

ISSN: 2822-521X



# The Role of the Interaction between NGOs and Foreign Policy in Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations

## Türkiye-Azerbaycan İlişkilerinde STK-Dış Politika Etkileşiminin Rolü

### Araştırma & Yayın Etiği

Bu makale en az iki hakem tarafından incelenmiş, iThenticate yazılımı ile taranmış, araştırma yayın ve etiğine aykırılık edilmemiştir.

### CC BY-NC 4.0

Bu makale Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License altında lisanslanmıştır.

This paper is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License

### PhD. Nurbanu BULGUR

nurbanubulgur@gmail.com

0000-0001-7365-2518

Department of  
International Relations,  
Sakarya University

### Research & Publication Ethics

This article was reviewed by at least two referees, a similarity report was obtained using iThenticate, and compliance with research/publication ethics was confirmed.

### Copyright ©

Siyaset ve Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi  
Journal of Political and Social Studies

### Atıf / Citation

*Bulgur, N. (2023). The Role of the Interaction between NGOs and Foreign Policy in Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations. Siyaset ve Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2(2) , 88-101. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8375163>*

### Makale Bilgisi

**Makale Türü / Article Type:** Araştırma Makalesi/ Research Article

**Geliş Tarihi:** 03.07.2023

**Kabul Tarihi:** 23.08.2023

**Yayın Tarihi:** 31.08.2023

## **The Role of the Interaction between NGOs and Foreign Policy in Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations**

### **Abstract**

In recent years, in addition to public institutions, non-governmental organizations and civil society have also played an active role in strengthening Turkish public diplomacy. Therefore, this study aims to examine the active role of civil society in diplomacy with examples. Relevant sources were examined and analyzed throughout the study. A qualitative study was conducted without resorting to a quantitative analysis method.

It has been observed that non-governmental organizations established in Azerbaijan and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries contributed to bilateral relations. As a result of the active use of neo-liberalism in foreign policy discourse and practices in Turkey from 1983 onwards, non-governmental organizations or non-governmental organizations began to gain more importance. The period in which the role of NGOs in bilateral relations is examined covers mostly the period after the Cold War. Finally, in this study, considering the privileged place of civil society in public diplomacy, research was conducted on the literature on the subject and the harmonizing role of civil society between societies and states was examined through the Turkey-Azerbaijan example.

**Keywords:** NGOs, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Foreign Policy, Internationalization

### **Türkiye-Azerbaycan İlişkilerinde STK-Dış Politika Etkileşimin Rolü**

#### **Öz**

Son yıllarda kamu kuruluşlarının yanı sıra hükümet dışı kuruluşlar ve sivil toplum da Türk kamu diplomasisinin güçlenmesinde etkin rol oynamaktadır. Bu yüzden bu çalışmada sivil toplumun diplomasideki aktif rolünün örneklerle incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Çalışma süresince ilgili kaynaklar incelenmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. Nicel bir analiz yöntemine başvurulmayarak nitel bir çalışma ortaya konulmuştur.

Azerbaycan ve Türkiye’de 19. yüzyılın sonlarında ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında kurulan sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ikili ilişkilere katkı yaptığı görülmüştür. 1983 yılı ve sonrası Türkiye’de neo-liberalizmin dış politika söylem ve uygulamalarında aktif olarak kullanılması neticesinde sivil toplum kuruluşları ya da hükümet dışı organizasyonlar daha fazla önem kazanmaya başlamıştır. İkili ilişkilerde STK’ların rolünün incelendiği dönem ise daha çok Soğuk Savaş’tan sonraki dönemi kapsamaktadır. Nihayetinde bu çalışmada sivil toplumun kamu diplomasisindeki ayrıcalıklı yeri dikkate alınarak, konu ile ilgili literatür üzerine araştırma yapılmış ve sivil toplumun toplumlar ve devletler arasındaki bağdaştırıcı rolü Türkiye-Azerbaycan örneği üzerinden incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler** STK, Türkiye, Azerbaycan, Dış politika, Uluslararasılaşma

## **Introduction**

International relations, in the traditional sense, is accepted as a field covering interstate relations in which the state is the main actor and carries out its political activities (Willetts, 2001:357). Definitions made on the concept of "actor", especially in international relations, also point to the state. To give a few examples: "According to James Dougherty, an international actor is "...an organized entity capable of developing more or less independent actions in the international arena" (Sönmezoğlu, 2005, 20). "Hopkins-Mansbach duo also define the actor as "a relatively autonomous unit that exerts influence on the behavior of other autonomous actors" (Sönmezoğlu, 2005, 20).

As can be seen from the definitions, an actor in the international arena; It is considered an autonomous entity that has the ability to develop independent actions and create a certain impact on other actors. Therefore, in the pre-Cold War period, since the entity with these qualifications was the state, it was considered the only actor in international relations. However, when the expression "nations" in the concept of "international relations" was taken only as states, international relations were understood as political relations between sovereign nation states, and therefore sovereign states were accepted as the main actors (Ari, 2010, 13).

Nowadays, the structure in which sovereign states are accepted as the main actors is changing rapidly and it is observed that the influence of non-state actors is increasing and they are in a constant development to increase this influence (Miall, 1999, 35). For example, in the field of conflict resolution, apart from the state, the UN, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations are rapidly developing the role they play in this field. Therefore, today, the impact of non-state actors on international relations has risen to an indisputable position, and it is seen that international non-governmental organizations, in particular, have expanded their activities and spheres of influence in this field and have become actors (Yalçınkaya, 2006, 505).

### **1. Development of Civil Society-Foreign Policy Relationship After the Cold War**

National non-governmental organizations also try to influence foreign policy in various ways and indirectly have a say in international relations. The change in international relations and foreign policy since the mid-20th century has increased the influence of civil society and added a new dimension to the civil society-foreign policy relationship. This change is based on several reasons. First of all, after the Second World War, international non-governmental organizations began to make their voices heard and became more active, especially in issues such as humanitarian aid and healing the wounds of war. With the end of the Cold War, the basic

balance mechanism, referred to internationally as the "balance of powers", disappeared, the socialist system disappeared and world politics entered a process of restructuring.

Liberal democracy, on the other hand, was identified with the end of history and emerged as the only governance model (Keyman, 1996, 259). With this development, NGOs began to accelerate their activities in the international arena. The most important reason for this is that many issues that were left in the background, covered up or ignored due to the influence of the dominant political structure during the Cold War period, became politicized and international problems with the end of this period.

These problems include environmental problems, nuclear danger, the global terrorist threat that emerged after the September 11 attacks, climate change, human rights, women's rights, children's rights, etc. countable. In addition, the rise of ethnic identity politics that emerged in the post-Cold War period also caused the effectiveness of NGOs to increase. As a result, international NGOs increased their effectiveness and prestige in the international arena, and national NGOs began to get involved in foreign policy in various ways.

The phenomenon of globalization, which can be defined as the intensification and acceleration of worldwide relations, and the problems and opportunities it brings with it, is one of the important reasons for the development of NGOs (Scholte, 2001, 15). With globalization, a number of connections across borders have both diversified and increased in number, thus enabling the movement of capital, goods and information at a speed that was not possible before (Heywood, 2011, 37).

In addition, the internet has become a more effective political tool (Davut Ateş and Ahmet Uysal, 2006, 69). Developments in information and communication technologies and the ease of sharing and accessing information through global networks have also increased the importance and effectiveness of NGOs (Aronson, 2001, 551). With this new development, NGOs, on the one hand, have the opportunity to organize more quickly and effectively and make their voices heard, and on the other hand, with the acceleration of the flow of information, they have become more effective actors in both identifying problems and determining the solutions that can be developed against these problems (For example; Arab Spring the role of social media and communication technologies in the process).

On the other hand, global problems such as environmental problems, nuclear danger, epidemics that come to light with globalization, and the sensitivity of NGOs to these new problems and their search for solutions are among the reasons that increase their importance. NGOs step in to

solve these problems; They play important roles in perceiving problems, seeking solutions, and reflecting them into joint actions. In addition to all these, the developments have revealed that the distinction between domestic policy and foreign policy has become blurred and the interest in foreign policy has increased (Gürpınar, 1-3).

Şule Kut expresses this situation as follows; “Both international problems and foreign policy have been discussed by the public in Turkey perhaps more than ever before” (Kut, 1998, 13). Barry Rubin summarizes this new situation as follows; "The old system in which the state acted largely autonomously and imposed certain policies and structures" has been replaced by a new foreign policy climate in which "interest groups and political pluralism" have developed and "different forces that shape and influence foreign policy have emerged" (Rubin, 2002, 13).

After this period, interest in foreign policy increased and became increasingly effective and organized. Now governments also need the information, analysis and work of NGOs on foreign policy issues. The most important reason for this is that NGOs can exchange information faster, benefit from information and communication technologies relatively faster and more effectively, interact with national and international NGOs, and conduct in-depth research on certain issues. As can be seen, the prestige of NGOs in the fields of international relations and foreign policy is gradually increasing, their opinions, information and analysis are consulted by governments, and they are becoming actors with the various roles they undertake. As a result, foreign policy, which was considered an area above politics and ideologies in the pre-Cold War period, has now turned into an area of political debate and ideological competition (Güvenç, 2007, 165-170).

## **2. Non-Governmental Organizations and the Rise of Civil Society in Turkey**

In the current period when non-governmental organizations in Turkey have started to accelerate their international activities, it has become essential to evaluate the internationalization process brought about by globalization from the perspective of civil society and to develop suggestions for improving the process by following the developments in this field (Meray, 2007, 25-35). Civil society, as a concept, corresponds to an area that is outside state control, has a political nature at a certain level, directly or indirectly, but essentially implements civil activities, relationships and interests aimed at solving social problems.

At the same time, civil society is a public discussion area aimed at solving civil social problems between the state, economy and family, and the organizational activity where this discussion is implemented. Non-governmental organizations are organizational activities that aim to find

solutions to certain social problems, protect certain values and realize certain interests (Keyman, 2006). In other words, today, legal organizations such as associations, foundations, unions, confederations, employer organizations, professional federations, professional organizations, unions, chambers, local unions, cooperatives and media are now accepted as NGOs (Öztürk and Levent Şahin, 2011, 4- 10).

The phenomenon of civil society, which reflects the changes that have taken place both internationally and in Turkey in recent times, has begun to have a wide spread area, from economy to politics, from culture to all aspects of social life. For this reason, in order to better understand the social and political events taking place both locally and internationally, it is an inevitable necessity to take into account civil organizations, which can also be referred to as non-state social organizations.

Although the history of the concept of civil society in Turkey dates back to the Ottoman period and the early republic in certain professional fields, the formation of civil society as an autonomous and organizational living space outside the economic and political sphere dates back to much more recent times. Today, civil society in Turkey continues to exist, most commonly known as associations and foundations. The majority of the associations established in Turkey to date have been associations established for aid and charitable purposes (DPT, 2000).

Since the Seljuk period, organizations in the form of foundations have been seen and it has been witnessed that they have undertaken many important tasks in economic and social life. In fact, these NGOs gained more power during the Ottoman period, increased in number, and experienced their golden age in terms of functionality (Özdemir, 2004, 129-161). Civil society corresponds to an area that is outside state control, has a political nature at a certain level, directly or indirectly, but essentially implements civil activities, relationships and interests aimed at solving social problems (Öztürk and Levent Şahin, 2011, 15-20).

UN-HABITAT, whose first conference was held in Vancouver in 1976, did not receive a large number of participants because two-thirds of the member countries lived in rural areas. However, as a result of the HABITAT II Conference, the "Habitat Agenda" and the "Istanbul Declaration", which are the basic documents of UN-HABITAT, were accepted. With these documents, governments have committed to providing adequate housing opportunities for all citizens and developing sustainable human settlements (UN Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT), 2015). What makes HABITAT II a turning point in terms of the development of

civil society in Turkey is that, inspired by the UN Convention, the conference held negotiations on the development of sustainable human settlements in a world where there is adequate housing and urbanization for everyone, and in doing so, civil society was one of the most important actors (Tuncer, 2009, 128).

Due to the increasing importance and effectiveness of non-governmental organizations in Turkey in recent years, these organizations have begun to perform important tasks, from reflecting national policies to conveying messages at the cultural level. These organizations act by considering the interests of their countries in the execution (Aydemir, 2016, 355-356).

However, although civil society in Turkey has a historical background such as foundations, the phenomenon of civil society in the Western sense is still relatively new (Çaha, 2006). It is natural that there are old practices and traditions in Turkey regarding NGOs, non-state and voluntary organizations. However, with its current function, the phenomenon of civil society in Turkey is new and underdeveloped (Mağa, 2001, 7-17). In this context, in many areas, including education, health and social security, the state leaves its duties to NGOs or the market ("European Union", 2001). In line with the purpose shown here, neo-liberal understandings try to dominate ideas by continuing their effectiveness in every field of activity. There are many NGOs in Turkey that can be evaluated within the framework of movements representing civil initiative. It is possible to group them as follows ("EU Harmonization Process and NGOs", 2004; Çaha, 2017, 75-80).

1. "Professional" non-governmental organizations (Professional Chambers, unions and media organizations),
2. Non-governmental organizations developing in the field of "rights and freedoms": Human Rights Association, Mazlum-Der,
3. Traditional conservative non-governmental organizations: Maarif Foundation
4. Non-governmental organizations developing in the field of Thought Platform: Liberal Thought Community, Freedom Research Association, TESEV, TÜSEV,
5. Non-governmental organizations that emerged around ethnic and cultural rights: Caucasian associations, Alevi associations, Kurdish movement,
6. One of the areas that attract attention as a civil society front is the sensitivity and sensitivities regarding the environment: TEMA, Turkish Environment Foundation, Natural Life Protection Association,

7. Another category includes organizations with Atatürkist lines, such as the Atatürkist Thought Association and the Contemporary Life Support Association, which developed in the 1980s (Çaha, 2017, 75-80).
8. Another area where non-governmental organizations develop is search-rescue and cooperation activities: AKUT, Deniz Feneri, Turkish Red Crescent, Diyanet Foundation, Human Rights and Freedoms Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), Volunteers, Hayrat Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Aziz Hüdayi Foundation, Cansuyu Assistance and Solidarity Association, Yardımcı International Humanitarian Aid Association, Doctors Worldwide, Search and Rescue Association, Beşir Association, Sadakataşı Association, Vuslat Association
9. We can also include international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating in Turkey in the field of civil society: Conrad Adenauer foundation, Amnesty International, Helsinki Monitoring Committee, Green Peace, etc.

The most prominent non-governmental organizations established in Turkey since the 1980s are; environmental groups (Turkish Nature Conservation Association, Natural Life Protection Association, Turkey Environmental Problems Foundation, TEMA), women's associations (representatives of secular feminism and Islamic women's movement), Alevi groups (Cem Foundation, Pir Sultan Abdal Association, Hacı Bektaş Veli Associations and Foundations). ), associations and organizations that provide a prescription for the Southeast issue within the framework of Kurdish ethnic demands, associations operating on human rights (Human Rights Association, etc.), and the Liberal Thought Community (Çaha, 2003, 262-275).

The transcendent state discourse that continues in Turkey has a great impact on this. According to Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, the understanding of civil society in Turkey has come to its current use from the idea that the word "State" in the Turkish-Ottoman understanding is the greatest happiness. The transition from statism, where individualism was condemned and uniformity was common, to civil society was achieved in this process (Sarıbay, 1998, 447-461).

### **3. The Role of NGOs in Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations**

The reputation of NGOs in the fields of international relations and foreign policy is increasing. Foreign policy, which was considered a field of politics and ideology in the pre-Cold War period, has now become an area of political debate and ideological competition. Turkey has also been affected by this development in the world. Especially after 1983, non-governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations began to gain more importance through the

use of neo-liberalism in Turkey's foreign policy discourse. Most NGOs have made structural changes in their internal management and adopted international pioneering experiences. Most NGOs focus on well-defined goals, and some continue to engage in activities beyond their core focus to win grants.

They create social awareness through promotions and social presentations made on the digital platform with the developments in information technologies. In addition, volunteers are constantly involved in NGO activities and are widely employed. The development of NGOs in Turkey and Azerbaijan has increased the role of non-governmental organizations in the bilateral relations of the countries. It is possible to divide the role of NGOs in the relations between the two countries into several groups and give examples. The most important of these are the promotional activities of Azerbaijani associations in Turkey in this country, the promotional activities of some Turkish associations in Azerbaijan in this country, the activities of some NGOs in Azerbaijan in Turkey, the activities of some NGOs in Turkey in Azerbaijan,

Joint activities of Azerbaijani and Turkish NGOs in these two countries, joint activities of Azerbaijani and Turkish NGOs in a third country regarding the problem of one of these two countries or a common issue, activities of Azerbaijani and Turkish NGOs in a more general framework but affecting the other country Activities including activities related to OSCE, NATO and other international organizations, Muslim or Turkish identity include the activities of NGOs in third countries that contain one or both of the words "Azerbaijan" and "Turkish" in their names.

NGOs in Azerbaijan have worked in cooperation with the state to a significant extent in terms of bilateral relations, in a complementary role to official policy. Some NGOs worked in areas where the state was relatively less interested in foreign policy. Efforts towards greater integration of Turkey and Azerbaijan or efforts to meet Turkey's expectations for the recognition of the TRNC can be evaluated within this framework. In some periods, the activities of Azerbaijani NGOs have attracted more attention, especially in the "protocols process", in terms of activities aimed at supporting decision makers in directing public opinion and in directly or indirectly influencing the country where the influence of official state policy is lacking.

Among the organizations in Turkey that work in areas that the state left vacant in foreign policy, did not show much interest in, or felt obliged to not show much interest in, and made serious contributions to relations with Azerbaijan, some NGOs, especially Türk Ocağı, Azerbaijan

Culture Association, Marmara Group, TÜDEV, are among the organizations that have made significant contributions to the relations with Azerbaijan. have done studies. (Aslanlı and Vefa Kurban, 2016, 33-35). Çanakkale Azerbaijan House, Azerbaijan House Association, Ankara Azerbaijan House Association, Istanbul Turkish Azerbaijan Friendship Culture and Solidarity Association, Eskişehir Azerbaijan Association, Antalya Azerbaijan House Association, Istanbul Azerbaijan Culture and Art Association are examples of these.

Some of the names of Azerbaijan and Turkey, where these associations are seeking integration, are united under a common roof with the Federation of Associations. Some other NGOs, including Turkish NGOs, Azerbaijan Cultural Association, Marmara Group and TÜDEV, carried out serious work. TURKSAM exhibits one of the most important examples of trying to contribute to bilateral relations by appealing to the Azerbaijani and Turkish public, politicians and media for direct or indirect influence on Azerbaijan during periods when the official government policy is not effective. TURKSAM is also one of the non-governmental organizations that constantly conducts studies (research, publications, events, statements, etc.) on the main areas of interest of Azerbaijan.

## **Conclusion**

The crucial point and the main deterrent issue for NGOs is the state's power and ability to rule. State may close down some NGOs or restrict their financial opportunities when it perceives them to be a threat to the administration and foreign policy practices or when it deems it necessary. But NGOs cannot direct the functioning of the state, nor can they influence the state's institutions, organizations and laws. Non-governmental organizations only create a certain public opinion and draw attention to certain issues. In the light of this information, we can list the main reasons why NGOs in Turkey are weak and cannot have a guiding influence on foreign policy as follows;

1. Fear of the state: Fear of the state and the conformity it brings blunts the diversity and differences of civil society. It eliminates critical perspective, freedom of expression and originality and pushes non-governmental organizations into monotony.
2. Discourse glorifying the state: The state, which is the most basic concept of Turkish political culture, is glorified within this culture and rises above individuals and communities. Non-governmental organizations are forced into this state-dependent culture.

3. Economic dependency: Since most of the property and production is under the monopoly of the state, the dependence of social resistance on the state poses an obstacle to the development of civil society. This title is also called the first level title. The findings section should be added for research articles, and a title appropriate to the subject should be added for review articles.

Currently, many foundations and associations in Turkey are still continuing their internationalization process, and some are just expanding into this field. However, especially the work of institutions that have been operating in the international arena for many years - first unofficially, but then officially - has the capacity to lead in this field.

It can be said that the internationalization process in NGOs brings with it a certain level of institutionalization in the working and organizational styles of the organizations. While NGOs were institutions in the 1990s where mostly volunteer-based and non-professional personnel came together to operate, they have turned into institutions that provide an advantageous working environment for qualified employees since the 2000s, when their employee profiles began to rise. The threshold of criteria has begun to rise both in the recruitment of institutions and in the selection of employees. Especially with the globalization process, people who know more than one language and are in contact with more than one culture have begun to be employed in NGOs. Although this situation does not continue at the same pace in every NGO, it is possible to say that institutionalization is gaining momentum in this direction in general.

In today's world, where globalization continues at a rapid pace and there is almost no sector left outside its scope, non-governmental organizations are now taking initiative, trying to find solutions and creating public opinion on issues such as social assistance and human rights, before states. However, although non-governmental organizations in Turkey have gained an international dimension by being affected by many cyclical changes such as globalization, they cannot reach an autonomous structure autonomous from the state and mostly appear as a tool to legitimize foreign policy. In the light of all the information, it can be said that; With "globalization", which is a factor that strengthens and develops the civil society-foreign policy relationship, non-governmental organizations in Turkey have become effective actors in creating public opinion. However, the activities of many NGOs remain in the shadow of the foreign policy principles and practices of decision makers. Factors such as the existence of a political culture that glorifies the state in Turkey and the economic dependence of NGOs on the state play a major role in this regard.

The findings made in this study can serve as a reference for future studies. Since non-governmental organizations are intercultural bridges, it is a subject that can be analyzed from many different aspects. Civil society studies are developing on the basis of language and cultural studies. However, it can be stated that the mission of civil society to protect the environment, strengthen sustainability, and serve to strengthen environmental awareness in societies are also the subjects worth to examine. Future studies can examine the negative effects of civil society on interstate relations, as well as other positive aspects that have not been addressed in the current literature.

## References

- Aronson, J. (2001). *The Communications and Internet Revolution*. (John Baylis and Steve Smith, Ed.). The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. 2. Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aslanlı, A. and Vefa Kurban. (2016). Azerbaycan-Türkiye İlişkileri ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları. *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Vol.:3. No: 1. p. 31-43.
- Ateş, D. and Ahmet Uysal. (2006). Merkez-Dışı Ülkelerdeki Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (STK): Dış Politika, Finansman ve Meşruiyet. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. No:16.
- Aydemir, E. (2016). *Dış Politikada Yumuşak Güç ve Medya*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları.
- Çaha, Ö. (2017). *Sivil Toplum Sivil Topluma Karşı: Sivil Toplumun Türkiye'deki ve Dünyadaki Serüveni*. İstanbul: Mana Yayınları.
- Çaha, Ö. (2003). *Aşkın Devletten Sivil Topluma*. İstanbul: Gendaş A.S. Yayınları.
- Çaha, Ö. (2006). Bir Kez Daha Sivil Toplum, <http://www.siviltoplum.com.tr> (son erişim tarihi 15.06.2006).
- DPT, (2000). *Küreselleşme Özel İhtisas Komisyon Raporu*. VIII. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (Rap.), Ankara: T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı.
- Gürpınar, B. Türkiye Dış Politikasında Bir Aktör: TÜSİAD. <https://www.academia.edu/7539794/TUSIAD>.

- Güvenç, S. (2007). Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları, [https://www.academia.edu/1272022/T%C3%BCrkiyenin\\_D%C4%B1%C5%9F\\_Politikas%C4%B1\\_ve\\_D%C3%BC%C5%9F%C3%BCnce\\_Kurulu%C5%9Flar%C4%B1](https://www.academia.edu/1272022/T%C3%BCrkiyenin_D%C4%B1%C5%9F_Politikas%C4%B1_ve_D%C3%BC%C5%9F%C3%BCnce_Kurulu%C5%9Flar%C4%B1), 2007.
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Siyasal İdeolojiler: Bir Giriş*. (Kemal Bayram, Özgür Tüfekçi, Hüsamettin İnaç, Şeyma Akın ve Buğra Kalkan, Çev.). 3. Baskı. Ankara: Adres Yayınları.
- Keyman, E. Fuat. (1996). Eleştirel Düşünce: İletişim, Hegemonya, Kimlik/fark. *Devlet, Sistem ve Kimlik: Uluslararası İlişkilerde Temel Yaklaşımlar*. (Atile Eralp, Der.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Keyman, F. (2006). *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplumun Serüveni: İmkânsızlıklar İçinde Bir Vaha*. Ankara: Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi.
- Mağa, İ. (2001). *Sivil Toplum: Bir Devletin Büyümesi*, İstanbul: YGS Yayınları.
- Marangoz, M. (2009). Toplumsal Barışın Sağlanmasında STK'ların Rolü. *Dernekler Dergisi*. No: 7.
- Kut, Ş. (1998). Türkiye'nin Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dış Politikasının Anahtarları. *En Uzun On Yıl: Türkiye'nin Ulusal Güvenlik ve Dış Politika Gündeminde Doksanlı Yıllar*. (Gencer Özcan ve Şule Kut, Der.). İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları.
- Meray, A. (2007). Türkiye'de Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Siyasal Karar Alma Mekanizmalarına Etkisi, *(Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi)*. Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı. Muğla.
- Miall, H. and Tom Woodhouse. (1999). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. USA: Polity Press.
- Özdemir, S. (2004). *Kar Gütmeyen Kuruluşlar (KGK) ve Sosyal Refahın Sağlanmasında Artan Rolü*, İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları.
- Öztürk, M.ve Levent Şahin. (2011). Küreselleşme Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve Türkiye'deki Durumu. *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi*. No: 54. p. 3-29.
- Rubin, B. (2002). Türkiye'nin Dış Politikasını Anlamak, *Günümüzde Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası*, (Barry Rubin ve Kemal Kirişçi, Der.). İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Sarıbay, A. (1998). Türkiye'de Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum. *Küreselleşme- Sivil Toplum ve İslam*. Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.

Scholte, Jan Aart. (2001). The Globalization of World Politics. (John Baylis and Steve Smith, Ed.). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 2. Edition, New York: Oxford University Press.

Sönmezoğlu, F. (2005). *Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika Analizi*. İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi.

Şahin, M. (2013). Case Study: Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika'da Uyguladığı Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetleri, *Kamu Diplomasisi* (A. Yalçinkaya ve Y. Özgen, Ed.). İstanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Tuncer, H. (2009). *Diplomasinin Evrimi: Gizli Diplomasiden Küresel Diplomasiye*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.

Willetts, P. (2001). Transnational Actors and International Organizations in Global Politics. (John Baylis and Steve Smith, Ed.). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 2. Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Yalçinkaya, H. et. al. (2006). Değişen Silahlı Çatışma ortamında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Güvenlik İhtiyaçlarının Karşılanması: Afganistan ve Anso Örneği. III. *Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Kongresi, Bildiriler Kitabı: STK-Özel Sektör-Devlet Etkileşimi*. Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Biga İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Çanakkale.

Avrupa Birliği, (2001). Devlet ve STK'lar. *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu VII*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

AB Uyum Süreci ve STK'lar. (2004). *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu XIV*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

BM İnsan Yerleşimleri Programı (UN-HABITAT). <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/birlesmis-milletler-insan-yerlesimleri-programi.tr.mfa>.