

LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL
HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY
IN THE CONTEXT OF
SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

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ABSTRACT

LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

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This thesis analyzes humanitarian diplomacy efforts in Turkey in the context of the Syrian Civil War. The thesis argues that the failed relationship between the Turkish State and the International Non-Governmental Organizations at the local level causes inefficient humanitarian operations towards Syrians affected by the civil war. In addition to that, the thesis considers that the undulant Turkey – West relations have consequences on humanitarian efforts in the country.

On the one hand, the thesis considers that International Non-Governmental Organizations implementing humanitarian operations in Turkey approached and existed in Turkey based on their previous experiences and mentality in the aid-dependent countries. On the other hand, while the Turkish State naturally perceived this approach as a disregard, at the same time build pressure on International Non-Governmental Organizations, especially when problems appear with the Western countries who are the prominent donors of these humanitarian operations.

The thesis suggests several recommendations to overcome these problems. The essentiality of having comprehensive *Context Analysis*, covering the nature of the host country, including all precisions, is suggested as the guide for any planned activity or project. Secondly, establishing rapport with the host government and local authorities is underlined for both institutional and staff security. Thirdly, a *democratic decision-making process* through the involvement of the local staff is essential since local staffers in the International Non-Governmental Organizations are naturally more aware than expats in case of the host country's norms, practices, and laws.

Keywords: Humanitarian Diplomacy, Syrian Civil War, Turkey

ÖZ

SURİYE İÇ SAVAŞI BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE’DE YERELVE ULUSAL DÜZEYDEKİ İNSANİ DİPLOMASİ

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Bu tez, Suriye İç Savaşı bağlamında Türkiye'deki insani diplomasi çabalarını incelemektedir. Tez, Türk Devleti ile Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Örgütleri arasındaki yerel düzeydeki başarısız ilişkinin, iç savaştan etkilenen Suriyelilere yönelik insani yardım operasyonlarının verimsiz olmasına neden olduğunu savunur. Buna ek olarak, istikrarsız Türkiye-Batı ilişkilerinin de ülkedeki insani yardımlar üzerinde olumsuz sonuçları olduğunu sergilemektedir.

Tez, Türkiye'de insani yardım operasyonları yürüten Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinin, yardıma bağımlı ülkelerdeki önceki deneyimleri ve zihniyetleri bazında önyargıyla Türkiye'de bulunduklarını iddia etmektedir. Öte yandan, Türk Devleti bu yaklaşımı doğal olarak kendine yönelik bir ihmal olarak algılarken, aynı zamanda, özellikle bu insani yardım operasyonlarının önde gelen bağışçıları olan Batılı ülkelerle sorunlar ortaya çıktığında, Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları üzerinde baskı kurduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Tez, bu sorunların üstesinden gelmek için çeşitli önerilerde bulunmaktadır. Planlanan herhangi bir faaliyet veya proje için kılavuz olacak şekilde proje gerçekleştirilen ülkenin tüm hassasiyetlerini de kapsayan ülkeye veya bölgeye özgün bir Bağlam Çözümleme belgesi oluşturulmasını önermektedir. İkinci olarak, hem kurumsal hem de personel güvenliği için ev sahibi hükümet ve yerel makamlarla iyi ilişkiler kurulması gerekliliğinin altı çizilmektedir. Üçüncü olarak da, Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarında'ki yerel personel, ev sahibi ülkenin normları, uygulamaları ve yasaları konusunda doğal olarak yabancılardan daha bilinçli olduğundan, yerel personelin katılımı yoluyla demokratik bir karar alma süreci önerilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnsani Diplomasi, Suriye İçsavaşı, Türkiye



To Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, person we owe...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Directorate
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CHP	Republican People's Party
FETÖ	Fetullah Gülen Terrorist Organization
FSA	Free Syrian Army
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISIS	Islamic State
LNGO	Local Non-Governmental Organization
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontiers
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
PYD	Democratic Union Party
SDF	Syrian Democratic Forces
SNA	Syrian National Army
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations Refugee Agency

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the basic problems and concerns of humanitarian diplomacy experience in Turkey responding to Syrian Civil War. The thesis tries addresses several issues in this humanitarian diplomacy experience in Turkey both at local and national levels. Particularly, the relation between the Turkish state and non-governmental organizations and Turkey's relation with other international actors are analyzed. In addition to these two points, current discussions in humanitarian diplomacy are presented and importance of area studies for humanitarian diplomacy is emphasized.

The term of Humanitarian Diplomacy is a relatively new concept in the studies focusing on humanitarianism which can be evaluated under the international relations discipline. The definition of humanitarian diplomacy is reflected very similarly by different entities.¹ According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Crescent, humanitarian diplomacy is defined² as the following:

¹ M.Akif Kirişçi, “ Humanitarian Diplomacy in Theory and Practice” *Perceptions*, no:XX (2015), 2.

² Different definitions and discussion around them will be provided in the literature review.

Humanitarian diplomacy is persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles.³

As it can be inferred from the definition, humanitarian diplomacy concept is symbolizing the diplomatic efforts for humanity and since it covers wide area of research it is presented in the following parts in detail in the following parts.

In the remaining part of the introduction, the frame and the main subject of the thesis are asserted. First in the thesis subject part the motivation behind the thesis is given and the concept of *Humanitarian Diplomacy* is introduced. Following that, respectively the thesis proposal, thesis questions with the methodology of the thesis, literature review, and lastly the thesis plan is provided. In the following thesis the motivation part contributes to creating a basic understanding for the reader to understand the *reason* and *spirit* behind the thesis and basic introduction to concept of humanitarian diplomacy provides basic understanding about this new concept before analyzing the humanitarian diplomacy situation in Turkey.

³ “Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy” IFRC Last Modified: September 23, 2010, https://www.ifrc.org/Global/Governance/Policies/Humanitarian_Diplomacy_Policy.pdf

1.1 The Thesis Subject

1.1.1 Motivation

Together with the Syrian Civil War, humanitarian diplomacy for the humanitarian crisis made in Republic of Turkey entered to its 10th year as well. Several mistakes have been observed in the humanitarian initiatives of both non-governmental organizations and the Turkish state. Mainly these mistakes generate from reciprocal prejudices and misunderstandings of both parties. On the one hand, prejudices about the INGOs and previous experiences are resulted with disrespecting Turkish law and procedures, and on the other, the state directly reflects the hostile diplomatic relations with origin countries of INGOs to its domestic policies towards these INGOs. Regardless these misunderstanding and prejudices, vulnerable people waiting for the humanitarian aid have been subjected to consequences of the abovementioned inefficient relation. As an active participant worked in several NGOs, I, prepared following chart covering the main mistakes which also created motivation for the research.

Witnessed Mistakes	Emerging Question
Some INGOs started to work in Turkey overlooked the law of Turkey, and because of that, they were subjected to huge fines by the state. That situation indirectly impacted vulnerable people who expect aid.	Why did some INGOs disregard the law in Turkey but set their image of Turkey based on their experience in other regions (Like in regions where states are dependent on the aid they bring to the country)?
The expectations, political limits, and context of Turkey are not elaborated during the writing and implementation of the projects. Some INGOs based in Turkey preferred to insist on aiding all people in territories controlled by different armed groups, including the ones declared as outlawed by Turkey. That leads to the closed down of some of INGO's premises, not being able to receive permission from the authorities. Indirectly vulnerable people were affected, including the people who could receive aid if INGOs understand the limits of Turkey.	Why did some INGOs insist on their "idealism" instead of approaching "realistic" and aiding the maximum they could reach? Or, are such preferences are deliberate and political?
Both local authorities and some INGOs have prejudiced to each other makes cooperation difficult or non-existent. Indirectly, vulnerable people are affected.	What is the source of prejudices? Is it related to Orientalism ⁴ and Occidentalism ⁵ or state security and again "idealism"?
Reflection of inter-state relations to the INGO relations: For example, strained relations with Germany can have an impact on Germany based INGO. It results in the slowdown of the projects. However, it indirectly affects vulnerable people.	How do developments in the international relations of Turkey have an impact on local politics?

Table 1 Mistakes and Emerging Questions (The ideas represented here are based on individual observation and do not intend to obscure any of the institutions.)

⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Group, 1985),1.

⁵ Per Bauhn and Fatma Fulya Tepe, "Turkish Occidentalism and Representations of Western Women" in *Turkish Media. İletişim, Galatasaray University Journal of Communication*, no.26, 68.

All these questions mentioned above lead to research related to comparatively new concept of *Humanitarian Diplomacy*, which is elaborated in the context of the Syrian humanitarian crisis (Syrian Civil War) beyond the thesis. In addition to that, shift from the apolitical stance of INGOs to political one, especially after the 1990s,⁶ is another broader research question evaluated with Humanitarian Diplomacy in this thesis. Thereby, following this part, the thesis introduces humanitarian diplomacy concept along with research questions.

1.1.2 Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy

Based on the definition given above, humanitarian diplomacy is an *action* to persuade the relative stakeholders, including states, to act in the frame of humanitarian principles. However, humanitarian diplomacy has a different *function* than the definition exhibits. The function of the humanitarian diplomacy is a way of ensuring the *soft power of the states* and *survival (interests) of the international or local NGOs* (Non-Governmental Organizations) rather than the persuasion of the parties to behave in humanitarian principles in the Syrian Civil War. However, considering both governmental or non-governmental organizations and even academics always decorates their “humanitarianism” (foreign) with idealist expressions, the disparity between the action and the function is natural. In addition to that, the analysis on humanitarian diplomacy made at global, regional, and local

⁶ Micheal Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss (ed.), *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 24-25.

levels also presents the massive gap between the reality (function) and the definition (action).⁷ Moreover, the politics of humanitarianism should be well understood to accurately answer to the questions of *why states give aid*⁸, *whether humanitarian principles are priority for the NGOs and why NGOs implement humanitarian diplomacy*. This duality constitutes one of the main essence of this thesis. However, throughout the thesis, parallel debates to the subject are presented.

On the other hand, the thesis elaborates the situation of the humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey responding to the Syrian Civil War. The thesis both attracting attention to mistakes done by actors of humanitarian diplomacy (state and NGOs) and provides recommendation to avoid these mistakes. Moreover, thesis aims to contribute the scarce literature on the humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey responding Syrian refugees and internally displaced people in the Syrian Civil War.

1.1.2.1 A Word on Definition! :

The concept of refugee is a legal term refers to 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol. However, its basic definition is “[a] refugee is a person who has crossed an internationally recognized border because of

⁷ Phillippe Regnier, “The Emerging Concept of humanitarian diplomacy: identification of a community of practice and prospects for international recognition” *International Review of the Red Cross* 93, no.884 (2011): 1219-1220.

⁸ Antonio De Lauri, “Introduction” *The Politics of Humanitarianism: Power, Ideology and Aid*, ed. Antonio De Lauri, (London, I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2016), 4.

conflict or persecution.”⁹ Likewise other countries in the Middle East like Jordan and Lebanon, Turkey did not ratify the entire convention and built a geographical description for the refugees. According to this definition, people only arrive to Turkey from Europe might be granted the legal status “refugee”, on the other hand, the people crossed into Turkish borders from the East of the country are not defined as refugees. Today, the displaced Syrian people are called as “the people under the temporary protection” according to Turkish laws, which grants the state the rights to send back Syrians whenever it wants.¹⁰ However, the thesis refers to the basic definition rather than the legal term and calls Syrians as the refugees. The thesis does not intend to be critical towards Turkey’s unique and sovereign approach to the word of “refugee” but use the word which returned to be used in academics and international media widely with mostly used term rather than the legal one.

1.2 Humanitarian Diplomacy at Different Levels

Considering humanitarian diplomacy consist of all efforts to persuade the decision makers, it covers an extended area of behaviors and relations. Thus, as mentioned above, three levels of analysis (local, national and global) is adopted by the scholars. In that early stage of the thesis, the humanitarian

⁹ Elizabeth Ferris and Kemal Kirişçi, *The Consequence of Chaos: Syria’s Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect*, (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2016),7.

¹⁰ That point is discussed detailly in the following parts of the thesis.

diplomacy made at local, national and global levels are briefed in the following chart to create better understanding for the reader. Philippe Regnier's introductory article on humanitarian diplomacy provides clear division and definition for humanitarian diplomacy at different levels.¹¹ In the following explanation of the humanitarian diplomacy at different levels, his article is benefitted by the thesis.

1.2.1 Humanitarian Diplomacy at Global Level

The global level humanitarian diplomacy is the most publicly seen one within the three different levels. It has a physical assembly where this diplomacy is being done. At global level humanitarian diplomacy, the main platform where it is performed is the United Nations. All nation states member to United Nations take part in the decision making process, however five victors of the World War II (the United Kingdom, France, the US, Russia and China as Security Council) have the right to veto any decision taken by the General Assembly composed of all member nation states. Thus, one can claim that there is not equal participation to this specific type of humanitarian diplomacy process. Thus this makes nation states essential role players but on the other hand, it makes the permanent five that is the members of the Security Council as very essential role players. However, several regional or global governmental and non-governmental organizations are also effective with their impact to this procedure. Apart from humanitarian organizations,

¹¹ Regnier, *Ibid.*, 1219-1220.

regional organizations like the European Union, African Union and ASEAN appear as the main donors and advisory level participant to decision making process through their relative documents like reports and declarations. The type of diplomacy made is based on voting. Decisions are taken through single voting in the UN General Assembly. The diplomacy is made between the delegates of the nation states and relative NGOs before the voting. Although, the process is directly seen as the time consuming one, once the consensus is provided in the UN Assembly and approved by the Security Council, the decision taken is generally respected by the members of the nation states and these decisions constitute permanent effects on humanitarian access and binder for all nation states. In the context of the Syrian Civil War following the decisions taken by the UN is great example for the humanitarian diplomacy at global level:

22 FEBRUARY 2014 S/RES/2139:

This resolution demanded that all parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, allow humanitarian access in Syria across conflict lines, in besieged areas and across borders and expressed the intent to take further steps in the case of non-compliance¹²

¹² “UN Documents for Syria: Security Council Resolutions” Security Council Reports, Last Modified: July 20, 2021, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un_documents_type/security-council-resolutions/page/2?ctype=Syria&cbtype=syria#038;cbtype=syria

1.2.2 Humanitarian Diplomacy at National Level

Traditional diplomacy (state/NGO to state) is used at that level and the state is the only authority as being both aiding and aid receiving party. In that level, states are not seeking to persuade neither representatives of other countries to the UN nor Security Council members having veto right. States can make joint agreements for humanitarian operations and if they are aid recipients they are free to accept, decline or ask for the assistance. The UN free diplomatic arena provides speed in the decision making process.

At the national level humanitarian diplomacy, states are the main role players. Internally, the authority is split between the two ministries: The ministries of foreign affairs (MFAs) of the states are authorized to apply to the other country hosting any type of disaster and at the same time MFAs receive applications of other countries or INGOs who wants to assist any type of disaster occurred in the country. On the other hand, ministries of interior affairs are focal point that coordinates the cooperation inside the country. Local non-governmental organizations (LNGOs) generally coordinate their activities responding the disaster with the General Directorate for Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

In the emergency, without waiting for the UN resolution and through the reciprocal relations, solution can be reached. Moreover, nation states can make agreements with each other when consensus cannot be built in the UN Security Council or UN affiliated negotiations, like Geneva Process on the

Syrian Civil War. However, the decisions taken have temporary affects. For example, Trilateral Astana Talks between the Republic of Turkey, Russian Federation and Islamic Republic of Iran resulted with several ceasefire decisions taken for humanitarian purposes. In addition to that the 18th March Protocol between EU and Turkey on illegal migration and humanitarian aid is also great example for national level humanitarian diplomacy. On the other hand, AFAD's (Ministry of Interior Affairs Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency) coordination with international and local NGOs to respond Syrian survivors is great example for national level management (diplomacy) of the humanitarian crisis.

1.2.3 Humanitarian Diplomacy at Local Level

Humanitarian diplomacy at the local level is the third and most uncharted level of humanitarian diplomacy. Although district/province level state authorities in the disaster areas are seen as the holder of the authority, because of their lack of means of intervention to the disasters rapidly, they are in need of the contribution of NGOs which makes these NGOs to be direct part of decision making process. Thus, apart from state officers, NGO representatives at the local offices are directly part of the disaster management team. The diplomacy made by representatives of NGOs at local level are unconsciously done by humanitarians are called "everyday diplomacy"¹³. A meeting/phone call between an NGO representative and an

¹³ Cristina Churruca Muguruza, "Everyday Humanitarian Diplomacy: Experiences from Border Areas" in CMI Brief No:2, 2018.

officer from a district governorate related to one project, the communication with security forces at the check point, AFAD local office's bi-weekly meetings with local representatives where vulnerability is assessed and potential contribution of the NGOs are discussed, are some of the examples for the local level humanitarian diplomacy. The diplomacy at the local level is very essential and key for responding to humanitarian crisis. Although this level of diplomacy is the quickest and the most result oriented, it can easily be affected by the political developments at both global and the national level.

1.3 The Proposal of the thesis

Humanitarian diplomacy has been asserted as the official policy of many countries and humanitarian organizations. In classical terms, while diplomacy is composed of compromises and aims to achieve realist objectives of states, humanitarianism is an idea composed of ethics and values which can not be compromised as in diplomacy. Humanitarian tragedies at the local level and the diplomacy made around them in different levels (global, national and local) creates specificity but at the same time all of them are correlated with each other as in the humanitarian diplomacy in the Syrian Civil War.

In this regard the thesis proposes that humanitarianism and humanitarian diplomacy are explained through moral ideals and discourses by the scholars, however, the case of Syrian Civil War exhibits that the

<https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/7171-everyday-humanitarian-diplomacy-experiences-from-border-areas.pdf>

realities of the field and the context itself shapes humanitarianism in this specific case, thus, scholars should analyze humanitarian diplomacy at all local, national, and global levels respectively for each single cases along with their analyzes with and later reflects their findings valid for their selected cases to general theories on humanitarianism.

The thesis also proposes that both relative bodies of the Republic of Turkey and non-governmental organizations makes several mistakes in their relations between each other and it creates consequences on humanitarian operations towards Syrian refugees. In order to prevent these mistakes NGOs should put special attention to understand the context of the country which host them and scholars should benefit from area studies and field researches while they make research on the humanitarianism. Moreover, practitioners should also benefit from the area knowledge already given by the previous scholars to be aware of the context.

On the other hand, there are scholars who are critical towards the good intend of INGOs. Thus, the thesis also creates another channel of discussion by deviating from the belief of that INGOs has good intent and stable with their purpose of aiding as much as they can. Thus, the thesis does not aim to prove negative intent however, it presents the literature which is critical towards these organizations and reflect it to the discussions.

1.4 The Research Questions

The subject of the thesis is elaborated in four main parts and all parts are constructed on research questions which are originated from the questions formed by the motivation of the thesis. In other words, the thesis expects to ask several questions comprehensively beyond the coverage and research area of the thesis.

First of all, the thesis expects to provide answer to what humanitarian diplomacy is and is not and what current discussions are. Following that, the thesis asks question of how humanitarian diplomacy have been evolving in the context of the Syrian Civil War and expects to provide answers to this question by narrating the developments and situation in the civil war and concepts like migration, immigration, condition of the refugees in the Syrian Civil War and Turkey.

Parallel to that, the thesis expects to provide answers for the question why humanitarian diplomacy failed with sub-questions of what diplomatic relations are established to respond the humanitarian consequences of the Syrian Civil War and what they have achieved until today and why they have failed. On the other hand, by asking the question of how relations between the Turkish state and humanitarian organizations, the thesis expects to provide answer how Turkey-West relations and Turkey-NGO relations affect the main subject of humanitarianism who are refugees and other vulnerable people.

Lastly, the thesis expects to provide answer for what problems and solution recommendations are for humanitarian diplomacy efforts in Turkey towards the Syrian Civil War.

1.5 Literature Review

Humanitarian diplomacy is a relatively new concept in both humanitarian studies and international relations. According to Barnett, although once humanitarianism was more symbol of the global politics, today it is a policy tool for rising powers to get involve into global politics.¹⁴ It is also one of the essential subject in Turkey. First of all, humanitarian diplomacy is declared official foreign policy in Turkey.¹⁵ Moreover, although the concept declared in 2013, it has academic background asserted by current Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu. Davutoğlu presented potential humanitarian diplomacy policy of Turkey as a way to establish a good relations with neighboring countries (the Balkans, Central Asia, Middle East, Caucasia, Africa, all territories where the Muslims live)) which were previously part of the Ottoman Empire and create a soft power.¹⁶ This policy is enriched through Islamic rhetoric when it comes to the Syrians, Turkish politicians argued that adopting an open door policy towards Syrians' influx

¹⁴ Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: a History of Humanitarianism*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 220

¹⁵ Meliha Benli Altunışık. "Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy: The AKP Model" CMI Policy Brief No:8, 2019. URL: <https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/6973-turkeys-humanitarian-diplomacy-the-akp-model.pdf>

¹⁶ Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy: objectives, challenges and prospects" *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41:6, (2013), 866.

towards Turkish soil is an Islamic responsibility.¹⁷ With similar ideas, Turkish policies were also showed itself in the Sudan. Turkey took part in the Sudan in all means which are economic, humanitarian and security through TİKA and some other Turkish NGOs who has Islamic background.¹⁸ Obviously, Turkey considered humanitarian diplomacy to pursue its soft power.¹⁹ Today, Turkey signed several advantageous treaties with the Sudan including renting an agricultural terrain in the Sudan, using Suakin Islands for an army base.²⁰ All these studies above focused on the Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy at abroad, which we can call at the global level. However, humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey has another aspect at home which is realized thanks to the Syrian migration.

When it comes to humanitarian diplomacy in the Syrian Civil War, according to official spending Turkey made its largest aid towards this specific conflict.²¹ Moreover, considerable amount of foreign aid entered to

¹⁷ Altunışık, *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸ Pınar Tank. "Turkey's New Humanitarian Approach in Somalia" *NOREF Policy Brief*, 20 December (2013).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ "Turkey's Relation With Sudan Is Making Waves in the Red Sea" TRT WORLD Date Modified: 19 June 2021. <https://www.trtworld.com/africa/turkey-s-relationship-with-sudan-is-making-waves-in-the-red-sea-region-22013>

²¹ TİKA (2019) *Development Assistance Report*, Available at: <https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/sayfa/publication/2019/TurkiyeKalkinma2019WebENG.pdf>

Turkey to tackle this humanitarian crisis.²² Sadık and Zorba are the only scholars directly focused on the humanitarian diplomacy in the Syrian Civil War.²³ However, in their article they elaborated the civil war through the very generic understanding of humanitarian diplomacy. In other words, process and details of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey is not provided which might be the one of the contributions of this thesis. In the next part, thesis criticize this specific study to show its potential contribution.

The first generic information argued by the authors is related to different collocutors in the both humanitarian and traditional diplomacy. It is argued that while traditional diplomacy is made between the states, humanitarian diplomacy is carried on with non-state actors.²⁴ This might occur like that as in the other humanitarian crises until the Syrian Civil War. However, the most essential component of the humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey is the diplomacy between states and humanitarian organizations. Şenay Özden, in her article covering the first years of the Syrian flow towards the Turkish borders, narrates how only some humanitarian organizations manage to have access permission to the camps hosting the Syrians refugees and others could not manage to receive permission from the relative

²² *Ibid*, 128.

²³ Giray Sadık and Hilal Zorba, “ Humanitarian Diplomacy for Syrian Refugees and Turkey-EU Relations” *The Journal of Migration Studies*, 3 (2017): 17

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

authorities.²⁵ The struggle and endeavors of the humanitarian organizations to receive permission has been continuing from the first days of Syrian migration. Turkey has a vast state existence, thus, all processes, i.e. opening their premises in Turkey, sustaining their existence in the country and taking required permissions to implement their project towards the Syrians and even ensure their daily operational movements, humanitarian organizations have to engage liaise with either relative local authorities or authorities in Ankara. In brief, through this case study, the thesis contributes to literature in clearing how the state-INGO relation become very essential pillar of humanitarian diplomacy.

Parallel to that, Sadık and Zorba argues that humanitarian diplomacy is used by different agencies in order help the vulnerable people and for the respect to international law.²⁶ However, before assisting people and considering international law, humanitarian actors use their diplomacy for continuation of aid, security of its staff member, taking permission to implement projects and getting required permission to have access. In short, like states, humanitarian organizations have survival concerns and responsibilities towards the donors and their own staff. Therefore, this point is also emphasized by the thesis and brings its realist approach to the humanitarian diplomacy based on the learnings in this specific case.

²⁵ Şenay Özden, *Syrian Refugees in Turkey* (Italy, Migration Policy Centre, 2013), 9.

²⁶ Sadık and Zorba, *Ibid.*, 16.

Thirdly, Sadık and Zorba argues that humanitarian organizations do not have any particular staff dealing with diplomatic negotiations.²⁷ Yet, it is again untrue. Humanitarian organizations in Turkey hire staff (Liaison Officer/Manager, Safety and Security Officer/Manager) to establish and maintain the rapport with other stakeholders, mainly with authorities whose responsibility is to coordinate the humanitarian operation. Moreover, there are many pieces of training offered for these staff by the humanitarian organizations in order to strengthen their diplomatic skills. So unlike argued by Phillipe Regnier, in Turkey, there are relative staff is aware that they are responsible to do diplomacy.²⁸ The problems in the humanitarian diplomacy are not caused because of the lack of staff having diplomatic skills, on the contrary, the problems appear because of the anti-democratic decision making process in the humanitarian organizations which does not include these local staff who is in charge to maintain the diplomacy with state authorities. Beyond the thesis, requirement for the involvement of local staff and democratic decision-taking process are emphasized.

Lastly, the citation below is briefing the general blind idealist approach towards humanitarian diplomacy.

Humanitarian diplomacy develops spontaneously and the primary goal of humanitarian personnel is to save the life of many people as quickly as possible. At this point, there is also a difference between those who apply the humanitarian diplomacy. If it is a state that implements humanitarian diplomacy, the priority of it will usually be its own security and political interests. But if it is an international charity organization that implements

²⁷ *Ibid.* 17.

²⁸ Regnier, *Ibid.*, 1217.

humanitarian diplomacy, the priority of it will be to save the innocent people.²⁹

The thesis directly disagrees with this idea of internationally charity organizations implement humanitarian diplomacy for saving the innocent people. Yet as all institutions, humanitarian organizations have to think its own interests. First of all, they have to ensure the continuation of the funds provided by the regional and global institutions which is essential for the wellbeing of staff who needs to sustain their personal lives.³⁰ Secondly, the institution implements humanitarian diplomacy to ensure the security of staff and the organization. For example, without having a rapport between the state and the NGO, delays in each application including working permits for foreign staff provided by the state and thorough office raid or audits by the police might occur. Thus, the thesis also emphasize importance of humanitarian diplomacy through analysis for the Syrian case.

According to OCHA's definition, humanitarian organizations are established on four main principles, which are humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence.³¹ However, is it true, or is it just an moral definition? UN, the organization free of worrying foundation for the next year and ensures the security of its staff through the international backup, does not

²⁹ Sadık and Zorba, *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁰ Didier Fassin. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*.(Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 254.

³¹ "What are humanitarian principles?" OCHA, Last Modified : March 22, 2021, https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/OOM-humanitarianprinciples_eng_June12.pdf

worry about these issues. However, other NGOs, especially local ones, have to negotiate and compromise with the hosting state to finish their projects and claim the following year's fund from donors. Moreover, NGOs has the duty of care for their staff members, and the security of staff might be challenged if they do "illegal" things defined by the state.

The mistakes occurred in the case of Turkey because of blind idealist approaches towards the humanitarianism in Turkey are analyzed in more detail in the fourth chapter. Basically Foucault's critical approach in the following citation can also be applied towards humanitarian world which is not free from critical approach.

The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent: to criticize them in such a manner that political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them³²

1.6 Importance of the Thesis

The concepts of humanitarianism and diplomacy are two different units in social sciences, but as they appear together as "humanitarian diplomacy," they form an interdisciplinary research area.³³ With the increasing number of conflicts, recently, the funds separated for humanitarian

³² Michel Foucault, *The Chomsky -Foucault Debate on Human Nature* (New York: New Press, 2005), 41.

³³ Antonio De Lauri "Humanitarian Diplomacy: New Research Agenda", *Christian Michelesen Institute*, June 2018, accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.cmi.no/publications/6536-humanitarian-diplomacy-a-new-research-agenda>

aid mounted perceptibly. Parallel to that, states and I/NGOs started to take more roles for the lives of the vulnerable people and international politics as both “donors” or “implementers of the humanitarian projects” and at the same time, as “countries where the humanitarian fund enters or receive aids”. This proposes that these different relationships should be analyzed, and it provides research spheres for humanitarianism in the context of the Syrian Civil War and in Turkey. For example, the transformation progress of the humanitarian fund to humanitarian aid in the recipient or welcoming country, the relation between the implementing NGO and host state, lessons learned at the local level (area studies), are the essential research spheres. In this regard, one of the purposes of this thesis is to explore what is happening at the local and national level humanitarian diplomacy context in Turkey and later reflect the realities at the field level to global humanitarianism theory. At the same time, through this reflection, the thesis aims to contribute to area studies and to the general literature of humanitarianism. Moreover, the thesis aims to detect and elaborate problems of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey. Lastly, the thesis aims to present the failure of the humanitarianism and unfruitful approaches by the INGOs and the state. Based on these main purposes of the thesis, importance of the thesis can be briefed in the following five points.

The thesis is crucial because of several reasons. First of all, there are only few studies focusing the humanitarian diplomacy efforts in Turkey towards the Syrian Civil War. Many of those are understanding the humanitarian conditions and context through the numbers and speeches given

by the United Nations and leading nation states. However, the UN and other both governmental and non-governmental organizations are founded by the member nation states and their tax payers. In that sense analyzing humanitarian diplomacy which has direct impact on the effectiveness of humanitarian operations in all aspects is essential and duty of academics. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the national and local level humanitarian diplomacy and the main importance of the thesis indeed lays in that point. In brief, today many countries separate a considerable amount of money from their budgets for their humanitarian diplomacy efforts, and this thesis might be able to make citizens (taxpayers) understand for what purpose and how the responsible governments and INGOs working with them spend their money

Secondly, by examining the humanitarian diplomacy in the context of the Syrian Civil War builds a bridge between Area Studies/Middle East Studies and International Relations as it is suggested by the Valbjorn³⁴. In other words, through detailed information gathered at local and national level the thesis elaborates the subject comprehensively.

Thirdly, unlike other geographies that consist of weak states like in Africa and strong I/NGO structure, in Turkey strong state and strong I/NGO structure are present; thus, this case study provides an important piece to the

³⁴ Morten Valbjorn, Towards a “Mesopotamian Turn”: Disciplinarity and the Study of the International Relations of the Middle East” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 14, 2004, 50. In his article, Valbjorn asserted the idea of better academic contributions can be reached in Middle East Studies through combining area studies and international relation with each other.

studies on humanitarian diplomacy. Boztaş asserted that as a result of the declared state of emergency after the failed coup attempt in 2016, INGOs working in Turkey lost their working space³⁵ however, considering the 6 billion Euro humanitarian aid provided by EU to Syrians in Turkey is given through these INGOs, the idea suggesting decreasing power of INGOs in their relation with the state is not clear considering Turkey's deteriorating economic conditions in recent years. Through this analysis and personal experiences, the thesis also exhibits the problems and solution recommendations for the relation between state and INGOs which has direct impact on the vulnerable people.

Fourthly, the thesis remarks a suspecting question related to aims of INGOs considered as having other aims as intelligence collection and serving the foreign services of their origin states.

Last but not least, by analyzing humanitarian diplomacy with the Syrian Civil War, this thesis emphasizes the catastrophic consequences that appeared in the civil war one more time and at the same time detects how the mistakes done by INGOs and the state impacted vulnerable people.

1.7 The Methodology of the Thesis

In this thesis, the case study methodology is utilized to explain and discuss the humanitarian diplomacy. As it is emphasized above, humanitarian

³⁵ Özge Boztaş. "Shrinking Humanitarian Space in Turkey: The Government of Turkey's Agency in Shaping the Operations of Humanitarian NGOs in Turkey." *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi* 46 (2), 159.

diplomacy can be defined both as an action and a function. By concentrating on a specific case and geography (context), the thesis tries to challenge the general and single approach towards humanitarianism. Many scholars, by suggesting a single technic, in other words, set of rules, drags humanitarian diplomacy to the unpractical way. However, the theory asserted by them should be enriched and rasped through the different case studies. On the other hand, thanks to this case study, the thesis also shows humanitarian diplomacy can be comprehended as a function rather than an action by the states having different non-humanitarian purposes. In the following, how the case study methodology has imposed on the discussion is narrated and following that important matter on studying a case is discussed.

1.7.1 Case Selection

Syria, one of the most devastating places for the civilians in the last decade in the Middle East region, is chosen as a case study because the conflict is protracted, more than a decade, and might give clearer results for the readers. Moreover, migration and displacement caused by the civil war had impacts on all neighboring countries and all geographical regions inside the country. Thus, the thesis elaborated humanitarian diplomacy efforts by focusing on northern Syria and Turkey axis.

Therefore, local level analysis addresses to humanitarian diplomacy in northern Syria and in the southern provinces of Turkey where local and international NGOs are intensively located. Parallel to that, national level analysis focuses on the policies of Turkey on the Syrian migration / influx to

the country and its humanitarian efforts in the country. Lastly, global level analysis addresses the endeavors in global platforms like in the UN and Turkey's contribution to these platforms and its own independent endeavors through trilateral or bilateral agreements and negotiations with other countries.

1.7.2 Case Study Method

As well as this thesis, many of the academic work in political science discipline use the case study methodology.³⁶ Considering that this thesis intended to be categorized under the Area Studies, while it is a study analysis of the case itself, at the same time, as Levy puts forward, the case can also contribute to the theory itself.³⁷ Since the thesis seeks to examine humanitarian diplomacy in the light of the Syrian Civil War and aims to contribute to the main theory, the case study methodology is the most applicable one for the issue at hand. Zeev Maoz explains it as in the following:

Just as the ability to match a theory-derived story with the actual case is important, so is the potential of uncovering deviations between the actual story and the theory. By uncovering differences between the expected story and the actual story, a researcher could identify factors that are outside of the theory but that account for important facts in the historical case.³⁸

³⁶ Pascal Venesson. "Case studies and process tracing: Theories and Practices" in *Approaches and Methodologies in Social Sciences*, ed. Donetella Della Porta and Micheal Keating, 224.

³⁷ Jack S. Levy. "Case Studies: Types, Designs, and Logics of Inference." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 2008, 2.

³⁸ Maoz, Zeev, "Case Study Methodology in International Studies. From Storytelling to Hypothesis Testing", in Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey

In the same study, Zeev suggests that there are several advantages of one case study. According to Zeev, because there is no need to have a survey and data collection in the case studies, the methodology comparatively cost-effective.³⁹ Secondly, process tracing is another essential part of the case study⁴⁰. By tracing the process of the case, a bright and better understanding can be developed around the facts. Thus, apart from the literature review, the thesis presented historical backgrounds of both the Syrian Civil War and humanitarian diplomacy. However, there are several points needed to be underlined while studying a case.

Flyvbjerg indicates five misunderstandings towards the case study methodology:

Misunderstanding 1: General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge.

Misunderstanding 2: One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.

Misunderstanding 3: The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses; that is, in the first stage of a total research process, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building.

(eds.), *Millennial Reflections on International Studies*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 457.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 457. However, this point is open for criticism, sometimes survey and data collection might be needed to achieve more comprehensive study, moreover cost-effectiveness is a pragmatic advantage yet it does not mean advantage in academic value.

⁴⁰ Zeev, *Ibid.*, 458.

Misunderstanding 4: The case study contains a bias toward verification, that is, attendance to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions.

Misunderstanding 5: It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.⁴¹

In the first misunderstanding, general knowledge is seen as superior to the context-specific knowledge. However, general knowledge can only be superior if it embraces the localized knowledge. Thus, these two are not structured as they are conflicting; on the contrary, they are cooperating. Like the first point, in the second and third points, there is a lack of understanding between the single case and the theory. Primarily, knowledge on a single case does not have to serve the theory, but by itself, it represents a fact. The biased approach towards a single case does not create any sense because the biased approach can also be seen with the theorists and even sometimes theories' itself. The last point is also not accurate because if specific case studies create a theory, it can only be applicable for that single case, and it should just contribute to the general theory.⁴²

Through these misunderstandings, the thesis creates a frame for its claims in order to not extravagante with its arguments. Therefore, the arguments of the thesis are focused on the case, basically, it analysis situation of the humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey towards Syria Civil War. In that sense, the thesis underlines the context analysis for the general knowledge on

⁴¹ Brent Flyvbjerg "Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research", *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, 2016, 221.

⁴² *Ibid*, 221.

humanitarian diplomacy rather than the arguments reached through this single case study and it also criticize reductionism and prejudices of both NGOs and Republic of Turkey towards each other based on their previous experiences in history and in the other countries. Secondly, the thesis' main aim is reflecting the knowledge gathered for the case and answering the question of "what is happening between stakeholders in humanitarian sphere in Turkey responding the Syrian Civil War?". Thirdly, as the individual taking part in the humanitarian operations in Turkey, the unintentional biased approach generated by the personal experiences might be claimed by the readers of this thesis. However, especially for social scientist who also study on general theories (especially political scientists) might be under the impact of their personal experiences. Thus, this thesis is tried to be written with the utmost academic objective sensitivity with its faults if there is.

1.8 The Plan of the Thesis

The thesis composed of three main parts which are Introduction, Main Discussion and Conclusion. In the introduction, respectively, the subject is briefed, proposal of the thesis is given, main and sub research questions are presented, literature review and the potential contribution of the thesis to literature are noted and lastly importance of the thesis is expressed.

Following the introduction, in the first part, the thesis focuses on current discussions on humanitarian diplomacy along with potential contribution of area studies to this particular study area.

In the second part, the thesis elaborates humanitarian diplomacy in the Syrian Civil War. To do that, the developments in the Syrian Civil War are covered from the humanitarian perspective. Also, the situation of the refugees (“people under the temporary protection”) in Turkey are elaborated. Moreover, the institutions dealing with the humanitarian crisis are analyzed along with their establishment, successes and failures.

In the third part, Turkey’s relation with non-governmental organizations are analyzed through two pillars. First one is Turkey’s relation with West, especially EU and second is the relations between Turkey and the humanitarian organizations taking part in Turkey.

Lastly in the fourth part, the thesis detects problems of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey and at the same time recommends solutions for these problems.

In the conclusion, the thesis briefs and elaborates the entire thesis and emphasizes its recommendations one more time. Lastly, some recommendation for the other students studying the subject is given.

CHAPTER 2

HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY, CURRENT DISCUSSIONS AND AREA STUDIES

In this section, the thesis presents the theoretical approach towards humanitarian diplomacy and later emphasize how Area Studies can contribute to humanitarian diplomacy. Respectively, main theoretical approaches are narrated and following that the thesis, underlines importance of localized knowledge for academics to understand the relations developed at different levels of humanitarian diplomacy.

2.1 Theoretical Approach to Humanitarian Diplomacy and Current Discussions

In the literature, in this specific concern there is lack of academic work, thus only few studies and articles can be referred but the following chart cited from the book of Peter J. Hoffman and Thomas G. Weiss will be quite beneficial:

Issues	Realism (power)	Liberalism (order)	Constructivism (ideas)	Marxism (capital + class)	Feminism	Post – Colonialism (culture)	Critical Humanitarianism (humanity)
Organizing Principle of Humanitarian World	Anarchy	Interdependence	Identities, intersubjective understandings	Historical materialism class systems	Patriarchy	Westernization	Human lives as precious (equal value of lives-equality in “politics of life”
Purpose of Humanitarianism	States: relative gains	Absolute gains, collective gains, shadow of the future	No prediction, content is social construction	Social control	Address violence (including domestic), exploitation, marginalization	Protect Western interest, propagate Western values	Safe lives
Limits of Humanitarianism	Trust, lack of agreement on concept	Often few resources, limited power	No prediction	Does not address inequality (end class domination)	Emergency narrative obscures and trivializes inequality	Reiterates Western dominance	Lives risked to save lives, expatriates vs. nationals, narrators vs. narrated
Impacts of Humanitarianism	Tool of great powers → preserve power arrangements	Facilitate cooperation → power in agenda setting	Constructor of social world → norm entrepreneurs as autonomous agents	Facilitate and buffer capitalism and accumulation	Reiterates gender inequalities	Legitimizes Western domination	Organizational interests achieved, maintain inequality of sacred vs. sacrificed

Table 1 *International Relations Theory and Humanitarianism*.⁴³

⁴³ Peter J. Hoddman and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian War, and Politics: Solferino to Syria and Beyond*. (London: Royman&Littlefield, 2018), 28.

The main two theories, both realism and liberalism suggest that states take leading role in humanitarianism; however, it should be noted that liberalism puts importance on international organizations as the conventional institutions where the needs and demands of all states can be on the table.⁴⁴ Since the theory constructed on power distribution, realism focus on how humanitarian policies affect the power allocations.⁴⁵ On the other hand, liberalism emphasizes cooperation and interdependence.⁴⁶ While realism focuses on relative gains of aiding and aid receiver states, liberalism focuses on absolute gain.⁴⁷ Moreover, liberalism understands the fact that one party might gain more in humanitarianism, but through developing interdependence, the balance might be stabilized because the one gaining will prefer to maintain the relationship when aid receiving party ask for the balance.⁴⁸ That is directly commented differently by the realists by arguing that states stop when their calculations started not to show higher relative gains anymore.⁴⁹ In addition to these reciprocal points, liberalism also sets collective goals for the whole states in the world and argues that states have to establish international institutions for reaching these goals because they

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

cannot achieve these goals alone without the help of the others. Micheal Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss argues that, in this way, international organizations structure the body of the idea of interdependence lies at the bottom of the liberal thought.⁵⁰

Apart from the mainstream theories that aim to describe and study politics, there are *critical theories* that also emanate from the idea commit to change the world besides studying and describing world politics. *Constructivism* also defines power as the primary unit in political science. However, unlike the realists who see power as the reflection of the military and economic capability of the state, the constructivists emphasize ideas and norms as powers within their capacity of affecting people's understanding of the world. Barnett and Finnemore asserts that power can appear in the politics as coercion and consent and authors defines international organizations as the organisms structuring social relations to create consent across the world for the humanitarian purposes.⁵¹ In other words, they assert values which are constructed over the material power. Parallel to that, they attribute the utmost importance to aid agencies because, as independent or autonomous entities, they can construct a humanitarian understanding. Through their impact, by

⁵⁰ Barnett and Weiss (ed.), *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵¹ Micheal Barnett and Martha Finnemore. *Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 3.

increasing their voice in public, they can make states behave more responsible under the International Humanitarian Law.⁵²

The technical knowledge, authority of the international organizations and their moral responsibility are asserted as the power of the humanitarian agencies. However, in that point Marxism and Realism question whether aid agencies and humanitarian organizations are able to be autonomous and construct a humanitarian understanding. Especially, the criticism over relation between WHO (World Health Organization) and China regards to COVID-19 pandemics highlights these critics.⁵³

Marxism stresses inequality caused by the domination of the means of production as the central unit while commenting on humanitarianism. Based on that, the Marxists argue that humanitarianism do not address the main problem, inequality, but humanitarianism ease the crisis of capitalism caused by capital accumulation by transferring the economic assets from the developed world to developing world in need of aid.⁵⁴ Parallel to the Marxists, post-colonial understanding put forward that humanitarianism is the way of justifying Western domination through international organizations and

⁵² Peter J. Hoddman and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian War, and Politics: Solferino to Syria and Beyond*. (London: Royman&Littlefield, 2018), 29.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

through humanitarianism one way of development (the Western way) is justified and push others to follow the same path.⁵⁵

The overview of the approaches of the main theories towards humanitarianism are essential for both scholars and for this thesis. According to Hande Sözer, because of the good faith of humanitarianism, it is generally remain untouched from the critics of the scholars.⁵⁶ However, there are several other critics towards the humanitarianism itself. According to Duffield, power relations are in everywhere including aid and he considers that purity of the humanitarian relations cannot be asserted since it is difficult protect it in today's world.⁵⁷ On the other hand, Ticktin criticized humanitarianism based on three different basic feelings of humanitarianism which are innocence, emergency and compassion.⁵⁸ Ticktin, stressed that all these terms and their misinterpretation cause more chaos for the migration itself and creates more tragic situations.⁵⁹ As the critics developed in the literature review suggests, the blind idealist/liberal approach is seen in many

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁶ Hande Sözer, "Neoliberal Küresel İnsaniyetperverliğin Yerel Tezahürleri: Türkiye'de Suriyeli Mültecilerle Çalışan İnsaniyetperverlik Aktörlerinin Anlatıları". *METU Studies in Development*, 48 (2), 77-110.

⁵⁷ Mark Duffield. "Carry on Killing: Global Governance , Humanitarianism and Terror" DIIS Working Paper (2004)

⁵⁸ Miriam Ticktin, "Thinking Beyond Humanitarian Borders", *Social Research*, (2016) Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309514428_Thinking_beyond_humanitarian_borders/stats#fullTextFileContent

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 260.

essays, articles and even NGO's policy papers. However, each context (region) has its own features characterizes the relations appears around the humanitarianism. Thus, the area studies which is covered in the next part, is essential for the scholars to understand the humanitarian context in different geographies. Especially, Turkey differs from the rest of the countries where humanitarian operations are ongoing with its special context.

In the context of Turkey, politics developed around the humanitarian aid, gradual localization of the humanitarian organizations, dominant state entity and sensitive population against the existence of the foreign entity should compose the current debates on humanitarian diplomacy. The impact of all these concepts and ground facts are analyzed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

2.2 Potential Contribution of Area Studies

Two ways of knowing - universal and contextual- underpin all the social sciences and humanities. There are modernity's Adam and Eve, or better yet, its original twins: one asserts that humanity must be understood by using universally valid, scientific principles, and other proclaims that human groups and contexts are so fundamentally different than they demand separate study and representation.⁶⁰

The quotation from the David Ludden represents the summary of the how two stream of study differs from each other. The tension between two opposing understandings is clear. For the thesis, the tension between the area studies - international relations is a great resource to comprehend the marriage

⁶⁰ David Ludden. "Why area studies?" In *Localizing Knowledge in a Globalizing World: Recasting the Area Studies Debate*, eds. Ali Mirsepassi, Amrita Basu & Frederick Weaver (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 131.

of humanitarianism and diplomacy (humanitarian diplomacy). Area Studies has been a great resource to challenge and contribute to the general theories of international relations. David Ludden is not only one emphasize the necessity of the area studies.

Graham and Kantor disagree with the criticism that accuses area studies of being “soft”, descriptive and historical compared to social sciences which is “hard” and closer to “logic” base studies like mathematics.⁶¹ However, in the same article, authors make area study on mathematic and conclude as in the following:

The intellectual reasons are the ones we have presented in this article: an area studies approach can help us to understand how people think, even the most “rigorous” thinkers like physicists and mathematicians, and also quantitative social scientists. The political reasons are equally obvious: it is clear that one of the reasons for many failures of American political analysts to understand fundamental Islamic though and Middle Eastern politics is an inadequate knowledge of culture, history, and languages of the Islamic world. Quantitative social scientists can make significant contributions to the needed greater understanding, but unless we also have areas studies specialist who are thoroughly familiar with the culture and history of Islam we will not get very far. And while the need for more area studies specialists studying the Islamic world is particularly clear, that same need exists for all the various culture of world, including the Slavic world.⁶²

Like Graham and Kantor, Valbjorn also emphasizes the necessity of Area Studies. However, he emphasizes it through Middle East Studies as one of Area Studies and International Relations as one of Social Sciences. Valbjorn likens Middle East Studies and International Relations to Euphrates

⁶¹ Loren Graham and Jean-Michel Kantor, “‘Soft’ Area Studies versus ‘Hard’ Social Science: A False Opposition’, *Slavic Review* 66, no. 1 (2007): 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*,19.

and Tigris rivers and claims if both disciplines cooperates the product can be acquired from the fertile soil between two rivers.⁶³ Like Valbjorn's fertile land between the two disciplines, the marriage of International Relations and the Middle East Studies can exhibit important outcomes for both disciplines. Robert H. Bates echoes the same cooperation in his article⁶⁴ presents the controversy between two clearly. Bates define Area Specialists as the scholars who devote themselves to one region's or country's politics, literature, language/s and etc.⁶⁵ On the other hand, according to Bates, social scientist are the ones who seek "lawful regularities" in their studies which are not context bound.

Thus, humanitarianism and humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey towards the Syrian humanitarian crisis cannot be understand and explained through the approaches of the articles criticized in the literature review. Instead of imposing the general knowledge on the specific cases, ground information should be reflected to general knowledge. Thus, humanitarian's diplomacy experiences at all local, national and global levels and in different geographies (can be categorized under Area Studies) could contribute and challenge the discussions over humanitarian idealism. Moreover, Area

⁶³ Valbjorn, *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁴ Robert H. Bates. "Area Studies and the Discipline: A Useful Controversy?" *Political Science and Politics* 30, no:2, (1997), 166-169.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 167.

Studies can provide a lot to humanitarian theories mainly constructed on colonial background and pieces of western scholars.⁶⁶

Not only scholars but at the same time humanitarian organizations should pay attention to area knowledge before starting to operate. Missing the knowledge on the ground might cause failures and unsuccessful humanitarian operation as mentioned in the introduction. The strong context analysis and democratic decision making process including local personnel are some of the ways to avoid these failures. In the fifth chapter of the thesis, recommendations are given in detail.

⁶⁶ Alan Lester and Fae Dussart., “Colonization and Humanitarianism: Histories, Geographies and Biographies”, in *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire, Critical Perspectives on Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–36.

CHAPTER 3

SYRIAN CIVIL WAR AND HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

3.1 Syrian Civil War and Developments (Historical Background)

Demonstrations that started on March 2011 in Dara'a and led to the Syrian Civil War cannot be elaborated starting from that date. Moreover, the history of the civil war must not be squeezed in to geographical borders of the Syrian Arab Republic. Thus, the political and humanitarian internal conditions should be evaluated at all global, national and local levels. In that way, the insecure atmosphere of Syria in humanitarian and political conditions is covered below.

In the Middle East, local and regional conflicts always exist, however, while approaching to 2011 the situation started to deteriorate significantly across the region. In the political context, the situation called the Arab Spring gained momentum in these years and parallel to that humanitarian situation started to be worse each day too. The number of displaced people and human casualties show us that today, the humanitarian crisis across the world is heavier than the humanitarian crisis during the Second World War. Peter Harling and Alex Simon consider that with its militarized society and

chaotic devolution of the power in the Middle East is the prior region taking burden of the humanitarian crisis across the world.⁶⁷

According to Elizabeth Ferris' and Kemal Kirişçi's book published in 2016, 60 million people were displaced globally since the end of the Cold War with the increasing trend each year and in 2015 fewest number of returnees were recorded since 1983.⁶⁸ On the other hand, at the regional level, the Syrian humanitarian crisis is not the first one. Before the Syrian humanitarian crisis, there were recent/ongoing displacements in Palestine and Iraq. Especially, two different waves of displacement were recorded in Iraq and they also had impacts on Turkey. The migrations occurred following the 1988 Halapja Massacre⁶⁹ and the 1991 First Gulf War. The main cause of the migration was Saddam Hussein's government's aggression towards the Kurdish minority located at Northern Iraq, caused massive wave of influx to Turkish borders (over 500.000⁷⁰). Unfortunately, civil wars in Libya, Syria and Yemen, and external interventions to these countries added new humanitarian crises and more displaced people to the records of world history.

⁶⁷ Peter Harling and Alex Simon, "The West in the Arab World: Beyond Ennui and Ectasy", *The Arabist*, December 15, 2015 (<http://arabist.net/blog/2015/12/16/thr-west-in-the-arab-world-between-ennui-and-ectstasy>).

⁶⁸ Ferris and Kirişçi, *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁹ "Saddam's Chemical Weapons Campaign: Halabja, March 16, 1988" U.S Department of State Archive, Last Modified: June 25, 2021, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ei/rls/18714.htm>

⁷⁰ "Kitlesel Akınlar" T.C İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, Last Modified: June 25, 2021, <https://www.goc.gov.tr/kitleseel-akinlar>. Important amount of the Iraqis returned back to their country.

According to figures of the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, while coming to end of 2019, 12.4 million have been just internally displaced because of the political and economic turmoil experienced in the Middle East. In addition to these 12.4 internally displaced people there are almost 9 million refugees across the MENA region.⁷¹ Thus, to understand the context in Syria which pushed the Syrians to leave their homes and find refuge in Turkey we should also understand the Arab Spring because all these numbers reached to much more significant levels with the start of the Arab Spring in Tunisia.⁷² The social movements started in Tunisia became regionalized day by day.

The demands of the Arab populations against their autocratic leaders turned to a regional issue through the connection between societies. Successful revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt and the ability of these societies to topple their autocratic governments take their place in the Arab societies through the media and developed communication tools, in addition to that, regional countries' and global powers' political and ideological approaches to these internal issues of their neighbors based on their interests regionalized and globalized the problems and political atmosphere.⁷³ In Syria, the conflict evolved in the same way. All started with the secular political democratic

⁷¹ "Refugee population by country or territory of asylum - Middle East&North Africa". World Bank Africa<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.REFG?locations=ZQ>

⁷² William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton. " *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Sixth Ed.) (Colorado:Westview Press, 2016), 537.

⁷³ Recep Boztemur. "Mısır'da Halk Hareketleri, Müslüman Kardeşler ve Demokrasinin Geleceği" *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Adam Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi , 1:2, (2011), 57.

demands of the Syrians from to the Assad regime following the protests appeared because of the detention of some locals. The protests in Dara'a spread to other major cities in Syria like Hama, Damascus and Aleppo. Although some political concessions were given by the Assad government like lifting the protracted state of emergency⁷⁴, the protest did not stop and security forces suppressed them harshly by using real bullets. However, two respective incidents happened in Jish ar Shugur⁷⁵ and Hama elevate the protests to a level of civil war. In two different attacks each party killed significant number of opponents and following that some army units merged under the “Free Syrian Army” (FSA). The fragmentation of the army and clashes in the urban areas created fronts between the parties. This fragmentation in the Syrian army attracted the attention of other states, non-state actors and individuals. Especially, the attention of foreign (terrorist) fighters associated with the extremist organizations like the Iran-backed Shiite Hezbollah and Al-Nusra Front Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), and outsider states' sponsorship to these groups turned the Syrian Civil War to a sectarian and regional one. While the Sunni extremist groups received the support of a group of states including Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab

⁷⁴ “Uprising in Syria” Britannica, Last Modified: 3rd September 2021
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Syrian-Civil-War/Uprising-in-Syria-2011>

⁷⁵ First serious influx to Turkey occurred after this incident.

Emirates, the other group was supported by Iran⁷⁶ and Iraq that also supported the central government. Turkey that tried to convince Assad for the reforms in the beginning of the protests, later supported FSA under the impact of NATO allies and become transit point for foreign fighters and international military aid to FSA.⁷⁷ Parallel to clashes in rural areas, clashes in urban settlements were also started and it accelerated both humanitarian casualties and displacements. Some of the displaced people moved to neighboring countries, especially Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan in order to find refugee. However, the current humanitarian crisis already caused by the clashes and conflict between the fragments of Syrian Arab Army and foreign fighters deteriorated more because of the involvement of major global powers and ISIS' entrance to scene.

Especially Russia's involvement to the conflict was a watershed for the ongoing humanitarian crisis. Humanitarian consequences of regime's entrance to the city of Aleppo with fierce battle and under the air coverage of Russia was an iconic example of deteriorating humanitarian crisis for this new era. On the other hand, the ISIS' entrance to Syria from the Iraqi border and their far extreme approach to the non-Muslims and non-Sunnis (including the non-Salafis) was devastating for the Syrians. In addition to these two factors,

⁷⁶ Although Iran initially called for reforms, later she changed her attitude based on the positioning of regional states like Turkey.

⁷⁷ Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Arab Uprising and The MENA Regional States System": *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 11, no.42 (2014), 21.

PYD's (Democratic Union Party, the sister armed organization of the Kurdistan Workers Party - PKK) ethnic-based policies increased in the terrains which they controlled. In the following maps, the evolvement of the situation in Syria and altering balance at the ground are presented.⁷⁸



⁷⁸ “Controlle of Terrain in Syria” Institute for the Study of War, Last Modified: July 25th 2021 <https://www.understandingwar.org/project/control-terrain-syria?page=1> All four ensuing images are from same source.

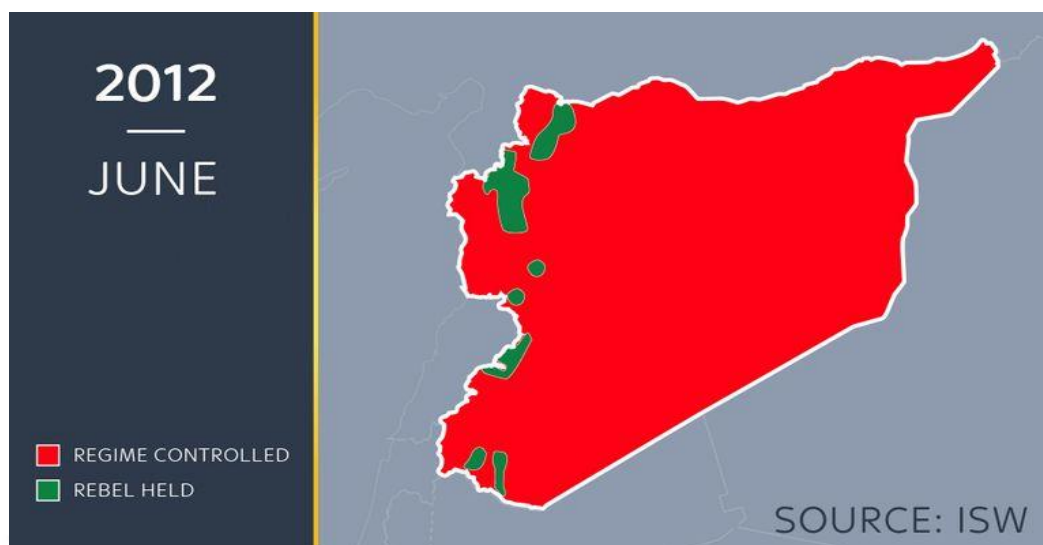


Figure 1 Syria 2012

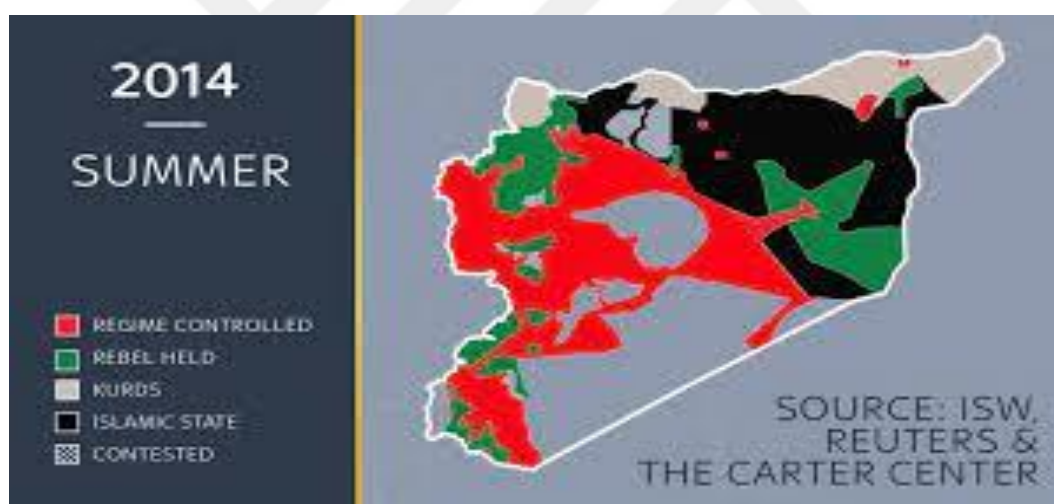


Figure 2 Syria 2014

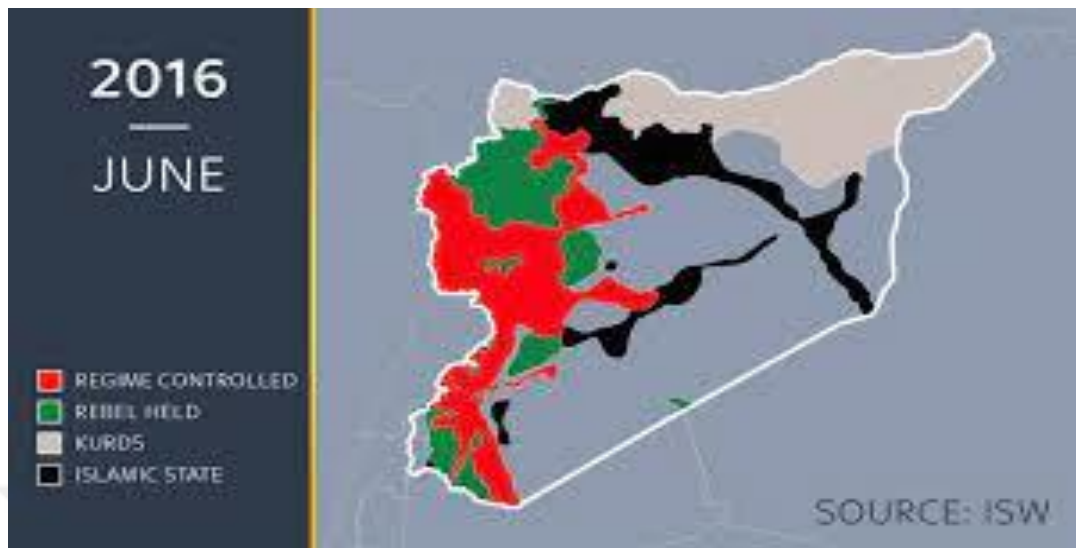


Figure 3 Syria 2016

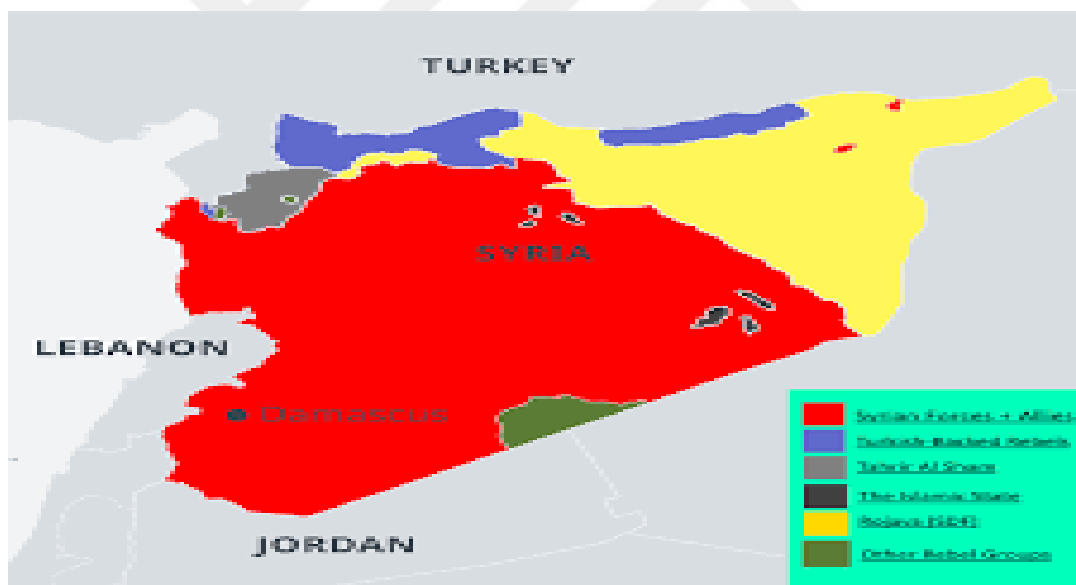


Figure 4 Syria 2021

The areas controlled by the FSA⁷⁹, today's SNA (Turkish backed), are hosting the displaced people across Syria. Gradually, in each year the areas controlled by rebels narrowed down in North Syria, close to Turkish border as a result of the operations of the Syrian Arab Army. Rebels holding these areas has two reasons. North-Northwest Syria is close to the humanitarian aid corridor through Turkey and Turkey's military existence after four different military operations and ceasefire agreement with Russia and Iran created a comparatively safer zone for the internally displaced Syrians running away from the regime's oppression.⁸⁰ Thus, almost four million Syrians in Turkey and other four millions in North-Northwestern Syria a total of 8 million displaced persons form the target group for the humanitarian operations through Turkey. In the following part, the thesis focus on the legal status of these Syrians.

3.2 Status of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Like in the previous migrations towards Turkey from her eastern borders, the Syrians were not granted with the refugee status which could provide them many rights including the working permit. However, according to official numbers which are objected by the opposition parties and the common sense of the Turkish population, almost 4 million Syrians are in

⁷⁹ In the first three maps, areas controlled by the Free Syrian Army are showed with green color, in the last map, it is showed with both grey and blue.

⁸⁰ "Turkey-Syria Relations" Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Last Modified: 25th July <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey%E2%80%93syria.en.mfa>

Turkey. According to the latest figures, 3.7 million Syrians (excluding 419.000 Syrians that returned to their countries) are under the temporary protection⁸¹ and 150.000 of Syrians are granted with Turkish citizenship.⁸²

Generally speaking, when the Syrian refugee influx appeared in the Republic of Turkey in 2012/2013, it was the most significant refugee experience for the state in Turkey's modern history and for the people of Turkey in all aspects. There were several previous influxes of the Turks from the Communist Bulgaria and the Caucasus, however, the amount of refugees is not comparable with the Syrian influx (almost 4 million) to Turkey.

While the number of refugees is quite an important factor, both societies' cultural differences are coming to light each day. Although AKP (Justice and Development Party) strongly emphasized "brotherhood and ummah" rhetoric emanated from the common Ottoman Empire and Islamic background of both societies in order to mitigate the potentiality of the inter-ethnic conflict and loss of votes, according to studies done by Murat Erdoğan, since the beginning of refugee influx to Turkey, each year the host community expresses its disturbance more.⁸³ According to a study done by Murat

⁸¹ "Türkiyede'ki Mülteci Sayısı Ağustos 2021" Mülteciler Derneği, Last Modified, 15 August 2021, <https://multeciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/>

⁸² "150,000 Syrians granted Turkish citizenship: CHP" Hürriyet Daily News, Last Modified: June 25,2021 <https://www.hurriyetaailynews.com/150-000-syrians-granted-turkish-citizenship-chp-164586>

⁸³ Murat Erdoğan, *Suriyeliler Barometresi*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2017).

Erdoğan, since the first influx from Syria to Turkey occurred, the Turkish population's concerns and misunderstandings about the Syrian refugees are increasing each year. The multiple-choice survey conducted for the study in 2017 shows that %57 of the Turkish participants think that the Syrians are a people who run away from the violence and the war, but the same people who participated in the survey also define the Syrians as a "burden (% 43) and dangerous" people (%39).⁸⁴ It shows that the Turks understand that the Syrians are in Turkey because they had to, but at the same time, they found the Syrians as the reason for economic difficulties and insecurity. The professor also explained in a TV Program that these numbers deteriorated against the Turkish-Syrian relations in 2020. Moreover, the same survey suggested that the Turkish people think that the Syrians are stealing their jobs and government should deport them.⁸⁵

On the other hand, the condition of Syrians in Turkey is generally poor. Although, the Syrians are 4 million in Turkey, approximately 32.000 of them have working permits and they established 15.000 companies. One can easily figure out the existence of illegal labor and it is already started to be spoken by the profiles close to government.⁸⁶ Yet, this situation is also

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ "Teke Tek" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-SqqKZgW-0Q&ab_channel=Habert%C3%BCrkTV

⁸⁶ "AKP'li Aktay: Suriyeliler giderse bu ülkenin ekonomisi çöker" Sözcü, Last Modified: 25 August 2021, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2021/gundem/akpli-aktay-suriyeliler-giderse-bu-ulkenin-ekonomisi-coker-6558430/>

reflected by the report of the International Labor Organization on Syrians in taking part in the Turkish market.⁸⁷ According to the report, only %1,5-2 of the Syrians is working legally and other % 98 works illegally⁸⁸. In the same report, it is mentioned that the Syrians are subjected to long working hours and their wages are lower than the minimum wage.

Lastly, today, political parties are asserting a populist approach against the Syrians. Main opposition parties CHP (Republican People's Party) and İyi Party (Good Party) claimed that they will send all the Syrians back to their country by negotiating with Assad once they are in government.⁸⁹ On the other hand, although the leader of AKP (Justice and Development Party), Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, claimed that they would not abandon the Syrians to the cruelty of the regime of Bashar Assad⁹⁰. In his interview with *Türkgün Newspaper*, Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the MHP (Nationalist Movement

⁸⁷ International Labor Organisation, *A Decade of Displacement*, 2019. Last Modified: 25 August 2021 https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/publication/wcms_776051.pdf

⁸⁸ The study reveals that, as of 2017, out of 2 million Syrians at working age, 930,000 were part of the labour force and 813,000 were employed, largely informally.

⁸⁹ Burhanettin Duran, "CHP and Syrians" *Daily Sabah*. Last Modified: 28 July 2021 <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/columns/syrians-and-chp-a-discussion-in-turkey>

⁹⁰ Serkan Demirtaş, "Turkey should avoid anti-refugee language" *Hurriyet Daily News*. Last Modified: 25 August, 2021 <https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/turkey-should-avoid-anti-refugee-language-167052>

Party, partner of the coalition), mentioned that the Syrians cause demographic problems and they should be sent back to their own crisis.⁹¹

Thus, today even after 10 years of Syrian existence in Turkey, humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations are needed. Thus as the practitioners of the humanitarian diplomacy, institutions including humanitarian organizations are essential components and in the next part, the thesis presents them.

3.3 Role Players in Humanitarian Diplomacy for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Humanitarian diplomacy implemented at different levels have different characteristics compared to each other. Since the aim of the humanitarian diplomacy implemented at different levels is changing, the role players' behaviors are changing too. At the local level, both humanitarian actors and state authorities dealing with everyday diplomacy and their main agenda is urgent needs in their region. This creates interdependence and close the power gap between the states and humanitarian organizations. Since the state officer at periphery cannot wait the support from the central government and prefers to cooperate with the NGO nearby in order to deal with the urgent matter, e.g. the sudden influx of people to Turkish territory from Syria. On the other hand, humanitarian diplomacy at the national level represents the

⁹¹ Yıldırım Çiçek, “Devlet Bahçeli'nin destek bulan 'Düzensiz Göç' tespitleri” *Türkgün Gazetesi*. Last Modified: 25 August 2021
<https://www.turkgun.com/devlet-bahcelinin-destek-bulan-duzensiz-goc-tespitleri-makale-158361>

endeavors of the state towards the current humanitarian crisis. Ceasefires reached in Syria as a result of Turkey's diplomacy at Astana and Sochi processes⁹² had impact on the ground and this is a great example for the humanitarian diplomacy implemented through foreign policy. The Ankara level coordination meetings of the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior with the high representatives of humanitarian organizations to handle the general problems of the humanitarian organizations operate in Turkey is also national level humanitarian diplomacy made at home. Lastly, all decisions, meetings and voting done at the General Assembly of UN and any declaration or advocacy to influence the nation states participating the general assembly are examples for global level humanitarian diplomacy. In the following chart role players are given in detail:

⁹² Muharrem Ekşi, "Turkey's Triumph of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Sochi Summit" *Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies*. Last Modified: 20 April 2021 <https://www.ankasam.org/en/turkeys-triumph-of-humanitarian-diplomacy-sochi-summit/>

Role Players	Global Level Humanitarian Diplomacy	National Level Humanitarian Diplomacy	Local Level Humanitarian Diplomacy
	Main Source of Authority: United Nations (Security Council Approval and member states to UN) Effective Role Players in Decision Making Process: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), International Red Crescent as essential role players and Red Cross (ICRC), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) like World Vision, OXFAM, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), National/Regional Development Aid Agencies,	Main Source of Authority: States are the main role players, but the authority is split between the two ministries: MFAs (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) of the states are authorized to apply to the other country hosting any type of disaster and at the same time MFAs receive applications of other countries or INGOs who wants to assist any type of disaster occurred in the country. Ministry of Interior Affairs are focal point coordinates the cooperation inside the country. Local Non-Governmental Organizations (LNGOs) generally coordinate their activities responding the disaster with the ministry.	Main Source of Authority: Democratic Distribution of the Authority since government authorities in the disaster area needs quick respond and NGOs are the capable of being first responder. Role Players: NGO representatives and district or provincial level state authorities.

Table 5 Role Players

CHAPTER 4

RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS

4.1 Turkey-West Relations Affecting Humanitarian Diplomacy

Humanitarian organizations having Western origins has never been perceived well by both society and the state of Turkey. While, they were often accused of being an agent collecting data and sharing with foreign intelligence services⁹³, at the same time they were treated as the apparatus which keeps refugees away from the Europe. The main reason of that is the both recent and the historical relations between the parties.

There are several problems creating hostile environment between the West (USA + EU) and Turkey in the last decade. In the Syrian Civil War, both Turkey and the West shared the same views about being the anti-Syrian regime and anti-ISIS front. However, the West decided to support SDF composed of PYD/PKK elements to eliminate the ISIS although Turkish army was fighting against the ISIS on the ground (the Euphrates Shield Operation).⁹⁴ Although both the EU and US recognize PKK as a terrorist

⁹³ “Süleyman Soylu’dan Uluslararası Yardım Kuruluşlarına “Ajan” Suçlaması” Amerika’nın Sesi. Last Modified: 13 April 2021. <https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/suleyman-soyludan-uluslararasi-yardim-kuruluslarina-ajan-suclamasi/3782549.html>

⁹⁴ Ian Lesser et al., “Take 360: Repercussions from Turkey’s Intervention in Northeastern Syria” The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) Last

organization, they claimed that PYD does not have any PKK tie. However, both Turkish state and people of Turkey claimed that the organic ties between two organizations, and the denial of the West attracted reaction. Especially the US gave enormous support composed of heavy weapons to this illegal armed organization.⁹⁵

In the sequence of events, the US's support to SDF/PYD/PKK was followed by the 15th July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey by the Gülenists/FETÖ (Fetullah Terrorist Organization). The fact that Fetullah Gülen lives in the US and the US ignorance of Turkey's request for Fetullah Gülen's extradition strained the relations between the two allies more. Lastly and unfortunately, the Pastor Brunson case and US sanctions on Turkey created an *impasse* in bilateral ties. On the other hand, the EU-Turkey front also has been volatile in the last decade. Failing EU candidacy process of Turkey, gradually increasing tension in the Eastern Mediterranean between Greece and Turkey and EU's partisan approach, which is far away from an honest broker, EU countries' unclear stance against the coup attempt, and French-Turkish competition in Libya, impacted Turks' public opinion against EU. The EU-Turkey refugee deal in 2016 could be a fruitful opportunity for rapprochement since it ensured a visa-free regime for

Modified: March 22 2021, <https://www.gmfus.org/news/ttake-360-repercussions-turkeys-intervention-northeastern-syria>

⁹⁵ "US -PKK/PYD/YPG/SDF Relations" SETA, Last Modified: March 22, 2021, <https://www.setav.org/en/tag/u-s-pkkpydypgsdf-relations/>

Turkish citizens and 6 billion Euro finance for the refugees. However, neither the visa-free regime and nor 6 billion euros have been provided yet⁹⁶. The refugee deal between the two fronts, perceived negatively by Turkish society and parallel to that NGOs were seen as the apparatus of the West to keep the Syrians in Turkey.

Problems popped up in the last decade, and the general anti-imperial sentiment created a negative perspective in the eyes of the Turkish society and bureaucracy against humanitarian activities in the country. As a result, Western-originated NGOs encountered thorough audits and slow down procedures while trying to get official permissions to implement their projects.

4.2 Relation between Turkey and Humanitarian Organization

Responding to the Syrian Civil War started in 2011, the NGOs opened their country offices in Turkey and mainly in southern provinces like Kilis, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Şanlıurfa. They aimed to respond to the vulnerable people's needs who run away from the civil war and influx from the Syrian Arab Republic to Turkey. However, the engagement between NGOs and Turkey could not perform fruitfully until today.

⁹⁶ 6 billion Euro has been committed by the European Commission to humanitarian projects in Turkey and 4 billion has already been disbursed. However, the disbursements of the fund should have been finished in 2019. However it is still continuing. The delay was used by AKP governments as an argument against Turkey. The details can be reached in the following link: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/news_corner/migration_en

4.2.1 Local Level Causes

At the local level, as the institutional representatives, individuals working for INGOs and state bureaucrats responsible for the relations with I/NGOs are essential role players. Therefore, their characteristics and motivations should be briefed to understand better the atmosphere in the field and its reflection on the general relations between the parties.

4.2.1.1 I/NGO side

Until working in the Republic of Turkey, INGOs generally worked in countries and regions where weak/failed states depended on international aid. For example, the leading and well known organizations like the Danish Refugee Council and the Norwegian Refugee Council⁹⁷ mainly worked in countries in the African continent like Uganda, Liberia, Burundi, Malawi, Somali and Sudan where there are failed states. Because of this fact and lack of law, NGOs are structured as the states, and they created their procedures and rules and followed these rules in any country they have visited. This set of rules vary from human resourcing to finance and finance to security. However, INGO's mindset constructed on previous experiences in weak or failed states, generally in Africa, clashed with Turkey's law and practices which had a history back to the Seljukid State and Ottoman

⁹⁷ The list of the all NGOs active in Turkey can be seen in the following link:
<https://siviltoplum.gov.tr/turkiyede-faaliyetine-izin-verilen-yabanci-stklar>

Empire.⁹⁸ Even in the first look, Turkey is a candidate to European Union, NATO member and considered as the most modern country in the Middle East region.

Although Turkey is not a faraway country both geographically and mentally to western states, the western-origin NGO workers leading the projects in Turkey did not mind the laws of the Turkish state. They directly carried their practices in the failed states to Turkey, and in a short period, huge fines were given to them. The contradicting policies of INGOs were generally chosen despite the objection of the local staff working in INGOs. Apart from breaching the labor law mentioned above chart, one NGO even refused to register themselves to Turkey through the legal procedure like all other NGOs did and choose to exist in Turkey illegally, although there was not any negative approach of the state.

It is understandable that NGOs are working with the set of rules constructed on social, cultural, political and economic experiences in the previous duty stations. However, they sometimes cannot adopt themselves to the new countries. In that point, essentialism is appeared as the major problems of the NGOs. *Essentialism*, defined as "the assumption that groups, categories or classes of objects have one or several defining features

⁹⁸ Korkmaz Yıldırım and Yunus Emre Yılmaz. "The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Environmental Governance in Turkey". *ADAM AKADEMİ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 8, no:2 2018, 416.

exclusive to all members of that category"⁹⁹, clearly explains the approach of western INGO workers who are generally decision-makers in the INGOs in Turkey. In other words, INGO decision-makers reduced Turkey to other failed states where they previously did not counter a certain level of legal existence. *Essentialism* can be conceptualized under the *Orientalist* mindset drew by Edward Said.¹⁰⁰

Parallel to essentialism, blind idealist policies have been followed by INGOs in Turkey. Basically, the political and historical context of Turkey was disregarded. Unpractically idealist but “hostile” policies towards the state were chosen. For example, delivering aid to SDF (the Syrian Democratic Forces), and PYD (the Democratic Union Party) held territories can be accurate example for this point. Although SDF and PYD are considered as PKK's (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) sister organizations and declared as a terrorist organization by Turkey and many other countries, INGOs offices in Turkey arguing with the state officers for sending aid to SDF/PKK/PYD controlled territories or not mentioning it while making protocols with the state, however, secretly sending aids to these prohibited territories. As a result, some of them were fined by the Turkish state, like the Mercy Corps, which later needed to shut down its office in Turkey.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griddiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post Colonial Studies: Key Concepts*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 96.

¹⁰⁰ Said, *Ibid.*, 58-60.

¹⁰¹ <https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/mercy-corps-closes-operations-turkey>

On the other hand, some of the other NGOs accepted the situation and decided to deliver their aids to SDF/PKK/PYD controlled areas through Northern Iraq. However, there is no sense to expect Turkish officers/bureaucrats signing a protocol suggesting aid towards the SDF-controlled areas at the local level. There is core realism at the field level; thus, NGOs need to liaise and negotiate with the state authorities (powerful ones) to secure the upcoming funds, secure staff, and ensure their organization. Organizations must understand the context well and choose realist policies to achieve their project targets and secure themselves.

4.2.1.2 The State and Hosting Society side

On the other hand, the Turkish officials in the field and at the center were not experienced/trained for such an humanitarian crisis emerged at the borders. Administrative and legal structures related to the refugees were at a scratch level compared to today when we returned back to 2012. Thus, one can easily argue that Turkey was not prepared for that. Even the legal definition of Syrian migration to Turkey could not be done because of Turkey's particular approach to the refugee convention. While Turkey is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, she asserted a unique geographical limitation by annotated that Turkey only accepts people from Europe as refugees. Despite this limitation, it provides protection and temporary asylum for non-European refugees.¹⁰² Today, the country's policy towards

¹⁰² "Turkey" UNHCR. Last Modified : March 21 2021, <https://www.unhcr.org/474ac8e60.pdf>

the Syrian refugees constructed on "temporary protection" and this policy ensures Turkey's right to deport the Syrians. While this right is always underlined by the government authorities, the fact that some Syrians are able to receive citizenship creates confusion in the understandings of both host and home societies.

4.2.2 National/Global Level Causes

4.2.2.1 I/NGO Side

Parallel to *essentialism* mentioned above, unconditional *humanitarian idealism* has been presented by INGOs' experience in Turkey. Basically, the political and historical context in Turkey is disregarded. Some INGO premises in Turkey decided to aid SDF (the Syrian Democratic Forces) controlled territories. However, SDF is considered as PKK's (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) sister organization and declared as a terrorist organization in Turkey. As a result, some of the INGOs were fined by the Turkish State, like the Mercy Corps and the Medecine Sans Frontières, which needed to shut down their offices in Turkey later.¹⁰³ Especially when it merged with the state's negative approach, destructive consequences for humanitarianism for both refugees and organizations become unavoidable.

¹⁰³ "Mercy Corps Closes Operations in Turkey," Relief Web, Last Modified: March, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/mercy-corps-closes-operations-turkey>.

The *politicization of the aid* is another fact experienced in Turkey. The 18th March 2016 Protocol between Turkey and the EU is a clear picture showing EU countries' political approach to the Syrian refugee crisis. Although Pease calls it as the "securitization of aid"¹⁰⁴ it is far from a security issue but constitutes a basic orientalist approach. By manipulating the projects, donor countries (in that case, EU) want to focus on projects aiming to keep Syrians in Turkey instead of addressing the real needs. Generally, the problem appears in NGOs' headquarters, despite aid workers' assessments at the field in coordination with the authorities. To receive funds, NGO leadership with relative bureaucrats of donor countries insists on funding projects in the same sectors each year without concerning the actual needs. For example, while the state asks for hygiene projects in one camp, the fund is provided for the one education project which is not asked by the state. In this way, NGOs, whose primary aim should be addressing the needs that the government cannot meet, do not exercise their primary duties and funds allocated to these projects cannot be delivered for the people in need.

Therefore, the state and refugees do not show interest in these similar projects anymore. In brief, these dead-born projects decrease the benefits of

¹⁰⁴ Kelly-Kate Pease, *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 96.

the NGOs to the vulnerable people, and the government does not show interest in this particular NGO.

4.2.2.2 Government Side

The Republic of Turkey and the West (European countries and North America) always had up and downs in their relations. Sometimes, Turkish governments used this anti-imperialist (western) sentiment in foreign policies by using though language towards the western governments to consolidate internal support (survival) and votes (political interests). This though language made peak with recently appeared problems and affected the funds allocated for the Syrian refugees in Turkey by the Western donors. Moreover, many already allocated funds could not be used by western origins INGOs because the required permissions by the relative Turkish authorities could not be taken. From the humanitarian point of view, first, this directly influences the vulnerable people dependent on aid, and second, the situation causes significant stress on humanitarian aid workers. Both local and expat staff of NGOs accused of being agents and such accusations appearing in the media makes a peak.¹⁰⁵ In addition to that, the insecure atmosphere resulted in several detentions against international (mostly western) aid workers. Also, NGOs worried about the continuation of the aid

¹⁰⁵ Examples for such articles appeared in media: 1-) <https://www.sabah.com.tr/bolgeler/yazarlar/ramoglu/2017/03/06/hataydaki-yabanci-yardim-orgutleri-casus-kayniyor> 2-) <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2017/03/20/hataydaki-nifak-merkezleri-kapanmali>

which directly creates question marks for the economic needs of the humanitarian workers. Such a gloomy atmosphere started in Turkey in 2016 continued for a year, and the pressure ended when it comes to the last months of 2017.

4.2.3 If There is no Good Faith

Before passing to recommendations, one part should be noted to this thesis. Until this part the intention of the thesis is elaborated according to most trustworthy faith of NGO definition suggesting that these are the institutions based on the voluntary work and having only aim of contributing the vulnerable society.¹⁰⁶ However, INGOs whose origins are from different countries might have affiliation with their home countries' intelligence services¹⁰⁷, and institutions and organizations with various political means and aims, which might be threatening for the country hosting them¹⁰⁸.

In the thesis' case, INGOs operating in Turkey, might have different purposes than the humanitarian one. If they visited Turkey for another purpose, off course, analyzing the reason of failure and giving

¹⁰⁶ Haldun Yalçınkaya and Kadir Tamer Türkes, "Yirmi Birinci Yüzyılda Çatışma Alanlarında Görülen Yeni Unsurlar" *Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi* (2008) 4, No:7, 69.

¹⁰⁷ "International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS)", *The Responsibility to Protect*, (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre: 2001), 27.

¹⁰⁸ William Flavin, "Planning for Conflict Termination and Post-Conflict Success", *Parameters*, Vol. XXXIII, No.3, (Autumn 2003), 97.

recommendations for this failure will remain meaningless. Moreover, even if they are visited Turkey with different purposes, in the seen part of the curtain one can say that they still assist the vulnerable society although they do not intentionally prefer to maximize it by disregarding the laws and regulations of Turkey. Thus, law enforcement units, should carry out their observation and thorough controls via relative governorates branch responsible from NGO affairs should be done.



CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY

To begin with, the *context analysis* is the most primary point that should be made before starting to operate in one particular country. "The purpose of context analysis is to allow humanitarians to better understand the socio-cultural, political, economic and geographic factors".¹⁰⁹ In other words, it is a, b, and c of the one NGO before starting to operate in any country. Many I/NGOs are completing context analysis, but in a nutshell, two mistakes appear during this process.

Usually, this context analysis is done by someone who is not an expert on Turkey and her political, legal and administrative order, but it is done by a relative staff member working at the security department in the organization's headquarter. Since the document is a vital and backbone document for the risk management of NGOs, the document should be prepared by a local expert or one academic institution.

Secondly, the context analysis should not stay on the shelf waiting for the dust. On the contrary, the context analysis should be one of the reference documents during each policy's (finance-human resources-

¹⁰⁹ "Context Analysis" PHAP, Last Modified: November 2020, <https://phap.org/theme-context-analysis>.

logistics-program)/project's decision-making process. The responsible security agent's focal point should give his/her advisory (risk assessment) at the beginning based on the context analysis.

The sovereignty of the states is a mandatory fact in today's international relations. INGOs worked in some aid-dependent African countries might not encounter this fact, and INGOs did not need to negotiate and establish a rapport with the governments. However, today's conflicts are in places where weak states are in different locations where different contexts are situated. Thus, as in the case of Turkey, where a vast and robust state exists, INGOs should develop new tactics with respect to states' sovereignty. The context analysis mentioned above is not enough at that point, yet it is the core for awareness.

In this case, unique and effective diplomacy/liaison, called *humanitarian diplomacy*, both at the local and country-level should be performed by the INGOs. The rapport established with the state as a result of this diplomacy might overcome many difficulties.

Diplomacy at the national level is quite a critical one. In the Turkish case, since the administration is centralized and any decision on the activity planned to be carried out in the provinces needs to be approved by the relative ministries in Ankara, the national level perspective is determinant. Thus, while INGO representatives at the field should retain the relations, top-level communication should be followed in the capital. Many INGOs

undermine the national level diplomacy in Turkey. Although they had sufficient ties on the field with authorities because of the prejudices towards this INGO or origin country of INGO, management at the national level hesitate to provide required permissions for INGOs' projects.

On the other hand, diplomacy in the field is a survival issue for the INGO. While this diplomacy maintains the daily humanitarian operations, the representative acts as a critical bridge between the direct information source and INGO decision-makers. On the other hand, strong relations in the field might be protective. When the relations between the aiding countries and Turkey are strained and the above-mentioned pressure over INGO occurs, strong field level personal links might reduce the pressure and provide "*negative peace*". In this way, INGO can keep its humanitarian workers and ongoing operation safe.

Working with the local staff and democratization of the decision-making process is another preventive measure that can be taken by the INGOs. Naturally, as a unit in the country's context, local staff have more knowledge about the country. On the other hand, international staff's existence is essential because they can lead to many procedures thanks to their experience, especially while setting up to INGO in the new country. Moreover, their comparatively "unbiased" approach is essential in all logistical, financial, and human resources procedures to ensure transparency. Shortly, by using both human resources having different natural qualifications, efficiency might increase.

Since they are more experienced, international staff generally positioned at the top titles are the decision-makers. To reflect the efficiency mentioned above, the local staff's contribution should not stay only at the advisory level, but they should be part of the decision-making process as voters. Especially in a country like Turkey, where there is enough qualified human-power is available, INGOs should balance local and international staff's roles and responsibilities. That will create an automatic seatbelt for one INGO to avoid any action that might be negatively reacted by the state and cease the humanitarian aid to vulnerable people.

Turkey, as the one part of the relation, should also be open to existence of these INGOs in the country and should not reflect the reciprocal relations with other countries to its INGO affairs. Especially, considering Turkey's one of the prominent concept for her foreign policy is humanitarian diplomacy¹¹⁰, Turkey should perceive the concept as total in both foreign and internal politics. Citation from Meliha Altunışık covers echoes this recommendation as in the following:

In fact, it is embedded in the term HD itself. Acknowledging this, Turkey has to be clear about this relationship and yet, however difficult, strive to be impartial in its dealings with internal politics in the countries where they are involved. Not doing so would endanger both its humanitarian work and foreign policy interests. In the case of Syrians living in Turkey, there are more significant challenges. The issue has to move beyond the realm of benevolence and demands more comprehensive planning. In terms of academic studies and NGO work, Turkey has the knowledge to effectively deal with this situation. The AKP government should be ready to work with actors beyond the Islamic charity network.

¹¹⁰ "Turkey's Enterprising And Humanitarian Foreign Policy" *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey*, Date Modified: April 2021: <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa>

The government should be ready to discuss HD policies with these groups but also with other political parties in order to come up with a unified national plan. Failing to do so and sweeping the problems under the carpet, will create significant social, economic and political problems that would affect everybody involved.¹¹¹

In short, challenging nation-states with humanitarian advocacy at the global level is less risky. However, there is no sense to expect Turkish officers/bureaucrats signing a protocol suggesting aid towards SDF-controlled areas at the local level. There is core realism on the field level; thus, NGOs need to liaise and negotiate with the state authorities (powerful ones) to secure the upcoming funds, secure staff, and ensure their organization. Humanitarian organizations must understand the context well and choose realist policies to achieve their project targets and secure themselves.

¹¹¹ Altunışık, *Ibid* ,8.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Until this part, the thesis introduced and discussed the successes, failures and consequences of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey. Specifically, the failure of humanitarian diplomacy is elaborated and analyzed at different levels and from different perspectives. However, in the conclusion part, the thesis emphasizes several main issues of the discussion, in other words, this part is a self-evaluation of the thesis. The thesis provides its final remarks for humanitarian diplomacy in extent, following that the importance and the contribution of the thesis to the literature is discussed; and later, some remarks on humanitarian diplomacy at both local and national levels are presented and lastly, the thesis revisits the research questions introduced in the beginning of the thesis and tries to provide answers to them reached through this research.

The definition for humanitarian diplomacy is given in the introduction; basically, the concept defines the “diplomatic” intentions that occur at any level of local, national, or global and by any relative stakeholder. There are several points that can be finally asserted for humanitarian diplomacy at this stage of the thesis. As both the Syrian case relative literature suggested, power relations are determinant for humanitarian diplomacy. The nature of diplomacy appears to be based on

the dependency and policies of the parties engaging each other. Humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey presented very similar conditions to this argument. Humanitarian organizations' disregarding Turkish law and Turkey's pressure over the Western INGOs when it has a crisis with the origin countries of these INGOs cause delay in the humanitarian projects since mandatory permissions could not be received from the state authorities, threat to security of INGO staff and lack of aid required for the refugees in the country. This brings us another point for the humanitarian diplomacy. INGOs / INGO workers failed in Turkey when they implement same practices and habits they used to in the previous failed states in other geographies, especially in Africa. Therefore, context knowledge of INGOs is seen very essential for the success of humanitarian diplomacy. In today's world, where conflicts are spreading different geographies having different social, political, and economic norms INGOs must study the context of the country which they visit and construct their humanitarian diplomacy /liaison policies for the specific country based on this studied context. Parallel to that, the thesis underlines the importance of realist humanitarian diplomacy policies by INGOs by paying respect to the country's sovereignty. The solutions and advisories are given based on the Turkish case but might differ in other contexts. However, to avoid mistakes and provide influential and continuous humanitarian aid, INGOs should study and understand the context of the country they visit. Lastly, the thesis marked that the good faith of the humanitarian organizations is accepted unconditionally in the thesis.

Nevertheless, if there is no good faith but other intelligence-based purposes, how should we evaluate the humanitarian diplomacy itself? Can diplomacy still be called as “humanitarian” in that case? This should be the question for further studies. However, intentions are clearly deliberate to understand how humanitarian diplomacy is used and for what purpose states and/or INGOs are using it. As it is seen in the Turkish case, humanitarian diplomacy is adopted by the states to strengthen their soft power, however the potential intentions of INGOs should be searched. The fact that humanitarianism is essential for the people in need does not mean that scholars should be hesitant to criticize.

In that sense, the thesis is essential in particular ways and can contribute to the literature. Generally, humanitarianism is a field of research studied by scholars who do not have field experience or any experience in humanitarian organizations generally. In that sense, the fact that the field workers such as the author of this thesis with humanitarian diplomacy background makes this thesis important and different. Moreover, although many studies concentrate on Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy efforts in its foreign affairs, few studies focus on inward humanitarian diplomacy at home. Thus, the thesis might be a humble contribution to the literature in that way. Moreover, the study constructed on the situation in the field and bridge it with the general humanitarian diplomacy literature and it makes the study important as a piece of an area study. In addition, as a piece covers Turkey-INGO relation where strong and vast state engagement with

structured (strong) INGO, the study is interesting since many humanitarian studies cover weak and aid dependent state – strong INGO relation. Lastly, humanitarian activities being implemented through the money of the taxpayers should be under the constant audit of scholars. Also, NGO activities should be transparently and critically visited by the scholars and failures and successes of these organizations must be noted. In that sense, humanitarian diplomacy, comparatively a new research under the both international relations and humanitarianism disciplines, is elaborated through a case study from Turkey/Syria.

In the context of the Syrian Civil War, humanitarian diplomacy at all global, national and local levels are correlated with each other. However, the thesis concentrated on comparatively “forgotten” levels which are local and national ones. In short, challenges at these levels are covered by the thesis and later recommendations were given. The thesis might remark several points for each level of analysis. As mentioned above, the decisions taken at the global level through the UN are constituting permanent ones. However, the quality of the humanitarian assistance can be ensured with tactical and successful humanitarian diplomacy at both national and local levels. Through established rapport and transparent relation at both levels between the state and NGOs, the continuation of the humanitarian operation, well-being of humanitarians can be ensured, and potential misunderstanding might be avoided.

In the first chapter of the thesis, several research questions are presented. Shortly, this research aimed to discover the main discussions on humanitarian diplomacy and reflect the current humanitarian situation of the Syrians in both Turkey and Northern Syria, where Turkey has her economic, social, cultural as well as military influence. Following that, the thesis tried to answer the questions of how humanitarian diplomacy evolved and why it failed in Turkey and what recommendations can be suggested to the actors of the humanitarian diplomacy in the country. After the respective research for all these questions thesis gathered the following answers:

In the analysis, the thesis found out that although humanitarian diplomacy is quite vital for the survival of INGOs and the continuation of aid, the INGOs do not cover the importance and limit it by defining as just endeavors for humanitarian purposes. In other words, humanitarian diplomacy is, first, a way to sustain organization by ensuring continuation of aid, safety of staff and maintaining daily routine of NGOs and second, persuading decision makers to take responsible decision for people in need. Following that the thesis gives historical background for the humanitarian situation and narrates how humanitarian habitat evolved in Turkey. Later it argues that, today the Syrians in the country and Northern Syria are not safe in terms of all economic, social and political means. The study reflected that, while significant amount of the Syrian labor works for lower than minimum salary (in deep poverty) and not have the social insurance, almost all political parties keep “sending the Syrians back” as their popular promise.

In addition to that, their relation with the Turkish community is going worst each day with the deteriorating economic conditions with significant unemployment in the country. Last but not least, unclear administrative procedures for the Syrians while applying working permit, residency and citizenship are also making everything more complex for them.

Among all these base information, the thesis understood that the humanitarianism and humanitarian diplomacy failed in this context. By this way, it explored that the problems in relationship between the Turkish state and INGOs caused unsystematic and chaotic humanitarian aid system, thus, the real needs of the vulnerable people could not be responded. The lack of administrative structure composed of unaware state officers and problematic approach of INGOs to Turkey lead to this result. The thesis sees the state as the powerful one in this power balance in Turkey, thus, as recommendations, the thesis emphasized that INGOs should respect to Turkish law fully, understand the sensitiveness of the political atmosphere in the country and involved local (Turkish) staff to decision making process, which naturally has more experience in the country.

Among the paper, the thesis argued that waving Turkey-West relationship has affect on Turkey-INGO relations in the country. Considering Turkey with its being geostrategic stance in the world as being NATO member and candidate country to European Union, it might one day have better and stable relations with Western NATO allies again. In that case, will relationship between Turkey and INGO work well and be fruitful

humanitarianly? This question needs greater research however, it is known that existence of INGOs in Turkey has not started with Syrian influx towards the country. They were here before and during their stay they have conducted many projects successfully.¹¹² Moreover, Turkey has its own NGO tradition which shows that at society level there won't be problem of acceptance. Thus, following the stable West-Turkey, situation at home is seen better yet it needs to be analyzed scholarly. Moreover, this is a relationship it has two parts. Beyond the thesis, question mark on INGOs good faith is reminded to reader. Thus, when Turkey and Western countries have better relations, will behaviors of Western origin INGOs change? Will they stop preferring their own practices and procedures over Turkey's one? Will they learn the importance of context and avoid blind idealist approach and respect the political sensitiveness of the host country? I believe these are all essential question marks which can lead further research on humanitarian diplomacy.

¹¹² GIZ (German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH) is one of the foreign NGO present in Turkey since long time. Their projects and achievements can be reviewed:
https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/GIZ%20Turkey%20New%20Country%20Brochure_TR_for%20web.pdf

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APPENDENCIES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Giriř blmnde tez, yazarın kiřisel motivasyonu sunduktan sonra kresel, ulusal ve yerel dzeylerde insani diplomasi kavramını okuyucuya sunar. Ardından tezin eklemine oluřturan arařtırma soruları ile birlikte tez nerisi ve tezin neden nemli olduėu anlatılmıř ve son olarak da literatr taraması yapılarak tezin konusunda yazılmıř diėer eserlere eleřtiriler getirilerek tezin nasıl literatre katkı saėlayacaėı not edilmiřtir. Bu blmde zellikle akademisyenlerin insanietperverliėe olan kr idealist yaklařımının zerinde durulmuř ve saha alıřmalarının bu bahse konu kr idealistliėi dengelemedeki nemi vurgulanmıřtır. Son olarak giriř blmnde tezin metodolojisine yer verilmiřtir. Bu blmde tezin baėlı olduėu ereve ve kriterler de sunulmaktadır. zellikle tezin metodolojisinin, bu vaka alıřmasındaki bulgularla insani diplomasi zerine bazı genel argmanlar ıkarmayı amalamadıėını, ancak sahadan elde edilen bilgilerin incelenmesi neticesindeki bulguları ortaya koymayı hedeflediėini belirtir.

Arap Baharı neticesinde Orta Doėu'nun totaliter lkeleri olarak sayılan bir ok lkede halkların talepleri ve karřılık olarak yerleřik hkmetten řiddetle karřılık almaları neticesinde ortaya ıkan halk ayaklanmaları neticesinde bir ok lke i karıřıklıklara srklenirken diėerlerinde de rejim deėiřiklikleri olmuřtur. Suriye Arap Cumhuriyeti' de

bu deęiřimden nasibini almıřtır. Ülkede vukuu bulan içsavař neticesinde 11 milyona yakın Suriye vatandařı çevre ölkelere kaçmak zorunda kalmıřtır. Bu durum insani bir kriz oluřturmuř ve dünya çapında ismi bilinen , ve yerel seviyede organize olmuř insani yardım kuruluřları bu krize cevap verme adına hem çevre ölkelere hem de Suriye'ye gelerek ofislerini açmıřlardır.

Doęal olarak, Suriye'nin kuzey yönünde komuřusu olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti de bu göç dalgasından nasibini almıř ve 4 milyona yakın Suriye vatandařı maalesef kontrolsüz bir řekilde Türkiye' ye göç etmiř ve Suriye içinde yařanan insani kriz böylece Türkiye'ye de sıçramıřtır. Aynı řekilde uluslararası insani yardım kuruluřları Türkiye'ye gelerek özellikle Hatay ve Gaziantep illerine ofislerini açmıř ve faaliyetlerine bařlamıřlardır, hali hazırda Türkiye'de olan uluslararası yardım kuruluřlarının da odakları bu bölgelere kaymıřtır. İlaveten, göç eden Suriyelilerin ve Türk gönüllülerin kurduęu uluslararası derneklerle de bir insani yardım habitatı oluřmuřtur.

Bu habitat, doęal olarak kendine özgü STK geleneęi ve hukuku olan Türkiye'de, dięer coęrafyadaki öreneklerinden farklı bir Devlet – STK ilişkisi oluřturmuřtur. Bu ilişki literatürde “insani diplomasi” kavramı ile incelenmektedir. Tez, Suriye İçsavařı çerçevesinde Türkiye'de olan insani diplomasiyi her ne kadar ulusal ve yerel seviyede incelese de küresel anlamda Suriye İçsavařı'na yönelik adımları da deęerlendirmektedir. Tez, bu bağlamda Türkiye'deki STK-Devlet ilişkilerini Suriye İnsani Krizi bağlamında deęerlendirip incelemektedir.

Yukarıda, bahsedildiği üzere insani diplomasi tez tarafından yerel, ulusal ve küresel olmak üzere 3 ayrı seviyede değerlendirilmektedir. Yerel seviyede olan insani diplomasi, uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşlarının il veya ilçe çapındaki örgütlenmeleriyle devletin il veya ilçe çapındaki birimleri ile olan ilişkilerini kastetmektedir. Bu seviyedeki diplomasi bilinçsizce yapılan diplomasi olarak değerlendirirken, daha çok günlük işlerin yoluna koyulması için yapılan görüşmeleri içermektedir. Örneğin, STK yetkilisinin ilgili güvenlik amirini onun sorumluluk alanında yapacağı bir etkinlik konusunda bilgilendirmesi görüşünü veya iznini alması yerel seviyedeki insani diplomasiye örnek gösterilebilir. Aynı şekilde AFAD'ın il amirlikleri tarafından düzenlenen STK'larla yapılan aylık koordinasyon toplantıları da aynı şekilde yerel seviyedeki insani diplomasi çabalarına örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Bu seviyede yapılan diplomasi sonuç odaklı olmakla beraber, alınan kararlar sürekli olarak merkezi hükümetin denetiminde olup ulusal ve uluslararası ortamlardaki gelişmelerden ve kararlardan etkilenmektedir. Yani alınan kararlar kalıcı olmamaktadır. Ancak, bu seviyedeki insani diplomasinin kuvveti, aciliyet gerektiren gelişmelerde kendini göstererek ehemmiyet taşımaktadır.

Geleneksel diplomasi (devlet/STK'dan devlete) bu düzeyde kullanılır ve devlet hem yardım eden hem de yardım alan taraf olarak tek otoritedir. Bu düzeyde devletler ne diğer ülkelerin temsilcilerini ne de veto hakkına sahip Güvenlik Konseyi üyelerini BM'ye ikna etmeye çalışmamaktadır. Devletler, insani yardım operasyonları için ortak

anlaşmalar yapabilir ve yardım alan kişiler ise yardımı kabul etme, reddetme veya talep etme özgürlüğüne sahiptir. BM'nin özgür diplomatik arenası, karar alma sürecinde hız sağlar.

Ulusal düzeyde insani diplomaside devletler ana aktörlerdir. Dahili olarak, yetki iki bakanlık arasında bölünmüştür: Devletlerin dışişleri bakanlıkları, bir başka ülkede vukuu bulan her türlü afetin vukuu bulduğu diğer ülkeye başvurmaya yetkilidir ve aynı zamanda devletlerin bu bakanlıkları ülkelerinde meydana gelen her türlü felakete yardım etmek isteyen diğer ülkelerin veya uluslararası STKların başvurularını kendi ülkelerinin adına teslim alır. Öte yandan, içişleri bakanlıkları ülke içindeki işbirliğini koordine eden bakanlıktır. Yerel ve ulusal sivil toplum kuruluşları genellikle afete müdahale faaliyetlerini İçişleri Bakanlığı'na bağlı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü ile koordine etmektedir.

Öte yandan, dışarıya dönük ulusal seviyedeki insani diplomasi daha dikkat çekmektedir. Acil durumlarda BM kararı beklenmeden ülkelerin karşılıklı ilişkileriyle belli bir çözüme ulaşılabilir. Bu bağlamda, Suriye İç Savaşı konusunda Cenevre Süreci gibi BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nde veya BM'ye bağlı müzakerelerde uzlaşma sağlanamadığında ulus devletler kendi aralarında anlaşmalar yapmışlardır. Ancak alınan kararların geçici etkileri vardır. Örneğin, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Rusya Federasyonu ve İran İslam Cumhuriyeti arasındaki Üçlü Astana Müzakereleri ve Sochi Görüşmeleri, insani krize yönelik kararları da olan ateşkes kararları ile sonuçlanmıştır. Buna ek olarak AB ile Türkiye arasında yasa dışı göç ve insani yardım

konulu 18 Mart Protokolü de ulusal düzeyde insani diplomasi için harika bir örnektir. Öte yandan, AFAD'ın (İçişleri Bakanlığı Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı) Suriyeli mağdurlara müdahale etmek için uluslararası ve yerel STK'larla koordinasyonu, insani krizin ulusal düzeyde yönetimi (diplomasi) için harika bir örnektir. İnsaniyetperverliğin bir çalışma alanı olması ve aynı zamanda ihtiyaç sahibi insanlar için vazgeçilmez olması, akademisyenlerin insaniyetperverliği eleştirmekten alı koymamalıdır. Bilakis farklı ülkelerdeki vergi mükelleflerinin paraları üzerinden gerçekleştirilen insani faaliyetler, akademisyenlerin sürekli denetimi altında olmalıdır. Ayrıca STK faaliyetleri bilim adamları tarafından şeffaf ve eleştirel bir şekilde ele alınıp ve bu kuruluşların başarısızlıkları ve başarıları not edilmelidir. Bu anlamda hem uluslararası ilişkiler hem de insaniyetperverlik disiplinlerine nispeten yeni bir araştırma konusu olan İnsani Diplomasi, Türkiye/Suriye hattında bir örnek olay olarak bu tezde ele alınmaktadır.

Küresel düzeydeki insani diplomasi, üç farklı düzeyde en çok görülenidir. Bu diplomasinin yapıldığı fiziki bir meclisi vardır. Küresel düzeyde insani diplomasi, icra edildiği ana platform Birleşmiş Milletler'dir. Birleşmiş Milletler'e üye tüm ulus devletler karar alma sürecinde yer alır, ancak üye devletlerden beşinin, Güvenlik Konseyi, veto hakları vardır. Dolayısıyla, bu özel tip insani diplomasi sürecine eşit katılımın olmadığı iddia edilebilir. Bu durum ulus devletleri asli rol oyuncularına haline getirirken, öte yandan Güvenlik Konseyi'nin daimi beşlisini de çok asli rol

oyuncuları haline getiriyor. Ancak, birkaç bölgesel veya küresel hükümet ve sivil toplum kuruluşu da bu prosedür üzerindeki etkileriyle etkilidir. İnsani yardım kuruluşlarının yanı sıra, Avrupa Birliği, Afrika Birliği ve ASEAN gibi bölgesel kuruluşlar, raporlar ve beyanlar gibi ilgili belgeleri aracılığıyla karar alma sürecinin ana başlıları ve danışma düzeyindeki katılımcıları olarak görünmektedir. Yapılan diplomasi türü oylamaya dayanmaktadır. BM Genel Kurulu'nda kararlar tek oylama ile alınır. Oylamadan önce ulus devletlerin delegeleri ile ilgili STK'lar arasında diplomasi yapılır. Süreç doğrudan zaman alıcı bir süreç olarak görülse de, BM Meclisi'nde uzlaşma sağlandıktan ve Güvenlik Konseyi tarafından onaylandıktan sonra alınan kararlara ulus devletlerin üyeleri tarafından genel olarak saygı duyulmakta ve bu kararlar insani yardımlar üzerinde kalıcı etkiler oluşturmaktadır. tüm ulus devletler için erişim ve bağlayıcı.

İnsani Diplomasi, Güncel Tartışmalar ve Alan Çalışmaları bölümünde, tez insani diplomasiye teorik yaklaşımları ve güncel tartışmaları yerleşen insani yardım ve insani yardım politikaları gibi kavramlar üzerinden anlatmıştır. Ayrıca, sosyal bilimciler için daha iyi analizlere ulaşmak ve Uluslararası/Yerel STK'lar için daha başarılı insani yardıma ulaşmak için Alan Çalışmalarının önemi vurgulanmıştır. Özellikle Uluslararası/Yerel STK'lar tarafından yürütülen insani yardım operasyonlarının ve bilim insanlarının araştırmalarının hatalarının nedeni olarak saha bilgisi eksikliği tez tarafından önerilmiştir.

Hem realizm hem de liberalizm olmak üzere iki ana teori, devletlerin hümaniterizmde öncü rol üstlendiğini öne sürer; ancak belirtmek gerekir ki liberalizm, tüm devletlerin ihtiyaç ve taleplerinin masaya yatırılabilmesi geleneksel kurumlar olarak uluslararası kuruluşlara önem vermektedir. Teori güç dağıtımını üzerine inşa edildiğinden gerçekçilik, insani politikaların güç dağıtımlarını nasıl etkilediğine odaklanır. Öte yandan, liberalizm işbirliğini ve karşılıklı bağımlılığı vurgular. Realizm, yardım ve yardım alan devletlerin göreceli kazanımlarına odaklanırken, liberalizm mutlak kazanç odaklanır. Dahası, liberalizm, bir tarafın insancılıkta daha fazla kazanabileceğini anlar, ancak karşılıklı bağımlılığın geliştirilmesi yoluyla denge dengelenebilir çünkü kazanan taraf, yardım alan taraf dengeyi istediğinde ilişkiyi sürdürmeyi tercih eder. Bu, devletlerin hesaplamaları artık daha yüksek nispi kazançlar göstermemeye başladığında durduğunu savunarak realistler tarafından doğrudan farklı yorumlanmaktadır. Bu karşılıklı noktalara ek olarak, liberalizm dünyadaki tüm devletler için ortak hedefler de belirler ve devletlerin bu hedeflere ulaşmak için uluslararası kurumlar oluşturmaları gerektiğini çünkü bu hedeflere başkalarının yardımı olmadan tek başlarına ulaşamayacaklarını savunur.

Suriye İç Savaşı ve İnsani Diplomasi bölümünde insaniyetperver bir gözle Suriye İç Savaşı değerlendirilmiştir. Bu değerlendirmede, oluşan insani krizi daha da derinleştiren iç savaş sırasında vukuu bulan gelişmeler not edilmiştir. Bunu Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'deki mevcut siyasi, hukuki, sosyal ve ekonomik durumlarının analizi izlemiştir. Bu sayede

Suriyelilerin maruz kaldıkları zor koşullar ifade edilerek ve insanietperver aktörlerin katkılarının öneminin altı çizilmiştir. İlâveten, önemi ifade edilen bu insani faaliyetlerdeki paydaşların insani diplomasideki aktörler olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Bu bölümde son olarak, yerek, ulusal ve küresel ölçekteki Suriye İç Savaşı'na yönelik faaliyet gösteren devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarından oluşan paydaşlar tanıtılmıştır.

Doğu sınırlarından Türkiye'ye daha önceki göçlerde olduğu gibi, Suriyelilere çalışma izni başta olmak üzere birçok hak sağlayacak mülteci statüsü verilmedi. Ancak muhalefet partilerinin itiraz ettiği resmi rakamlara ve Türk halkının sağduyusuna göre 4 milyona yakın Suriyeli Türkiye'de bulunuyor. Son rakamlara göre 3,7 milyon Suriyeli (ülkelerine dönen 419.000 Suriyeli hariç) geçici koruma altındadır ve 150.000 Suriyeliye Türk vatandaşlığı verilmiştir.

Bugün siyasi partiler Suriyelilere karşı popülist bir yaklaşım sergiliyor. Ana muhalefet partileri CHP ve İyi Parti, iktidara geldiklerinde tüm Suriyelileri Esad ile görüşerek ülkelerine geri göndereceklerini iddia etti. Öte yandan AKP Genel Başkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Suriyelileri Beşar Esad rejiminin zulmüne terk etmeyeceklerini iddia etse de. MHP Genel Başkanı Devlet Bahçeli, Türkgün Gazetesi'ne verdiği röportajda, Suriyelilerin demografik sorunlara yol açtığını ve kendi krizlerine geri gönderilmesi gerektiğini söyledi.

Bu nedenle, bugün Türkiye'de 10 yıllık Suriye varlığının ardından bile insani yardıma ve insani yardım kuruluşlarına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Bu nedenle insani diplomasinin uygulayıcıları olarak, insani yardım kuruluşları da dahil olmak üzere kurumlar temel bileşenlerdir.

Genel olarak konuşursak, 2012/2013'te Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Suriyeli mülteci akını ortaya çıktığında, bu, Türkiye'nin modern tarihinde devlet ve Türkiye halkı için her yönüyle en önemli mülteci deneyimiydi. Daha önce Komünist Bulgaristan ve Kafkasya'dan birkaç kez Türk mülteci Türkiye'ye yönelik Türk mülteci akını olsa da bu ülkeye gelen Suriye akını (neredeyse 4 milyon) ile kıyaslanamaz.

Türkiye ve İnsani Örgütler Arasındaki İlişki bölümünde, çalışma Türkiye'nin Batı ile ilişkisinin Türkiye'deki insani diplomasiyi nasıl etkilediğine dikkat çekiyor. Daha sonra da, ülkedeki insani diplomasinin çeşitli başarısızlıklarının yerel ve ulusal nedenleri tartışılmakta ve derinlemesine bir analiz sunulmaktadır.

Batı kökenli insani yardım kuruluşları hem toplum hem de Türkiye devleti tarafından hiçbir zaman iyi karşılanmadı. Çoğu zaman veri toplayan ve yabancı istihbarat servisleri ile paylaşan bir ajan olmakla suçlanırken, aynı zamanda mültecileri Avrupa'dan uzak tutan bir aygıt olarak muamele gördüler. Bunun temel nedeni, taraflar arasındaki hem yakın tarihli hem de tarihsel ilişkilerdir.

Son on yılda Batı (ABD + AB) ile Türkiye arasında düşmanca ortam yaratan çeşitli sorunlar var. Suriye İç Savaşı'nda hem Türkiye hem de Batı, Suriye rejimi ve IŞİD karşıtı cephe olma konusunda aynı görüşleri paylaştı. Ancak Batı, Türk ordusu DAİŞ'e karşı karada savaşırken (Fırat Kalkanı

Harekatı) DAİŞ'i ortadan kaldırmak için PYD/PKK unsurlarından oluşan SDG'yi destekleme kararı aldı. Hem AB hem de ABD, PKK'yı terör örgütü olarak tanımasına rağmen, PYD'nin PKK ile herhangi bir bağı olmadığını iddia ettiler. Ancak hem Türk devleti hem de Türkiye halkı, iki örgüt arasındaki organik bağların ve Batı'nın inkarının tepki çektiğini iddia etti. Özellikle ABD, bu yasadışı silahlı örgüte ağır silahlardan oluşan muazzam bir destek verdi.

Olaylar silsilesinde ABD'nin SDG/PYD/PKK'ya verdiği desteği Gülençiler/FETÖ'nün Türkiye'de 15 Temmuz 2016 darbe girişimi izledi. Fetullah Gülen'in ABD'de yaşıyor olması ve ABD'nin Türkiye'nin Fetullah Gülen'in iade talebini görmezden gelmesi, iki müttefik arasındaki ilişkileri daha da gerdi. Son olarak ve ne yazık ki, Papaz Brunson davası ve ABD'nin Türkiye'ye uyguladığı yaptırımlar ikili ilişkilerde bir çıkmaza yol açtı. Öte yandan AB-Türkiye cephesi de son on yılda dalgalı bir seyir izliyor. Türkiye'nin AB adaylık sürecinde başarısızlığa uğraması, Doğu Akdeniz'de Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasında giderek artan gerilim ve AB'nin dürüst bir arabuluculuktan uzak partizan yaklaşımı, AB ülkelerinin darbe girişimi karşısındaki belirsiz duruşu ve Libya'daki Fransız-Türk rekabeti. , Türk kamuoyunu AB'ye karşı etkiledi. 2016'daki AB-Türkiye mülteci anlaşması, Türk vatandaşları için vizesiz bir rejim ve mülteciler için 6 milyar Euro'luk finansman sağladığından, yakınlaşma için verimli bir fırsat olabilir. Ancak ne vizesiz rejim ne de 6 milyar avro henüz sağlanmadı. Türk toplumu tarafından olumsuz algılanan ve buna paralel olarak STK'lar arasında iki

cephe arasındaki mülteci anlaşması, Batı'nın Suriyelileri Türkiye'de tutma aygıtı olarak görülüyordu.

Son on yılda ortaya çıkan sorunlar ve genel emperyalizm karşıtlığı, ülkedeki insani faaliyetlere karşı Türk toplumu ve bürokrasisi nezdinde olumsuz bir bakış açısı yarattı. Sonuç olarak, Batı kökenli STK'lar, projelerini uygulamak için resmi izinler almaya çalışırken kapsamlı denetimler ve yavaşlayan prosedürlerle karşılaştı.

Yukarıda bahsedilen özcülüğe paralel olarak, koşulsuz insani idealizm, INGO'ların Türkiye deneyimi ile sunulmuştur. Temelde Türkiye'deki siyasi ve tarihsel bağlam göz ardı edilmektedir. Türkiye'deki bazı INGO binaları, SDG'nin (Suriye Demokratik Güçleri) kontrolündeki bölgelere yardım etmeye karar verdi. Ancak QSD, PKK'nın (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) kardeş örgütü olarak değerlendiriliyor ve Türkiye'de terör örgütü ilan ediliyor. Sonuç olarak, daha sonra Türkiye'deki ofislerini kapatması gereken Mercy Corps ve Medecine Sant Frontier gibi INGO'lardan bazıları Türk Devleti tarafından para cezasına çarptırıldı. Özellikle devletin olumsuz yaklaşımıyla birleştiğinde hem mülteciler hem de örgütler açısından insani yardımcılığın yıkıcı sonuçları kaçınılmaz hale geliyor.

Yardımların siyasallaşması da Türkiye'de yaşanan bir diğer gerçektir. Türkiye ile AB arasındaki 18 Mart 2016 Protokolü, AB ülkelerinin Suriyeli mülteci krizine siyasi yaklaşımını gösteren net bir tablodur. Pease bunu "yardımın güvenlikleştirilmesi" olarak adlandırsa da, bir güvenlik

meselesi olmaktan uzak, temel bir oryantalist yaklaşım oluřturuyor. Baęıřçı lkeler (bu durumda AB), projeleri maniple ederek gerek ihtiyalara hitap etmek yerine Suriyelileri Trkiye'de tutmayı hedefleyen projelere odaklanmak istiyor. Genel olarak sorun, yardım grevlilerinin yetkililerle koordineli olarak sahada yaptıkları deęerlendirmelere raęmen STK'ların genel merkezlerinde ortaya ıkıyor. Fon almak iin, baęıř yapan lkelerin greli brokratları ile STK liderlięi, gerek ihtiyalara bakılmaksızın her yıl aynı sektrlerdeki projeleri finanse etmekte ısrar ediyor. rneęin devlet bir kampta hijyen projeleri isterken, devlet tarafından talep edilmeyen bir eęitim projesine fon saęlanmaktadır. Bu řekilde devletin karřılayamadıęı ihtiyaların karřılanması birincil amacı olması gereken STK'lar asli grevlerini yerine getirememekte ve bu projelere ayrılan fonlar ihtiya sahiplerine ulařtırılamamaktadır.

Dolayısıyla devlet ve mlteciler artık bu benzer projelere ilgi gstermiyor. Kısacası, bu l doęmuř projeler, STK'ların savunmasız insanlara olan faydalarını azaltıyor ve hkmet bu STK'ya ilgi gstermiyor.

Son blm olan Trkiye'de İnsani Diplomasi Aktrleri iin Tavsiyeler'de, halihazırda incelenen devlet-insani yardım kuruluřları iliřkisindeki hatalara ynelik neriler geliřtirilmiřtir. Buradaki temel ama, insani yardım kuruluřlarının insani diplomalarında yaptıkları hatalardan nasıl kaınmaları gerektięi sorusu yanıtlanmaya alıřılmıř olup aynı zamanda konuyu alıřan akademisyenlerin konuyu daha gereki bir řekilde ele alabilmeleri iin neriler geliřtirilmiřtir.

Başlangıç olarak, belirli bir ülkede faaliyet göstermeye başlamadan önce yapılması gereken en temel nokta bağlam analizidir. "Bağlam analizinin amacı, insani yardım görevlilerinin sosyo-kültürel, politik, ekonomik ve coğrafi faktörleri daha iyi anlamalarını sağlamaktır". Yani herhangi bir ülkede faaliyete geçmeden önce bir STK'nın a, b ve c'sidir. Birçok Uluslararası STK bağlam analizini tamamlıyor, ancak özetle, bu süreçte iki hata ortaya çıkıyor.

Genellikle bu bağlam analizi, Türkiye ve Türkiye'nin siyasi, hukuki ve idari düzeni konusunda uzman olmayan biri tarafından yapılır, ancak örgütün merkezindeki güvenlik departmanında çalışan ilgili bir personel tarafından yapılır. Belge STK'ların risk yönetimi için hayati ve omurga niteliğinde bir belge olduğundan, belgenin yerel bir uzman veya bir akademik kurum tarafından hazırlanması gerekmektedir.

İkincisi, bağlam analizi rafta toz bekleyerek kalmamalıdır. Aksine, bağlam analizi her politikanın (finans-insan kaynakları-lojistik-program)/projenin karar verme sürecinde referans belgelerden biri olmalıdır. Sorumlu güvenlik görevlisinin odak noktası, bağlam analizine dayalı olarak başlangıçta tavsiyesini (risk değerlendirmesi) vermelidir.

Devletlerin egemenliği, günümüz uluslararası ilişkilerinde zorunlu bir gerçektir. Yardıma bağımlı bazı Afrika ülkelerinde çalışan INGO'lar bu gerçeğe karşılaşmayabilir ve Uluslararası STK'lar hükümetlerle müzakere edip bir ilişki kurmasına gerek yoktu. Ancak günümüz çatışmaları, zayıf devletlerin farklı bağlamlarda konumlandığı farklı konumlarda yer

almaktadır. Dolayısıyla, geniş ve sağlam bir devletin olduđu Türkiye örneğinde olduđu gibi, Uluslararası STK'lar devletlerin egemenliđi konusunda yeni taktikler geliřtirmelidir. Yukarıda bahsedilen bağlam analizi bu noktada yeterli deđildir, ancak farkındalıđın özüdür.

Bu durumda, hem yerel hem de ÷lke düzeyinde insani diplomasi adı verilen benzersiz ve etkili diplomasi/irtibat, Uluslararası STK'lar tarafından gerçekleştirilmelidir. Bu diplomasi sonucunda devletle kurulan iliřki, birçok zorluđun üstesinden gelebilir.

Ulusal düzeyde diplomasi oldukça kritik bir konudur. Türkiye örneğinde, idarenin merkezi olması ve illerde yapılması planlanan faaliyetlere iliřkin her türlü kararın Ankara'daki ilgili bakanlıklar tarafından onaylanması gerektiđinden, ulusal düzeydeki bakıř açısı belirleyicidir. Bu nedenle sahadaki Uluslararası STK'lar temsilcileri iliřkileri sürdürürken, başkentte üst düzey iletiřim takip edilmelidir. Birçok Uluslararası STK'lar, Türkiye'deki ulusal düzeydeki diplomasiyi baltalıyor. Bu Uluslararası STK'ların ve menřei ÷lkelerine yönelik ön yargılar nedeniyle yetkililerle sahada yeterli bağları olmasına rađmen, ulusal düzeydeki yönetim Uluslararası STK'lar projelerine gerekli izinleri vermekten çekinmektedir.

Öte yandan sahadaki diplomasi, Uluslararası STK'lar için bir beka sorunudur. Bu diplomasi günlük insani yardım operasyonlarını sürdürürken, temsilci dođrudan bilgi kaynađı ile Uluslararası STK'lar karar vericileri arasında kritik bir köprü görevi görür. Öte yandan, sahadaki güçlü iliřkiler koruyucu olabilir. Yardım eden ÷lkeler ile Türkiye arasındaki iliřkiler

gerginleştğinde ve Uluslararası STK’lar üzerinde yukarıda bahsedilen baskı oluştuğunda, saha düzeyinde güçlü kişisel bağlantılar baskıyı azaltabilir ve “olumsuz barış” sağlayabilir. Bu şekilde Uluslararası STK’lar, insani yardım çalışanlarını ve devam eden operasyonunu güvende tutabilir.

Yerel personelle çalışmak ve karar alma sürecinin demokratikleştirilmesi, Uluslararası STK’lar tarafından alınabilecek bir diğer önleyici tedbirdir. Doğal olarak, ülke bağlamında bir birim olarak yerel personel ülke hakkında daha fazla bilgiye sahiptir. Öte yandan, uluslararası personelin varlığı, özellikle yeni ülkede birimlerini kurarken, deneyimleri sayesinde birçok prosedüre yol açabilecekleri için önemlidir. Ayrıca, şeffaflığı sağlamak için tüm lojistik, finansal ve insan kaynakları prosedürlerinde nispeten "tarafsız" yaklaşımları esastır. Kısaca, her iki farklı doğal niteliklere sahip insan kaynağı kullanılarak verimlilik artırılabilir.

Daha deneyimli oldukları için genellikle üst unvanlarda yer alan uluslararası personel karar vericilerdir. Yukarıda bahsedilen verimliliği yansıtmak için, yerel personelin katkısı sadece danışma düzeyinde kalmamalı, aynı zamanda seçmen olarak karar alma sürecinin bir parçası olmalıdır. Özellikle Türkiye gibi yeterli nitelikli insan gücünün bulunduğu bir ülkede Uluslararası STK’lar yerel ve uluslararası personelin rol ve sorumluluklarını dengelemelidir. Bu, bir Uluslararası STK’lar için devlet tarafından olumsuz tepki gösterebilecek herhangi bir eylemden kaçınmak ve savunmasız insanlara insani yardımı durdurmak için otomatik bir emniyet kemeri oluşturacaktır.

Kısacası, Türk Devleti ile farklı düzeylerde (yerel ve ulusal) ortaya çıkan STK'lar arasındaki ilişkideki sorunlar ve bu zorlukların üstesinden gelmek için olası çözümler bu tez aracılığıyla sergilenmektedir. Ayrıca, ülke egemenliğine saygı gösterilerek gerçekçi insani diplomasinin önemi vurgulanmaktadır. Çözümler ve tavsiyeler, Türkiye örneğine göre verilmiştir ancak diğer coğrafi bağlamlarda farklılık gösterebilir. Ancak, hatalardan kaçınmak ve etkili ve sürekli insani yardım sağlamak için STK'lar bulundukları ülkenin bağlamını incelemeli ve anlamalıdır. Sonuç olarak, bu noktada Alan Çalışmaları insani çalışmalar için vazgeçilmezdir. Alan Çalışmaları'nın katkısıyla İnsani Diplomasi literatürü zenginleşecek ve insani yardım faaliyetleri bu sayede daha isabetli olup hedef kitlelere daha etkili bir şekilde ulaşacaktır.

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