

DWW'S HUMANITARIAN SPACE IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

by

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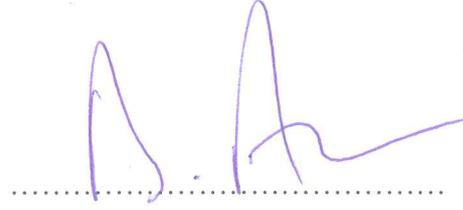
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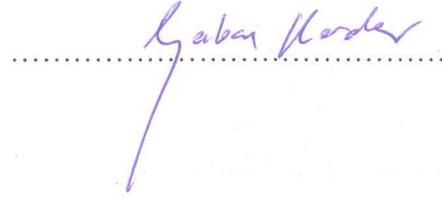
DWW'S HUMANITARIAN SPACE IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

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ABSTRACT

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1990's were the rising decade for constructivism in the field of international relations. During this time, realism started to lose its significance against constructivism. Also, norms, traditions and cultures started to be on the frontline rather than security, state interests and power. This trend was there for theorists as well as for decision-makers and policy-makers. As a result of the rising constructivism, a critical perspective for critical geopolitics secured its part in the literature. Critical geopolitics' dynamic situation analysis is more preferable for policy-makers than classical geopolitics because it is not bound to strict rules and assumptions. This emerging critical perspective of geopolitics resulted in four types of new branches. These are formal, popular, structural and practical geopolitics. Each branch explains a different part of the world politics, and states are using them to create a better perspective for the system of international relations.

In this thesis, I would like to argue that the humanitarian space also emerged as a new branch of critical geopolitics in the literature, besides the other four that have been mentioned. After the failure of humanitarian interventions of 1990's, humanitarian space was created as a new type of critical geopolitics. With it, states were able to create different approaches to the humanitarian issues. Turkish foreign policy was also transformed in the twenty first century. Its transformation was from a status quo type of structure to a dynamic structure. This dynamic structure resulted in the establishment of different types of institutions in Turkey, like the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Yunus Emre Foundation (YEF), Turks Abroad and Related Communities (TARC) and other Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

Doctors Worldwide (DWW) is one of these NGOs, also active in Turkey, which specializes on health. It is providing humanitarian aid for the least developed countries, especially to the countries in the African continent. Within a decade, DWW Turkey became one of the most active branches of DWW in the world. It was able to generate a significant amount of aid, and was able to develop projects in line with the Turkish foreign policy. In this thesis, activities of DWW will be explained under the theoretical framework of critical geopolitics, humanitarian space, humanitarian system, and changing parameters of the Turkish foreign policy, where the relations between these elements will be further examined.

ÖZET

YERYÜZÜ DOKTORLARI'NIN TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASINDAKİ İNSANİ YARDIM ALANI

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Anahtar kelimeler: insani yardım alanı, YYD, inşacılık, eleştirel jeopolitik, Türk dış politikası

1990'lar, Uluslararası İlişkiler alanında inşacılığın yükseldiği yıllar olmuştur. Bu tarihten itibaren realizm inşacılık karşısında önem kaybetmeye başlamıştır. Yine bu süreçte, normlar, gelenekler ve kültürler, güvenlik, devlet çıkarları ve güç gibi kavramlarından daha fazla ön planda olmuşlardır. Bu yeni eğilim teorisyenleri etkilediği kadar karar vericiler ve siyaset yapıcılarını da etkilemiştir. İnşacılığın yükselmesiyle birlikte, eleştirel jeopolitik bakış açısı literatürdeki yerini almıştır. Katı kurallar ve saptamalarla sınırlandırılmaması sebebiyle, eleştirel jeopolitiğin dinamik yapısı siyaset yapıcılar için klasik jeopolitikten daha fazla tercih edilir olmasını sağlamıştır. Eleştirel jeopolitiğin ortaya çıkışı dört ayrı branşın da doğmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. Bunlar resmi, popüler, yapısal ve pratik jeopolitiktir. Her branş dünya siyasetinin farklı bir alanını açıklamaktadır ve devletler bu şekilde uluslararası ilişkiler sistemi içerisinde daha iyi bir bakış açısı geliştirebilmektedirler.

Bu tezde, insani yardım alanının eleştirel jeopolitiğin diğer 4 dalından farklı ve yeni bir dal olarak ortaya çıkışından bahsedeceğim. 1990'larda yaşanan insani müdahalelerdeki başarısızlığın sonucu olarak insani yardım alanı yeni bir eleştirel jeopolitik olarak gündeme gelmiş ve devletlerin insani konulardaki farklı yaklaşımlarını ortaya çıkarmışlardır. Bütün bu değişimler olurken, Türk dış politikası da 21. yüzyılda değişime uğramıştır. Bu değişim statükocu yapıdan revizyonist yapıya doğru olmuştur. Bu dinamik yapı Türkiye'de Türk İşbirliği Koordinasyonunu Ajansı, Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı ve Türk Sivil Toplum Örgütlerini doğurmuştur.

Yeryüzü doktorları (YYD) Türkiye'de de aktif olan ve sağlık alanında uzmanlaşan bir sivil toplum örgütüdür. YYD en az gelişmiş ülkelere insani yardım sağlamakta, özellikle de bu ülkelerin yoğun olarak bulunduğu Afrika kıtasına bu yardımları iletmektedir. On yıl içinde YYD Türkiye şubesi YYD'nin dünyadaki en aktif şubelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. YYD, Türk dış politikasının çizgisini takip ederek önemli miktarlarda yardımlar yapmış ve projeler geliştirmiştir. Bu tezde YYD'nin aktiviteleri eleştirel jeopolitik, insani yardım alanı ve insani yardım sistemi içerisinde incelenecek ve Türk dış politikasındaki değişen parametrelerle birlikte bu konuların arasındaki ilişkiler değerlendirilecektir.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The first nine decades of 20th century, world politics continued under the sovereignty of liberalism and mostly realism with classical geopolitical theories. States used and benefited from the classical geopolitical theories under the influence of realism and liberalism during this long period. In this period, the world politics and foreign policies of states were centered around the ideas of state and security. The end of the Cold War changed this mentality and a new era started in world politics with a fresh perspective. In order to understand the changes in the world politics after the Cold War, I will be explaining realism and constructivism in the first part of the second chapter.

Main actors of the 20th century were the states. However, states are no longer the only actor in the world politics in the 21st century, which also contributes to the decreasing importance of realism and the rise of constructivism in the world politics. As a result, multi-dimensionality started to establish sovereignty in the world politics. In other words, states are no longer the only decision-makers in the world politics.

At the same time, a critical perspective emerged in geopolitics, named as the critical geopolitics. This perspective also refers to the multi-dimensionality. In contrast to the traditional geopolitical perspective, critical geopolitics is based on the constructivist approach. Hence, I will be explaining the classical geopolitics, critical geopolitics, their roots and their comparison in the second part of the second chapter.

The last decade of the 20th century is also a decade where humanitarianism fails across the world. During this time, the United Nation's humanitarian interventions either failed or got a limited success. As a result, the humanitarian system and space squashed into the realist perspective of the world politics. The answer to incarceration was versatility. In other words, critical geopolitics and constructivism provided an opportunity to a multi-actor analysis of the world politics. So, I realized an opportunity to identify how NGOs cast a positive role in the humanitarian space, focusing specifically on Doctors Worldwide.

There are still some obstacles and challenges against humanitarian space and system in the world politics. Thus, in the third chapter, I will explain the humanitarian space and system, their pillars, and the obstacles and challenges facing them.

Constructivism and critical geopolitics are not the only variables to explain the increasing role of NGOs in the world politics. Foreign policies of states also come forth as another variable. For instance, establishment of the new Turkish foreign policy is one of the reasons for DWW's increasing importance. The Turkish branch of DWW was established in 2000 and chose health as their field of specialization. Since then, DWW Turkey managed to become one of the most active and influential NGOs in Turkey. Their humanitarian activities have reached forty countries, with a special focus on the least developed and developing countries in the world. Consecutively, Africa became the main target of humanitarian aids of DWW. Although they encountered many challenges in establishing and maintaining this humanitarian space, they were able to realize pretty important projects. During my researches about thesis, I realized that there are many similarities between Turkey's Africa policy, its economical perspective, interests and DWW's roles as an NGO. Thus, it is possible to say that the DWW's activities materialize under the activity fields of Turkish foreign policy. Under that perspective, I will explain DWW and the projects that it has realized in the fourth chapter.

1990s were the years when the Turkish foreign policy was dominated by its status quos. In addition, Turkey was also surrounded by conflicts on the neighborhoods (Bayer & Keyman, 2012, p. 83). The policy was to follow that of the western bloc, thus Turkish foreign policy was not able to react to the developments of world politics. Moreover, economic conditions, single-dimension foreign policies and instability in the domestic politics were other reasons behind this uncreative and limited foreign policy. However, conditions changed in the beginning of the 21st century. Turkey transformed from a country with little economic power, an implementer of single-dimension foreign policies and an instable domestic political environment to a country of strong economic outlook, implementer and creator of multi-dimensional foreign policies and stable domestic political environment. Moreover, Turkey aimed to expand its geopolitical perspective from a geographically limited environment to comprise the whole world. During this

transformation phase, Turkey made extensions to different geographies, but the reach for Africa was the most attractive and significant one, as it was the first success, although obviously not the first trial. Turkey focused on Africa to increase the trade volume, develop economic relations, diversify its foreign policy and also help that in need. As this foreign policy expansion became successful, NGOs were able to obtain a movement area in Africa as well. In the fourth chapter, I will explain this transformation of Turkish foreign policy, the historical background of Turkey-Africa relations, focus on the changes in this relation during the 21st century and then underline the role of NGOs in the Turkish foreign policy in the fifth chapter.

In conclusion, I will answer whether DWW has a role in the humanitarian space and system. The other question I will focus on will be the role of DWW in Turkish foreign policy.

In this thesis, I used qualitative methods. Case study was the most suitable method to answer my research question on the role of NGOs in the humanitarian system and space, and their progress for gaining functionality. I also supported the thesis with several interviews conducted with donors, administrators and volunteers of DWW. These interviews allowed me to get first-hand impressions about DWW, its projects and working methods.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Idealism, Realism, and Constructivism are the three most prominent theories of international relations (IR). Idealism emerged after the WWI; but collapsed in the 1940s. Its legacy, the League of Nations, also collapsed with WWII. After WWII, Realism emerged as a response and reaction to Idealism and dominated the IR literature. The increasing security concerns of the states contributed to the dominance and importance of Realism. In the beginning of the 1980s, the constructivist approach as a criticism of Realism and Liberalism gained popularity and prevalence in IR literature (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, p. 277). From then on, Constructivism expanded in the literature step by step with the increasing of importance of transnational and international organizations.

a. Realism

The realist theory emerged after WWI as the idealist theory which turned out to be insufficient to explain the developments that led to WWII. It criticized the implementation of rationalism on individuals. This also led to the emergence of the first great debate which was criticism of idealism from realists (Schmidt, 2012, pp. 16-33). This first great debate is important for the fact that it designed the frame of the IR literature (Thompson, 1982, p. 328).

After the inefficacy of the League of Nations, the common perspective among intellectuals and academicians was that the idealist perspective and rationalization of individuals were also doomed. Military power increased its significance in the relations among states. Reforming international organizations emerged as a must. Realist

intellectuals criticized idealist intellectuals harshly for the rising number of dictatorships among the leadership of European states. The main argument against idealism was that humans were not perfect and that idealism was not going to bring them any closer to perfection. (Aydın, 2004, p. 35)

Realists focused mainly on the power and interests of the state. They believed that there is anarchy in international relations. They believed that values and rules were part of the international relations. However, also they added that threat of a force is an obligatory condition to obey the rules (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 54). In opposition to an idealist, the realists believed that the chances for an international cooperation are pretty minimal in the real world. They believed that wars were inevitable and cooperation is only possible if it serves to benefits of state (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 65). So, instead of disarmament, states should be prepared to engage in battle in order to achieve peace. During this debate between idealists and realists, WWII started. All in all, the first great debate resulted in absolute victory of realists.

Realism had absolute dominance in IR literature from 1930s until the 1980s. There was much criticism against realism due to issues such as over-implementation of security, power, and - state being the core actor - the determinist approaches of states, the importance attributed to the interests of states but realism never lost its importance and popularity – not even today.

i. Main Dynamics of Realism

According to the realist doctrine, state is the most important actor of international relations and there is no single authority in the international arena. It is believed that the conflicts among states can only be resolved with wars since the states do not accept a sovereign authority as a mediator during such clashes. As a result, power is the main theme

of the realist doctrine. Despite the anarchic environment in the international area, there are hierarchical rankings between states according to their power level.

In realist perspective, states can still cooperate with each other in order to provide security. However, even if there is cooperation among them, security of the states should be based on their own power. It is thus no surprise that the realist doctrine accepts conflicts and war to be inherent realities of international relations.

ii. Intellectual Precursors

The roots of realism go back to Thucydides who was an Athenian classical political theorist (Korab-Karpowicz, 2013). Thucydides also served as an Athenian general during the war (Thucydides, 1974, p. 1). His book *The History of the Peloponnesian War* talks about powerful actors who can do whatever they want and less powerful actors who have to accept the acts of more powerful ones (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 55). In his book, Thucydides reflects his realist thoughts through the Melian Dialogue that mentions the conversation between Athenian generals and the leaders of Melian (Connor, 1984, p. 159).

Machiavelli is another precursor of the realist doctrine. He recommends the maximization of the governors' powers. Moreover, he emphasizes that the priority of the governors is to protect the interest of the state and the society. According to Machiavelli, governors can waltz on his promise if required. (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 55)

Thomas Hobbes is as valuable as precursor of realism like Machiavelli. Another precursor of the realist doctrine is Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes refers to the pre-social contract era, and defines it as a state of nature. In the state of nature, every life is in danger and the interactions among people are full of conflicts. (Donnelly, 2004, pp. 13-15). According to Hobbes, people transfer their authority to the absolute authority to prevent these conflicts and clashes. This transfer of authority to the state ends the anarchic environment among

individuals but then causes anarchic disputes among states. (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013, p. 71-72)

Thucydides, Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes are three of the most important precursors of realist doctrine. Their perspectives and approaches based on main dynamics of realism as a international relation theory. These three intellectuals were precursors of realism. Although there are many different variants in the realist doctrine, the main assumptions that commonly exist are summarized as follows:

- States are the core actors of world politics
- Power, security, and self-interest are the most important factors for states
- Power is defined by the military power
- There is anarchy in the international arena
- There is no sovereign authority in the international arena
- Wars and conflicts are inevitable
- International institutions can play an important role in the international arena only if they have the power to implement sanctions on the states
- Human beings are selfish, so rational acts cannot be expected from them

Realism became the most important and dominant theory in the IR literature until 1980s. From then on, with the rising of constructivism as a critique of realism and liberalism, the constructivist approach started to spread rapidly (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, p. 277)

b. Social Constructivism

Idealism and Realism are thought to be the major theories in IR literature. Social constructivism also gained ground rapidly to be one of these major theories at the end of the Cold War. Social constructivism is believed to be a middle ground or a bridge between the two other major theories. The most distinguishing feature of social constructivism is

that it focuses on identity culture and human consciousness, unlike the other two widely known theories (Ruggie, 1998, p. 879).

Despite its popularity in literature, there is also dispute regarding social constructivism on whether it is a theory or not; as some scholars call social constructivism an approach, rather than a theory (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 186).

Constructivism focuses on the role and effect of ideas to shape world politics rather than solely material resources (Ruggie, 1998, p. 867). Constructivism also values material resources, but it attaches more importance to ideas than material structures. (Lapid & Kratochwil, 1996, pp. 47-65).

Social constructivists argue that the power and interests of the states are not the epicenter of international politics. Intellectual components are more important than power. The previous international system of security comes from physical assets like weapons. However, intellectual components are more important than those physical assets, as all physical assets are worthless without the sufficient intellectual components (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013, p. 212).

The best explanation of constructivism comes from Wendt: “500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons, because the British are friends of the United States and the North Koreans are not” (Wendt, 1995, p. 73). It was the best explanation for social constructivism regarding the intellectual components of international politics. Wendt explains that actors’ thoughts about other actors are more important than material assets alone.

Social constructivist theory argues that there are certain norms and institutions in the international area even if the states break these norms from time to time. Hence, social constructivism prefers to use international society rather than an international system due to the importance of norms, cultures, and thoughts.

Social constructivists accept that the modern international society is anarchical but it is neither completely chaotic nor violent. It also emphasizes that there is no single hierarchical government among the states (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 194).

For social constructivists, identity is vital like power is for the Realists. They are also interested in the changes and construction of these identities (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 197). Even though social constructivists accept that changes are possible for identities, it is not so common.

All in all, the main assumptions of social constructivism are:

- Constructivism is an approach rather than a theory
- Social constructivism emphasizes the importance of identities, norms, institutions, and cultures in the international society
- Social constructivists prefer to attribute importance to the international society rather than the international system
- Intellectual components are more important than physical military assets (Stearns & Pettiford, 2010, p. 200).

As a result, with social constructivism, an IR theory attaches huge and rational importance to the international institutions. Although realists and idealists also attribute some importance to the international organizations, the realists support them with the threat of force and idealists stayed too optimistic about international organizations.

In a changing world with shifting paradigms after the Cold War, international institutions and organizations have continued to gain importance and this trend is best explained by Social Constructivism theory.

c. Geopolitics

There is no exact definition of geopolitics because geopolitics evolved with every major change in societies and state strategies with new varieties and new features in order to analyze and explain the strategies of states. Geopolitics was a term used in the social science discipline which focuses both on geographical features and politics of states.

Geopolitics further uses constituents of the human geography to research the use and arguments of power (Flint, 2006, p. 27). Geopolitics is not the synonym of geographical position. Geographical position is the location of a country in the world whereas the geopolitical position explains the position of the country in respect of the political structure of the world. Hence, geographical position is a constant variable. On the contrary, geopolitical position is inconstant variable (Wesser, 1994, pp. 402-403). Due to the inconsistency of variables, geopolitical location can change in time depending on the variations of variables' values.

i. Classical Geopolitics

Classical geopolitical theorists attached huge importance to the geographical features of states. According to them, geographical location of a state is the core element of state policies. Although there were many theorists with different perspectives, their intersection point was the control of strategic lands for states.

Rudolf Kjellen was first to use geopolitics as a term. He was a student of Ratzel's and was inspired by the works of Ratzel. He was against Norway's independence from Sweden. Yet, the Swedish-Norwegian union dissolved in 1905 and after that, he supported the goals of the German Empire in Europe (Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics*, 2005, p. 34). Friedrich Ratzel, who was referred to as the father of geopolitics, was another traditional geopolitics theorist. He defined geography as an essential element of social sciences (Hagan, 1942, p. 485). According to him, states are living organisms and they grow. Growing states absorb smaller states in order to open up living space for themselves. States are living organisms so they cannot be restricted (Ratzel, 1898, p. 351). Every great state needs more land for its people in order to continue its development. These expanding lands are defined as a *lebensraum* or living space by Ratzel (Smith, 1980, pp. 51-68). Geopolitics was initially systemized by Friedrich Ratzel. Alfred Thayer Mahan, who was a naval officer in the U.S. naval forces, was another classical geopolitics theorist. He was also the

first geopolitical theorist of the U.S.A. He attached importance to controlling the seas. He also argued that U.S.A. had to establish dominancy over the high seas in order to be a world power (Russell, 2006, p. 120). Sir Halford Mackinder, who was another classical geopolitics theorist, was a theoretician of the Geographical Pivot of the History. That was the first location-based-theory in the world, and he emphasized land dominancy in Europe since the river system of Eurasia is a closed system. In other words, there is no connection between the river system of Eurasia and the main seas of Europe (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 1997, p. 155). He invented the concepts of Heartland and inner crescent based on the importance of the locations of the states. According to Mackinder, there was no land for states to expand, therefore positions/locations of states gained importance in order to become a hegemonic power. This is why Mackinder placed value at the Heartland of Eurasia. Karl Haushofer was another important intellectual in geopolitics. His main target was to break the limits of the Versailles Treaty for Germany. He was an officer in the German Army. He used Ratzel's Lebensraum and Mackinder's Heartland definitions (Diner, 1999, pp. 164-167).



Figure 1: The natural seats of power (Mackinder, 2004, p. 321)

WWII caused a shift in geopolitics when air force gained importance for the theoreticians of geopolitics. Alexander P. De Seversky was one of the geopolitics theorists who attributed importance to air force. He served in the Russian navy during WWI. Then, he acquired U.S. citizenship in 1927 (Meilinger, 2002, p. 8). He wrote two books about the importance of aviation power. In his first book *Victory Through Air Power* (Seversky, 1942), he claimed that the dominance of naval force collapsed and air force gained dominance after WWII. In 1950, he wrote another book called *Air Power: Key to Survival* (Seversky, 1950) in order to defend his thoughts about the importance of aviation power. He argued that naval and land forces depended on air forces. Seversky divided the world into two sections as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. He said that the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union had equal power and their industrial centers were close enough to bomb with air forces.

ii. Critical Geopolitics

There were many changes in international relations with the end of the Cold War. Constructivism emerged as an alternative to liberalism and realism, and gained strength against other international relations theories. During that period, theoreticians developed many geopolitical theories and the geopolitics theories transformed slowly.

Critical geopolitics also emerged after the Cold War with perspectives different than the former geopolitical theories. The main difference of critical geopolitics is the construing theories regarding world politics. In other words, critical geopolitics did not divide the world based on power to try to understand world politics. However, critical geopolitics did not emerge as a complete theory about geopolitics. Transformation of geopolitics did not take place at once. It happened step by step with conjuncture of the world politics. After the Cold War, theoreticians developed new theories in line with the conversion of world politics.

There were many changes in geopolitical theories after the Cold War. However, increased importance attributed to organizations and the shifting of state-centric perspectives were the most significant ones..

Critical geopolitics emerged in the 1980s, and increased its importance after the collapse of the Soviet Union as the institutions started to gain strength. Critical geopolitics states that geopolitics is about the connections among power, information, social and political relations (Dodds, 1999, p. 33). Another explanation about critical geopolitics from Gearóid Ó Tuathail is that critical geopolitics used politics, culture, identity, economy, gender, development, and geographies (Dalby, 2010, p. 281). Classical geopolitics developed with realism. However, critical geopolitics established a bridge between geopolitics and international relations in contrast to classical geopolitics (Power & Campbell, 2010, p. 243). The aim of critical geopolitics is not developing a theory. So, critical geopolitics was the starting point of different approaches for geopolitics after the Cold War. So, scholars of critical geopolitics reconceptualize geopolitics in different ways. The first feature of critical geopolitics is that it does not attach importance to borders rigidly because influence areas are also important for critical geopolitics. In other words, state power cannot be limited inside its borders. The power of state can also be implemented outside of its territory. Secondly, according to critical geopolitics, division of domestic and foreign environments is impossible. Therefore, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and humanitarian organizations also play a key role in world politics (Flint, 2006, p. 23). Thirdly, scholars of critical geopolitics has mentioned that geopolitics is interested in the connections between power-knowledge, social and political relations (Dodds, 2005, p. 29). Fourthly, discourses are pretty important for critical geopolitics. Political speeches can support the spread of ideas in world politics. Fifthly, states are not the only key actor of international politics. Non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations and firms also have importance because these institutions are not connected to only one state. So, they can influence many areas and states at same time. Finally, critical geopolitics researches to find out the covered politics of geopolitical knowledge (Tuathail, 2003, p. 3).

Critical geopolitics has opened a new perspective to geopolitics. Although it is not complete theory, state-centric geopolitical approaches started to lose their ground and non-state actors gained strength with the emergence of critical geopolitics. However, critical geopolitics is still developing. Its progress has not completed yet. In addition, there is no common definition on critical geopolitics.

Critical geopolitics is not a complete theory. It was not called a critical geopolitical theory because the critical geopolitics approach is a problem-based approach. It did not try to create a complete solution to world politics. It used critical theory of international relations as a theory and tried to develop approaches about world politics. The critical theory of international relations is a constructivist theory which attracts attention of rationalism. Critical geopolitics criticizes the strict power and state-centric theories and attaches importance to rationalism like constructivism does. The main criticism of critical geopolitical theoretician is that the realist theory tries to legitimize power policies of states (Dodds, 1999, p. 33). Nonetheless, although critical geopolitics criticizes realism, it also criticizes idealism. Hence, it is easy to say that critical geopolitics is closer to constructivism than realism and idealism. In other words, even though both critical geopolitics and constructivism emerged after the Cold War at the same time period, constructivism is the critique of realism and idealism. Then it gained strength after the Cold War. Just like constructivism, critical geopolitics also gained strength as a reaction to classical geopolitical theories after the Cold War.

1. Types of critical geopolitics

Critical geopolitics is not a complete theory like the international relations theories or classical geopolitical theories. It is an approach to the current situation with a geopolitical perspective. Critical geopolitics does not mean a criticism of geopolitical theories. It emerged as a new approach on geopolitics with a new perspective. Gearóid Ó Tuathail and other critical geopolitics theorists categorized critical geopolitics in four

separates: formal geopolitics, popular geopolitics, practical geopolitics, and structural geopolitics.

i. Formal geopolitics

Formal geopolitics remarks the spatializing of the practices of strategic thinkers and state intellectuals (intellectuals who work for the state administration). They also work at strategic institutes in the civil society (Tuathail, 2005, pp. 46-47). Even though the types of critical geopolitics differ from classical geopolitical theories, formal geopolitics is a closer approach to classical geopolitics theories because formal geopolitics also focuses on formal foreign policy actors. These actors are not only state government officials; they are also academicians, professionals, and intellectual members of think-tank organizations. In other words, formal geopolitics refers to the analysis of enlightened people. To sum up, formal geopolitics refers to the “formalized theories and grand strategic visions of geopolitical intellectuals” (Tuathail, 1999, p. 113).

ii. Popular geopolitics

Popular geopolitics refers to geographical policy which is shaped by social media and other elements of popular culture (i.e. movies). During the 1990s and first five years of 2000s, movies and TV series were the most important figures for geographical policies of states. After 2005, social media became widespread and it also became one of the most significant figures of geographical policy of states. Globalization and increasing speed of information also affect the importance of popular geopolitics (Dittme & Sharp, 2014, p. 7).

iii. Practical geopolitics

Practical geopolitics refers to implementation of geopolitical strategy. This geopolitical strategy includes implementation of daily foreign policy. It also refers how geopolitical strategy, geographical understanding and perceptions frame conceptualization and decision-making (Gaile & Willmott, 2004, p. 173). The geographical perspective of the state affects either conceptualization or decision-making process. Plus, geography of a state's foreign policy is about practical geopolitics. To illustrate, the intervention of the U.S.A in Bosnia was shaped by the foreign policy perspective of U.S.A. In addition, NGOs and organizations are also a part of practical geopolitics since they have become significant figures of foreign policy and states' acts nowadays.

iv. Structural geopolitics

Structural geopolitics includes the structural processes and perspectives which condition foreign policy implementation of states. These structural processes include globalization, informationalization, and developing technologies (Gray & Sloan, 2013, p. 110).

iii. Comparison of Classical & Critical Geopolitics

Critical geopolitics emerged as an approach of geopolitical theories after the appearance of constructivism. It is a critical perspective of classical geopolitics theories. Although both classical geopolitical theories and critical geopolitics theories are part of the geopolitics discipline, they have different features.

First, classical security understanding of state and dominance of geographies are characteristic features of classical geopolitics theories. Security has been a main issue of classical geopolitical theories since Alfred Thayer Mahan. Although his theories were based on liberal perspective, he also argued that naval dominance provided security for the U.S.A. (Cropsey & Milikh, 2012, p. 86). In contrast, critical geopolitics attaches importance to influence areas. In other words, state does not need to establish dominance on geographies in order to establish influence on any geographical location. State can establish influence areas with its culture or cultural ties without any dominance on any geography. Second, states' geographical location is of critical importance for classical geopolitical theories. For instance, the Heartland theory of Halford Mackinder, Rimland theory of Nicholas Spykman, and Naval dominance theory of Alfred Thayer Mahan are all based on geographical importance. Theories of Mackinder, Spykman and Mahan attached importance to some geographies and created strategies over these geographical locations. In contrast, geographical location is not too an essential assumption for critical geopolitics. Critical geopolitics approaches attach importance to behaviors of actors, norms, and the shared meanings of actors. According to critical geopolitics, state can establish relation to any actor without governmental tools. NGOs, institutions, and international organizations have important roles to establish relations. Third, classical geopolitical theories emphasize the importance of hard power. Economic and military powers are as important as geographical locations of a state for classical geopolitics. Due to this very reason, military bases have huge importance for states according to classical geopolitical theories. In contrast, critical geopolitics also values soft power. Soft power is just as important as hard power (Nye, 1990, p. 167). In other words, if a state's culture and ideology are attractive enough, using hard power is not obligatory for states. Fourth, classical geopolitical theories talk about classical tools i.e. weapons. In contrast, critical geopolitical theories use modern tools. To illustrate, popular geopolitics is shaped by social media, TV programs and movies. So, social media, TV programs, and movies became important tools for states. Fifth, classical geopolitical theories have strict rules and norms. Hard power, the importance of locations, and military bases are significant features of classical geopolitics. On the other hand, features of critical geopolitics are more flexible. Critical geopolitics values culture, norms and behaviors. Sixth, according to classical geopolitics, importance

of state was limited to a group of states because of their geographical locations, military power and economic power. In contrast, critical geopolitics has no limits on geography with any type of powers. Last but not least, state is the key actor for classical geopolitical theories. Other actors do not have significant roles compared to the state as an actor. However, many other actors also have significance for critical geopolitics. NGOs, international institutions, and international organizations are just as important as the state.

3. HUMANITARIAN SPACE AND SYSTEM

There were many downfalls to the humanitarian assistance and the humanitarian system. During 1990s, there were two failures of humanitarian assistances. First of all, humanitarian space and the humanitarian system are not static but dynamic. Yet the static and strict assumptions of realism could not provide solutions for the failure of humanitarian space and humanitarian system. Constructivism provided dynamic solutions for the problems that humanitarian system and humanitarian space faced in the 1990s. Second, the traditional geopolitical perspective was also one of the reasons for failure in the 1990s. Traditional geopolitical theories are also static theories and provide solutions for only specific problem(s). However, as I said before, humanitarian system and the humanitarian space are dynamic so, they need dynamic theories to be efficient. As a result, constructivism and critical geopolitics are the best tools to understand problems of the humanitarian system and the humanitarian space. Plus, they are also important for the unproblematic, efficient processes thereof.

Humanitarian space became one of the significant issues for world politics in the 21st century. After the Cold War, many humanitarian interventions of the UN resulted in failure. State and security-centered policies lost significance and started to be replaced with policies based on people, norms and cultures in the 21st century for humanitarian issues. So, decision-makers and policy-makers of states started to question the implementation of realist doctrine in the world politics.

Increasing speed of globalization is the main result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Highly centralized and security based states started to integrate rapidly in a globalized world. As a result of globalization, the “power shift” actualized for states (Mathews, 1997). Challenges were raised against government authorities, and state sovereignty in the world. Security based states faced a transformation with globalization from emphasizing hard power to valuing norms, traditions, social values and perspectives

after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Borders started to lose their significance for states in many ways. Many of states established Unions in order to adapt to a globalized world. Although some states resisted adapting to globalization, their perspectives were forced to change in the hands of NGOs. Hence, NGOs started to challenge the sovereignty of states and started to cross borders. Especially, the humanitarian NGOs can easily cross the borders of states. These are also dictated by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its mandate for universal human dignity (DeChaine, 2002, p. 355). Moreover, the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, and the primacy of the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War created freedom of movement for NGOs. Nonetheless, not every NGO can cross borders easily. In other words, not every NGO is borderless. The main distinguishing feature of a borderless NGO is creating humanitarian space. Borderless NGOs create humanitarian space for them in order to provide aid for people. In other words, humanitarian space is a humanitarian-actor centered approach rather than state-centered approach.

Humanitarian space was also a result of the failure of humanitarian interventions during 1990s. Security-centered state actors ignored culture and people-centered perspectives while providing humanitarian aids. However, constructivism developed a point of view on humanitarian issues in the world and took people, culture, norms and traditions to the core (Kabia, 2016, p. 100).

At the same time, classical geopolitical theories also started to lose ground because classical geopolitical theories and realism have close ties. Classical geopolitical theories emerged under the basic principles of realism. Moreover, realism and classical geopolitical theories had no certain answer for newly emerged features of world politics. So, the end of the Cold War created a critical perspective to the theories of the Cold War, and constructivism & critical geopolitics emerged as a response and reaction to realism and critical geopolitical theories.

Critical geopolitics has some advantages against classical geopolitical theories in understanding and explaining world politics and newly-emerged situations thereof. First, critical geopolitics is not a theory. It is a perspective, and it does not have strict

assumptions, which makes it flexible (Tuathail, 1999, p. 108). Due to its flexibility, it can provide many solutions to NGOs around the world. It also redefines the humanitarian system and creates humanitarian space term in order to explain world politics better. NGOs became more active under the definition and principles of humanitarian space and humanitarian system. Second, due to the dynamic structure of critical geopolitics, the humanitarian system and the humanitarian space were redefined repeatedly with respect to the needs of daily politics (Kelly, 2006, p. 25). Due to this dynamic structure of critical geopolitics, there is no exact definition of humanitarian space and system. Organizations created many definitions according to their own views, perspectives and understanding. Third, attributing values to culture, traditions and norms under the auspices of constructivism created a movement area and freedom for the acts of NGOs. When this freedom of acts and the radius of action are unified with the dynamic structure of critical geopolitics, NGOs can establish humanitarian space and provide aid to those in need. Last, due to political problems, conflictions or interests, states cannot establish humanitarian space and provide aid to that in need easily because the recipient states may perceive it as a threat to their internal problems and domestic policies. However, when NGOs establish humanitarian space to provide aid, governments of the recipient states can be convinced easier compared to direct states aid because NGOs only care about humanitarian values and providing aid to those in need.

As a result, humanitarian space emerged under critical geopolitics as a part of geopolitics. Its dynamic structure and human-based perspective also reflects the features of constructivism. Just like critical geopolitics, humanitarian space does not have a strict frame. It is still developing with respect to the needs of organizations, institutions and people.

a. What is Humanitarian Space

There is no common definition of what humanitarian space is. However, there are three definitions which are commonly accepted. The humanitarian space was first coined by Rony Brauman, who was the former president of Médecins Sans Frontières (Collinson & Elhawary, 2012, p. 1) as an “espace humanitaire”. According to the humanitarian space definition of Brauman, NGOs need a “space of freedom in which we are free to evaluate needs, free to monitor the distribution and use of relief goods, and free to have a dialogue with the people” (Beauchamp, 2008, p. 1). Freedom means that there is no political intervention for donors and recipients while the NGOs are delivering humanitarian aid.

Oxfam’s definition is another commonly accepted definition of humanitarian space. It is similar to the definition of Brauman where political actors have an obligation to respect and maintain a sphere for humanitarian action. Plus, the humanitarian action must also be protected from political intervention. In his words, humanitarian space is “an operating environment in which the right of populations to receive protection and assistance is upheld, and aid agencies can carry out effective humanitarian action by responding to their needs in an impartial and independent way” (Oxfam-International, 2008, p. 1). Humanitarian space lets humanitarian agencies to work in a detached and neutral manner to assist people in need without any obstacles (Sida, 2005, p. 5). The distinguishing feature of Oxfam’s definition is that he also emphasizes people’s right and their ability to get protection and assistance (Collinson & Elhawary, 2012, p. 1). Hence, individuals are the starting point of humanitarian space according to Oxfam’s definition (Mills, 2013, p. 608).

Another commonly accepted definition of humanitarian space is the definition of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). UNHCR defines humanitarian space as; “a social, political and security environment which allows access to protection, including assistance, for populations of concern to UNHCR, facilitates the exercise of UNHCR’s non-political and humanitarian protection mandate, and within which the prospect of achieving solutions to displacement is optimized” (Ferris, 2011, p. 176).

b. Pillars of Humanitarian Space

Although every humanitarian space has different conditions, creating humanitarian space generally needs three pillars in order for NGOs to continue their activities regularly. These are the legal pillar, the principle pillar and the security pillar (Grunewald & Collins, 2010, p. 6). These pillars defined what the humanitarian space means for the first time in Chad, but they fit the creation and maintaining of humanitarian spaces in general.

One of the biggest problems that face NGOs is that NGOs may sometimes be seen as a threat for the sovereignty and autonomy of state apparatus and governments. So, legitimatization of the actions of NGOs and creating humanitarian space for NGOs are important for them and their volunteers in such areas. The existence of these pillars is vital to the legitimatization of the acts of NGOs in every country.

i. Legal Principle

1949 Geneva Convention, 1951 Refugee Convention (Bouchet-Saulnier, 2014, p. 695), and 1977 Additional Protocols (Bouchet-Saulnier, 2014, p. 312) (of Geneva Convention) are the legal basis of humanitarian action in the world, which provides freedom of action for NGOs for providing humanitarian aid. Yet, they do not provide complete rights for creating and maintaining humanitarian space for any area. In addition to these treaties, local laws and regulations are also important for aiders. In other words, the role of national authorities is critically important for humanitarian space in the world. Governments should let aiders/NGOs in creating and preserving humanitarian space in their countries. Plus, state and government apparatus should support humanitarian space with local laws or regulations because local authorities can not undertake any responsibilities in the absence of laws or regulations that organize these issues. In addition, in the federative system, there can be an authority gap in some areas in the country or there can be a power

struggle between local governments and federal governments. This provides huge difficulties for creating and maintaining humanitarian spaces for aiders or NGOs.

ii. Principal Principle

International Movement of the Red Cross and International Movement of the Red Crescent are pioneer organizations on humanitarian aids in the world. International Movement of the Red Cross was founded in 1864 with the Geneva Convention (Bugnion, 2012, pp. 1325-1326). International Movement of the Red Crescent was founded in 1877 (Geçer, 2012, p. 101). These two organizations are the oldest humanitarian organizations of the world and they have seven fundamental principles about humanitarian aids. These are humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality (Bugnion, 2015, p. 1). Many NGOs were established during the 20th century and these organizations accepted the above principles as universal principles of humanitarian space. So, four of these principles (humanity, impartiality, independence and neutrality) also constituted the principal pillars of humanitarian space. In order to establish humanitarian space, these four principles should be implemented by the actors of humanitarian aid.

iii. Security Principle

Security is one of the most important problems of NGOs, volunteers and aiders in the world. Many people live in conflict areas and they need more help than others because they can be subjected to all sorts of injuries, lack of food and water over a long period of time. Due to this reason, NGOs try to enter conflict areas in order to provide aid for people. In some countries, state apparatus and law enforcers cannot establish authority in certain areas. In that case, NGOs cannot reach those unsafe areas because they must also

protect the lives of those who work on the field. Moreover, civil wars are another security problem for NGOs in helping people because the rate of civilian casualties is high in civil wars. Hence, NGOs cannot go to countries that struggle with civil wars. Although there are methods to provide security in conflict areas, it increases expenditures. It is not a preferred situation for aiders or NGOs. Moreover, providing security with deterrence or physical protection requires cooperation between the United Nations and the law enforcers of states (Grunewald & Collins, 2010, p. 8). Even if the NGOs cooperate with them, protection is not 100% for volunteers. As a result, creating and preserving humanitarian space is too difficult when the environment is not secure.

c. Humanitarian System

There is not common agreement about definition of humanitarian system. Moreover, every researcher or scholar who tries to define humanitarian system has a different perspective on what humanitarian system is. Some of them even reject the word “system” because system focuses on Western, UN-centered entities (Stoddard, Harmer, Haver, Taylor, & Harvey, 2015, p. 18). However, local, regional, and international actors are also parts of the system. Moreover, some scholars reject the fact that humanitarian system is designed. They argue that humanitarian system is evolved in time with events. In other words, it was not designed by local, regional or global actors (Walker & Maxwell, 2009, p. 2). They call it evolved because evolution enables the system to adapt and continue its life cycle in the face of all events.

In its broadest definition, the humanitarian system contains a multiplicity of local, regional, national and international organizations and institutions which deploy financial, material and human resources in order to provide assistance for affected people by war, disaster or problems. Main targets of these local, regional, national and international organizations are saving lives, providing aid and services for those in need (Borton, 2009, pp. 159-169). In other words, humanitarian system includes actors of local regional,

national and international organizations as main actors which also collect and transmit aids for those in need.

Like humanitarian space, humanitarian intervention also has four principles according to the Charter of the United Nations, International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law (United Nations, 1991). Impartiality means that there is no discrimination on the basis of race, gender, class, religion, nationality or political views. According to that principle the needs of people guide humanitarian interventions. Neutrality calls for humanitarian agencies not to act hostile to people. Humanity states that humanitarian agencies set their mind to prevent human suffering wherever in the world. Independence states that humanitarian agencies must be independent and autonomous in their actions (Rose, O'Keefe, Jayawickrama, & O'Brien, 2013, pp. 74-75).

Humanitarian system is not an unproblematic system. The concept of humanitarian space is a complex definition but it is also the basis of humanitarian aid and system (Audet, 2015, pp. 142-144). Humanitarian space can also be defined as creating a space for implementation of humanitarian system on the field. Institutions and organizations need a clear field in order to provide aid to people in the conflict or disaster areas. Humanitarian space provides that area to institutions or organizations so that they can provide aid. The first problem regarding the relationship between humanitarian space and humanitarian system is that the humanitarian movement started to be implemented by NGOs at the end of the 20th century. In other words, NGOs are more active than states since the late 20th century. Even though this created positive and negative results, there is no consensus among scholars on that. The positive result is that NGOs can be more active on conflict or disaster areas because they can overjump bureaucratic processes faster and easier than states. Moreover, NGOs can reach further areas than states. Plus, budgets of NGOs are created by the donations of volunteers. These people know the project and they give their money voluntarily. However, citizens of a state can object to spending taxes on foreign people. The negative side to this situation is that humanitarian system faced security and operational limitations. These limitations generally prevent the creation of humanitarian space to provide aid to people in need. Secondly, humanitarian system and the humanitarian aid mechanism are created by western countries. In other words, humanitarian

organizations are predominantly Western (Aras & Akpınar, 2015, p. 231). Therefore, they are based on western values and principles. Yet, a huge amount of aid is delivered to non-western societies and local values and principles have generally been ignored by western societies in the humanitarian system (Rose, O'Keefe, Jayawickrama, & O'Brien, 2013, p. 74). Security is another issue for the humanitarian space and humanitarian system. During the 1990s, many UN forces/army entered conflict areas in order to help people, prevent conflicts and provide aid in conflict areas. However, many of these UN missions failed because the humanitarian space could not be established and maintained. Security was still one of the main issues for the humanitarian system despite the presence of armed forces during most UN missions in the 1990s. Nowadays, NGOs have become more active than states even though they do not have armed forces, and the security problem is still continuing for the humanitarian system and the humanitarian space.

In summary, the humanitarian system needs humanitarian space in order to process. When humanitarian space is not established in conflict or disaster areas, actors of humanitarian systems cannot work efficiently. In other words, actors of the humanitarian system cannot deliver aid to people in need.

d. Obstacles and Challenges of the Humanitarian Space and System

Humanitarian space is a field that includes many actors like states, institutions, NGOs, and the recipients of aids (Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010). So, there are many variables and actors in establishing and maintaining humanitarian space. As such the humanitarian space faces many obstacles and challenges. As a result, humanitarian space has been shrinking by the day since the beginning of the 21st century. There are many reasons behind the downfall of the humanitarian aid and space.

First, humanitarianism has always been politicized since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Humanitarian system came under the domination of western states (Aras &

Akpınar, 2015, p. 231) after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The bipolar world created movement area for humanitarian organizations, but the collapse of the Soviet Union disturbed the movement area for humanitarian organizations. So, western perspectives established dominancy on humanitarian organizations. Humanitarian aids decreased because of the unipolarity of the world. Second, the nature of conflict has changed after the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, western side presented humanitarian space as a tool of defending humanitarian principles. However, humanitarian space was no longer a platform to defend humanitarian principles (Audet, 2015, p. 143). Third, the sides to the war were clear during the Cold War but, enemies became flu after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Terrorist groups, armed groups, warlords and guerillas are now counterparties to the war. Moreover, these groups have no ethic or moral notions during the war. Plus, they cause conflictions in many fields. Although people who live in conflict areas need aids and assistance from humanitarian organizations, the humanitarian organizations cannot reach conflict areas because of the security issue of their workers. Humanitarian workers are generally volunteers. So, humanitarian organizations also have a duty to protect the lives of their volunteers and workers (Bayode, Mbohwa, & Akinlabi, 2015, pp. 1035-1038). Fourth, humanitarian assistance can sustain or exacerbate conflicts between two groups. It may cause the western states to have control over the humanitarian intervention in order to improve efficiency of humanitarian intervention (Lischer, 2007, p. 100). Hence, the intervention of states creates questions in the minds of recipients whether the humanitarian aid serves state interests or not. Fifthly, financial dependence is another obstacle and challenge for the humanitarian system, aid and space. Organizational structure of NGOs has increased step by step since the start of the 21st century. They provided huge amount of aids to those in need. However, they also have a huge amount of money to finance those aids and organizational expenses. Humanitarian organizations may need public funding to subsidize their aids and expenditures. This can result in humanitarian aids to be shaped by the foreign policy parameters of states due to public funding (Vaux, 2006, p. 240). Plus, economic crisis and downswings cause to decimate public funding, which results in a decrease of humanitarian aids and disruption of the humanitarian system. Sixth, security issues were once more included and reshaped the states' agenda after 9/11. "Responsibility to protect" concept entered the humanitarian space and system literature after 9/11. The

three pillars of the responsibility to protect are stipulated in the Outcome Document of the 2005 United Nations World Summit (United Nations, 2005, 30) and formulated in the Secretary-General's 2009 Report (Ki-Moon, 2009) on Implementing the Responsibility to Protect (United Nations, 2014). 9/11 caused a rising of classical realist perspective in the world where security jumped to the top of the agenda again, which resulted in the depreciation of humanitarian aids and system against the security of state. In other words, "Responsibility to Protect" provides legitimacy to military power's occurrence in the humanitarian space (Ayub & Kouvo, 2008, pp. 641-645). Seventh, the decision-makers of states may try to use humanitarian non-governmental organizations in order to gain support among locals. To illustrate, the 65th United States Secretary of State Colin Powell defined U.S. NGOs as "force multipliers", "agents of U.S. foreign policy" and "instruments of the fight against terror" (Powell, 2001). Hence, local people may react against the aid receiver state. Lastly, humanitarian non-governmental organizations are more advantageous than state in humanitarian aid fields because humanitarian non-governmental organizations can communicate easily with local people. So, humanitarian non-governmental organizations function as a means to remodel social order. Plus, humanitarian non-governmental organizations also function as pressure groups on local governments. However, many humanitarian non-governmental organizations need state support for enormous amount of aids. In 2012, aid fell by 4% in real terms, following a 2% fall in 2011 because of the continuing financial crisis and euro zone turmoil (OECD, 2013). The main reason behind the decrease in humanitarian and development aid in 2011 was the states' attempt to increase liquidity and decrease interest rates in order to bypass recession risks (Sezgin, 2012, p. 142). This reflected as a fall in the humanitarian and development aids. As a result, instrumentalization of humanitarian non-governmental organizations to serve the interests of states, poses a threat in the perception of recipient states. In other words, humanitarian non-governmental organizations may be perceived as a Trojan horse by recipient states, which damages humanitarian space, system and aids.

On the other hand, humanitarian non-governmental organizations create solutions in order to overcome these difficulties. First of all, military support or participation at the humanitarian space and system opacity the role of humanitarian non-governmental organizations in the world. The Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red

Crescent Movement and NGOs highlight the dangers of failure to safeguard the independence of NGOs from military (Brubacher, 2003, p. 10). So, NGOs should clarify their roles in humanitarian space and stay away from military actions inside the humanitarian space. Secondly, one of basic the principles of humanitarian non-governmental organizations is neutrality. However, terrorism and armed conflicts threaten the neutrality of humanitarian non-governmental organizations. This divides the scholars into two sides. First group argues that the humanitarian non-governmental organizations should preserve their neutrality. They defend that the humanitarian non-governmental organizations, system, space and aids must be separated from politics. In other words, neutrality should stay as a constant and indestructible condition of humanitarian space, system and organizations. The second group counter-argues that neutrality should not be a precondition of humanitarian space, system and organizations. According to this view, humanitarian non-governmental organizations can create humanitarian projects in parallel to the policy parameters of states.

Nowadays, humanitarian space is shrinking and is therefore not working. When I look at these two problems from a realistic perspective, shrinking of the humanitarian space and failure of the humanitarian system resulted in an inevitable dead-end because realism sees this as an inescapable result. However, when I look at these two problems from a constructivist perspective, I can propose that socialization of actors and different norms of actors conclude in different results and solutions. In other words, when different actors socialize in these problems, their approaches and the result of their approaches may be different because humanitarian space is also a geopolitical situation. When I use constructivism and critical geopolitics for understanding and providing solutions to the problems of humanitarian space and humanitarian system, I can involve humanitarianism, developmentalism, the economical interests of states and limits of foreign policies of states. Moreover, I can give meaning to humanitarianism, developmentalism, economical interests of states and limits of foreign policies of states by using critical geopolitics. So, I prefer to use critical geopolitics under the auspices of constructivism to provide a solution to the problems of humanitarian space and system.

As a result, humanitarian non-governmental organizations/ NGOs have faced many challenges in the course of their activities since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some humanitarian non-governmental organizations and scholars try to find solutions to these problems, but these solutions are not effective enough because humanitarian aids are shrinking by the day.

4. DOCTORS WORLDWIDE (YERYÜZÜ DOKTORLARI)

a. What is DWW?

Doctors Worldwide is a non-governmental organization that was founded by a group of volunteers in 2000. Nowadays, DWW has seven branches in Turkey, England, Pakistan, Somalia, Kenya, Congo DC and Gaza, and it is acting in more than forty countries. Its headquarters is based in Manchester U.K. but the Turkey branch became more active than the other six branches (DWW P. o., 2016). The President of DWW states that the reason for DWW to become one of the most active Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations is that the Turkish foreign policy provides many opportunities for humanitarian aids. The president of DWW said that the changing parameters of Turkish foreign policy and the supportive attitude of TIKA are opportunities for DWW to be more successful. He also stated that cooperating with strong local partners was another reason behind their success because cooperating with strong local partners increases the aid capability of DWW (DWW P. o., 2016). To illustrate, DWW left after the serious conflictions in Yemen emerged but the aids of DWW continued in the hand of local partners (DWW P. M., 2016). Moreover, they supported and helped DWW in the absence of any financial contribution from local governments (DWW V. N., 2016).

DWW specialized organization into medical humanitarian aid which turned to be an advantage. They define their aim as to provide basic and sustainable medical help to very poor developing countries. DWW offers remedial and preventive health services. DWW also set up a project to prevent communicable diseases. Plus, DWW develops projects on training local people who can work in their medical projects (DWW M. a., 2015).

Nearly 11000 people work for DDW as volunteers (DWW P. o., 2016). The reason behind such a significant number of volunteers is - in the words of the President of DWW -

because DWW does not get involved in any social classes or groups (DWW P. o., 2016). In addition, the occupations of volunteers are not important for joining the DWW. In other words, being a doctor or a pharmacist is not a precondition for being a professional volunteer of DWW. There are thirteen professionals working as administrators in DDW (DWW P. o., 2015). In addition, there are twenty people who work as professionals in the advisory board and the board of directors (DWW A. B., 2015). Although DWW has a huge number of volunteers and professional workers, it needs to cooperate with other organizations in order to subsidize its projects and reach more people for aid. So, local or international partners are important for NGOs. DWW develops projects in accordance with the requests of their local partners and their field analysis. DWW also organizes campaigns to subsidize its projects, as well as promotional activities to maintain a continuous flow of donations. Plus, DWW utilizes national and international funds to provide pecuniary resources for projects. The Board of directors of DWW decides on the methods for raising funds in their annual budget and shares all the information on budgets with the public. One of the aims of organizing campaigns is to transform projects from short-term into medium and long term projects (DWW P. R., 2015).

Principles and values have huge significance for NGOs. NGOs work under the principle of volunteerism. So, defining, defending and implementing principles and values arouse respect in the eyes of volunteers. It can easily be said that DWW is strictly loyal to its principles and values. As a result of this loyalty, DWW has overgrown rapidly since 2000. I made five interviews with a volunteer, a donor, the president and the project manager of DWW. All interviewees referred to DWW's loyalty to its principles and values. So, it can be claimed that the principles and values have huge significance for both volunteers and donors.

DWW defines seven principles about its organization, and implements these principles carefully. Every principle of DWW also fits universal human rights and humanitarian principles. These principles are non-maleficence, respect for autonomy, implementation of rightful and scientific methods, confidentiality, respecting humans and fairness of doctors, not being involved in activities beyond their competence, and obedience to the codes of conduct (DWW P. a., 2015). So, why are these principles

important? In order to understand the answer to this question, we must first understand the explanations of these principles.

Non-maleficence stands for “first do not harm”. Volunteers and professionals of DWW obey this principle strictly when they help and bring aid to people. Volunteers and professionals of DWW also respect autonomy of states during their aid and help processes. Their aim is never to challenge the authority or autonomy of states nor that of the decision makers of aid-receiving states. Another point is that the volunteers and professionals of DWW always implement a valid and scientific method during the help process. They never use a cure or medicine on the trial phase, and they never use a treatment as a trial on patients. Confidentiality is another important principle for DWW. DWW never shares or uses the information of people who receive aids or treatment from DWW. Nowadays, this is one of the most important topics in universal patient rights. Not being involved in an activity beyond their competence is another principle of DWW. This means that DWW has designated its fields of specialization and never tries to treat people if they are out of the specialty fields of DWW. Every member of DWW has to obey these principles in order to work in DWW. The administration board of DWW is also very strict on not stretching the limits of these principles (DWW P. o., 2016).

Besides these basic principles, DWW defines nine important values. These values are respect for human rights, ethics, volunteering, modesty, honesty & transparency, altruism, reliability, independence and open-mindedness (DWW P. a., 2015). These values and principles constitute the basis of DWW. These principles are also universal principles for NGOs that work in the field of health.

Principles and values of NGOs reflect the status and situation of NGOs. Designating principles and implementing them had a boosting effect in the growth of NGOs. DWW’s status among the NGOs of Turkey helped it grow rapidly and reach 11.000 people in sixteen years. President of DWW also defines four factors behind their rapid growth. First of these is being apolitic. DWW never interferes in political competition, never attends any political organizations, nor supports any political views. The President argues that being apolitic is the first factor that fueled their rapid growth (DWW P. o., 2016). Second one is the specialization on a certain field. DWW is specialized in health as an NGO. Their

projects and aid programs are centered around the protection of people's health and treating people. Moreover, DWW chooses specific diseases like cataract, hypospadias, and obstetric fistula for treatment. DWW focuses on these diseases for two reasons. First reason is that DWW has competent teams on these diseases. Second reason is that these diseases can be treated quickly (DWW P. o., 2016). In other words, DWW deliberately developed its competency on these selected diseases. That is also their third primary principle – which is cooperating with local partners on field work. Fourth primary principle is cooperating with global partners (DWW P. o., 2016). One of the project managers and administrators of DWW argues that cooperating with a local partner is the most important thing for DWW because NGOs sometimes have to retreat from conflict areas due to security problems or governments' call. In the case of a retreat DWW could continue its projects and aids with the help of their local partners (DWW P. M., 2016). For instance, DWW opened four nutrition centers in Yemen, but then had to retreat from Yemen. Yet, DWW kept supporting nutrition centers after their retreat through their local partners. Nowadays, nutrition centers are still active in Yemen even though DWW does not operate in Yemen.

Reaching 11000 volunteers is a huge success for DWW. There are three distinguishing features of DWW. First, DWW is human-oriented. In other words, its projects are not based on the recipient state. Second, DWW uses social media actively to collect donations. Using social media boosted the amount of donations for DWW (DWW P. o., 2016). Using social media also increased the identifiability of DWW. Third, people have a huge confidence at DWW. Both the donors and the volunteers trust DWW vastly due to the financial transparency of DWW (DWW V. N., 2016).

DWW also faced important challenges while conveying humanitarian aids. First challenge is the communication problem. One of the volunteers working as a nurse in the field argued that local people were reluctant to communicate with foreigners. She stated that she went to Kenya twice, and the problem was same both times (DWW V. N., 2016). Second challenge is the social issues for volunteers. All volunteers have their own life standards, and the living conditions in their travels do not always match the quality that they are used to in Turkey (DWW V. D., 2016). Third challenge is the working conditions. Volunteers do not have good working conditions and they work for longer hours compared

to their shifts in Turkey (DWW V. D., 2016). Fourth challenge is vocational. One of the doctors who work for DWW as a volunteer argues that sterilization is the main problem for doctors of DWW. Last, some governments raise difficulties against DWW (DWW V. D., 2016). To give an example, Greece and Bulgaria raise difficulties against DWW for circumcision (DWW V. D., 2016).

DWW develops projects by facilitating the coordination between local and international institutions. DWW signed the Code of Conduct for NGOs in Disaster Relief (Relief, 2015), Treaties of International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements (Cross, 2015). In addition, DWW is one of the civil society partners of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, 2016). DWW also attends joint training exercises with the United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination (UNDAC, 2016) and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA, 2016). In addition, DWW is accredited by UNDAC and OCHA. DWW also works with the World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) internationally and works with the Turkish Red Crescent, the Ministry of Health in Turkey, (TIKA) Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA, 2016, p. 34), (AFAD) Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster & Emergency Management Authority (AFAD, 2015) nationally (DWW C. o., 2015). As a result of cooperation with different organizations, DWW reaches 40 countries (DWW W. i., 2015).

b. Projects of DWW

There are many projects realized by DWW. The Advisory board of DWW classifies projects into six groups. These are Remedial Projects, Preventive Healthcare Projects, Disaster-Emergency Case Projects, Establishment and Operation of Healthcare Facilities, Health Education Projects and Psychosocial Health Projects (DWW P., 2016)

Remedial projects are namely three surgical projects which are the cataract surgery in Eye Light Projects, cleft lip surgery in Smiling Children Projects and the obstetric fistula surgery in Hope Violets projects (DWW R. P., 2016). Although there are many other diseases in Africa, DWW focuses on these three surgical operations because these three diseases are the most common problems of many African countries and these operations can be performed with minimal tools and money. Moreover, these surgical operations can increase the life quality of people who live in Africa for a small amount of money. Under these remedial projects, DWW tried to educate and train local doctors in order to perform surgeries themselves. Volunteer health personnel of DWW either perform surgical operations or educate and train the local healthcare staff. In addition, DWW provides medicine and medical equipment for people since many African people die from treatable disease due to the lack of medicines and medical equipment. Moreover, many surgical operations cannot be performed by local doctors because of the lack of medical equipment. DWW donates medical equipment according to the needs of the least developed and developing countries. Medicines which are donated by or bought from drug companies are sent by DWW to Volunteer Health Teams as a support (DWW V. o., 2015).

Although remedial projects are an important part of the DWW aids, DWW also attaches significance to preventive health projects. Starvation was one of the important issues for DWW as many people who live in the least developed or developing countries face health problems due to starvation. According to the latest statistics of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), there are 795 million starving people in the world, and 98% of these starving people live in developing countries (FAO, 2016). Starvation means that a person cannot take his/her daily required calories for days or weeks. As a result, people limit their physical and mental activities not to consume energy. This causes are incapacity to work, weakening immune system, unhealing of diseases. 511.7 million starving people live in Asia, 232.5 million starving people live in Africa, 34.5 million of starving people live in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1.4 million of starving people live in Oceania, and 14.7 million of starving people live in developed countries (Graziano da Silva, Nwanze, & Cousin, 2015). In addition, 6.3 million children die due to starving (UNICEF, 2015). This is the reason why DWW started nutrition projects in Africa.

DWW opened 4 nutrition centers, 3 of which are in Somalia and 1 is in Niger. Doctors of DWW treated 60586 nutritional deficiency related illnesses and 9800 people got under control for dystrophy. In these centers, DWW employs doctors, nurses, midwives, dieticians and community health employees (DWW A. M., 2015). In addition, DWW opened 5 Mother and Child Centers in the Katanga Province of the Republic of Congo to increase the health quality of newborn babies and new mothers (DWW A. M., 2015). In addition to these, DWW relieved foods to Central Africa, Niger, Republic of Congo, Kenya and Somalia. In 2013 and 2014, during the month of Ramadan¹, DWW distributed Ramadan packages² which valued 10.000 USD to the Bangui PK5 region of Central Africa. In addition, DWW distributed packages valued 10.000 USD to 175 families on Niger. DWW also distributed packages in the worth of 15.000 USD to the Lubumbashi region of the Republic of Congo and served hot meals to 1200 people in the Lamu region of Kenya for *iftar*³ (DWW A. o., 2015). DWW aims to distribute dry food and meat to 3000 families every year and aims to reach 18000 people with this project. In addition, DWW aims to distribute hot meals to 6000 people during the Ramadan month in 2016 (DWW T. o., 2015). DWW also organizes a campaign on Sacrifice festival to transmit people's sacrifices to African countries. So far DWW reached nearly 80000 sacrifices distributed since 2005 (DWW A. F., 2015). Last, DWW organizes circumcision projects for developing or least developed countries as one of their primary preventive health projects. DWW circumcised children in Uganda, Tanzania, Congo, Kenya, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Philippines, Syria and Georgia (DWW C. P., 2015).

DWW also provides assistance and aid at times of disasters, wars and crisis. DWW played an active role at 6 disasters; namely the Pakistan Flood in 2015, Philippines Typhoon in 2013, Van Earthquake in 2011, Yogyakarta Earthquake in 2006, Muzaffarabad Earthquake and flood disaster in 2005 and Aceh Earthquake and Tsunami in 2004. DWW sent Volunteer Health Team Projects, food packages, medicines and tents to these cities. Besides disasters, doctors of DWW performed surgeries on people wounded in close combat areas which are Libya, Lebanon, Gaza, Syria and Yemen.

¹ Ramadan is a 9th month of the Mohammedan calendar. It is the holiest and most significant month for Islamic world.

² Ramadan packages include basic food items sent to poor people.

³ Iftar is the time when fasting ends and dinner is eaten after the evening prayer.

Although mobile health centers are helpful for people in many countries, these centers are temporary establishments. So, DWW tries to establish permanent hospitals in the least developed or developing countries and also support permanent hospitals with medical equipment. In this respect DWW established centers, hospital and clinics on many locations such as the Şifa Hospital in Somalia in 2012 with a 5 million \$ budget (DWW Ş. H., 2015), Four health and nutrition centers in Somalia and Niger (DWW H. a., 2015), the Worldwide Pharmacy on Hatay, a triage center, blood bank and laboratory in Lebanon (DWW L. T., 2015), microsurgery units in Gaza (DWW G. M., 2015), an eye unit in Sudan and 2 health centers in Sri Lanka (DWW S. L., 2015).

One of the most important projects of DWW is to educate and train local doctors in order to sustain health services permanently. So, DWW organizes academic medical conferences in Somalia and Yemen in order to increase knowledge sharing between doctors (DWW H. E., 2015).

All in all, DWW conducted many important projects in the least developed and developing countries. Yet, it can easily be seen that the main location of DWW is Africa. This is also parallel to the paradigms of Turkish Foreign Policy because the official government organization TIKA has also specified African states as the main location for humanitarian space. DWW developed parallel projects to the paradigms of Turkish Foreign policy and cooperated with many local, national and international organizations in order to increase the effects of its aids. DWW is also successful because there is a huge demand from Turkish citizens to contribute to humanitarian aids (DWW P. o., 2016).

Several factors differentiate DWW from other NGOs. First of all, DWW is one of the most pragmatic NGOs. DWW has limited budgets and uses those budgets in the most efficient way. Due to that reason DWW's remedial projects aim to get results rapidly. In other words, DWW reaches as many people as possible within its limited budgets.

Secondly, DWW is a relatively new NGO which focuses on health issues. To illustrate, Doctors Without Borders (MSF), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and International Medical Corps (IMC) are equivalent NGOs to DWW. MSF was officially founded in 1971 (MSF, 2016), CRS was officially founded in 1943 (CRS, 2016) and IMC

was founded in 1984 (IMC, 2015). However, DWW Turkey was founded in year 2000. So, the experience level and organizational structure of MSF is bigger than DWW Turkey. In other words, DWW Turkey is one of the newest NGOs that focus on health issues.

Lastly, DWW chooses these projects because it has expertise on these diseases. Moreover, these diseases can be treated rapidly with small surgical operations. Due to that reason DWW does not focus on diseases like AIDS, Leishmaniasis, Malaria, Ebola and Sleeping Sickness.

c. Geographical Scope of DWW

Doctors Worldwide reached four continents with its projects and aids. Local partners and urgent needs of people form the preferences of projects. The demands of local and national governments are other reasons for preferences of projects and aids. However, DWW mostly focuses on the least developed geographies in the world to develop projects and provide assistances.

As I said before, DWW classifies its projects into six groups; which are Remedial Projects, Preventive Healthcare Projects, Disaster-Emergency Case Projects, Establishment and Operation of Healthcare Facilities Projects, Health Education Projects and Psychosocial Health Projects (DWW P., 2016). Remedial projects generally focus on African continents because these types of projects are the most expensive projects. So, DWW Turkey tried to reach as many people as possible to heal with a limited budget. African countries are at the top of the list since they have much more diseases when compared to other continents due to the lack of food and poor quality of life. Eye light project is one of the good examples of projects that increase the life quality of people with a small amount of money. The cost of a cataract surgery is 200 Turkish Liras and it provides a chance for people to see again (DWW E. L., 2016). The main cause of cataract is poor nutrition and lack of vitamins. So, cataract is a commonly seen disease among African

people. DWW continued its projects on Niger, Kenya, Guinea, Somalia, Yemen, Tanzania, Sudan, Mauretania and Lebanon (DWW E. L., 2016).



Figure 2: Activity fields of DWW (DWW W. i., 2015)

Smiling Children Project is another remedial project of DWW (DWW S. C., 2016). DWW also focuses generally on the African continent in this project. Palestine, Syria, Azerbaijan, Mauritania, Niger, Sudan, Yemen and Somalia are the countries that benefited from this project. Although Palestine, Syria and Azerbaijan are also among the beneficiaries, the main focus was African countries. Another important project which was the Hope Violets project, was also developed for an African country - Niger. One of the main problems of healthcare is that patients cannot access qualified doctors in their countries. Especially, African countries have limited resources to train and educate doctors. As a result, a limited number of doctors end up having to serve many people. DWW Turkey organized Volunteer Health teams in order to provide doctors and experts to countries in need. Since many African countries are least developed countries, DWW Turkey provides health teams to them. Although DWW provides Volunteer Health teams (DWW V. H., 2016) to many other countries, their main scope is African countries due to their lack of facilities and experts.

DWW also develops preventive health projects for people and focuses on the nutrition problems of people (DWW P. H., 2016). Africa is the most affected continent from starvation. That is why DWW develops projects regarding nutrition for people who live in African countries. In other words, DWW directs its limited resources to African countries because starvation is the prevalent problem in African countries. Under the auspices of preventive health projects, DWW opened four nutrition centers in Africa. Moreover, DWW focuses on Africa to provide food aid to people. Central African Republic, Niger, Congo, Kenya and Somalia are the main recipients of food aid projects (DWW A. o., 2015).

Establishment and Operation of Healthcare Facilities Projects and Health Education Projects are the other two important projects of DWW Turkey (DWW H. E., 2015). In these projects DWW also focuses on African countries. However, DWW spreads over four countries with its projects. In other words, although DWW focuses on African countries, it provides assistances and aid wherever it is necessary, and develops projects immediately if there are disasters, war or crisis in any geography around the globe. In other words, beyond its main activity field of Africa, DWW can reach much different geographies like, Guatemala, Philippines, Kosovo or Indonesia (DWW A. D., 2015).

As a result, long-term projects of DWW are developed for African countries but, it provides different types of aids to different geographies if it is necessary.

5. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

Humanitarian space and humanitarian system are global geopolitical issues. Attention of state increased the significance of these two terms since the beginning of the 21st century. Despite the increase in the attention of states, humanitarian space is shrinking and the humanitarian system turns out to be too problematic. I used constructivism and critical geopolitics as tools to overcome these difficulties. Turkish foreign policy also used these approaches in order to understand the changing world politics and geopolitical perspective.

However, the reason why I chose the Turkish foreign policy on Africa as a subject is because NGOs and Turkish foreign policy have an inorganic relationship. This relation can easily be seen in the Africa in the context of humanitarian space and humanitarian system. Due to that reason I handled Turkish foreign policy on Africa as a subject.

a. Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy

21st century brought fundamental changes to the Turkish foreign policy under the ruling of the Justice and Development Party government. Ahmet Davutoğlu who was the Chief advisor of former Prime Minister Erdoğan, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and the former Prime Minister of Turkey established the roots of Turkish foreign policy (Aras, 2015, p. 270). Turkish foreign policy demonstrates a status-quoist perspective and it continued to preserve its conservative structure until the 21st century. There were many reasons to the status-quoist perspective of foreign policy like economical weaknesses, Soviet threats, so on. In the face of these obstacles Turkey's foreign policy followed a parallel path to the western perspective. New parameters of Turkish foreign policy are multidimensional diplomacy, cooperation, zero problems with neighbors, win-win

strategies, limitless cooperation, and security-freedom balance (Fidan, 2013, p. 91). Every one of these parameters has increased the variations of foreign policy and strengthened non-governmental humanitarian organizations of Turkey.

The first target of Davutoğlu was for Turkey to dispose its old habits of the Cold War. This means that Turkey should vary the tools of Turkish foreign policy. In other words, Turkey should develop its foreign policy without the effect of any states or organizations. Only then can Turkey establish new dimensions and movement area in world politics. Secondly, in order to diversify Turkish foreign policy, Davutoğlu argued that Turkey should solve its problems with its neighbors. So, the target of zero problem with neighbors was declared by Davutoğlu. According to this principle Turkey should solve problems with its neighbors in order to create interdependency and increase the security of Turkey (Davutoğlu, 2013, p. 865). Thirdly, the most important change in Turkish foreign policy was Turkey's aim to liberate the geopolitical perspectives (Aras, p. 270). Turkey implemented a static structure of geopolitics under the perspective of classical geopolitical theories from 1923 to 2002. However, after Davutoğlu took office, Turkey strived to break the limits of classical geopolitics. Under the critical geopolitics perspective, Turkey established new state institutions, such as: Turkish Development and Cooperation Agency (TİKA), Yunus Emre Foundation (YEF) and Turks Abroad and Related Communities (TARC) (Aras, 2015, p. 270). These institutions provided development aids, promote Turkish culture and language and deal with the Turkish Diaspora. In addition to these institutions, non-governmental organizations of Turkey also gained importance as a result of the liberation of geopolitical perspective. Breaking the limits of Turkey's geopolitical perspective boosted the effect of Turkish non-governmental organizations to the extent that some of them became one of the most active NGOs in the world. As a result of breaking the limits, features of popular geopolitics also emerged in Turkey. Turkish citizens supported Turkish humanitarian NGOs with a new perspective. That support was also one of the reasons behind the boost effect for Turkish humanitarian NGOs. Fourth, Turkish government kept Turkish citizens informed to have the public's support to back up the foreign policy of Turkey (Aras, 2015, p. 271). That is also a result of creating a diversified Turkish foreign policy because public support is significant in dynamic geopolitical thinking. Fifth, Turkey rejects instruments of hard power in conflictions and tries to use

diplomacy and engage in dialogues with the sides of the conflicts. This increases the soft power of foreign policy. Consecutively, soft power increases the effectiveness of NGOs. Sixth, during the Cold War era, Turkish intellectuals and decision-makers generally defined Turkey's location as a bridge between east and west. However, after 2002, Turkey reconstructed its geopolitical tradition under the formal geopolitics perspective, where Turkey created new principles and set of ideas. New principles and ideas resulted in a radius of action and public support to humanitarian NGOs of Turkey. Moreover, social media and public service announcement also helped NGOs to pass the hat for least developed countries. Seventh, Turkey put non-governmental organizations in motion to increase its tools of foreign policy. Activities of Turkey's Union of Chamber and Commerce (TOBB) and Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists also diversified parallel to the Turkish foreign policy and their actions created movement area for NGOs of Turkey in foreign countries. It can be concluded that Turkish NGOs are a result of the diversification of foreign policy instruments and changing geopolitical perspective of Turkey. Turkey reconstructed its geopolitical tradition, used media to get public support to its foreign policies, and reshaped foreign policy with respect to geographical notion. Hence, Turkey used formal, practical and popular geopolitics to construct a new foreign policy understanding, and NGOs were developed under these circumstances.

Turkey did not explore the African continent in the 21st century, but established close relations and contacts based on the 21st century. Turkey established close relations with African states under the principle of providing aid to these states. There are two roots of Turkish foreign policy from an aid perspective. These are development and humanitarian aids. Development aid was provided by the hands of TIKA from Turkey to African countries. However, humanitarian aids are just as important as the development aids for African countries because many of these states cannot provide the minimum life, nutrition and health standards to their people. As a result, many African citizens die or become permanently disabled due to the lack of healthcare services. In this respect, humanitarian aids have huge significance for these countries but more importantly, providing health services and equipment are much more important for African states. Due to such poor health, life and nutrition conditions, NGOs and state agencies have targeted

the African continent to provide development and humanitarian assistance. DWW was one of these organizations that mainly targeted the African continent, but like I said before DWW had a specific situation, which was its specialization of health issues.

33 of the 48 least developed countries in the world are located in Africa. Turkey provides aids these countries but these aids are not only in the form medicine or food. Turkey's aids are mostly development aids. In other words, Turkey wants African countries to develop their economies and be self-sufficient states. Since the main target of DWW is Africa, I will focus on the Turkish foreign policy regarding Africa in this chapter.

There are two important reasons behind Turkey's interest in the Africa continent. Firstly, Africa is an important market for Turkish firms. Competition is lower in Africa than other continents for firms. Secondly, good relations with African countries can diversify the options of Turkish Foreign Policy in the international area. Hence, Turkey-African states' relation is not a new issue for Turks.

b. Historical Background of Turkey- Africa Relations

Africa had been an area of interest for Turks for over a thousand years before entering Anatolia, with Tulunids and Ikhshidid (Kavas, 2006, p. 11). Tulunids and Ikhshidid were established by Turks as the first Turkish states in Egypt in the 9th and 10th centuries (Erol & Altın, 2012). The Ottoman Empire controlled North Africa for nearly three hundred years. Yet, the main aim of the Ottoman Empire was controlling the Mediterranean Sea. In other words, Ottoman Empire held and ruled North Africa in order to control Mediterranean Sea. Ottoman Empire had diplomatic representatives in South Africa since 1861, but sent its first Turkish diplomat in 1914. So, there was not a regular relationship between the African countries and the Ottoman Empire (Orakçı, 2008, pp. 47-60). Existence of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa prevented colonization of Africa for

a while (Erol & Altın, 2012). However, colonization of Africa started with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire.

The Republic of Turkey opened its first diplomatic mission in Ethiopia in 1926. There were no diplomatic missions of Turkey in other countries because nearly all African countries were colonies of other states except for Ethiopia (Özkan, 2012, p. 21). Decolonization process which started at the end of 1950s had huge effects on foreign policy of many states in the world. Many states designed and reshaped their foreign policies in accordance with this change. At the same time Cold War picked up speed, and political polarization increased. There were many states that gained their freedom in Africa after the decolonization process. Turkey anchored the Western Block after 1950s with the Democrat Party Era. In 1955, there were many African and Asian states that gained their independence from colonial powers. They met in Bandung, Indonesia on April 18-24. Twenty nine countries participated at the Bandung Conference in 1955 (Warnapala, 2005). Then, Turkey supported that these newly independent countries should stay under the umbrella of NATO. In the aftermath, Turkey's relationship with the Third World countries that supported non-alignment movement broke (Sönmezoğlu, 2010, p. 118). In addition, Turkey supported the United Kingdom during the Suez Crisis. (Karagül & Arslan, 2013, p. 25). In 1951 and 1953, Turkey supported the postponement of Morocco's liberation at the UN General Assembly. Plus, Turkey declared that the liberation of Algeria and Tunisia was an internal problem of France (Karagül & Arslan, 2013, p. 25). After the liberation of African countries, Turkey recognized these states but could not establish strong relations or strengthen its existing relations with them. Despite the absence of a strong relationship with these countries, Africa entered the government's agenda (Program, 1962). In developing relations with the African and Middle Eastern countries, the breaking point was the Cyprus issue in Turkish Foreign Policy. Turkey tried to create new options for Turkish Foreign Policy after the Johnson Letter in 1964, and the arms embargo after the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974. Johnson Letter was a breaking point for the single-sided Turkish Foreign Policy followed between 1950 and 1960. Justice Party tried to establish a multi-directional foreign policy after they came to power due to the effects of Johnson Letter. The main reason behind their target to establish and strengthen relations with Middle Eastern and African countries was to receive support in UN voting because Turkey remained

isolated from the Western Block even though Turkey is a member of the Western Block. Yet, Turkey's strategy did not work effectively and Turkey could not find enough support. Turkey prepared a plan to develop relations with Africa at the start of 1970s. However, that plan could not actualize because of the Cyprus issue (Özkan, 2012, pp. 21-22).

1998 is another breaking point for Turkish Foreign Policy. Turkey once more tried to create new options for the Turkish Foreign Policy under the ministry of İsmail Cem. Turkey created and adopted the Africa Action Plan in 1998. With this plan Turkey paved the way for stronger relations with 48 Sub-Saharan African states. The long term plan and a priority of the Turkish Foreign Policy was to develop economic and cultural relations as the first step. In other words, political relations with African states can only be established through strong cultural and economical roots (Fırat, 2007, p. 3).

According to this plan the below actions were foreseen;

- Increasing humanitarian aid from Turkey to African states
- Providing support to UN projects in Africa
- Signing economical, technical, scientific and commercial treaties
- Affiliation as a member of the African Development Bank as a donator
- Affiliation as a member of the Import & Export Bank
- Establishing work councils
- Increasing contact with African countries in international institutions (Hazar, 2012, p. 32)

Unfortunately, the African Action Plan could not succeed because the status quoist position of the Turkish Foreign Policy could not change immediately. Moreover, Turkey faced significant internal problems after 1999. Especially the economic crisis in Turkey hit the plan and this African action plan could not be successful at the time. Yet, İsmail Cem's new foreign policy perspective which was based on developing relations and solving main problems with other countries became a cornerstone for the next term.

c. Turkey & Africa Relations in the 21st Century

Opening of Turkish Foreign Policy became inevitable at the end of 20th century. Many states reshaped their foreign policies according to the new paradigms of world politics. Acting according to the Cold War paradigms was over because although power was still important in international relations, it was no longer the center of policies like the Cold War Era.

Turkey's opening to Africa, Balkans and many other regions was a result of the shifting paradigms of the Turkish Foreign Policy. The election bulletins of Justice and Development party demonstrated signs of this shift in the Turkish Foreign Policy. JDP projected a multi-dimensional foreign policy for Turkey in its 2002 election bulletin (JDP, 2003). That was the result of an actual plan of the Turkish Foreign Policy. Turkey has been luxuriated of political stability and regular economical growth since 2002 (Keyman & Sazak, 2014, p. 1). Turkey first announced its nomination for Temporary Membership of the United Nations Security Council for 2009-2010 in 2003. Turkey tried to gain the supports of African states in order to be a Temporary Member of the United Nations Security Council. Turkey started to enhance its relations with the African states, African organizations and African institutions to get their support in 2003 because Africa had 53 votes in the UN General Assembly. So, when African states vote as a block, it sums up to an important number of votes for Turkey. During that period Turkey established diplomatic relations with many African countries. As a result of these diplomatic actions, Turkey became a Temporary Member of the United Nations Security Council with 151 votes out of 192 (UN, 2016). Turkey also strives to increase its trade volume with the African states. This was the second motive of Turkey in improving diplomatic relations. At the start of the 21st Century, no African states were trade partners with Turkey. In other words, African states did not have a significant share of Turkey's exports and imports. Yet, Africa was an important target for Turkey to increase its exports. Under these circumstances, Turkey aimed to increase its trade volume with African states. As a result, in 2003, the Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade of the Republic of Turkey, developed and started to

implement the Strategy on the Development of Economic Relations with African Countries.

After two years, year 2005 was declared as the “Year of Africa” by the Republic of Turkey. In the wake of changing relations with the European Union due to the Cyprus issue, Africa could not find itself a place in Turkey’s foreign policy until 2005 (Özkan & Akgün, 2010, p. 533). Yet, 2005 was the dawn of a great breakthrough for Turkish Foreign Policy regarding Africa. Commercial effects of NGOs on trade started to become clear in 2005. In 2005 the trade volume reached US\$ 6.8 billion (Afacan, 2012, p. 13). The same year, Turkey became an observer to Africa Union. African Union declared Turkey a strategic partner of the Continent in 2008 on the 10th Summit of African Union. Afterwards, the “Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit” was held in Istanbul with the participation of 49 African countries where “The Istanbul Declaration on Turkey-Africa Partnership: Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future” and “Cooperation Framework for Turkey-Africa Partnership” were adopted. On December 15, 2010, the High-Level Officials Meeting was held followed by The Ministerial Level Reviewing Conference on December 16, 2011. The Second Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit was held on November 19-21, 2014 in Malabo (Equatorial Guinea). Turkey also was the host for the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries on May 9-13, 2011. Last, Turkey hosted the High Level Partnership Forum for Somalia on February 23-24, 2016 in İstanbul (MFA, 2016).

d. The Significance of DWW in NGOs’ Role in Turkish Foreign Policy

Academics, intellectuals and decision-makers attributed much importance to hard power during the Cold War era. Since the main fear was security in the Cold War era, states easily ignored soft power. However, weakening and then collapse of the Soviet Union caused fundamental changes in states’ perceptions. While some of them were able to adapt to the new situation easily, many of them still acted according to the paradigms of the

Cold War Era because states had built their security paradigms on a bipolar world for forty years.

As an international relations theory, constructivism broke the hegemony of hard power in literature. Although many academicians, intellectuals and decision-makers believed in the realist doctrine, they have also attached importance of NGOs. As multi-dimensional institutions gained importance with constructivism, it affected geopolitical perspectives. Critical geopolitics has also developed in parallel to constructivism. In time, NGOs became important parts of the foreign policy of states, and they started to encourage the activities of NGOs and organizations. Yet, states channeled these organizations to geographies that have a direct-link to their foreign policies. However, NGOs did not emerge naturally without any external factors. Changing paradigms of world politics resulted in the emergence of NGOs. So, how did NGOs emerge? Actually NGOs did not emerge after the Cold War but they were born primarily due to the inefficiency of government-to-government aids and ineffective development projects (Lewis, 2005, p. 3). Due to the bureaucratic structure of state organizations, aids were delivered slowly and inefficiently. Secondly, NGOs are a more cost-effective alternative than public institutions because working in NGOs is based on voluntariness. Thirdly, contrary to classical geopolitics, global processes and tendencies are important for critical geopolitics. Classical geopolitics is based on the security of state and global tendencies came next. After the end of the Cold War, perceptions and tendencies of world politics became more significant. So, developed states started to support independent organizations providing aid to recipient countries with the public pressure from their citizens. In other words, the explanation of problematic structural geopolitics resulted in the emerging and empowering of NGOs. Fourth, the most developed nation-states feel that they have a moral obligation to the international society to provide humanitarian aids (Chandler, 2004, p. 57). Due to these reasons, states encourage NGOs to provide humanitarian aid to least developed countries.

Turkish geopolitical tradition has been based on a status-quoist perspective since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Turkey preserved its conservative position until the 21st century. However, after the Cold War, many states repositioned themselves in world politics. Turkey preserved its geopolitical perspective and tradition until the 21st century.

According to that perspective, Turkey is the bridge between east and west in terms of both location and culture. However, Turkey changed its geopolitical tradition under the auspices of formal geopolitics. Turkey reconstructed its geopolitical tradition after the transformation of Turkish foreign policy during the JDP era. Formal geopolitics is not merely a reconstruction of geopolitical tradition but also a creation of a set of ideas. Turkey created new institutions and gave them new missions after the establishment of these new ideas on foreign policy. Turkish humanitarian NGOs; TIKA, YEF and TARC were the result of this implementation of formal geopolitics of Turkish foreign policy. In other words, Turkey diversified its actors on foreign policy through the implementation of formal geopolitics as a new perspective.

Decision-makers of Turkish foreign policy redefined the geographical perception of Turkey after 2002 under the auspices of practical geopolitics. This redefinition of geographical conception also shaped Turkish foreign policy. The number and effectiveness of Turkish NGOs increased with the redefinition of geographical conception. Turkey's opening to Africa and interest on the least developed countries is also a part of the redefinition of geographical conception. Moreover, hosting conferences of the least developed countries was also a part of the new geographical conception. Turkish NGOs interiorized the new conception and played important roles in the Turkish foreign policy. DWW, supported by this new concept of foreign policy, rapidly developed its aid organizations in the African continent.

Turkey tries to construct a positive Turkish image in African states, as part of popular geopolitics. NGOs have a significant role in creating this image, because they can reach many people and channel their help as a geographical policy of the state. In line with the foreign policies, NGOs used social media, web sites, TV channels, mass media, and public figures in order to channel people's aids. DWW was one of the most active NGOs in using social media and the internet to announce projects and collect funds for those projects. Turkish foreign policy diversified its tools, but the diversification of these tools also needs legitimization and public support. Many NGOs receive support to their projects through the help of elements of popular culture. As an example, DWW used Twitter and Facebook actively in funding and getting volunteers for its project. Moreover,

reconstructing geographical tradition and redefinition of geographical conception provided indirect support to DWW by engaging the attention of Turkish citizens to the main target area of DWW which is the African continent.

According to structural geopolitics, institutions and organizations affect structural processes and the perspectives of states. Plus, global processes and tendencies affect foreign policies of states. In the early 1990s, opening to Africa became a global tendency of the foreign policies of states. States focused on developing relations with African states to increase trade volume. Economic development of African states became an important topic for many states since 2000. Significant amounts of state aids were channeled to African states. NGOs also focused on Africa in parallel to the foreign policies of states.

Turkish Foreign Policy adapted itself to these global tendencies later than many other states. However, many NGOs are focusing on Africa under the leadership of TIKA. In other words, TIKA became the pioneer implementer of Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa and other NGOs became important tools for Turkey.

DDW was one of the most important NGOs for the African policy of Turkey under the leadership of TIKA. DWW ranked eighth in 2009 among Turkish NGOs in terms of aids (TIKA, 2009) with a share of 1.64%. In 2013, DWW became fifth in terms of its share of aid among Turkish NGOs. DWW provided 16.12 million \$ in aids and increased its share to 5.75 % (TIKA, 2013).

There are multiple reasons which lie behind these data and success of DWW. One of the main reasons how DWW enlarges humanitarian space in the recipient states is its principles. DWW Turkey is based on a voluntary principle and there is no fixed income source of DWW Turkey. DWW develops and conducts its projects with the help of aids from donors. As one of the administrators of DWW Turkey said, DWW Turkey develops projects without order (DWW P. M., 2016). This yields that the projects and aids of DWW are not bound to just desktop research and decision. DWW is also able to develop its projects according to the requirements of the field. That is one of the reasons DWW is enthusiastically mobilizing donors, states, local partners and volunteers.

Second, DWW also establishes relations with recipients based on a mutual trust by the favor of local partners. DWW Turkey was able to continue its multiple projects without being present in the recipient countries. For this, DWW Turkey engages recipient governments, international organizations and TIKAs to create a strong humanitarian space and ensure regular humanitarian aid flows.

Third, transparency is one of the most important aspects of humanitarian aids. Donors want to trust humanitarian organizations absolutely and be assured that the aids reach where they are most needed. Preserving and providing this transparency is one of the main conditions of enlarging humanitarian space and ensuring the continuity of humanitarian aids.

Fourth, the focus of DWW is worthy to emphasize. Health is the most critical field in humanitarian aids. Establishing humanitarian space for humanitarian aids specific to healthcare is considered to be different than other types of humanitarian aids. The specialization of DWW on surgical operations and specific conditions make it stand out.

Fifth, the most significant requirement of African states is the first level health services. Many people face important problems and have lower life quality due to lack of doctors and equipment. DWW provides first level health services to people who live in African states. That provides room for enlargement of humanitarian space by DWW Turkey.

As an NGO specialized on health, DWW also tries to establish self-sufficient health systems for the African states. For this purpose, DWW educates and trains local medical personnel for a self-sufficient health system. Consecutively, local governments help DWW to establish humanitarian space and thus donors are able to provide aid to DWW to continue humanitarian aids without interruption. In addition, these connections allow DWW to gain trust of local governments for further projects and provide a chance to enlarge their humanitarian space.

Seventh, DWW uses online channels to reach their donors in Turkey. Especially, in Islamic religious festivals, DWW works effectively and reorganizes its websites (DWW R. M., 2016) for people to easily reach and make a donation. In addition, DWW uses social

media effectively to reach more donors and is able to accumulate a significant amount of donation and enlarge their humanitarian space.

Last, DWW Turkey builds hospitals, open nutrition centers and subsidizes these establishments. Moreover, some of these establishments are transferred to the local governments of these countries. In other words, DWW Turkey's projects have collaborative and sustainable properties for local people of the recipient states. This generosity also allows them to enlarge their humanitarian space in these countries.

All in all, under the structural geopolitics theory, Turkish Foreign Policy adapted global tendencies and processes in the 21st century and channeled itself to Africa as a result of the changing paradigms of world politics. In addition, the geographical policy of Turkey also refers to popular geopolitics. So, the Turkish foreign policy have attuned to critical geopolitics after the 21st century and opened gateways to different geographies.

Opening of Turkish foreign policy to Africa increased the radius of action of NGOs in Africa. In other words, the change of Turkish foreign policy paradigms channeled NGOs into Africa. Opening to Africa also had important implications for Turkey. The most distinguishing result was that Turkey established its image by humanitarian space and humanitarian system due to the nature of Africa's geography. Therefore, businessmen and NGOs constitute important parts of Turkish foreign policy. In other words, they are significant assets of Turkish foreign policy in Africa. As a result of the participation of businessmen and NGOs, Turkey positioned itself as one of the sides to the humanitarian system and humanitarian space. When I look at Turkey's participation at the humanitarian space and humanitarian system from a constructivist and critical geopolitics perspective, NGOs find themselves a place as important policy-maker actors. At the same time, NGOs are interacting with the Turkish foreign policy as actors in Africa from a local perspective or in the humanitarian system from a global perspective. As a result, all these relations and interactions cannot be explained merely by realism and classical geopolitics. So, I established a connection between constructivism, critical geopolitics, and Turkish foreign policy, roles of NGOs, humanitarian system and humanitarian space.

Global tendencies also had important effects on the rise of NGOs as part of Turkish foreign policy. Yet, Turkish NGOs took an active role in Turkish foreign policy and adapted rapidly to the changes and developments of Turkish foreign policy. The most interesting point about Turkish NGOs is that they generally focus on humanitarian issues. The biggest NGOs of Turkey, such as the IHH humanitarian assistance foundation, DWW, Dost Eli cooperation foundation and Cansuyu cooperation foundation. All focus on providing humanitarian assistance. Turkish Humanitarian NGOs made US\$ 105.68 million aid in 2010 (Çam, 2010, p. 5). In three years, Turkish Humanitarian NGOs increased their aids nearly three times and reached to 280.23 million U.S. \$ (Çam, 2013, p. 5). As Turkish Humanitarian NGOs increased their aids regularly every year, they have also gained strength and reached a significant annual aid amount. However, Turkey's humanitarian aids did not start in the 21st century. Plus, Turkish Humanitarian non-governmental Organizations mainly operate in areas that require emergency assistance and medical relief (Akpınar & Aras, 2015, p. 13). In that case, how did the Turkish Humanitarian non-governmental Organizations increased their humanitarian aids?

In addition to being a part of Turkish foreign policy, Turkish NGOs were operating under the law enforcement agency prior to 2003, which limited the movement area of NGOs. However, in 2003, NGOs were connected to the Ministry of Internal Affairs because of EU Legal Acquis. This enlarged the movement area of Turkish NGOs (Akçay, 2012, pp. 85-86). Secondly, Turkish foreign policy supported the global expansion of Turkish business and charity organizations. Plus, the decision-makers of Turkey also described Turkey as a major power of humanitarian diplomacy (Aras & Akpınar, 2015, p. 234). Thirdly, Turkish foreign policy adopted the approach of humanitarian diplomacy in dealing with regional crises or issues. Humanitarian non-governmental organizations are the best tool for humanitarian diplomacy for Turkey (Davutoğlu, 2013, p. 866). So, humanitarian aids have increased and Turkish non-governmental organizations increased their activities serving the purposes of Turkish government and with the support of the Turkish government. Fourthly, Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations were created by religious or professionals groups and business associations. As a result, professionalization of Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations reached a high level. Moreover, their activities reached a scale incomparable to other states'

humanitarian non-governmental organizations (Aras & Akpınar, 2015, p. 234). Fifth, Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations were not alone in providing humanitarian aid. They cooperated with local elders, NGOs, health officials and opinion-leaders (Aras & Akpınar, 2015, p. 234). As a result of this cooperation, Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations gained mobility and they could easily enter countries for providing humanitarian aids. Sixth, public visibility of Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations increased during their activities. This public visibility provided legitimization of intervention of Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations. Plus, it eased the involvement of organizations in countries (Aras & Akpınar, 2015, p. 235). Seventh, Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations did not only provide humanitarian aids. According to the new principles of the Turkish foreign policy, aids should also help develop states (Çam, 2012, p. 26). In other words, aids should not be only for the people but also help the development of states. Last, as one of the new parameters of Turkish foreign policy, Turkey has a human-oriented political vision in the global system (Davutoğlu, 2013, p. 867). Turkish humanitarian non-governmental organizations also have the same perspective as the Republic of Turkey. This caused the recipient countries to understand that Turkey did not aid these countries to serve its own interests.

6. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I reached the conclusion that DWW Turkey is the most specific part of humanitarian space, Turkish foreign policy and NGOs. In other words, there is a correlation between humanitarian space, Turkish foreign policy, NGOs and DWW Turkey. Humanitarian space contains all the other parts of hierarchic relations. Turkish foreign policy comes second in the hierarchy and contains NGOs and DWW. Last, NGOs include DWW. In other words, although DWW is one of the important humanitarian NGOs for humanitarian space, it is a small part of the system comprising of the Turkish foreign policy and NGOs.

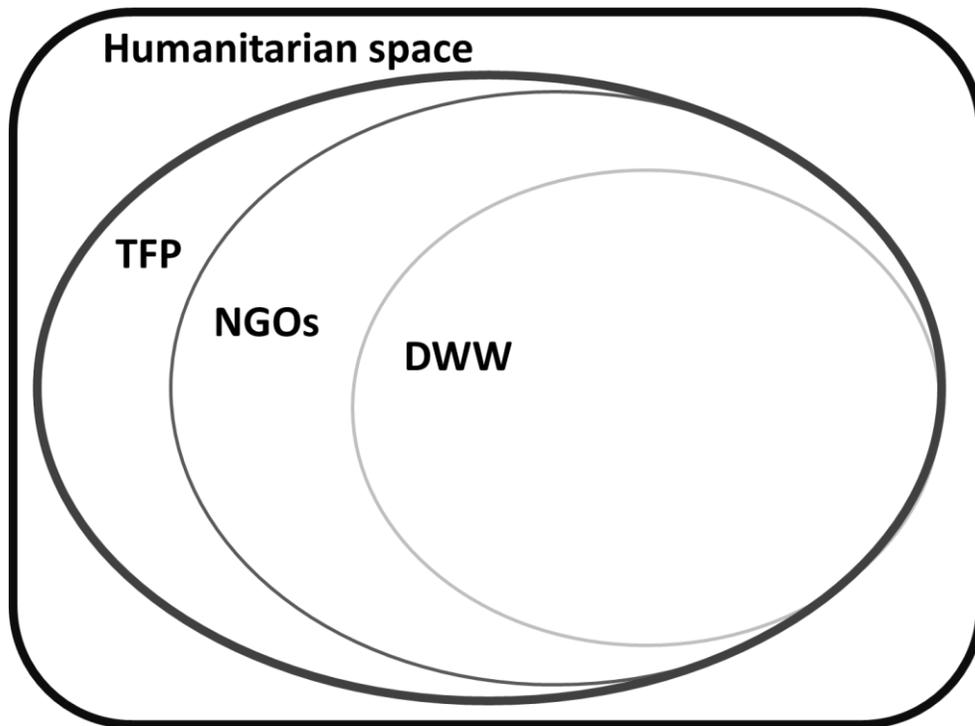


Figure 3: Correlation between humanitarian space, Turkish foreign policy, NGOs and DWW Turkey

One of the main problems of the post-Cold War era has been the uselessness of the humanitarian system and shrinking of the humanitarian space. Even though both the humanitarian system and the humanitarian space are dynamic, the realist perspectives of

states were not able to provide solutions to their problems. As a result of this, humanitarian system and humanitarian space got stuck in the restricted area under the paradigms of realism.

The rise of constructivism resulted in an important shift towards multi-dimensionality of the institutions in world politics. Moreover, due to perspective of constructivism, it provides as a theoretical tool for us to understand humanitarian system and humanitarian space. Plus, critical geopolitics also provides broad scanning for us to understand humanitarian space and humanitarian system. That multi-dimensionality affected NGOs in a positive manner, and they became more active. Turkish NGOs were affected by that change later due to the previous status-quoist perspective of Turkish foreign policy. In other words, NGOs could not find themselves a place under the static Turkish foreign policy.

The dynamics, status-quoist paradigms and geopolitical perspective of Turkish foreign policy changed under the government of JDP. Consecutively, the NGOs acted as a part of the new dynamic Turkish foreign policy. However, it should not be concluded that Turkey uses NGOs as a tool for its foreign policy because Turkish foreign policy does not instrumentalize NGOs directly. Even so, the activities of Turkish NGOs created a place for themselves in the framework of Turkish foreign policy.

DWW is one of the Turkish NGOs that increased its activities under the framework of this new paradigm of Turkish foreign policy. The main activity field of DWW is Africa and it is fair to conclude that DWW increased its projects and activities to move towards Africa after the African focus of Turkish foreign policy in 2005. Although changing paradigms of Turkish foreign policy helped humanitarian NGOs like DWW, it is worth mentioning that they faced many challenges due to the nature of humanitarian space and humanitarian system. Besides, one should note that the activities, projects and aid volume of DWW are increasing even though humanitarian aids are decreasing in the world.

To sum up, being part of the humanitarian system is a real challenge for humanitarian NGOs specializing on health. Establishment and enlargement of humanitarian space are other challenges facing humanitarian NGOs. Despite these challenges, DWW established a humanitarian space to work efficiently and regularly. Even though DWW had

to retreat in some countries like Yemen, its humanitarian space works smoothly in most other countries, as they are actively cooperating with local partners. In this respect, DWW Turkey also established local partners which enhanced their humanitarian system significantly. In addition, local governments' support, international institutions' and organizations' endorsements also strengthen the humanitarian system and humanitarian space for DWW Turkey.

As a result, the success of DWW Turkey is the result of many parameters. They are successfully accommodating the paradigms of Turkish foreign policy and the universal principles of humanitarian space and humanitarian system.

Thus, it can be easily argued that the cooperation of DWW with local, regional, international organizations and institutions allows them to establish a humanitarian system in the recipient states. All these connections point out that DWW Turkey works either from bottom to top or top to bottom.

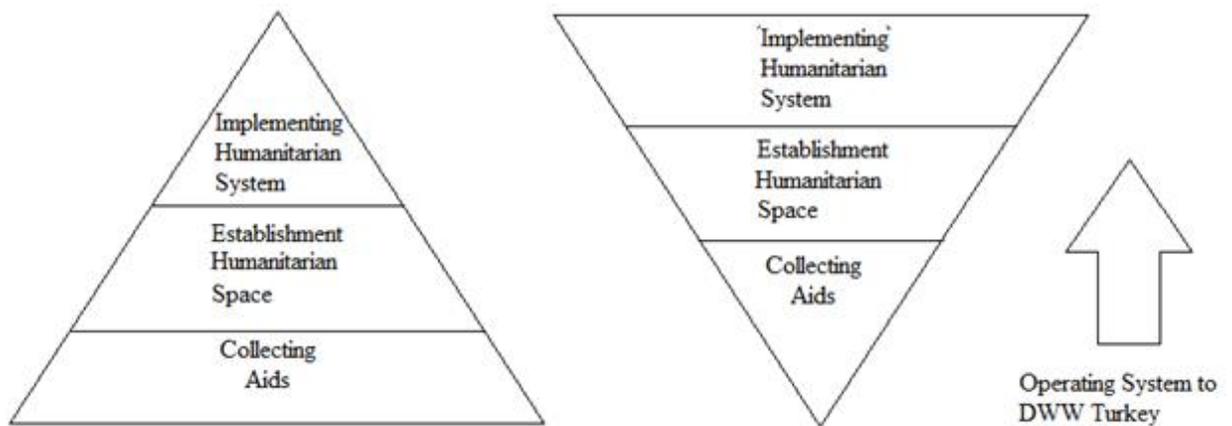


Figure 4: Operating system of DWW Turkey

DWW Turkey usually operates in a bottom-to-top flowing system. In other words it first collects aids, then establishes and implements the humanitarian system. This system is generally implemented in long-term projects. In contrast, sometimes they are required to operate in a top to bottom approach (in special cases like disasters, conflictions). If and when DWW Turkey wants to react immediately, the mode of operation is then top to bottom.

One of the main arguments in this thesis is that the humanitarian system or humanitarian space is dynamic. So, the static perspectives of classical geopolitics cannot provide solutions for them. I realized that constructivism offers tool to understand the humanitarian system and humanitarian space with contribution of critical geopolitics.

In addition, I have reached the conclusion that the multi-dimensional perspective of constructivism is more suitable to understand the changes in world politics. In other words, world politics has more actors in the 21st century compared to the 20th century. In a sense, multi-dimensionality is an inevitable result for world politics in the 21st century. From this perspective, constructivism actually values other actors and stakeholders rather than just states.

The roles and impact of NGOs have increased in the humanitarian issues across the world. According to 2013 data, the number of NGOs and their field personnel exceeds the number of UN agencies, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRC) and Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS). So, it can be argued that the roles of humanitarian system have changed significantly. During 1990s, UN, ICRC, IFRC AND NRCS were the main actors and NGOs were only the sub-actors of the humanitarian system. These institutions used to establish the humanitarian space, implement the humanitarian system and collect aids from the respective member states. However, nowadays, NGOs are the backbone of the system. The roles of UN and other institutions are said to be secondary. Nevertheless, their role in the establishment of humanitarian space is still non-negligible.

	UN agencies ^a	NGOs (estimates)	Red Cross/Red Crescent movement
Number of organisations	11	4,278 • 783 INGOs • 3,495 national NGO	191^b
Field personnel	56,000 • 47,000 national • 9,000 international	249,000 • 219,000 national • 30,000 international	145,000 • 12,000 ICRC/IFRC, national • 2,000 ICRC/IFRC, international • 131,000 NRCS, national ^c
Humanitarian expenditure	\$10.6 billion	\$10.7 billion	• \$1.10 billion, ICRC • \$0.17 billion, IFRC • \$14.4 billion, NRCS

Figure 5: Organizational resources (Stoddard, Harmer, Haver, Taylor, & Harvey, 2015, p. 38)

I also argued that humanitarian space emerged as a result of critical geopolitics and its branches. With the support and help of constructivism and critical geopolitics, we make a better sense of NGOs gained autonomy and how they started to work more actively all around the world. Humanitarian system is also dynamic and evolved with time. During this dynamic period of evolution of humanitarian space, many NGOs were established by volunteers. Especially, humanitarian non-governmental organizations were established as a result of humanitarian crisis of the 1990s under the influence of the humanitarian space concept.

This thesis also visualizes the important changes of Turkish foreign policy during the rule of JDP. It is a fact that the Turkish foreign policy is more active and dynamic when compared to the 1990s. Turkey expanded to different geographical areas and these attempts created new areas of growth for the Turkish NGOs. Consecutively, the number of Turkish NGOs active abroad also increased.

In this respect, it is worthy to mention that the biggest Turkish NGOs, based on the aids they deliver, are humanitarian. To name a few NGOs that provide humanitarian assistance are: IHH humanitarian assistance foundation, DWW, Dost Eli cooperation foundation and Cansuyu cooperation foundation.

All these discussions prove that soft power is an obligation to provide humanitarian aid and establish humanitarian space in different geographies. This increasing sphere of

influence of NGOs also demonstrates that the Turkish foreign policy increased its soft power in this new geopolitical perspective.

Among these NGOs, I focused on DWW Turkey, definitely one of the most successful Turkish humanitarian NGOs. They were able to reach 11000 volunteers from 2000 to 2016 (DWW P. o., 2016). This rapid increase is also a demonstration that the role of NGOs in the humanitarian system is increasing. Although the number of volunteers is important and impressive, it is not enough by itself to understand the role of NGOs in the humanitarian system and aids.

One of the underlying reasons behind the rapid growth of humanitarian space by DWW Turkey is their focus on establishing a self-sufficient health system in the least developed countries. Lack of specialization of doctors is one of the most significant problems for African states. These countries do not have high-level universities to educate and train them. Thus, the effort of DWW Turkey to train local doctors in Turkey to specialize in a specific field, nurtured a mutual trust between local governors and administrators of DWW Turkey.

Such acts create a maneuver area for DWW Turkey, so to say on the demand side. On the supply side, in order to be successful, establishing a dynamic base of donors or volunteers is important. In this manner, DWW Turkey used social media actively under the popular geopolitics perspective.

During 1990s, UN prioritized humanitarian aids. However, a standard approach did not work on this field, as many types of aids need specific approaches and specializations. Later on, many NGOs were established, but these institutions did not resemble the working principles of UN's institutions and agencies. As it is within a society, NGOs got specialized and in a way did a division of labor, naturally, without any common agreement among them. This specialization resulted in a more effective implementation of the humanitarian space and humanitarian system.

The analysis in this thesis proved the role of NGOs in the humanitarian system, with the example of DWW Turkey. Actually, the impact of NGOs has increased gradually since the 1990s. During 1990s, humanitarian space was established by the UN, humanitarian

system was implemented by the UN and collecting aid was similarly under the responsibility of the UN. This perspective changed at the beginning of the 21st century. Media became a vital tool for public awareness as well as a source of pressure for local governments to attend the humanitarian system.

This environment mobilized more citizens to participate in the humanitarian system. This grassroots movement triggered the establishment of many new NGOs, which decreased the burden of responsibility of the states. In other words, although the public guided governments to attend the humanitarian system, they themselves also started to be a part of the very same system.

In this thesis, I emphasized that the problems of humanitarian space and system cannot be understood within the paradigms of the realist perspective of international relations. So, I mainly focused on the problems of humanitarian system from a constructivist perspective. In my opinion, this perspective provides multi-dimensional and dynamic approaches as well as a much more flexible framework for both the humanitarian system and the humanitarian space.

To wrap up, a new version of humanitarian space emerged as a sub-part of critical geopolitics. Actually, the enlargement of humanitarian space and breaking limits of humanitarian system are linked to a new understanding of the critical geopolitics perspective. Also, constructivism is good theoretical tool to understand new version of humanitarian space.

This analysis definitely underlines the important role of NGOs in the humanitarian space and humanitarian system of the 21st century. Among these NGOs, this thesis focused especially on DWW Turkey. Critical geopolitics offers solutions for problems of humanitarian system and humanitarian space in the light of constructivism.

During the evolution of Turkish foreign policy, the priorities of DWW Turkey and Turkish foreign policy were aligned, but without an organic and disciplining link among each other. One such intersection point was Africa – where the economical perspective of Turkey, openings of Turkish foreign policy and the humanitarian roles of Turkey were aligned with the expertise and focus of DWW. This alignment created an opportunity of

growth for DWW in the humanitarian system, which they exploited successfully by enlarging the humanitarian space.

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