEUGP and advisor to the current mayor, IMM has tried to contribute its budget by providing additional financing in the areas specific to the strategic plan and these additional financial resources were EU projects. Also, both former mayor and former general secretariat pointed out that European banks financed many big infrastructure projects like metro, tramway and ferries. Thus, it can be said that the main logic behind applying for EU projects was the logic of consequences.

In the interview with the advisor to the current mayor, it was stated that these projects were helping to increase the capacity of IMM but lacked the vision of "Europeanness."[5] For the step of the ladder model, although IMM is a partner for most of the EU projects, in the interviews from IMM Assembly member and advisor to the current mayor, IMM has limited interaction with other stakeholders in the city while

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[5] Interview with Advisor to Tunç Soyer, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Izmir, December 19th, 2019

conducting EU projects. While interviewing with Izmir City Council, whose budget is given by IMM and Refugee Council of Konak District Municipality, they also expressed the same statement that IMM has a limited interest working with them. The same response was given in interviews from Izmir Office from Directorate for EU Affairs[6] and IZKA.[7] The lack of interest shown by IMM to other actors regarding EU projects might happen due to the high institutional capacity of DEUGP.

Regarding the sister city relationships which is the step f in the ladder model, especially with the cities form EU countries, IMM has signed sister city agreements mostly with the cities from Asia, while the number of sister city agreements in the EU member states is eight. Although cities from EU countries are in the second place in terms of sister city agreements, as mentioned in the town twinning (sister cities) section, IMM developed a sustainable concrete relationship with Bremen. However, as Demirtaş (2017) states that local administrations reproduce the discourse on central administration and cultural aspect is dominant in local administrations' foreign policies in Turkey, Aziz Kocaoğlu stated that local administrations do not determine the foreign policy, so it cannot be considered independent from central administration; moreover, organic cultural ties were important for foreign relations understanding in IMM. Under this traditional understanding of sister city relations, IMM has worked on raising publicity of the city and cultural ties. In support of this argument, after the separation of the Directorate of Foreign Affairs and EU Grants in 2014, DFR has started to operate with the tourism directorate under the name of "Directorate of Foreign Relations and Tourism." In the interview with the advisor to the current

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[6] Interview with EU Expert, Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, Izmir, December 7th, 2019
[7] Interview with Expert, Izmir Development Agency, Izmir, December 16th, 2019

mayor, s/he stated that "being a sister city relation had turned into the sister municipality, there has been no connection with societies" regarding the sister city relations of IMM.[8]

Although there is a traditional perspective on sister city relations, IMM developed quite impressive performance regarding the city networks, which is the final step to shift from networking Europeanization to fully Europeanization in the ladder model (Figure 2.1). It has been a part of one of the influential city networks in the EU, Eurocities since 2008. In addition to that, it has participated the city networks directly funded by the EU, such as ENAT, CIVITAS Forum Network. Although the EU institutions do not fund some of the city networks, IMM participated in the networks operated in Europe to exchange best practice examples, follow innovative ideas on different subjects like urban transportation policy.

Ladder model considers influencing the EU policies by opening Brussel office as a critical step toward fully Europeanized local administration (Figure 2.1). Although there is no Izmir office in Brussel, IMM shows interest in keeping touch with the EU institutions related to local administrations such as CoR. The study trip of Aziz Kocaoğlu to Brussel with local actors in 2015 is a clue for this interest.

In conclusion, for the ladder model, the central hypothesis is that "the more action the local authority undertakes, the greater the interplay with European ideas and practices and the higher they ascend the ladder" (John, 2001: 72). Although Turkey is not a member state in the EU, the first step, which is "responding to EU directives and regulations" cannot be fully satisfied; however, as mentioned in the section titled

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[8] Interview with Advisor to Tunç Soyer, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Izmir, December 19th, 2019

"Local Administrations in the Turkish Administrative System," and opening of "EU Cohesion Office" in the IMM, IMM realizes the changes in the Turkish administrative system due to the EU accession process and tries to adapt itself to it. By establishing an EU department and showing an EU vision, IMM satisfies "the step b" in the ladder. Although there is some concern in meeting the criteria for "the step c" in the ladder, there is a strong interest towards EU grants and the economic benefits that these projects will bring, so IMM satisfies "the step d and e." Also, unlike Özçelik's claim for "moving sideways" (2017: 178), from 1999 to 2018, EU grants has become the number one priority for IMM. In the next step, as Özçelik foresees that local administrations can skip some steps (2017: 178), IMM has started the sister city relations before 1999 and has already skipped previous steps and started to "the step f." Bremen-IMM relationship is an example of "the step f." When examining the next step in the ladder model, being the only metropolitan municipality in Turkey, which participated the Eurocities network, IMM satisfies "the step g" and in fact, it uses its sister city relations to engage such city networks such as Bremen-IMM partnership in Civitas Network (p.81). Since "the step h and i" is not satisfied in the Europeanization of IMM, it can be said that IMM is Europeanized in networking level.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Today, local actors and local administrations have been in the foreground of not only local or national matters but also international issues, such as migration management and climate change. This situation has risen the importance of local administrations in the international arena. Globalization and the establishment of the European Union are stated as the main reasons by John (2001: 62-63). This thesis analyzes Europeanization in the case of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and how Europeanization evolved to a structure that promotes local administrations and provides opportunities for them by establishing EU level institutions such as the Committee of Regions. The EU enlargement process has brought these opportunities to post-socialist countries, Balkans and accession countries like Turkey. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the interplay between the local administrations and the European Union. To understand this interplay, the ladder model was adopted concerning the Europeanization framework. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality was selected as a case study for understanding Europeanization of local administrations in Turkey because Izmir is the third-largest city in Turkey economically and the second fastest-growing city in 2014; moreover, its identity has European traits and mayors from secular Republican People's Party have ruled it. Also, the city hosted one of the few offices of Directorate for EU Affairs while 1732 EU projects were completed in Izmir. IMM is also a member of Eurocities. The period of this thesis was restricted between 1999 and 2018.

In the second chapter, the concept of Europeanization, its usage areas on policy, policy field and institutions were identified. How different approaches to

Europeanization were shaped to understand the concept were given. These approaches showed the sociological (Radaelli, 2000) and institutional (Caporaso et al., 2001) understanding of the concept. Later, the combination of these two approaches was provided with reference to Börzel & Risse's study. In the second section of the conceptual framework chapter, how the concept of Europeanization was used as an analytical tool for explaining the Europeanization of local administrations was mentioned. John's ladder model was comprehensive enough for describing the interaction between local administrations and the EU.

In the third chapter, there was an extensive literature review by considering the ladder model. Starting from the establishment and evolution of EU funds, how the EU utilizes networking activities, Brussel offices were mentioned in this chapter. In addition to that, the contribution of EU funds to the Europeanization of local administrations, networking activities in the EU city networks like transnational, trans municipal, city networks and functions of Brussel offices were mentioned in this chapter. Also, studies on Europeanization of local administrations in non-EU countries, post-socialist new-member states in the EU and accession countries like Turkey were presented to show a bigger picture.

In the fourth chapter, the central hypothesis was presented in the light of the ladder model as "the more local administrations in Turkey engage with the EU, the more Europeanization occurs in time" (pp.51). Then, why IMM was selected as the case for understanding the Europeanization of local administrations, the documents that are scanned in this thesis and why those documents such as activity reports and strategic plans were chosen was explained. Later, to complement the document analysis, how the interviews were conducted and whom the author of this thesis was interviewed was stated.

In the fifth chapter, firstly, the administrative system of Turkey and how international activities of local administrations in Turkey regulated in Turkish metropolitan law were explained. Secondly, the activities of the Directorate for EU Affairs which is the chief negotiator with the EU were evaluated in terms of local administrations and their contribution to the EU process. The projects carried out by Directorate were presented. The importance of Izmir and opening of the local branch of the Directorate, Izmir Office, was mentioned. Thirdly, according to the ladder model, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and its activities were stated in a detailed manner. As for the last section of this chapter, the Europeanization of IMM was analyzed.

In the context of international relations, states, international organizations are the subjects of academic studies since they are considered as important actors in the anarchic nature of the international arena. Although it is partly true, with the globalization, not only national actors but also subnational actors can find a place in the international arena. In this context, studying local administrations is essential for understanding the trends in the world. In Turkey's state-centered international relations, however, there is a limited number of studies which are focusing on the international aspect of local administrations such as Demirtaş (2017), Keyman & Koyuncu (2010). It is much harder for finding studies that focus on the relationship between municipalities and the European Union except Özçelik study (2017). Therefore, there needs to be more studies regarding the Europeanization of local administrations in Turkey. As the activities of Directorate for EU Affairs on governorships stated, Europeanization of governorships in Turkey can be studied in the future. Also, SODEM's actions as a lobbying association for social democrat municipalities will be an exciting topic for Europeanization studies in Turkey. Since

the ladder model provides a detailed analysis chance for municipalities, interactions of other metropolitan municipalities in Turkey with the EU can also be a subject of academic studies.

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EU Expert, Izmir Office of Directorate for EU Affairs, Izmir, December 7th, 2019.

EU Expert, Directorate for EU Affairs, Ankara, December 12th, 2019.

Former General Secretariat to Aziz Kocaoğlu, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Izmir, December 10th,2019.

Monitoring Expert, Izmir Development Agency, Izmir, December 16th, 2019.

Official from Directorate of EU Grants Projects, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Izmir, June 14th, 2019.

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