EXPLAINING ADVOCACY AGENDA:

HUMAN RIGHTS NGOs IN TURKEY

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

International Relations

Koç University

July 2012

Koc University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

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Dedicated to my beloved father…

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any University or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of her knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due references is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The basic purpose of this thesis is to trace highly regarded issues and non-issues in Turkey's context and to analyze the dynamics that have influenced behaviors of domestic human rights NGOs in Turkey to select particular issues but not others. Utilizing existing hypotheses in the literature on issue emergence and advocacy agenda-setting, this paper describes and analyzes the impact of the issue-related, the actor-related and the context-related factors on the configuration of advocacy agenda of the local human rights NGOs in Turkey. Drawing on the content analysis of primary documents and key informant interviews, as well as secondary sources and interviews, I made twofold analysis. First, analyzing the agenda settings of local human rights NGOs, I specify "the most concerned" issue and "the neglected issue" in their advocacy agenda. Second, I will analytically discuss internal and external factors that affect local human rights NGOs in Turkey to select certain issues instead of others by the help of existing hypothesis and other findings. Furthermore, in this analysis, the relationships between human rights NGOs - donors, the Islamist perspective on human rights and the impact of Europeanization process become scopes of secondary analysis to discover dynamics in terms of their impact on advocacy agenda setting.

Keywords: human rights, human rights NGOs, advocacy agenda, civil society, issue emergence, universalism, issue adoption, constructivism, Europeanization.

ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, Türkiye'de sivil toplum alanında mevcut olan savunu gündeminde öne çıkan konuları ve dikkat çekmeyen konuları belirleyerek insan hakları derneklerinin belli konuları neden öne çıkardıklarını, diğerlerini de neden geriye attıklarını anlamaktır. Bu çalışma savunu gündemi yapılarını ve konuların gündeme taşınması ile ilgili araştırmaları kullanarak, Türkiye'deki insan hakları derneklerinin savunu gündemlerini etkileyen konunun niteliği, sürece dâhil olan aktörlerle ve içinde bulunan politik ve sosyal atmosferle ilgili faktörleri analiz etmektedir. Birincil kaynakları içerik analizinin ve sivil toplum aktivistleriyle yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatların içinde bulunduğu çift katmanlı bir araştırma dizaynı benimsenmiştir. Öncelikle, Türkiye'deki insan hakları derneklerinin birincil kaynaklarının içerik analizi yardımıyla bu derneklerin en çok üzerine düştüğü konular ve en ihmal ettiği konular belirlenmiştir. Bu konuları belirledikten sonra ise, ilgili literatürdeki açıklamalar ışığında, insan hakları derneklerinin konulara verdikleri değişen önemin arkasındaki nedenler irdelenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, bu analiz Türkiye'deki insan hakları derneklerinin fon sağlayıcılarıyla olan ilişkilerine, insan haklarının İslami olarak yorumlanış biçiminin savunu gündemine etkilerine ve Avrupa Birliği sürecinin savunu gündemini şekillendirme üzerindeki gücüne ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: insan hakları, insan hakları dernekleri, savunu gündemi, sivil toplum, (sivil toplumda) konunun ortaya çıkışı, konunun benimsenmesi, inşacılık, Avrupalılaşma

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

BDP   Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi)

CAT   Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

CEDAW   Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CHP   Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)

CNN   Cable News Network

CRC   Convention on the Rights of the Child

DEHAP   Democratic People's Party (Demokratik Halk Partisi)

DP   Democratic Party (Demokrat Parti)

DTP   Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi)

EU   European Union

HADEP   The People's Democratic Party (Halkın Demokrasi Partisi)

HCA   Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği)

IAO   International Amnesty Organization

ICCPED   International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance

ICCPR   International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD   International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

ICESC   International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IHD   Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği)

IHOP   Human Rights Joint Platform (İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu)

KCK   Union of Communities in Kurdistan (Koma Civaken Kurdistan)

LGBTT   Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Travestite and Transsexual

MazlumDer	Organization of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People (İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar için Dayanışma Derneği)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PKK	Kurdish Workers' Party (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan)
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TUSEV	Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı)
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Since the end of Second World War, the idea of human rights, from previously idealist connotations, have gradually reached wide appeal in most of the countries, becoming common moral language in the globe. With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, human rights become the global norm that has the ability to define appropriate behavior in the world politics. Besides crucial contribution of international organizations such as United Nations and European Union to further human rights norms in the international platform, civil society has played a fundamental role in advancing and universalizing the idea of human rights as well as in protection of them against the violator actors including states and private corporations (Chandler, 2001). International human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs hereafter) such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and others have been active in terms of lobbying, standard-setting, monitoring of compliance with standards, and shaming norm violators (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Similarly, in domestic settings, local human rights organizations and human rights activists have made efforts to run protective mechanisms within restrictive domestic context (Posner, 1993; Calnan, 2008). In some cases, transnational links between local human rights NGOs and international NGOs become operative to seek leverage against the aggressor parties. The increasing number of human rights NGOs and effective advocacy networks make human rights norm more powerful in the world politics.

The idea of human rights, however, does not have static meaning formalized by the institutions. The variety of actors in the international human rights regime has contributed the

extent of human rights by adding different dimensions (Bunch, 1990). Therefore, there are numbers of issues of concerns and vulnerable populations competing for more attention. Even though civil society actors have made campaigns on some issues and been successfully influential in the international sphere, other issues and population of concerns have been largely ignored in the agenda of human rights advocacy (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Bob, 2002, 2005, 2007; Carpenter, 2007, 2010, 2011; Carpenter, Duygulu and Tomaskovic-Devey, 2011). For instance, while child soldiering has become the prominent issue among transnational advocacy groups for fifteen years, stigma against children born of wartime rape has received little attention by activists working in the issue domain of children (Carpenter, 2007: 643). In this regard, it is essential to ask why some issues but not others galvanize human rights NGOs and activists.

Within this context, the basic purpose of this research is to trace highly regarded issues and non-issues in Turkey's context and to understand the dynamics that have influenced domestic human rights NGOs in Turkey to select particular issues but not others. Utilizing existing hypotheses in the literature on transnational advocacy networks (TANs hereafter), this paper describes and analyzes the impact of the issue-related, the actor-related and the context-related factors on the configuration of advocacy agenda of the local human rights NGOs in Turkey. Drawing on primary documents and key informant interviews, as well as secondary sources and interviews, I made twofold analysis. First, analyzing the agenda settings of local human rights NGOs, I specify "the most concerned" issue and "the neglected issue" in their advocacy agenda. Second, I analytically discussed internal and external factors that affect local human rights NGOs in Turkey to select certain issues instead of others by the help of existing hypothesis and other findings. Furthermore, in this analysis, the relationships between human rights NGOs - donors, the Islamist perspective on human rights and the impact of Europeanization process become

scopes of secondary analysis to discover dynamics in terms of their impact on advocacy agenda setting.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The main purpose of this research is to explore the factors that have an impact on the advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey. I primarily want to stress on the reasons why this topic is notable and this research need to be conducted.

First, in the contemporary world, human rights norms become the powerful instrument for the protection of fundamental rights of liberties of individuals against other individuals, states and corporations (Sikkink, 1993). In the process of time, with the efforts of human rights organizations and defenders, the label of human rights has grown into a broad umbrella that encompass diversity of issues and vulnerable populations other than the abstract rights formalized in the legal texts and treaties. In the international settings, due to the emergence of different issues and vulnerabilities in all around the world, the encompassing human rights perspective is in progress (Holzhacker, 2011). In Turkish case, human rights NGOs have been the pivotal actors "in the development of a domestically grown human rights perspective in Turkish politics" (Çalı, 2007: 217). Therefore, the research into the advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey gives crucial insights into the state of the encompassing human rights perspective.

Second, related to the first reason, this research aims to explain the factors that have a direct impact on the current condition of human rights perspective in Turkey's civil society. To specify the particular factors is useful to comprehend which factors limit and advance the human rights perspective in Turkey. In this respect, this research provides crucial findings that instruct further steps to develop more encompassing human rights perspective in Turkey, which is a fundamental

necessity for a healthy democracy (Rummel, 1997; Diamond, 1999; Davenport and Armstrong, 2004).

Within this context, the main research questions of this thesis are as follows: Why do human rights NGOs prefer some issues in their campaigns and which factors and dynamics influence the selection of issues in advocacy agenda. In this respect, I examine the following questions related to the main research question.

1. Which issue attributes do human rights NGOs in Turkey prioritize? What are the differences in human rights NGOs regarding the issue characteristics of their "most concerned issues"? In Turkey, the predominantly Muslim populated country, how does the Islamic perspective on human rights reflect on the issue preferences of the human rights NGOs in Turkey?

2. What are the actor-related factors having an impact on the configuration of advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey? To what extent do members and volunteers of human rights NGOs have an impact on advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs? What is the impact of institutional characteristics of human rights NGOs on the advocacy agenda? How do the external factors such as donors and other NGOs influence the advocacy agenda?

3. To what extent does political and social domestic context has an impact on the agenda setting of human rights NGOs in Turkey? What role does political development of Turkey play on the configuration of advocacy agenda in Turkey? To what extent does the European Union integration process become effective in setting priorities of human rights NGOs?

1.2 Scientific Importance

There are three reasons why this particular topic is relevant to scholarship. The first is related to newly flourishing literature on TANs and specifically those deals with issue emergence and issue prominence. There is ongoing discussion regarding material and ideational sources of motivations for NGOs, in effect, the reflection of broad debate in political science centering on attributes of actors, in the context of self-interested versus altruist. Keck and Sikkink (1998), in their seminal book *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, assumed that INGOs are motivated by "values rather than material concerns" (2). The pure altruism assumption underlying the TAN framework has been criticized for being in contradiction to what INGOs are actually doing (Cooley and Ron, 2002; Bob, 2005; Berkovitch and Gordon, 2008). In this sense, "donor dominance" that occurs with INGOs have posed substantial challenge to assumed ideational motivations of NGOs (Siliman, 1999; Govinda, 2009). It is claimed that the concerns and interests of Western donors in NGOs have been prioritized in the agendas of NGOs and have negatively influenced responsiveness to calls for help by domestic populations (Grant and Keohane, 2005; Klees, 1998; Bob, 2005). In this discussion, testing alternative explanations in the literature, this thesis seeks to understand the impact of both values and material incentives on agenda setting of human rights NGOs where these motivations have played utmost role in its configuration. Within this context, the ability to examine different characteristics of NGOs in terms of their sources of motivations is a significant contribution of the thesis to the scholarship.

The second reason is related to different discussions in social movement literature, specifically political opportunities framework. The political opportunities perspective, one of the fundamental propositions in the literature, put emphasis on contextual factors in understanding

variation in social movement mobilization, strategies, and outcomes (Tarrow, 1998). The plethora of factors such as characteristics of the political system, the position of political parties, international alliances, (Kitschelt, 1986; McAdam, 1996; Tarrow, 1998; Kriesi, 2004) grouping of actors, counter movements and the larger public (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; Meyer, 2004; Rucht, 2004) have been analyzed within the political opportunity perspective, giving crucial insights into a social movement dynamics. Related to advocacy agenda setting, studies on political opportunity framework offer crucial findings for the claim that prospects of activists for advancing particular claims are context-dependent (Meyer, 2004) and "symbolic and value orientations" in a society creates opportunities and constraints for social movement (Goldstone, 2004). Analyzing effects of external factors on agenda setting of human rights NGOs in, this thesis seeks to identify the explanatory power of political opportunity structure regarding advocacy agenda setting and issue emergence.

The final aspect is more context-specific. For scholars dealing with issues related to Turkey, there is a noticeable dearth of research on the agenda structure of human rights NGOs and factors that shape priorities of these organizations. While an impressive body of scholarship on human rights in Turkey during the European Union integration process is evident (Arıkan, 2002; Dağı, 2008; Kassimeris and Tsoumpanou, 2008; Payne, 2010; Hale, 2011; İçduygu, 2011), research on activities of human rights organizations has remained relatively unexplored. In this regard, this thesis can contribute to studies on human rights and civil society by analyzing agenda configuration of human rights organizations which have certain discursive power on standard setting on human rights in Turkey. Additionally, the research on Turkey where civil society has flourished against historical strong state tradition since the 1990s (Keyman and İçduygu, 2003) and has created "the relative autonomization of economic activities, societal groups and cultural

identities" (Göle, 1994) is crucial contribution as unique non-Western context for both literature on TANs and political opportunity perspective.

This research tries to fill two significant gaps in the literature dealing with civil society and human rights. *Firstly*, even though domestic human rights NGOs are crucial actors in human rights enforcement due to their local advantages such as the ability to access to information and political and legal strategies in domestic settings, there is a lack of research on domestic NGOs (Whelan, 1992; Calnan, 2008; Posner, 1994). Especially during the last three decades when enforcement rather than standard-setting has gained significance in international human rights movement, thanks to strengthening transnational relations due to increasing pace of globalization, domestic human rights NGOs became one of the primary actors in international and domestic politics (Hannum, 1984). In this sense, the research into local human rights advocacy in Turkey would offer valuable findings to comprehend domestic aspect of human rights enforcement in the literature. *Secondly*, another missing in the academic literature is research into agenda setting of human rights NGOs in Turkey. A group of scholars working on agendas of human rights NGOs in Turkey generally put emphasis on the conservative-secular debate in depicting civil society in Turkey (Kadioğlu, 2005; Caylak, 2008; Yilmaz, 2010). In fact, burgeoning literature on TANs offers a broad framework in examining human rights advocacy, but there are very few studies utilizing conceptualizations in this literature (Sahin and Yildiz, 2010). In this thesis, therefore, I have set out to understand how internal and external factors has played a role in the construction of agendas of human rights NGOs in Turkey, and their selection of "high profile" issues to campaign, focusing not only actors' ideological motivations but also framing of issues, broader political and social context and organizational culture of NGOs. Taking the literature on issue

emergence as the theoretical framework of my analysis, I use the findings from the content analysis and in-depth interviews I conducted to explore the research questions highlighted above.

1.3 Theoretical Background

1.3.1 Theory and Concepts

Primarily, I want to stress on my theoretical departure point that have shaped my perspective on this research, and also my methodological choices. In my opinion, constructivist postulates in the international relations and political science give crucial insights into the nature of world politics and interactions among the actors. To elaborate, the constructivist school of thought claims that material structure "are given meanings only by the social context through which they are interpreted", and "a process of mutual interaction between agents and structures" gives shape to interest and identity formation (Wendt, 1994; Wendt, 1995; Checkel, 1998: 326). To follow these two constructivist assumptions provides significant framework for the examination of the behaviors human rights NGOs and the formation of human rights perspective itself. First, human rights perspective is the dynamic phenomenon that varies according to different contexts. However, their changing definition has ideational impact on the actors in a way that defines appropriate behavior for them. Second, from the side of human rights NGOs, they are subjected to the impact of the changing human rights perspective but their identity and interest formation emanated from their characteristics and the structures led them to choose some issues not others. Therefore, the methodology aims to explore identity and interest formation of human rights NGOs in Turkey by identifying the influential factors on them. In this sense, while the content analysis provides crucial findings on the identity of the human rights NGOs, the in-

depth interviews reveal their perspectives on the existing context, which is essential to examine their behaviors regarding the selection of issues.

After clarifying my theoretical position in this research, I introduce some concepts that constitute backbone of the research. For the purposes of this study, I selected three domestic human rights NGOs to map human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey. I prefer domestic human rights NGOs because of their ability to access information and extensive membership base in domestic settings (Posner, 1993). First of all, I define local human rights NGO as non-profit, private organization, not established by a government or international agreement, that intervene in the political and social arrangements of their localities through an interpretation and appropriation of domestic, political, social and economic practices from a universal standpoint of human rights claims (Ölz, 1997; Wilson, 1997; Çalı, 2007; Calnan, 2008). Even though the theoretical distinction between domestic human rights NGOs and international human rights NGOs is not easily drawn, for the purposes of the study, I practically define domesticity of NGO in the context of the issues they heavily focus, location of its offices and the origin of its members (Calnan, 2008). Within this context, I choose three local human rights NGOs as the sample to represent human rights advocacy in civil society in Turkey. These are Human Rights Association (IHD hereafter), Association for the Human Rights and the Oppressed (MazlumDer hereafter), and Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA hereafter). These three human rights NGOs together with Amnesty International Turkey branch composed of Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP) that was established for effective human rights advocacy in Turkey. Amnesty International Turkey branch is not included in this research because, for the sake of impartiality and credibility of the NGO, Turkey branch have allocated more space for human rights violations in neighbor countries in their agenda (Aktan, 2007). The historical evolution of these local NGOs will be elaborated in

the analytical section; however, some introductory remarks need to be noted. IHD and MazlumDer are the historical pioneers of human rights advocacy in Turkey (Aktan, 2007). They are the representatives of two different perspectives on human rights, secular and conservative, and both associations have a grass-roots base responsive to human rights violations in domestic settings by directly participating field observations. Therefore, due to their better capacities and channels in local settings, the two NGOs have dominated considerable parts of advocacy efforts in the civil society in Turkey. In this respect, they are perfect choices for the research having aim to examine human rights perspective in Turkey. HCA is more academy-oriented NGO in comparison to IHD and MazlumDer; however, they have provided reports and studies on human rights and participated cooperative efforts for human rights advocacy. In short, these three local human rights NGOs are convenient selections for this research to explore different characteristics of NGOs.

Secondly, the concept of advocacy agenda has paramount significance in this research. In this respect, an agenda is "a set of issues that are communicated in a hierarchy of importance at a point in time" (Dearing and Rogers, 1996: 2). Specifically, advocacy agenda contains particular type of issues related with human rights and it refers advocacy networks and organizations. In the agendas of advocacy groups, there are issues of concern such as environmental degradation, abortion, freedom of speech and other issues, and populations of concern including LGBTT individuals, children born of war time rape, people with disability and other vulnerable populations. For the purposes of the study, I operationalize advocacy agenda as the press releases and special reports of human rights NGOs in Turkey. The allocation of issues in their press releases and special reports gives crucial insight into the configuration of their advocacy agenda.

1.3.2 Theoretical Framework on Advocacy Agenda

Primarily, I discuss the theoretical background of the dynamics that explain why some issues not others are selected by the advocacy groups. It also provides conceptual framework that is helpful to answer the research questions in this thesis. At the beginning, I want to stress on some basic concepts to comprehend preliminary formation of the research questions. Issue is the main concept in this research. To clarify this concept in the context of advocacy, we should also explain their difference from problems and campaigns. Problems are simple preexisting grievances (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). When activists frame a problem as human rights violation, it becomes an issue (Carpenter, 2007; Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Campaigns contain coordinated efforts by multiple organizations around a particular issue (Carpenter, 2007; Khagram, Riker and Sikkink, 2002: 7). The more detailed version of the process of issue emergence is in the following figure:
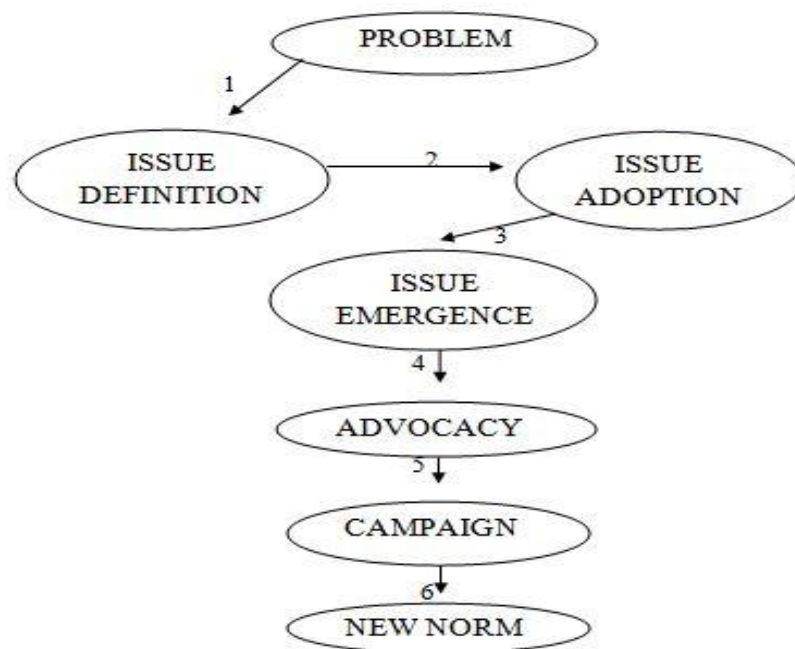
Figure 1: Issue Emergence Schema

In this context, it is noteworthy to state that the success of previous step brings the following step. Human rights NGOs may get involved in every step in this process. Both human rights NGOs and activists can frame a problem as an issue by defining it as human rights violation. After that, they can adopt this issue and start to publicize in public domain. It becomes a subject of advocacy. When several advocacy groups make coordinated efforts to advocate this issue, it becomes a campaign. The achievement of the campaign refers successful adoption of new norm related to the issue. In this respect, what is the focus of the research in Turkey context are the fourth and the fifth steps that includes human rights NGOs' behavior to select issues in the emerged issues pool and to campaign the selected issues. The motivations behind the human rights NGOs' behavior to choose certain topics not others are explained in the context of three lines of thinking. The following sections suggest theoretical background on issue-related, actor-related and context-related factors to explain the motivations.

Figure 2: Theoretical Map on Advocacy Agenda-Setting

1.3.2.1 Issue Attributes

Some scholars studying on TANs claim that issue characteristics itself have played crucial role in the effectiveness of the campaigns conducted by the networks (Stone, 1989; Nadelmann, 1990; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Howard-Hassmann and Lombardo, 2007). Human rights NGOs may choose issues that are likely to be effective in the campaigns. Therefore, they focus on certain characteristics of issues that are amenable to successful campaign. According to Keck and Sikkink, the issue should be evaluated normatively as right and wrong to increase effectiveness. Therefore, causality should be established clearly to prove what is wrong. In the campaign process, the causal story increases credibility by cleaning confusions around the issue. Additionally, the responsible actor should be identifiable. For instance, in case of LGBTT rights advocacy, when activists define the patriarchy as the main responsible actor, this campaign is likely to fail. It is noteworthy to state, "a bad condition does not become a problem until people see it as amenable to human control" (Stone, 1989). When people consider they have something to do, they support campaign. Therefore, the "deliberate actions of identifiable individuals" always draw attention from the public because the cause-effect relationship is clear-cut and simple, and the aggressor is identifiable (Carpenter, 2010).

Drawing from the previous advocacy experiences, Keck and Sikkink claim that two issues have always attracted considerable attention from the networks. They are the "issues involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals with short and clear causal chain" and the "issues involving legal equality of opportunity" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 27). Issues involving bodily harms such as torture, disappearance are appealing topics that human rights NGOs worldwide usually deal with. However, the presentation of the problem is even more important in some contexts (Stone, 2006; Joachim, 2007). Dramatic stories around these issues might become one of the crucial

reasons for NGOs to choose this issue. In some cases, the criteria might become the scope of the problem (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). When the numerous people are affected, NGOs are more likely to choose this issue. In this context, the measurability of severity of the problem comes into the stage, and empirical evidences gain significance. The problem of marginalized small amount of people cannot draw attention from the public. For example, the uncertainty regarding the numbers of the children born of wartime rape is one of the reasons that explain why this problem has not turned into an issue what advocacy networks are working on yet (Carpenter, 2011). Furthermore, in particular cases, the issues need to be linked with the existing advocacy agenda or "grafted" into preexisting moral standards (Carpenter, 2007; Price, 1998). Vulnerabilities of some populations are framed as human rights violations by referring the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and they use their statutory power to pressure governments. Lastly, the "complex" and culturally sensitive issues are less likely to be chosen by NGOs (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). In some contexts, LGBTT rights advocacy is very difficult struggle in the threat of conservative opposition, or the issues related to established cultural practices such as circumcision are evaded topics for NGOs.

1.3.2.2 Actor Attributes

The literature on the issue emergence and their selection by advocacy networks focuses on the role of actors as second cluster of factors (Finnemore, 1996; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Mintrom, 2000; Payne, 2001; Mintrom and Norman, 2009). Because of the numerous actors involved in this process, the categorization is needed to classify which actors have impact on which process. Drawing from the findings on the previous studies, I divide three categories of

actors in the issue emergence process by centering on the role of NGO. There are human rights NGOs as actors, issue-related actors and external actors.

First, human rights NGOs as institutional actors have particular characteristics that have impact on issue selection in their advocacy agenda. For example, since some human rights NGOs may have particular mandate topics, they may be limited in adopting new issues (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). The ideological motivations of the members and volunteers of the NGOs facilitate or put a barrier in advocating particular issues. Another factor may be organizational structure of the human rights NGOs (Calnan, 2008; Kellaher and McLaren, 1996). To elaborate this factor, the relevant concepts in organization theory need to be introduced. Calnan's study on the effectiveness of domestic human rights NGOs offers a model for NGOs that is called the "Balanced Model". His model claims that a NGO must reach a number of balances derived from the concepts of Organization Theory to be effective (Fitzgerald, 2002; Calnan, 2008). In this research, these organization structures are reinterpreted in a way that has possible effects on the issue selection of human rights NGOs. These are;

- *The Mechanistic / Organic Balance*: A mechanistic structure refers bureaucratic ability to organize tasks, and excessive mechanistic structure hinders adaption to the environment. Conversely, an organic structure means the ability to get information from the environment but the excessive one decreases the bureaucratic ability to organize actions. While bureaucratic rigidity put barriers on the process of adopting new issue, the organic structure provides more favorable organizational framework to select new issues.

- *The Legitimacy / Rationality Balance*: A NGO may structure to obtain legitimacy from its environment but it may hamper its efficiency. Conversely, ignoring legitimacy

concerns, a NGO may structure to be rational to reach its objectives. However, being too rational may make coordinated efforts with other parties and governments impossible. In terms of issue selection, when the legitimacy concerns of NGOs are overwhelming, the authorities and other actors may have negative impact on the adoption of new issues.

- *The Centralized / Decentralized Balance*: Centralized NGOs may face heavy workload at the centre that lead inefficiency. Decentralized NGOs may encounter difficulties to coordinate their actions. Both centralized and decentralized NGOs may be open or close to new issues, they do not have any significant differences because of their organizational structure as centralized and decentralized.

- *The Inward Focus / Openness Balance*: A NGO may have strong identity and fixed perspective toward human rights topic. Another one may be more open to new information and sources. A fixed identity may put barriers on the adoption of new human rights issues. Conversely, NGOs that are more open may be affected by outside influences too much. This aspect of organization culture determines NGO identity that has powerful impact on the selection of new issues.

These four aspects of organizational culture offer a fruitful conceptual framework to be utilized to understand the dynamics that influence NGOs to select some issues not others.

Second, analysis of actor-related actors has explanatory power to understand human rights NGOs' selection of particular issues. These actors are claimants and issue entrepreneurs. Claimants are the "groups holding grievances within their home states" (Bob, 2009: 5). For example, LGBTT individuals subjected to social and legal discrimination are the claimants for LGBTT human rights. They are primary actors seeking new rights. Different from claimants, issue entrepreneurs initiates a problem in advocacy networks (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). Put it another way, issue entrepreneurs, first, communicate with the claimants

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and, second, they start to exert efforts to frame the problem as human rights violations. However, claimants and issue entrepreneurs may not belong to different groups in every case. For example, following LGBTT example, LGBTT civil society organizations usually act as both claimants and issue entrepreneurs in their contexts. Since claimants and issue entrepreneurs have played pivotal role in initiating a problem as potential issue, their characteristics are taken into consideration by human rights NGOs while selecting issues. The prestige and credibility, credentials, charisma, personal networks of issue entrepreneurs and claimants become crucial characteristics that influence the success of their cause (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). For example, in some cases, the mastery of English language turns into a successful advantage to open the closed gates.

Third, the last cluster of actors is of external environment of human rights NGOs. Other NGOs, advocacy networks, donors and governments are crucial actors that have impact on human rights NGOs' selection of issues. Governments are powerful actors. They may reinforce advocacy efforts in the international settings or put strong barriers to their socializations. In domestic settings, governments are even more powerful, and, most importantly, they have enormous power to shape public opinions. Therefore, human rights NGOs may get under the influence of the governments in making decisions to select certain issues (Carpenter, 2007). The impact of other NGOs and advocacy networks may appear in divergent ways. The prestigious international human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International may evoke bandwagon effect for local human rights NGOs in particular issues. In some cases, human rights NGOs avoid to select certain issues because other NGOs and networks pay much attention these issues (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). Therefore, they stand aside from the possible mandate topics of other NGOs. Another crucial actor in the issue selection process is donors. NGO's are more likely to choose issues that donors tend to give funding or they avoid to

select issues that cost them donors (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). To sum up, different preferences of the actors in the process of issue selection give shape to the NGOs' behavior to select particular issues but not others.

1.3.2.3 Broader Context

Apart from the issue and actor attributes, the context-related factors are relevant in the issue selection of human rights NGOs (Joachim 2007, Cooley and Ron 2002). However, the term of broader context may contain everything outside of issue-related and actor-related factors. Using the findings in transnational advocacy network and social movement literatures, I specify particular contextual effects on human rights NGOs in regards to their selection of issues. Carpenter's findings indicate that networks pay attention to the political context in which civil society operates in their agenda structure (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). For instance, "ripeness" of an issue is crucial for human rights advocacy groups. Since their aim is to have impact on political actors, they wait political climate to be receptive to particular issues. Some events become catalysts to ripen particular issues. These events may be natural disasters, wars, genocide, and industrial accidents etc (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). Apart from these extraordinary events, specific political opportunities may make political climate more open to new issues. Specific reports, political campaigns, legislations or an upcoming forum that will allow for discussions provide networks utilizing policy window opportunity by advocating new issues effectively (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011). As a contextual effect, the involvement and support of powerful groups such as elite social classes or other groups may pave way to positive political atmosphere for new issues (Tomaskovic, Carpenter and Brownlie, 2011).

Different from Carpenter's findings on the behavior of human rights NGOs, under the framework of political opportunity perspective in social movement literature, numerous factors have impact on development and outcome of movement. Since this literature is relevant with one of the factors I touched upon to explain the research topic, I do not examine deeply. Briefly, under this framework, characteristics of the political system, the position of political parties, international alliances, (Kitschelt 1986; McAdam 1996; Tarrow 1998; Kriesi 2004) grouping of actors, counter movements and the larger public (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Meyer 2004; Rucht 2004,) have been discussed as possible factors to determine success and failure of the movement. In the respect to advocacy agenda setting, to advance particular claims are context-dependent (Meyer, 2004). Symbolic and value orientations in a society broaden or narrow the space in which these claims are advocated. In Turkey context, the effects of international actors and the political evolution and atmosphere in domestic settings offer relevant insights into the understanding of human rights NGOs' issue selection.

1.4 Methodology

The composition of content analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews constitutes methodological focus of this thesis. The graded nature of the research question in this thesis necessitates two stepped methodologies to answer them. In order to map human rights topics in the agendas of three human rights NGOs, I analyzed their documents, special reports, publications, press releases and campaign activities. To test existing hypotheses and possibly discover new dynamics in analyzing why some issues not others become crucial issues in the agenda of human rights NGOs, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with members and volunteers of the human rights NGOs in Turkey. Additionally, conducting secondary

interviews with other NGOs, I discussed the impact of other actors on the human right advocacy agenda in Turkey context.

1.4.1 Content Analysis

In the context of methodology, the content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages" reinforces to understand NGOs' stance on human rights topics (Hoisri, 1968: 608). In this sense, I will concentrate on specific reports, press releases and activities which are crucial communicative channels to campaign an issue. Periodical human rights violation reports are excluded because they aim to monitor human rights violations rather than promote and campaign particular human rights issues. One might claim that over-existence and non-existence of issues in regular monitoring reports may give crucial insights into agenda configuration. However, the main purpose of this thesis is to discover dynamics explaining why some issues not others are highly regarded in NGOs' agenda and the role of content analysis in this study is to determine "highly regarded" issues. The issue-specific special reports, activities and press releases which are conscious attempts to campaign particular issues offer sufficient findings to identify "highly regarded" topics in the eyes of given human rights NGO. Considering time-consuming efforts to examine enormous amount of data, I prefer to demonstrate general trend and tendencies of human rights NGOs in a particular period of time. The period of time is chosen as March 2011 – March 2012. Since my purpose in this study is not to analyze three human rights NGOs comparatively, I do not consider analyzing materials in matching categories for all NGOs. Data regarding issue-specific special reports, press releases and activities are available in the websites of the three NGOs. In this respect, I should note that the press releases are not available for HCA. In the analysis, specific reports and particular activities do not constitute a problem for determining

which issue is prioritized, however large amount of press releases ought to be systematically analyzed.

In this study, I focus on the framing of the human rights issues by the three human rights organizations. The frames are defined as concept categories that are composed of words and phrases which signify whether the cases in the reports are related to a certain group(s) and/or issue(s). After preliminary research, I classify words and phrases as issues of concern and population of concern. The following table indicates particular issues and populations of concern in the advocacy agenda of three human rights NGOs. For instance, in the press releases of IHD, when the word of prison is used, it increases space of issue of prison in advocacy agenda of IHD.

Issues of Concern		Populations of Concern	
Prison	Torture	Kurd	Women
Cultural Rights	Asylum	Journalists	Workers
Language	Conscientious Objection	Refugees	Human rights defenders
Koran Courses	Headscarf	Children	LGBT
Syria, Palestine	Islam	Handicapped	Students

Figure 3: Issues of Concern and Populations of Concern

In the content analysis, I used software program to reach reliable results in a considerable period of time.[1] I analyzed 488 press releases in a given time period in total, 91 of them are IHD's, 397 of them are MazlumDer's. After reaching rough results in compatible with preliminary classification of issues and populations, I visualized findings as tag clouds to easily understand highly regarded issues in advocacy agendas of each human rights NGO by using software program. Furthermore, I classified special reports of NGOs on particular issues and their features in terms of issues and places provide additional findings to characterize NGOs' priorities in human rights advocacy. During the period of March 2011 - March 2012, IHD published 21 special reports, MazlumDer published 15 special reports. The investigation of press releases and special reports of IHD and MazlumDer is relatively easier in comparison to HCA which does not have published press releases in their website. Therefore, only special reports and activities of HCA were utilized to grasp their priorities in terms of issues and vulnerable populations. Because of more academy-oriented and project based characteristics of HCA, they were not receptive to changes in their environment. As a result, time period become meaningless in researching agenda of HCA. In the context of HCA, I analyzed their activities during 2009-2012 period and 17 books and 12 special reports that have published since its foundation. Using these materials, I roughly specify particular characteristics of their advocacy agenda. As an additional note, principles, missions and statutes were included in documentary analysis to provide supplementary findings for general depiction of each human rights NGO.

1.4.2 Interviews

After I find out general picture of agendas of human rights NGOs, I will attempt to trace dynamics explaining configuration of advocacy agenda setting. As a result of content analysis, I

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[1] For details, see http://www.wordle.net/

specified "highly regarded" and "neglected" issues in advocacy agendas of human rights NGOs. They have different "highly regarded" topics, which I presented in analytical chapter in detail. However, in Turkey, there are many neglected topics in human rights advocacy sphere. Among them, I chose LGBTT rights to trace dynamics that explain why three human rights NGOs neglected particular human right topic. The recent development of LGBTT right advocacy in response to discriminatory attitude of state and society towards LGBTT population and culturally sensitive characteristics of LGBTT issue became reasons of my selection (Ataman, 2011). After specifying most concerned and neglected topics for each human rights NGO, I prepared some general interview questions by combining findings from content analysis and explanations studied in the literature on issue emergence. Due to partially exploratory aim of this study, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with members and volunteers of the three human rights NGOs. Structured part of interview includes some questions centering on some sets of factors, which were found in previous researches (Carpenter 2007a).

These factors are:

➢ The nature of the issues themselves

➢ The attributes of the actors concerned (both issue entrepreneurs and those organizations they seek to court as allies)

➢ The broader political context

➢ The acquisition of resources (preferences of donors, members or volunteers)

➢ Organizational culture

Apart from the questions on these factors, in-depth interviews are designed to explore new dynamics that have explanatory power in existing agenda configuration and non-existence of

such issues in the agendas. I interviewed four members and volunteers in the three human rights NGOs Istanbul branches including the president of MazlumDer Istanbul branch, two professionals worked for HCA and a volunteer in IHD. Additionally, I conducted secondary interviews with three activists from the two LGBTT organizations (Istanbul LGBTT Association and Association of Studies in Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation). These interviews aimed to grasp full picture of the relationship between human rights NGOs and LGBTT organizations. All of interviews took place in each NGO branch office in Istanbul.

In the context of interviews, I have to add that my 6-month internship in TUSEV (Third Sector Foundation), which is a foundation that makes researches on the role of civil society's role, needs and dynamics, provided preliminary findings for my thesis. During the preparation period of 2011 Civil Society Monitoring Report, which aims to locate the state of Turkish civil society in terms of legal context, state-civil society relations and international relations, I have opportunity to interview with NGO activists and advocacy groups, which provides me significant insights into the place of human rights advocacy in Turkish civil society and complex relationships among civil society actors. These interviews are not included in this thesis; however, these experiences assisted me to reach key people in human rights NGOs and I also utilized findings from these interviews by integrating them in semi-structured interviews.

1.5 Thesis Structure

I divided the thesis into four chapters; introduction, a background chapter that introduced concepts and theories on human rights and civil society, an analytical chapter I presented my findings and discussion and conclusion. In the first chapter, "Introduction", general objectives,

research questions, theoretical framework and methodology were introduced in order to contextualize main arguments within the literature and explain structure of research design.

In the second chapter, "Human Rights and Civil Society", there are two main subheadings to provide background information which was necessary to explore advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs. The first section deals with the idea of human rights and its political development in international sphere. The main purpose of this section is to acquaint readers with theoretical and political discussions on the idea and power of human rights and, most importantly, to demonstrate changing definition of human rights according to time and context. It is noteworthy to state that human rights is contested concept and several actors including states, international organizations and civil society actors compete with each other to influence definition of human rights. This power struggle on human rights can be clearly seen in the political development of human rights in United Nations and social movements for new human rights to get attention to particular vulnerable populations. In this context, what is crucial for this thesis is that to realize power relations on human rights is key to understand changing priorities of advocacy agendas of human rights NGOs. The second section explains tactics, strategies and impact of human rights NGOs, one of the powerful actors that influence human rights perspective. This section aims to indicate relative strength of human rights advocacy field in shaping human rights perspective.

In the third chapter, "Explaining Advocacy Agenda of Human Rights NGOs in Turkey", there are three main subheadings to provide findings and analytical discussions. The first section offers brief background information on human rights and civil society in Turkey to contextualize three human rights NGOs in Turkish civil society sphere. The mostly descriptive findings from the content analysis of the human rights NGOs' documents are presented in the second section. Furthermore, the historical backgrounds of three human rights NGOs are discussed analytically

by utilizing some findings from semi-structured interviews. The aim of this section is to describe unique identity of NGOs. Lastly, the third section offers interview findings according to issue attributes, actors attributes and context related factors explanations in the literature. The fourth chapter, "Conclusion", summarizes main findings in this thesis and concludes with suggestions for further research.

2 CHAPTER 2: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

This chapter discusses briefly, first, the theoretical origins of human rights in both secular and monotheistic traditions and its journey from an utopian "idea" to "norm" that has the power of sanction in international law regime. To contextualize the main argument, Turkish case is also elaborated. In the second part, civil society, as private sphere of human rights enforcement mechanism, is addressed in the context of human rights advocacy. In organizational term, this section deals with the tactics, strategies and activities of human rights NGOs to protect human rights. Additionally, the brief description of civil society in Turkey in terms of human rights advocacy is presented. The objective of this chapter is to offer a compact background that justifies the significance of human rights as an ethical imperative in domestic and international politics. It is crucial to understand the power of human rights that make conceptualization of human rights a pivotal issue. To explore elements of human rights advocacy in civil society sphere is useful to understand the role and the impact of human rights NGOs in utilizing the power of human rights specifically, in the context of their inclusion of dynamic process that determines what counts human rights. In short, emphasizing the power of human rights and human rights NGOs as dynamic actors using such power, this chapter provides theoretical and practical basis of why agenda of human rights NGOs is noteworthy to study in both international relations and political science.

2.1 The Idea of Human Rights

Recent developments indicate that numerous world leaders including the U.S. President Barack Obama and the Secretary-General of United Nations Ban Ki-moon and non-governmental organizations have spoken of possible humanitarian action against Syria (Nossel, 2012). The

legitimate reason they have verbalized for the intervention is ongoing human rights violations in Syria, which are largely publicized by global media outlets such as CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera. Since the Syrian state does not respect fundamental human rights of their citizens, its sovereignty is under threat, and the possible intervention is legitimized persuasively in the international arena. Today the Westphalian state-centric system is coming under unexpected pressure of the idea of human rights (Barkin 1998). Not more than a century ago human rights were a radical idea of marginalized group. There was no shared belief in significance of human rights among intellectuals. It has no ethical power to be used in shaming mechanism and it is not a tool in foreign policy to sanction the states which violates human rights. During the 20th century, the idea of human rights became fundamental premise of "ethical community" that has been gradually increasing their scope (Brown 1997). This process has been backed by the articulation of human rights in international law that consolidate the power of human rights legal base as well as ethical one. The increasing power and significance of human rights makes the idea human rights more contested concept. It refers dynamic process among diversity of actors to designate which issue of concern and populations are counted as human rights (Bob, 2002). This dimension necessitates the brief observation of the philosophical origins of human rights that implies historical baggage in its conceptualization, and the political development in the international regime which describes mechanisms effective in shaping the content of human rights. The following sections present the succinct history of the idea of human rights and the contemporary approaches to understand what is human rights and why it is so momentous together with its reflection in international settings. Related to the main argument of the thesis, the changing content and conceptualization of human rights is referred throughout the chapter.

2.1.1 The Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights

That the idea of human rights is a relatively recent phenomenon that has an impact on national and international politics does not refer that the idea is novel. Early religious and philosophical texts provide crucial justifications and elaborations for human rights as we use it today, but it is essential to note that these texts handled with the general concept of "rights". However, human rights are referred as a narrow and special category of rights (Clapham, 2007: 4). For Edmundson (2004), "human rights recognize extraordinarily special, basic interests and this sets them apart from rights" (191). Similarly, Richard Falk (2001) emphasizes human rights as a new type of rights by purporting political development in the international settings. Narrow conceptualization of human rights came in for criticisms from several camps, which is briefly touched upon in following parts. However, it is useful to understand that the philosophical justification of rights paved the way for the emergence of universally accepted human rights.

At first glance, the Western philosophical and political accounts made notable contributions in formation of the idea of human rights. However, the closer inspection of origins that made possible to think the idea of human rights reveals inter-civilizational pool that primitive channels for diffusion of ideas were created. Basic principles such as self-fulfillment, respect for others and other codes could be found in Asian traditions and progressive readings of the Bible and Koran and these shared principles offers convenient baggage for universal standard that prioritizes protection of human freedom and dignity (Clapham, 2007). Apart from religious sources, the secular tradition with ancient legal texts gave crucial hints for the existence of "rights", at least, in some fields. In the Hammurabi Codes (1700 B.C.E), the laws securing rights of parties in debtor-creditor relationships and work relationships could be found and these were first regulations on property rights (Ishay, 2007).

The precursors of the idea of human rights were encountered in Ancient Greek philosophy and following Roman tradition. The universal and natural characteristics of human rights started to attract some philosophers as desirable conclusion for the realization of justice. In the search for justice, Plato pointed to common good and put emphasis on the importance of being in harmony with common good for a just polity (Lycos, 1987). As one of the follower of Plato, Marcus Tullius Cicero reached beyond the search for justice in particular polity and provided universal solution by laying out the foundations of natural law. For Cicero, the universal laws compatible with the common good would override unfair local customs and provide citizenship of universe (Conversi, 2000). Influenced by the Cicero's perspective on natural law and universalism, the Greek Stoic philosopher Epictectus developed the idea of "universal brotherhood" which connotates universal duty and obligations to all human beings for rightful order of the world (Stanton, 1968). These philosophical contributions emphasized the search for justice for humanity and did not locate any institutions such as state at the center to provide such utopia. Human beings themselves should be cognizant of duties and obligations for a peaceful world and internalize ethical codes for it. Cosmopolitanism is the solution for search for justice. Therefore everyone should be a member of universal community and responsible for others' well-being. However, when the states have tremendously increased their power after pre-modern ages, they were included as the main actor in the equation. In the pre-modern contributions, the tension was taken place among people like Hobbesian saying "homo homini lupus est" (a man is a wolf to man) but the increasing power of the state necessitated the protection of individuals from not only other individuals but also the state itself. In this context, Cicero's concept of natural law which presumes people having natural rights by birth has constituted crucial backbone of the modern idea of human rights.

The natural rights or the rights of man are largely used by the social contract theorists who contemplated on the idea of state. Similar to pre-modern thinkers, these theorists discussed ways of living in peace for human beings but their arguments had begun with the depiction of state of nature. Locke enumerated natural rights of men which were preservation of life, the liberty, health, property and for him, "every man has a right to punish the offender and be executioner of the law of nature". In this context, Locke saw the necessity of civil government to enforce the law of nature by reminding necessity to check governmental power over "lives, liberties and estates" of people (Yolton, 1958). Reluctantly, Rousseau also expressed the idea of state to transform unlimited "natural liberty" to "civil liberty" (McAdam, 1963). It is pertinent to note that assuming that human beings have rights and liberties by nature, all of these theorists saw the state as a necessary evil to protect natural rights of individuals. The idea of natural rights became the starting point for the conceptualization of human rights.

The influence of the social contract theorists had brought results in the legal texts and declarations beginning at the end of 18th century. The 1776 American Declaration of Independence was crucial legal declaration in terms of the modern concept of human rights. The 1776 Declaration clearly stated "…that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen enshrined unalienable rights of man and went a step further by clearly stating "the aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man…" These declarations undoubtedly advanced a universal claim which barely pronounces the priority of the rights of men to state's authority by entrusting the states to protect them. The legitimacy of state authority depends on its ability and capacity to protect the rights of individuals. Theoretically speaking,

these declarations had blind eye to the rights of women and other diversities within the community and, in practice, these principles did not have significant universal influence in national and international settings. However, both presented crucial reference for further struggles.

In the 19th century, the validity of the idea of rights encountered serious criticisms from different camps. In the *Anarchical Fallacies*, Jeremy Bentham harshly criticized natural and inalienable rights "as absurd and miserable nonsense" by focusing the fact that real rights were legal rights and concluded his argument by warning that the limitation of governmental power by natural rights invited anarchy (Bedau, 2000). Another influential philosopher of 19th century, Karl Marx discussed the rights in the legal declarations and claimed that individuals' egoistic preoccupations were emphasized in these rights therefore, they did not have emancipatory characteristics from religion, property and law (Baynes, 2000). These two criticisms from different political milieu initiated comprehensive theoretical discussions on the idea of human rights that had considerable impact on contemporary approaches to human rights. Bentham's critique made way for the need to secular justification of human rights because the assumption that human beings have rights by nature has inescapably religious tone. As for Marx's critique questioned that human rights was inherently good and complicated the problem of whose human rights which furthered the discussion of universalism of human rights. Following section illuminates contemporary approaches to human rights by presenting critical perspectives on the idea of human rights.

2.1.1.1 The Contemporary Approaches to Human Rights

After a series philosophical discussion on rights, today the people utilize the concept of human rights which have powerful persuasive impact. However, different people have different conceptualization of human rights and diversity of justifications to make more convincing. Before the 20th century, religious sources and secular origins shape general philosophical discussions on human rights. Natural law school deployed crucial justifications for the premise that a human being has rights by nature. Flourishing liberal ideas among European lands also provide nonreligious sources for human rights. However, the problem is that the modern idea of human rights is emerged as utterly Western concept which was developing throughout the Western political experiences. The claim of universalism of human rights becomes crucial point in theoretical debates in the 20th century and uneasy issue for the intellectuals who consider human rights as influential leverage to improve iniquitous conditions in the globe (Donnely, 1984; Donoho, 1990; Good, 2010). These four schools offer different approaches to human rights together with distinct responses to universalism vs. cultural relativism debate.

2.1.1.1.1 The Natural School

The natural school takes the definition of human rights from natural law tradition which "identifies human rights as those rights one possesses simply by being a human being" (Dembour, 2010: 2). Jack Donnelly, the influential scholar in this school, saw man's moral nature as the source of human rights (2003). According to this school, human rights are not a constructed phenomenon harboring the Western thought system and their political experiences. They are given by nature and it is needless to trace the secular origins (Stenner, 2010). Expectedly, their natural characteristics justify the universality claim of human rights. Every human being regardless of their different locations, political communities and cultures has human

rights. The natural school has a mission to justify the idea of human rights as an ethical imperative; therefore they are supportive of human rights law which legally has the power of enforcement in positive law.

On the other hand, the conceptualization and the justification of the idea of human rights by the natural school scholars have theoretical weaknesses. The presumption that human rights are given by nature, not surprisingly, encounter serious criticisms from constructivist camps. Their short-cut reasoning which links the natural foundation of human rights and their universally compelling characteristics weakens the validity of their arguments, after that, some scholars tried to strengthen by adding the fact of legal consensus and overlapping consensus on the idea of human rights (Dembour, 2010). However, the consensus on an idea does not mean the glorification of the idea as an ethical rule. Furthermore, this postulate caused the threat of imperialism by undermining all kind of diversities having unique ethical communities. Since their core claim focuses on the transcendental foundation and unquestionable universality of modern human rights which is a truly a Western product, the natural school's perspective has modernist and Eurocentric tones (Mutua, 2001).

2.1.1.1.2 The Deliberative School

The deliberative school represents secular sides of the theoretical discussion on the origins of human rights in comparison to the natural school which postulates metaphysical sources to justify the idea of human rights. For deliberative scholars, the reason for the necessity to protect individuals from violence and abuse can be answered historically, not metaphysically (Ignatieff 2001). Human rights are one of the political values that liberal societies historically followed; therefore, in this school, the liberal values and the idea of human rights are coalesced.

Put it another way, the idea of human rights historically have become the sin qua non characteristics of liberalism through deliberation, that is why, today we have consensus on that the human rights is the best way to enable potent political governance (Chambers, 2003). In short, according to the deliberative school, human rights are an ensemble of principles historically proved to be right in liberal societies.

Being aware of the predominant Western influence on the idea, the deliberative scholars acknowledge the existence of historically and contextually-specific inherited meanings and contents; therefore, they do not directly claim the universality of human rights (Campbell, 2006). However, they think that the idea should be universalized by being promoted the inscription of human rights in the positive law worldwide. Unlike the natural tradition scholars, the deliberative scholars do not see human rights as an ethical issue which has a claim to regulate basic, daily social lives of individuals. They give priority to constitutions and human rights law in practice in order to provide persuasive mechanism that generates new cultural understanding and actions in compatible with human rights (Merry, 2006). The deliberative tradition tends to see human rights as procedural issue which should be reflected in legal texts; therefore, the universalization of the idea is not necessarily in conflict with culturally specific ethical codes.

The current human rights orthodoxy is increasingly moving towards to the deliberative tradition from the natural school tradition (Dembour, 2010). This school offers secular justifications for human rights but their persistent endeavor to spread liberal political values, one of which is human rights, in the globe is under attack from several theoretical camps. First and above all, this school provides fancy justifications for value imperialism all over the world by imposing the Western political values. It produces the possibilities for third party interventions to impose so-called "universal" values of democracy and human rights. Second, the cultural

diversities are totally undermined by the deliberative project which aims the inscription of human rights into positive law worldwide. The different historical backgrounds, behavioral patterns and cultural practices generate different political and social organizations in which codes, practices and concepts are differently inscribed. The Western-originated idea of human rights that the deliberative tradition follows could not encompass particular diversities; therefore, the human rights are seen as a hegemonic channel to transmit the Western values. In short, the deliberative tradition does not offer encompassing solution for the elimination of culture-specific characteristics of human right.

2.1.1.1.3 *The Protest School*

The protest scholars conceptualize and operationalize the idea of human rights by focusing the purpose of this norm. According to protest scholars, the aim is to rectify injustices worldwide. The historical duty of the modern idea of human rights is "to give voice to human sufferings, to make it visible, and to ameliorate it" (Baxi, 2006). In other words, human rights are not a group of isolated principles which are proved to be right historically or naturally. Their legitimacy is closely linked to their ability to response the justice problem in the world; therefore, the idea and the purpose and the consequences of the idea are interpenetrated each other. This purpose-oriented nature of the protest school highlights the activism side of human rights (Hughes, 2008). Similar to the natural school scholars, they tend to see transcendental roots as the origins of human rights but they largely focus on the praxis side of human rights advocacy. In this school of thought, the emergence and the historical evolution of human rights can be comprehended in the context of social movement struggles against the structures in power (Stammers, 2009). Human rights are articulated with the continuous struggles; therefore, the inclusion of human rights in the positive law provokes mixed reactions and skeptical views

among the protest scholars (Gordon, Swanson and Buttigieg, 2000). For the protest scholars, the institutionalization of the idea of human rights through human rights law results in the status quo which prioritizes particular elite interests. It also becomes a barrier to eliminate injustices by fixating the scope of human rights. In regards to the universalism debate, approving the ability of the scope of human rights to change throughout history, this school claims the existence of universal dimension of human rights because of their aim that is to fight injustices globally. Since the protest scholars offer crucial counterarguments to the natural tradition perspectives and the deliberative tradition orthodox premises, the protest school together with the discourse school constitutes the critical aspects in the discussion of human rights.

2.1.1.1.4 The Discourse School

The discourse school is the representation of the broader post-modern approach in human rights discussion. Even though all of three schools utilize different kinds of conceptualizations and operationalization of human rights, they have supportive attitudes in the realization of this idea. However, the discourse school takes a skeptical stance on the rightness claim of human rights. Denying any natural and historical origins of human rights, this school of thought claims that human rights exist because people talk about them (Dembour, 2010). The language surrounding human rights makes the idea stronger but the power of human rights language is a product of power relations in global settings (Aziz, 1995). Human rights may easily turn to an instrument of domination and control of the structures in power. Above all, human rights offer a monopolizing discourse in the organization of political space and their development in a way that was introduced as an indispensable part of modern liberal democratic project strengthened the hands of the Western colonial powers to intervene "undemocratic states" (Brown, 2004). The discourse scholars stress on the universality claim of human rights by pointing to the threat of

imperialism. This school of thought put enormous emphasis on the language around the human rights without tracing the origins of the idea. Their value-free approach towards human rights can be best characterized as nihilism. Human rights can solve the problem of injustices in a particular context but there is no need to totalize and universalize their effectiveness. The discourse school is elaborated more in the section which I discuss the scope of human rights.

2.1.2 The Political Development of Human Rights

Today the human rights issue is not a utopian idea of a marginalized group but systematically defined principles which have been adopted by national and international legal texts. Human rights became the norm that determines fundamental rights and liberties of individuals in the international regime. Philosophically speaking, the universal character of the idea of human rights is under attack from several theoretical camps. However, thanks to the United Nations, the legal status of human rights undoubtedly gained universal character. The inscription of human rights into the positive law is the crucial phenomenon of the 20th century and the international recognition of human rights coincided at the beginning of the century. The philosophical baggage of the idea had already provided a solid background for the necessity of human rights enforcement but the political atmosphere had not been congenial until the WW1 and the following League of the Nations experience. The idea of international protection of human rights was voiced by some jurists who proposed proposals suggesting the generalization of protection of human rights, and if necessary, humanitarian interventions to the aggressor parties (Burgers, 1992). However, the emergence of Nazi Germany and the tremulous political conditions in the Europe put barriers in reaching consensus on the international institutionalization of human rights. In this period, the legal recognition and the protection of

minority rights were pivotal achievements in terms of the supply of international protection (Clapham, 2007).

After the destructive WW2 and the horrible Holocaust experience, under the leader of Allied countries, the new international system started to be structured. The United Nations was established in 1945 to replace the League of Nations. Unlike the failure of the League of Nations in the interwar period to promote peace at the globe, the formation of the UN was the crucial milestone to provide relatively predictable political atmosphere and, most importantly, to set the minimum standard for the states to protect and respect individual rights (Farer and Gaer, 1993). In terms of human rights protection, the United Nations was emerged as the most significant enforcement mechanism which was not available before the WW2. Apart from that, after a series of philosophical discussions on the idea of human rights, the UN operationalized the human rights concept with the several agreements and treaties to which the majority of countries acceded. Today the UN has been seen as the crucial reference to specify the boundaries of human rights. The following sections aim to demonstrate the legal definitions of human rights by focusing historical evolution of the scope of human rights. First, the International Bill of Rights contains the three main documents that define general principles in the declaration and elaborate some specific rights in two covenants. Second, other human rights treaties adopted by the UN include specific issues and vulnerable populations that extend the scope of human rights.

2.1.2.1 International Bill of Rights

2.1.2.1.1 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 is the most respected reference point for the legal definition of human rights

elaborated in other international treaties and national laws. This legal document specifies core principles of human rights and human rights obligations for all the political organizations in the world. After the destructive consequences of the WW2, the attempts of the Allied camp to promote more predictable environment by creating certain international regimes constituted convenient political atmosphere that enabled such a progressive development. The idea of international protection of human rights had been discussed in the interwar period. Human rights campaigns such as the British author H. G. Wells's *the Rights of Man: or what are we fighting for?* and the personal efforts of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor Roosevelt were the positive contributions to the favorable political atmosphere that led to the declaration.

Apart from the significant influence on the role of human rights in the world politics, the Declaration provides a framework to draw the boundaries of human rights concept in practice. In the Declaration, there are 30 articles together with the preamble. The closer examination of the text offers clear implications of the impact of the natural tradition in human rights discussion. In the Article 1, it states,

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood".

(The Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

The postulate of the natural law tradition was wholly adopted. Human beings have human rights by nature, by the virtue of being human. The source of human rights is the nature, the transcendental origins. The nature as a solution of the problem of origins of human rights also provides the universality of the concept. In a similar vein, the Article 2 maintains the core presumptions of the natural tradition by elaborating the universality claim in detail. It states,

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty."

(The Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

Even though the declaration was not a binding agreement in the legal sense in the beginning, this article demonstrates strong endeavors to not only universalize the idea of human rights by widening "everyone" in terms of their classifications but also create enforcement mechanism by bypassing states' sovereignty in case the protection of human rights. As Dembour acknowledges, the natural tradition scholars saw "human rights as entitlements to specific objects that every individual should have respected" (2010: 7). The article obviously specifies human rights as entitlements.

In the Declaration, these famous two articles roughly specify main principles of human rights. The rest of the articles purport to introduce the fundamental rights and freedom in brief could be elaborated in other legal texts. In short, these are right to life, prohibition of slavery, prohibition of torture, equality before the law, prohibition of arbitrary arrest, right to freedom of movement, right to seek asylum, right to nationality, right to family, right to own property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression, freedom of association, right to equal access to government service, right to social security, right to work, right to rest, right to

health, right to education, right to participate cultural life (Hannum, 1995). In terms of the scope of human rights, these rights and freedoms constitute crucial departure point to redefine existing principles and formulate new ones.

2.1.2.1.2 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 and it became effective in 1976. This multilateral treaty made specific elaborations on the civil and political rights of individuals also written in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Covenant focuses the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, electoral rights and the rights related to the process of a fair trial. It also includes some additional rights such as the right to self-determination, and certain cultural rights for ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (Weston, 1992; Keith, 1999). Among three human rights documents, while the Universal Declaration specifies the core principles, the ICCPR mostly focuses on the negative rights that the states have to do nothing but lift the prohibitions and remove their restrictive power for citizens to practice these rights. The Covenant not only provides minimum and necessary standards of civil and political rights for democratic governance but also suggests pivotal justifications for the minorities to demand their cultural rights (Tomuschat, 2008). Therefore, the elaborations of the civil and political rights serve to the expansion of the scope of human rights with different reformulations of rights especially group rights.

2.1.2.1.3 The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESC) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 and in force from 1976. The Covenant

constitutes one of the main international human rights documents together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ICCPR. The ICESC mostly focused on the economic, social and cultural rights such as the right to health, the right to education, labor rights, and the right to an adequate standard of living (Craven, 1995). This treaty contains the rights for which states actively have to do something to realize. The Article 2 clearly invites states and international public to achieve "progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant". In the Covenant, there are elaborations on the labor rights that contain fair wages, the right to form trade unions and the right to strike, the right to social security, the right to family life, the right to free education and the right to participation in cultural life (Dean, 1980). The typical characteristics of the welfare state system that was the convenient model for the Bretton Woods economic system in the immediate post-war period can be seen in the Covenant. In fact, we can also infer that the decline of Keynesian economic model together with the welfare state system after the 1980s put significant barrier to the practice of the Covenant in the positive law. The changing ideological climate induced the alteration in the conceptualization of human right by making the fundamentality of economic rights questionable. Even though the effectiveness of the ICESC in positive law has diminished due to the emergence of neoliberal hegemony that eliminates fundamental economic rights, it features as crucial reference point in the protection of human right.

2.1.2.2 Other UN-related Human Rights Treaties

2.1.2.2.1 The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966)

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) was signed in 1966 and it became effective in 1969. It focuses on the elimination of

racial discrimination and the promotion of understanding among all races. The Convention defines racial discrimination and entitles states to prevent discrimination, condemn apartheid, criminalize hate crime and promote tolerance (Meron, 1985). The ICERD contributes the conceptualization of human rights by supplying human rights document to protect vulnerable groups against discrimination.

2.1.2.2.2 *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)*

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979 and it came into force in 1981. The CEDAW delineated discrimination against women as,

> "…distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."   (CEDAW)

The Convention gave responsibility to the states to take necessary precautions to remove prejudices and customs that are not based on the equality of both sexes. This document has crucial significance for framing of women rights as human rights that justify the attempts of human rights defenders for the protection of women in some countries where the discrimination against women still is a huge problem (Tinker, 1981).

2.1.2.2.3 The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984)

The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (known as the Convention against Torture, CAT) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1984 and it became effective in 1987. Defining torture, the Convention obligates the parties to take effective measures to prevent torture in their sovereignty. Apart from the prohibition on torture and cruel and degrading treatment, the CAT put a ban on extradition of any person to a state "where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture", known as ban on refoulement (Tardu, 1987). This human rights document became the reference point on the issue of "torture".

2.1.2.2.4 The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and it became effective in 1990. It aims to set minimum standards for civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of children. Apart from fundamental human rights denoted in the Universal Declaration, the Convention generally deals with the specific conditions of children such as related with rising in the family, their protection from abuse and exploitation and the prohibition of capital punishment for children (MacPherson, 1989). The document is the anchor legal text that assists the protection of children as a vulnerable group.

2.1.2.2.5 The International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and their Families (1990)

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families was adopted as one the seven UN-linked human rights treaty bodies in 1990 and it

became effective in 2003. The emergence of international migration as significant phenomenon with the increasing pace of globalization necessitated such progressive steps to protect migrants and their families in unwelcoming environments and promote migrants rights (Hune, 1991). The equality of treatment regardless of being migrants or nationals is the primary objective of the treaty. Noting the existence of undocumented migrants who are the lowest in the hierarchy, the Convention makes way for the protection of this vulnerable population.

2.1.2.2.6 *The International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)*

The International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2006 and it came into force in 2008. Defining disability as a barrier that hinders full and effective participation in society, the Convention aims to provide equality of opportunity and accessibility for persons with disabilities, prevent discrimination in every field, and obligate the states to ensure full and effective participation and inclusion of persons with disabilities in the society (Kayess and French, 2008). The treaty not only supplies a legal text that deal with the rights of persons with disabilities but also initiates global scale awareness on this issue.

2.1.2.2.7 *The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2006)*

The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (ICCPED) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2006 and it became effective in 2010. Identifying enforced disappearance in Article 2 of the Convention, it clearly states there are no exceptional circumstances that may be invoked as a justification for enforced disappearance. The following articles defined enforced disappearance as a crime against humanity when it is used systematically and widespread. Considering the excessive numbers of

enforced disappearances in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, the Convention provides crucial legally binding text to protect individuals from the repressive states.

2.1.3 The Changing Definition of Human Rights

The previous sections in this chapter aim to briefly explain the historical development of the idea of human rights in the philosophical sense and institutionalization of the idea after the WW2 by being included in the positive law worldwide. Being acquainted with the historical journey of the idea of human rights is fruitful because it not only provides necessary theoretical and historical baggage on the human rights to examine contemporary conceptualizations of human rights but also demonstrates the power of the idea by emphasizing the steps of the United Nations to promote it. In addition to this, related to the main discussion in the research, to identify changes in conceptualization and operationalization of human rights are the actual objective in this chapter. The historical evolution of the idea of human rights provides background information to discuss the changing scope of human rights throughout the history, which is the main topic of this section. In this part, first, I will present my theoretical position in the discussion on the scope of human rights and second, I will elaborate contemporary human rights agenda based on the theoretical framework.

First, we should specify our general perspective towards world politics in terms of international relations and political science. Our premise is to note "the environment in which agents / states take action is social as wells as material; and this setting can provide agents / states with understanding of their interests" (Checkel 1998: 325). These two postulates constitute divergent departure points of constructivist school of thought in international relations. According to the constructivist theory of international relations, there are material variables in

international politics such as a military force, economic resources or nuclear weapons. However, what is decisive in shaping the behavior of a state is the perception of the state toward these variables. These perceptions towards material variables are socially constructed. Furthermore, these socially shaped perspectives are not only factors that determine the actions of states. For constructivists, the actions of state in a particular situation cannot be grasped by only focusing agents in this context. Emphasizing a process of interaction between agents and structures, the constructivist scholars postulate that the basic nature and interests of states are constituted as a result of mutual constitution (Wendt, 1987). Therefore, states act in a way that find appropriate in given condition where appropriateness is determined in the interaction between agents and states. To sum up, the constructivist school of thought expand the horizon in examining international politics by supplying useful concepts and frameworks such as logic of appropriateness, interest and identity formation.

2.1.3.1 Human Rights: Defining "Appropriate"

In this context, human rights as norm that influence actions of states gains significance in the international settings. "The logic of appropriateness relates to norms" and human rights is a group of normative principles that define what is appropriate (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 897). The states having a monopoly of coercive power over their jurisdiction may arrest dissidents and torture them by ignoring the fundamental human rights like the Chilean example or other horrible military regime experiences but human rights as ideational force is included as variables that effect the states' actions. The leaders consider according to logic of appropriateness in terms of their use of material power. In the contemporary world, the increasing use of human rights language together with the attempts of the UN to protect and promote the idea makes

human rights powerful normative force should be respected by the political organizations (Risse, 2004).

In this regard, in socially constructed political settings, the concept of human rights is also a construction emerged as a consequence of power relations (Stammers, 1999). International political settings after the WW2 created favorable political atmosphere in which the idea of human rights was seriously discussed. With the effects of strong actors, these normative principles were included in the most influential legal texts in the United Nations. During the 20th century, in the shadow of confrontation between United States of America and Soviet Union, human rights were occasionally used because capitalism versus communism as the primary normative polarization had played a pivotal role in shaping world politics. However, after the collapse of Soviet Union and the emergence of United States of America as single superpower, the languages of human rights and democracy started to be used frequently. Since democracy and human rights as perceived universal values were slogans of post communist transformation, in the last two decades, they have become crucial normative force that power holders utilize to justify their actions. USA involvement in Bosnia, Iraqi War, and Kosovo issue are some of examples where such justifications become the reasons of intervention (Teson, 2005; Forsythe, 2006; Arthur, 2009).

On the other hand, human rights language is not utilized by only states. Apart from the states, nonstate actors such as international organizations and non-governmental organizations powerfully utilize human rights language to realize their objectives. Actually, human rights are far from being an instrument of states for power politics in a Westphalian world. Admittedly, their relatively strong effectiveness owed much to the political strategies of the states during the 20th century. However, in the contemporary world, numerous nonstate actors utilize human

rights language in pursuing their goals. Theoretically speaking, the universality of human rights has been discussed but its practical use to struggle violations is indisputable. Every political leader accepts its significance in protection of basic individual rights and liberties. This consensus on the essentiality of human rights provides impactful persuasive power for the nonstate actors that do not have material force to pursue their goals (Holzscheiter, 2005). Therefore, human rights become powerful normative principles that might be used not only for the states to promote their interests but also for the nonstate actors to protect fundamental rights and liberties against the states' repression.

In this context, we see large-scale compromise on the importance of human rights. However, the international and domestic actors are not common in the question of what are human rights. There is fierce power competition to influence the conceptualization of human rights (Alston, 1984). Today states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations exert tremendous efforts to frame particular issues and populations of concern as human rights because the power of human rights reinforces movements to be promoted worldwide. The issue of child soldiers, ban on landmines and women subjected to rape in war are some of the campaigns in which non-governmental organization framed these issues as violations of human rights. To summarize, the scope of human rights has dynamic aspects and is constantly changing and there is a competition among actors to influence its extent.

At this stage, we should address the debate on the foundations of human rights among theoretical schools to express my theoretical position on this issue. Understanding the perspectives of the schools on this issue assists us to comprehend possible sources around which human rights is formulated. There are three divergent points on this issue. The natural tradition as

old orthodoxy in human rights discussion tends to define human rights in the narrower sense by focusing the most fundamental rights and liberties (Dembour, 2010).

In order to elaborate "narrower" sense, it is useful to revisit Vasak's categorization of human rights that have considerable impact on the legal dimension of human rights. Czech jurist Karel Vasak distinguished there generations of human rights in their lectures and this classification primarily shaped European Law (Meron, 1986). According to Vasak, there are three generations of human rights. First-generation of human rights contains liberties and participation in political life. These rights have roots in the primary texts such as the United States Bill of Rights and French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. These negative rights aim to protect individuals from excessive power of the states. Freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and religion, the right to a fair trial are some of the rights that can be classified as the first generation rights. Establishing the causal link with the first-generation rights with the aim of socio-economic development, the second-generation rights include economic, social and cultural rights. The governments have a duty to create convenient environment for the realization of these rights. Therefore, these rights are positive unlike the first-generation rights. The right to work, the right to health, the right to education and the right to employment and housing and other social and economic rights are under the category of second-generation rights. Lastly, third-generation human rights are largely unofficial, and they are depicted as "soft law" by some commentators. Group and collective rights, the right to self-determination, the right to economic and social development, the right to natural resources and others are included in third-generation rights.

In this spectrum, the natural tradition scholars give priority to the first-generation rights as the fundamental human rights. Their postulate is that human beings have human rights by the virtue of being human, namely, this is natural. Therefore, they emphasize negative character of

first-generation rights by renouncing the role of state to promote. For tradition schools, the aim should be to eliminate excesses of the states. In a similar vein, the new orthodoxy, the deliberative school mostly tends to see fundamental human rights as the first-generation rights (Lewis, 2009). However, the gradual involvement of second-generation rights into the legal texts of the United Nations and other national and international treaties make deliberative scholars more open to new formulations of human rights (Woods, 2004). On the other hand, the protest school that prioritizes the activist efforts to end injustices tends to draw broader scope for human rights. They pragmatically adopt all of three generations' rights because they are useful to eliminate poverty and emancipate the oppressed. Overall, it is crucial to note that the common characteristic of the three schools is that all of them claim a particular source or an aim and they draw boundaries of human rights according to them. Their subjective position regarding the necessity of human rights plays a crucial role on their conceptualizations.

On the other side, the discourse school offers distinct approach in comparison to other schools. Having value-free attitude towards human rights, the discourse school scholars see human rights as a powerful language utilized by the actors in order to pursue their goals (Joseph, 2008). To recognize human rights as distinct rights written in the legal text, reformulated according to some references is not useful to comprehend the role of human rights in national and international settings. It is essential to note that the concept of human rights has contested meanings. The actors in the national and international settings compete with each other to utilize this powerful language in their own favor. The scope of human rights is the primary battlefield in which the actors exert tremendous efforts to have an impact. Consequently, the discourse school offers highly useful concepts and the effective theoretical framework to analyze the significance of the scope of human rights in the national and international politics.

In this context, I want to stress on the specific reasons of why the discourse school is relevant to my theoretical position and my argument in this research.

First, as I summarized above, in the contemporary world, the language of human rights becomes the powerful instrument of the national and international actors to reach their objectives. These actors compete with each other to have discursive impact on what human rights contain. To concretize, we can clearly see the effects of the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union on the human rights documents adopted by the United Nations. The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that comprises the first-generation rights explicitly indicated the active role of the United States in the United Nations in the immediate post-war period. Hence, Soviet Union and five countries in the communist camp abstained in the voting because of the inadequacy of the Declaration in terms economic and social rights. However, 20 years later, by dint of the increasing influence of Soviet Union as well as newly emerged Non-Aligned movements, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Forsythe, 2000). The United States signed the Covenant but have not ratified yet so far. Apart from the Cold War atmosphere, the rise neoliberal economic policies after the 1970s made the Covenant somewhat ineffective because the necessary involvement of the state to realize social and economic rights adopted in the Covenant was totally incompatible with new economic order that preaches the minimization of the governments' role (O'Connell, 2011). Overall, the inclusion of economic and social rights into the human rights is formally achieved but it failed in practice due to the power relations in political settings. However, some examples prove the opposite. The evolution of rights of sexual minorities, so called LGBTT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Transvestite) rights, indicated rather different story in regards to social and economic rights. The LGBTT rights have

never formalized in a human rights document adopted by the United Nations but the considerable part of the human rights commentators accepted LGBTT rights as human rights (Mertus, 2009). Furthermore, the governments in the North America, Western Europe and recently Latin America made legislative changes to protect LGBTT individuals against discrimination. As a result, these two cases demonstrate that today the idea of human rights is not under the hands of the institutions. Only the legal references and the declarations do not give shape to the scope of human rights. Therefore, we should look at the diverse dynamic factors that have an impact on the creation of new ones and the redefinition of existing ones, and the discourse school assists us to understand these dynamics.

Second, the natural school, the deliberative school and the protest school genuinely believe in the necessity of human rights to reach common good for all people. Even though the deliberative school and the protest school avoid offering metaphysical justifications for human rights, which the natural tradition scholars did, the secular justifications they offer necessarily lead them to claim human rights as universal project for all people regardless of their differences. On the other hand, the discourse school has nihilist view on the necessity of human rights, and scholars in this school drew attention to the hazardous aspects of subjective positions of other schools in regards to human rights. They claim that human rights might become the instrument of Western imperialism that wields power on the non-Western countries in a particular context. In this sense, the position on the dichotomy between universalism and cultural relativism becomes distinguished characteristics of these schools. What is relevant to my argument in this research is the significance of the debate on the universality of human rights in Turkey case, which is a non-Western context. At this point, the discourse school provides necessary theoretical perspectives to comprehend diversity of views in Turkey's civil society.

With the impact of national, international and transnational actors, the definition of human rights is constantly changing and broadening by containing specific issues and populations of concern. There becomes a pool of issues and vulnerable populations in which the powerful actors choose to adopt. In this context, the role of actors in this dynamic process gains significance. The following section focuses on the human rights NGOS as one of the actors included in the dynamic process together with governments, international organizations and other actors. There are two reasons why I prioritize the role of human rights NGOs in the process of formulation of human rights.

First, even though the United Nations and some states have played a crucial role in developing human rights as standard setting principles in world politics, the civil efforts to support the idea of human rights in 19th century and interwar period could not be overlooked. Despite the lack of civil mechanisms to influence governments' policies at those times, civil campaigns to support human rights cause together with strategic personalities who backed this idea resulted in the institutionalization of the idea of human rights in the United Nations. In the contemporary world in which nonstate actors have considerable space to influence policymaking and decision-making processes, human rights NGOs are crucial actors (Nelson and Dorsey, 2008). They not only contribute to the human rights pool by bringing new issues in the public domain but also choose particular issues in the pool to promote them. Therefore, in the formulation of human rights definition in the minds of public, civil society especially human rights NGOs take a pivotal role.

Second, as I mentioned above, there is a dynamic process on the contested nature of the scope of human rights. The discourse school sees human rights as powerful language talked by the actors, and their extent is redefined and reformulated according to the varieties of contexts,

actors and times. This fluid characteristic on the definition of human rights necessitates the analysis of dynamic actors to understand the changing nature. In this respect, since states and international organizations act in a procedural way and have bureaucratic aspect in changing it, they tend to be more conservative in comparison to civil society. Human rights NGOs are perfect actors to examine, contested definitions of human rights subjected to formal pressure from the legal texts and informal pressure from the mundane practices. Furthermore, in respect to the universality discussion on human rights, the views of Human rights NGOs would give crucial insights into the "civil" perspective on human rights. To sum up, human rights NGOs as civil and dynamic actors provide convenient research materials to understand the contemporary discussions on the scope of human rights.

2.2 The Power of "Civil": Human Rights NGOs

2.2.1 Civil Way to Protect Human Rights: The Role of Civil Society

The concept of "civil society" has been a central point of discussion for a very long time among the political thinkers. However, it is not possible to come up with a single definition. Several political thinkers indicated the ambiguity of the definition of civil society (Seligman, 1992; Norton, 2001; Cohen and Arato, 1994). The term of civil society has become extremely popular in the last three decades and the importance attached to it has increased gradually. Several commentators put emphasis on the active civil society while analyzing rebellions in the Eastern Europe in the 1980s against totalitarian states (Bernhard, 1996; Howard, 2003). Additionally, in the 1990s in Western Europe and the United States, civil society has been used to analyze and criticize democracy "at home" (Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999).

Initially, the boundaries and the elements of civil society are discussed and the question of what constitutes civil society remains as one of the central questions. The modern usage of civil society started with social contractual thinkers, including Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, and they did not differentiate civil society from the state. Civil society is a society regulated by laws and every individual is subject to the laws. On the other hand, Hegel conceptualizes civil society as a separate sphere outside of the state. It is a "territory of mediation where there is a free play for every idiosyncrasy [and] regulated only by reason glinting through them." (Kaldor, 2003: 584) Civil society is the sphere between the state and family including corporations, social classes and market economy. Hegel's conceptualization of civil society led the discussions to a new way in which the relationship between these two is emphasized.

In the 20th century, Italian thinker Gramsci had skeptical look on the border between civil society and the state by emphasizing the hegemony of state authority over it (Cox, 1983). However, liberal thinkers who consider civil society as a prerequisite for a healthy democracy tend to see civil society as relatively autonomous sphere (Foley and Edwards, 1996). The civil society is necessary bridge between society and state, and allows transmission of the demands of individuals to the state. Furthermore, several political thinkers argue the importance of values of civil society and view civil society as a school where values of civility are learned (Walzer, 1998; Diamond, 1999).

In this context, in the enforcement of human rights, the civil society plays a crucial role. First, the idea of human rights in the 19th and 20th century focuses on the protection of individuals against the state authority. The first-generation rights target to eliminate excessive power of the states. In this respect, civil society as autonomous sphere from the state authority becomes the perfect candidate to defend human rights of individuals against the states (Van Tuijl,

1999). Additionally, in practice, the states are the primary violators of human rights apart from their protector role. Therefore, in civil society sphere, human rights NGOs assume crucial role in the protection of human rights and make pressure on the states to perform their duty in the realization of human rights. Second, civil society is a place where civil values are learned (Pye, 1999). Ideally, actors in civil society promote tolerance, pluralism and democratic values. Human rights are one of the liberal values necessary for a healthy democracy in societies. In this sense, human rights NGOs are crucial actors in the realization of human rights respective society.

2.2.2 Tactics and Strategies of Human Rights

The main objective of human rights NGOs is to seek influence the authorities. Human rights issue is very complicated topic in civil society sphere. States are both the protector and the primary violator of human rights. Therefore, human rights advocacy is extremely difficult activity against violations of the states. Keck and Sikkink's groundbreaking study on TANs provides crucial implications regarding tactics and strategies of these networks against the states. TANs are networks that build links among actors in civil societies, states, and international organizations to pursue principled ideas and values in motivating their formation (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). The network aspect is a different view on civil society to examine its role, actors and effectiveness in world politics. The literature on TANs, therefore, is relevant to examine activities of human rights NGOs. In the Keck and Sikkink's, there are four types of tactics that networks use to seek influence. These tactics are also convenient to explain the strategies of human rights NGOs.

2.2.2.1 Information Politics

Information is power because it has an enormous impact in formation of the perspectives of individuals. In the contemporary world, the monopolization of states on the information sources became outmoded claim. Apart from their obligatory education system, states lost the immense power in shaping the perspectives of individuals by posing themselves as sources of information. Technological innovations in information technology and the rise of power of nonstate actors are crucial reasons for the pluralization of information resources (Ron, Ramos and Rodgers, 2005). In this respect, civil society actors constitute pivotal parts of the information market. NGOs aim to seek influence. To elaborate, specifically human rights NGOs make efforts to socialize human rights norms, to persuade the public and other actors in order to put pressure on the violator parties (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). In this sense, since human rights NGOs serve as alternate sources of information, their ability to provide information becomes the crucial instrument in persuasion process. Their prestige as an independent source of credible news is the crucial power that increases their influence.

However, having information does not automatically mean the persuasion of the public. There are varieties of sources of information in the Darwinian market place generated by different actors in order to get attention (Bob, 2002). Therefore, human rights NGOs are key actors not only in terms of acquiring the information but also presentation of them. Since the objective of human rights NGOs is to persuade, the equilibrium point between the credible information and the purpose-oriented presentation is a desirable outcome. To do it, human rights NGOs frame the information they get in a way that become proper to persuade other parties. Integrating testimonial stories and identifying victims and aggressors, they transform cold facts into persuasive stories (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Dramatic stories attract attention from the

media that have vital importance for dissemination among the public. They report the facts with technical and statistical information to eliminate uncertainties. They shared these reports with transnational connections in order to make channels for international attention. To sum up, information in the hands of human rights NGOs have crucial importance to persuade the public to support the cause.

2.2.2.2 Symbolic Politics

As I mentioned above, the persuasion is particularly important, and the one way to provide effective persuasion is the use of symbols, actions or stories. The powerful symbolic events create public awareness on particular issues (Finnemore, 1996). They are active in providing convincing explanations for these events that turn into catalysts for further campaigns (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Furthermore, thanks to this motivating atmosphere, HRNGOs conduct campaigns to promote the cause related with the symbolic events. For example, the 1973 coup in Chile was a symbolic event for human rights movement worldwide. Worldwide publicization of tortures and mistreatments of the military regime in Chile made Chilean case a powerful symbolic event that attracts attention specifically human rights violations committed by the military regimes. In this respect, these key symbols become an important reference points for human rights defenders and NGOs to persuade the public on the related issues.

2.2.2.3 Leverage Politics

The political effectiveness is the one of the essential desirable outcomes for human rights NGOs, and it generally includes some policy changes by target actors (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 23). However, civil society actors are not powerful in comparison to these target actors including states, international organizations and private corporations. Therefore, they seek leverage to gain

influence on these actors. Domestic NGOs generally utilize the leverage politics strategy to force their states to make policy changes. They share the sources with the powerful international human rights NGOs to increase pressure on the given states (Lebovic and Voeten, 2006). Additionally, they also use its linkages with the other states and international organizations to increase their leverage. The leverage politics is widely used by domestic human rights NGOs in developing countries.

2.2.2.4 Accountability Politics

To convince governments to change publicly its position on human rights issue is one of the crucial objectives of human rights NGOs (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). The public recognition of the changing position on the issue strengthens the hands of human rights NGOs to force the governments for further policy changes. Since governments frequently make several commitments to get public attention, it is not difficult for the human rights NGOs to capture these statements. In this respect, the accountability politics gains significance. Once the governments commit human rights principles, human rights NGOs starts to disseminate human rights violations of governments to force them to close the gap between discourse and practice (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). It is noteworthy to state this tactic is not effective in every country because of different mechanisms that vary the accountability of governments in the eyes of the public.

2.2.3 The Impact of Human Rights NGOs

The effectiveness of civil society on the policymaking and decision-making mechanisms of governments has always been crucial issue in the literature (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Keck and Sikkink, 1999). The increasing use of civil society as a requirement of a healthy democracy attaches additional account to the discussion on the impact of civil

society on the governance. The growing effectiveness of civil society in the government mechanisms seems as an opportunity to make politics more participatory and civil. In this respect, since human rights NGOs aim to influence governments to respect and promote human rights, which is another liberal value for a healthy democracy, it is noteworthy to examine their impact on the governments. To do it, Keck and Sikkink's (1998) model of *boomerang pattern* provides a useful framework to comprehend interaction of several actors to have an impact on an aggressor state. This model represents transnational perspective on the impact of human rights NGOs, and it is very convenient to understand civil society sphere in Turkey's case.

In the boomerang pattern, the model contains several actors and interactions. There are states, international organizations, domestic NGOs, their transnational links and other actors. In the contemporary world, with the increasing pace of globalization, transnational links among countries could be easily established, and that has considerable positive impact on human rights advocacy (Bertone, 2003). In case of severe human rights violations in a country, when the aggressor state blocks all sorts of channels with domestic actors, domestic human rights NGOs have nothing to do but to use transnational links with NGOs in another country. These links are generally established between North and South. Northern networks put pressure on their countries as well as international organizations to make sanctions against the aggressor state. Thus, the boomerang pattern is completed.
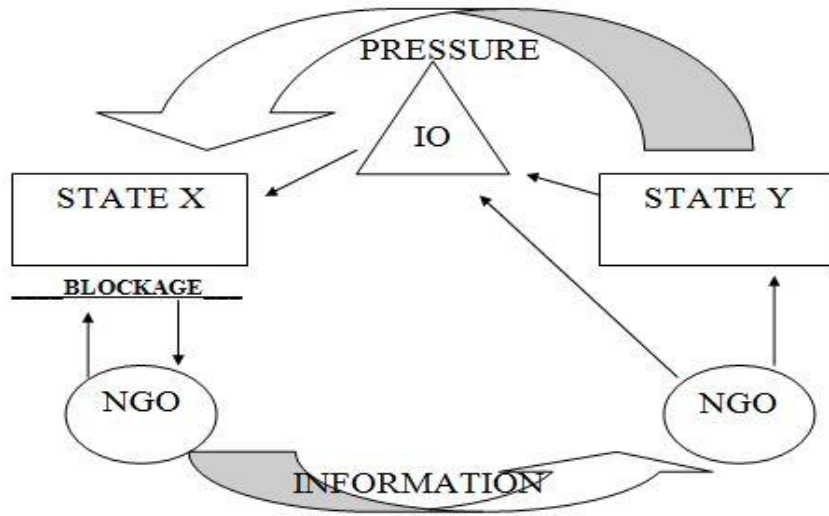
Figure 4: The Boomerang Pattern

3 CHAPTER 3: EXPLAINING ADVOCACY AGENDA OF HUMAN RIGHTS NGOs IN TURKEY

The main objective of this chapter is to examine analytically the identity of human rights NGOs, which includes IHD, MazlumDer, HCA in terms of their behaviors to select issues. Theoretical framework provided by transnational advocacy network and social movement literatures suggests useful concepts and findings to examine Turkey case. This chapter mainly composes of three parts. *First*, I propose brief historical evolution of human rights and civil society in Turkey to locate contextual characteristics. *Second*, I discuss the brief history and structures of the three NGOs together with findings drawn from the content analysis of their documents. This section aims to explore identities of the three NGOs by stressing on their histories and organizational structures. Even though this part is mostly descriptive, it links theoretical concepts with the practical operation of human rights NGOs. Therefore, these explorations of human rights NGOs in Turkey become fruitful contribution in terms of contextual reflection of the theory. *Third,* I discuss analytically general state of human rights NGOs in Turkey in regards to their issue pool and the possible factors that explain configuration of the issue pool. The second part is designed in compatible with three different factors discussed above, issue-related, actor-related and context-related factors. In Turkey case, operation of idea of human rights in non-Western context especially in terms of debate on the universality of human rights, the evolution of political atmosphere and the Europeanization process are prominent topics I focus on the second part.

3.1 Human Rights and Civil Society in Turkey

In comparison to full-fledged civil society existed in the West, the civil society in Turkey historically does not become a significant actor that fulfills their functions. In theory, the patrimonial characteristics of Turkey's state did not open a room for development of effective civil society (Heper, 1988; Toprak, 1988). Put it another way, the hegemony of the center over the periphery did not allow alternative formations to the state, and the elites in the center did not look positive on them (Mardin, 1988). In the pre-1980 period, the bureaucratic, political and military elites pursued Kemalist ideology and put barriers on the development of any opposition forces to the dominant state perspective. Any deviations from what the elites considered as Kemalism tried to be stopped by military interventions. In this political atmosphere, despite the flourishing civil society with the impact of liberal tenets of the 1961 constitution, civil society actors were stuck between ideological extremities in highly polarized environment. However, the 1980 coup provoked mental transformation regarding civilian politics. This dramatic event paradoxically strengthened the allegiance to civilian politics and civil rights and actors (Toprak, 1996). Additionally, the collapse of Soviet Union and the rise of democratic demands in the developing countries in the 1980s and the early 1990s brought convenient political atmosphere for the promotion of civil society ideal (Gellner, 1996). Therefore, the post-1980 period in Turkey witnessed increasing civil society activism. The transition to an export-oriented free market based economy, the rise of ethnic and religious identity demands and the effects of globalization became driving force for strengthening associational life (İçduygu, Sert and Meydanoğlu, 2010). Today despite their low capacities and the lack of mechanisms to influence policy-making and decision-making comparing to European counterparts, civil society sphere in Turkey is relatively in a better place.

In the pre- 1980 period, the condition of human rights activism is not so different from other civil society actors. Considering Turkish state's frequent violations of human rights, in some cases, the risk of human rights activism was higher. Initially, Turkish state authority tried to control human rights activism to contain potential threats could be directed to the state. It was also direct representation of institutional monism of Turkish state. During the pre-1980 period, With the exception of brief and ineffective Amnesty International experience, civil human rights activism could not survive in Turkish civil society (Plagemann, 2000). However, in the eyes of Turkey's state, human rights were still crucial in regards to its relationships with international organizations. Turkey signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1949 as a member of the United Nations and the European Convention of Human Rights in 1950 (Yelken, 2007). These two treaties clearly demonstrated the recognition of human rights at the institutional level but Turkey's state always had skeptical look on civil human rights advocacy in Turkey.

In this context, it is not surprising that the first efforts to establish human rights organizations were belonged to the members of the two powerful political parties, Republican People Party (CHP) and Democrat Party (DP). Ali Fuat Başgil, a member of CHP at these times, established the Associations for Human Rights and Fundamental Rights in 1945, and Fevzi Çakmak, the former Chief of General Staff and a member of DP, formed a Human Rights Association in 1946 (Bora, Peker and Sancar, 2002). Actually, these organizations were the responses to the UN encouragements to the formation of human rights NGOs at these times (Plagemann, 2001). After a brief period, the both organizations were closed by the state. After the progressive 1961 constitution, the newly flourishing social activism had an impact on human rights advocacy, and Mehmet Ali Aybar, well-known intellectual figure in the left-wing, established new human rights NGO in 1962 but it was short-lived due to the Aybar's decision to

pursue a political career. After that, there had been no local attempts to form human rights NGO until the 1980s.

The period between 1960 and 1980 witnessed the high degree of politicization of civil forces and it directly reflected on the civil society sphere. Relatively liberal atmosphere provided by progressive 1962 constitution increased associationalism among public. However, human rights issue did not draw attention. The increasing political polarization of Turkey's society due to grand political ideologies left no space for human rights advocacy in the civil sphere. While the leftist camp saw human rights as one of the liberal values that divert the attentions from the class struggle, human rights were not a relevant issue for the rightists (Çalı, 2007).

After the 1980 coup, the political polarization replaced to depoliticization process reinforced by the neoliberal economic policies. Human rights increasingly gained currency in this period because of the atrocities committed by the military regime seizing the power in 1980. Internal pressure from the victimized parties and external pressure due to the rise of human rights as powerful language culminated in the formation of human rights advocacy efforts in Turkey. In this respect, several international reports published by international organizations and non-governmental organizations publicized the failure of Turkish governments to protect fundamental human rights. Especially the escalating struggle between PKK, the Kurdish organization fighting an armed struggle against the Turkish state for autonomous Kurdistan, and Turkish Armed Forces became the excuse of Turkish governments for the increasing human rights violations on Kurdish population. With the growing importance of the European Union-Turkey relations, human rights-related critiques on Turkish governments in the membership process increasingly continued. In this context, despite the reluctance of the state authorities, some academics and intellectuals established Human Rights Association (IHD) in 1986 to take action against widespread torture

and unfavorable conditions of prisons. As a response to left wing dominated IHD, some conservative-minded intellectuals formed the Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People (Mazlum-Der) in 1991. These are two pioneer NGOs of human rights advocacy in Turkey. After the 1990s, the increasing pace of globalization and power of human rights have influenced civil society sphere in Turkey. New organizations contributed the power of civil society in Turkey. Helsinki Citizen's Assembly (HCA) and International Amnesty Organization (IAO) are other powerful human rights organizations other than issue-specific organizations such as feminists, environmentalists and LGBTT organizations. By the 2000s, the place of human rights advocacy field in civil society sphere has gained prominence by the relaxation of legal environment as a result of European Union integration process. In Turkey, even though approximately 1 % of civil society associations have concentrated on human rights issues, the increasing number and visibility and the perceived impact of human rights NGOs have been significant development recently (İçduygu, Sert and Meydanoğlu, 2010).

3.2 Advocacy Agenda of Human Rights NGOs in Turkey

3.2.1 Human Rights Association

In the 1980s, the unhealthy condition of prisoners and widespread torture became evident (İbikoğlu, 2010). In addition to the violations against the basic right to life and torture ban, freedom of association was ignored with the prohibition of political parties, associations and unions. Being worried regarding laws and enforcements of the military regime of 1980 against the fundamental rights and liberties of individuals, 98 human rights defenders including leftist intellectuals, lawyers, journalists and academicians established *Human Rights Association* (IHD)

in 1986.[2] At the nascent stage, the primary aim of the association is to provide legal and moral support to the leftist prisoners. Left-right dichotomy emanated from the pre-1980 polarized political climate plays crucial role in the ideological position of the association and their perspectives toward human rights. In the process of time, the human rights topics IHD deals with bifurcated. IHD is a grassroots civil society organization. As of 2011, it has 35 branches, representation offices in different regions of Turkey, and approximately 17000 members. 38 % of members are women, 55 % of members are between the age of 25 and 40, and more than 50 % of members are university graduates (Öndül, 2003). Usually coming from medium and low socio-economic status, the members and activists are mostly characterized as having leftist and secular tendencies (Öndül, 2003). In this context, IHD represents leftist-secular wing in the civil society in Turkey in terms of human rights advocacy. During the 26 years period of IHD, they have conducted several campaigns to promote human rights norms and published reports to document human rights violations. In the 1980s and 1990s, monitoring of human rights violations especially in the Eastern and Southeastern regions in which Turkish Armed Forces and PKK had fought with each other was very risky. IHD with its regional branches have tried to reveal human rights violations of Turkey's governments in these regions by stressing on village evacuations, extra-judicial executions and the activities of Turkish army with regard to international humanitarian law. Because of these activities, IHD members and executive officials have become target of Turkish governments and violent groups. 23 executives of IHD were assassinated, numerous letters of threats were sent, and several cases against IHD were litigated.[3] To sum up, IHD has been the typical example of human rights NGO in developing countries in terms of the difficulties they faced and politicization in which they operate.

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[2] History of Human Rights Association (IHD). (2008) Retrieved March 2, 2012, from http://www.ihd.org.tr/
[3] *Ibid*

To understand their perspective toward human rights, the closer inspection of their stated principles gives crucial insights into the identity of NGO.[4] IHD strongly emphasizes their non-governmental and non-political characteristics as human rights NGO. Especially in the sphere of human rights advocacy, the distance to governments is one of the highly discussed and sensitive topics but in principle, human rights NGOs should not have any links to the governments. The fact that governments are protector as well as primary violators of human rights necessitates objective positioning of human rights NGOs vis-à-vis governments. In Turkey case, the strong state tradition has considerable impact on civil society sphere (Keyman and İçduygu, 2003). Especially Kemalist and nationalist dogmas have always found their place in the ideological positions and agendas of NGOs (Seufert, 2000). However, in the post-1980 period, flourishing human rights advocacy is totally against Turkish state. Leftist ideological baggage of IHD together with the human rights violations of Turkish authorities during and after the military regime forged anti-statist reflex for IHD (Plagemann, 2000). It is noteworthy to state the Association completely denounces any links to Turkish government as well as other governments. Disturbed by the activities of IHD in sensitive issues such as Kurdish problem, Turkish governments not only utilized judicial mechanisms to passivize IHD but also circulated groundless allegations regarding IHD's links with some European countries.[5] Therefore, IHD specifically pays attention to portray impartial NGO picture. Even though in surface, human rights NGOs do not have any formal links to political organizations, their mission to promote human rights has inescapably political character. Even in Turkey case in which the politicization is appeared in daily lives, clothing, language etc., human rights advocacy is positioned as

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[4] See Appendix A
[5] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

political preference.[6] IHD commitment with the Kurdish issue since its establishment has made the association crucial political actors among other actors who point out Kurdish issue as one of the primary political goals. This relationship can be seen in the member transitions between IHD executives and some political parties such as HADEP, DEHAP, DTP, and BDP. Many former executives of IHD became the representatives and deputy candidates of these parties. The member base of IHD and the electorate of these parties are mostly overlapped. However, it is noteworthy to state there are not any institutional organic links with these parties except from ideological approximation.

IHD expresses full support to the universality and indivisibility of human rights. The international conventions and treaties are crucial reference points for human rights perspective of IHD. Among four schools of thoughts on human rights, the protest school's premises are more suitable to IHD's understanding of human rights. IHD utilizes the idea of human rights to emancipate the oppressed individuals. Put it another way, human rights is a means to achieve objectives. The founders of IHD were organically continuation of leftist base during the 1970s who saw human rights as one of the liberal values of bourgeois society that reduces the significance of class struggle. By the 1980s, increasing internationalization of human rights as norm setting power and strengthening Turkey's links with the international organizations especially European Union brought receptive political climate to human rights advocacy. Despite their leftist background, IHD founders easily adopted the idea of human rights to force Turkish governments to respect fundamental rights and liberties of leftist prisoners and Kurdish people. In this context, their support for universality of human rights arises from not only their secular character but also their search for strong reference to serve their purposes. Their belief in the universality of human rights leads them to follow the topics in the international human rights

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[6] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

agenda. They have been continuously in dialogue with the Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, and International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims.[7]

In compatible with the views of protest scholars on human rights, IHD does not see development of human rights law as sole purpose but stress on more promotion of human rights culture in the society (Dembour, 2010). Their lawyer volunteers utilize human rights law to generate best results for cases on human rights violations. However, to promote human rights-respective society is one of the primary objectives of IHD, and to do it, they organize human rights education seminars. It is crucial to state; according to IHD, the law may provide a channel to protect human rights but in Turkey context, it generally favors the state in state-individual rights dichotomy.[8] Therefore, in terms of human rights advocacy, the grass-roots human rights movement is more important to force authorities to respect fundamental rights and liberties. Human rights education is a step for the realization of the idea. Anti-statist leftist discourse of the IHD founders and the tragic human rights violations of Turkish state during the 1980s and the 1990s play a pivotal role for the protest perspective of IHD on human rights.

Among the main principles of IHD, they prioritize their struggle against any kind of discrimination based on language, religion, color, gender, political thought etc. The struggle against discrimination is one of the typical missions of human rights NGOs but the political context in which they operate give crucial insights into their concerned populations. IHD was established to assist leftist prisoners imprisoned by the military regime of 1980. Widespread torture and unhealthy prison conditions became the primary topics IHD dealt with. However, Turkish state's human rights violations to Kurdish minority reached its peak at these times

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[7] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[8] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

(Bozarslan, 2001). Speaking, writing and publishing in Kurdish language were prohibited, and using Kurdish language became the reason for the arrest (O'Neil, 2007). Furthermore, torture and prison conditions and Kurdish problem were intersected with each other in some cases. Left-wing opposition also included political activists who were sensitive regarding Kurdish problem. Unhealthy prison conditions and torture were significantly higher in mostly Kurdish populated regions. Because of these reasons, Kurdish community became highly concerned population in IHD agenda, and they pay great deal of attention to discrimination issue. In addition to that, IHD expresses their support to the principle of self-determination and their denunciation to war and militarism. These two principles are closely related to IHD position in cultural rights of Kurdish population and the ongoing war between Turkish Armed Forces and PKK.

IHD commits that they do not make distinction among personal, political, economic, social, cultural and solidarity rights. This commitment is worth to state because as I mentioned in the Chapter one, these categories of rights become the subject of debate in terms of the scope of human rights. While liberal camp prioritizes personal and political rights of individuals, leftist camp have tendency to add social, economic and cultural rights into the mainstream human rights framework (Plagemann, 2000). The leftist ideological baggage of IHD allows the influence of social democratic ideals on human rights perspective of the Association. With this principle, IHD is interested in rights of workers, economically deprived individuals and housing rights apart from the most basic individual rights.[9]

The stated principles of IHD portray certain side of the NGO identity, their historical evolution during the 1990s offers complementary picture for IHD. The momentous decisions in terms of their organizational structure and configuration of their advocacy agenda were taken at the beginning the 1990s when their primary objective was reached with the release of leftist

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[9] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

prisoners of the coup (Plagemann, 2000). In terms of advocacy agenda, the political climate of Turkey in the 1990s and the ideological balance of power among the members of IHD made human rights violations regarding Kurdish issue one of the primary human rights topics in IHD agenda after the general meeting in 1990 (Çalı, 2007). However, the pragmatic use of the idea of human rights brought new responsibilities to protect rights and liberties of numerous groups. IHD started to organize activities on the issues of minorities, women, children, working condition, migration and refugees by the 1990s. On the other side, the discussion on professionalism was centered on the activist actions of IHD members such as participating protests and hunger strikes. At the nascent stage, the protest side of human rights advocacy was overwhelming but during the 1990s, the discussion on impartiality started to be voiced highly. Some members wanted to see IHD as impartial organization that provides objective information and documents human rights violations to the states and other domestic and international actors.[10] On the other hand, some leftist members thought that the human rights struggle should be done on the side of oppressed. This debate is still going on and shaping IHD perspectives toward donors and interactions with international organizations.[11]

The organization structure of IHD consists of different permanent commissions and working group. These commission and working groups are named with specific human rights issues, and commissions' members monitor violations in this issue, document them, publish reports and organize activities. Therefore, the human rights issues that these commissions are working on constitute the considerable part of human rights advocacy agenda of IHD. As of 2011, some important permanent commissions are on the issues of national and cultural rights, working life condition, prison, environment, children rights, freedom of thought and association,

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[10] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[11] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

struggle with racism and discrimination, women rights, cultural rights, disabled rights, refugee rights, economic and social rights.

Figure 5: Press Releases of Human Rights Association (IHD), March 2011- March 2012

This tag clouds represents the frequency of some words that possibly indicate particular issues and populations of concerns in the press releases of IHD published in one-year period of March 2011- March 2012. Considering the foundation and the historical evolution of the Association, it is not a surprising fact to find prison and torture as high-frequented word. These issues can be counted as mandate topics of IHD since its foundation. These topics play primary role in IHD activities regardless of their place in public agenda. Therefore, prison commission is one of the most active and productive commission in the IHD structure.[12] Considering the populations of concerns in the IHD agenda during the one year, Kurd, women and children seem prominent topics. Apart from the specific fields of women rights and children rights, high

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[12] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

frequency of women and children can be explained with different factors. In general usage in human rights advocacy agenda, women and children denotes essential vulnerability to dramatize the problem (Carpenter, 2005). IHD commission on the issue of women makes efforts to promote women rights in the ideological axis of leftism and feminism but the children rights is temporary topic. Its priority in civil society agenda is closely linked with the existence of children-related problems in the public agenda. However, the position of Kurdish population as crucial vulnerable group demonstrates the priority of Kurdish issue in IHD agenda. Other groups are human rights defenders, workers, journalists, handicapped, students and refugees. Human rights defenders as vulnerable group are noteworthy to mention because it has historical and contextual reasons. As I mentioned above, IHD's primary concerns on Kurdish issue and the war between Turkish Armed Forces and PKK make the Association the target of Turkish governments and some uncomfortable groups. Therefore, through physical violence and judicial cases, IHD has been subjected to intense pressure. As a contextual reflection of this pressure, since 2009, under KCK investigation, Turkish authorities detained numerous human rights defenders due to their membership of terrorist organization called KCK according to indictment.[13] Several IHD activists were also detained, and IHD has informed the public regarding the practices incompatible with the rule of law through the press releases. In a similar vein, arrest of significant number of journalists become the prominent topic in this period, and IHD publicized the violations targeting journalists. Other vulnerable groups occupy particular place in IHD agenda depending on their attractiveness in general public agenda. As crucial issue of concern, conscientious objection is one the significant topics that IHD has been interested in.[14]Their refusal to militarism and war made IHD recognized place where conscientious objectors apply. To sum up, IHD utilizes their

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[13] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[14] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

expertise on the advocacy efforts in the issues of prison, torture and Kurdish issue but depending on the public agenda and individual applications they received, new issues and vulnerable populations have been added into the IHD advocacy agenda.[15]
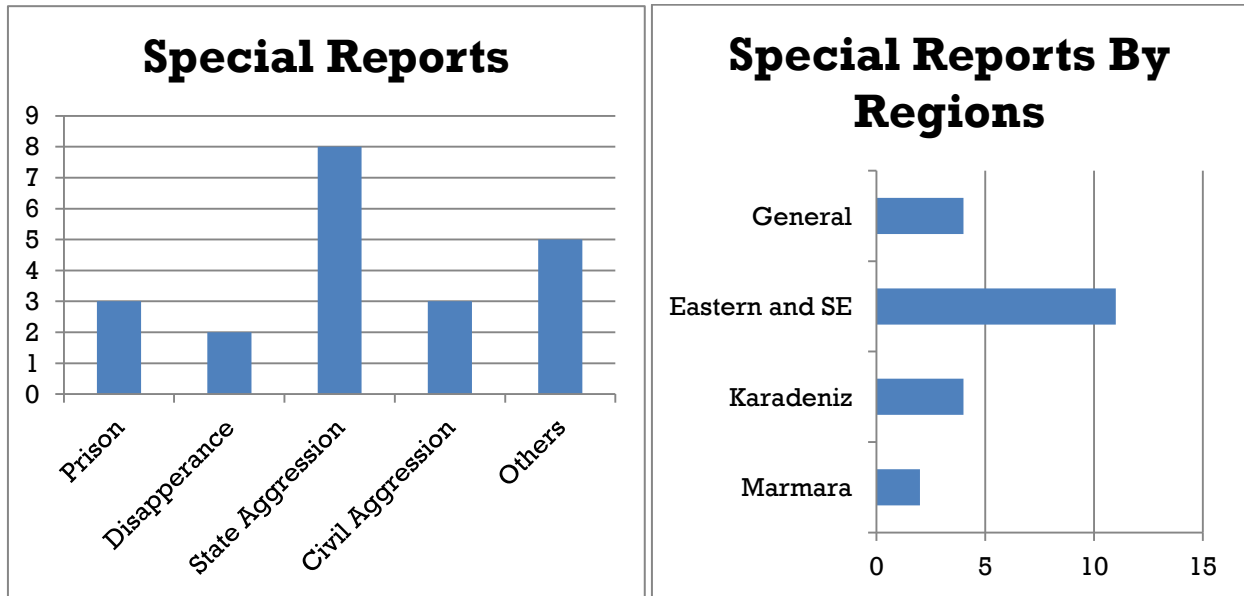
Figure 6: IHD Special Reports, (March 2011 – March 2012)

During the given time period, IHD published 21 special reports on the violations and assertions for violations. Special reports on state aggression are in the forefront in terms number. Under the head of state aggression, there are reports regarding the army and police aggressions on civilian population. The geographical distribution of these reports has indicated several implications regarding violations and special reports. The intensification of violations in Eastern and Southeastern regions draws attention. The impact of the war condition on the high number of violations cannot be ruled out. Furthermore, the fact that 50 % of IHD branches located in these regions improves IHD's ability to monitor violations quickly and prepare reports on them. In effect, the priority of Kurdish issue in the IHD agenda manifests itself in the publications of special reports.

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[15] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

To conclude, IHD's advocacy agenda is designed by IHD's concerns on the issues of prison, torture and Kurdish issue. IHD identifies Kurds as significant vulnerable group subjected to human rights violations in Turkey because of the Turkish state's aggression on this population during the 1980s and the 1990s. The protest attitude of IHD activists inhibits IHD's objective position on these issues (especially in case of Kurdish issue) but this subjective positioning does not hinder to include other vulnerable groups and issues in their agenda. IHD utilizes the power of human rights by partaking role in the information flow between domestic context and international actors. Therefore, they pay attention to international conventions and treaties that have legal power on the aggressor parties. These agreements also become reference sources for IHD to increase their scope of human rights perspective. That is why; the advocacy agenda of IHD is open to new human rights issues such as workers' rights, disabled rights, and pedestrian rights but some factors, which are elaborated in the following sections, create difficulties, even put barriers in adopting new issues.

3.2.2 Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People

In 1991, 54 people including lawyers, journalists, writers and businesspersons founded the Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People in order to protect human rights and liberties and provide solidarity with the oppressed.[16] The acronym of the Association, MazlumDer, refers the significance of the word of "oppressed" (*mazlum* in Turkish) in their discourse. In terms of their organizational structure and activities in human rights advocacy, MazlumDer have numerous similarities with IHD. They generally show joint reactions to human rights violations, conduct field researches cooperatively and prepare joint reports on these violations. Their primary differences stem from the contextual characteristics of the beginning of

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[16] . Biz Kimiz? (2011) Retrieved March 7, 2012, from http://www.mazlumder.org

the 1990s. The founders of MazlumDer criticized IHD for being indifferent to human rights violations that conservatives faced, and they initiated to establish another human rights NGO (Aktan, 2007). Therefore, MazlumDer was positioned as conservative Islamic counterpart to secular and leftist IHD. The head office of MazlumDer is in Ankara. It has conducted its activities through five executive councils, six commissions, various committees depending on the commissions and 20 branches located in various cities of Turkey. The committees mainly work on the issues of right of life, liberties, justice, asylum, minorities, education; economic, social, political and cultural rights; and freedom of speech, religion and press. It publishes reports on human rights abuses in Turkey and in the world regularly, organizes meetings, symposium, and issues the journal of Human Rights Researches monthly. The members of Mazlum-Der are mainly university graduates, who have conservative and religious tendencies (Çalı, 2007).

The conservative position of MazlumDer has changed reference point of human rights and their human rights perspective of the Association in comparison to IHD. Being aware of the Westernist origins of the idea of human rights, MazlumDer tried to define the idea of human rights using Islamist language to vernacularize this idea into the domestic settings. While IHD utilize the power of international conventions and treaties, MazlumDer has tendency to avoid secular justifications by adopting more ethical dimensions and religious sources of human rights. Hilf al-Fudul, which was an alliance established by Meccans including Prophet Mohammed to provide fair commercial dealing in 7th century, is primary reference for MazlumDer in their pursuance to human rights advocacy. This alliance, which is also called as "Alliance of the Virtuous", preaches, "The oppressed should be supported to no matter who is and the oppressor should be stood against no matter who he is."[17] This principle becomes the motto of MazlumDer

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[17] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

that establishes human rights perspective in regards to the oppressed and the oppressor. Even though they regarded the fact that Magna Carta, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other documents are important contributions to humanity, they utilize Islamic sources to legitimize human rights principles. However, in case of incompatibility between two departure points, there occurs inevitable dilemma between universality and cultural relativism debate, which I elaborate in the following sections. This tension between universalism and particularism mostly decide the boundaries of human rights advocacy agenda of MazlumDer.

Analysis of MazlumDer in the context of the four schools of thought on human rights demonstrates that several implications regarding the protest school seem valid. Similar with IHD characteristics, the priority of activist side of human rights advocacy dominates the mentality of MazlumDer although the reporting activities are prominent. Especially specification of MazlumDer's objective as being side with the oppressed put MazlumDer subjective position vis-à-vis the issues they deal with. However, different from IHD and the protest school premises, human rights is not an instrument for the realization of MazlumDer ideals. During the establishment period, IHD signified number of problems, and utilize the idea of human rights to force Turkish governments to resolve these problems. To do it, IHD took the conceptualization of human rights what is developed through the legal texts, conventions and agreements in the West. On the other hand, MazlumDer forms a human rights perspective with different sources from the West. Therefore, more than an instrument, human rights is the ideal end-in-itself. "Being side with the oppressed" is both the main premise of human rights ideal and the central mission of MazlumDer. In this context, the natural tradition on human rights gives crucial insights into the MazlumDer's own justification of the idea of human rights through non-secular sources. MazlumDer defines human rights struggle as an ethical more than a legal struggle; therefore, the description of human rights through the sensations of people living in the Muslim geography is

needed.[18] To sum up, MazlumDer carries out their human rights activities in compatible with the human rights perspective they initiated and adopted.

The analysis of the stated principles and missions of MazlumDer suggests significant implications regarding their institutional identity that has impact on their approaches to the human rights issues.[19] *First*, because of their critical attitude toward IHD for being partial regarding human rights violations during their establishment, MazlumDer clearly expresses objective position vis-à-vis political ideologies and make commitment to struggle for the expression of all kinds of ideas. In compatible with their primary reference, Hilf al-Fudul, MazlumDer promises that they completely focus on the human rights violations regardless of the violators and the victims. They pay considerable attention to their impartial identity toward groups and issues, and they saw their impartial characteristics as their crucial advantage in comparison to other human rights NGOs in Turkey.[20] In this respect, their commitment to oppose every human rights violation regardless of the violators and the doers led MazlumDer activists to broaden their scope of human rights advocacy efforts to the regions in proximity with Turkey. In terms of reports and press releases, it can be said that MazlumDer makes considerable efforts to document human rights violations in the Muslim geography.

Second, the necessity of moral understanding of human rights constitutes the main focus of the MazlumDer's principles. This mission arises from the belief that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other documents have limitations regarding human rights enforcement, and they eventually fail in realization of human rights. The human rights morality MazlumDer propagates has basis on the clear distinction between the oppressor and the oppressed. This distinction works when the nature of violation is simple and causal. For instance, in case of

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[18] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[19] See Appendix B
[20] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

human rights violations involving bodily harms, one might identify easily the victim and the aggressor. However, issues involving legal equality are much more complex through this distinction because of their "politicized" nature. In this context, in case of the MazlumDer agenda, LGBTT rights and abortion become very disputable topics.[21] These two issues are perfect examples of differences between "universal" human rights and Islamic understanding of human rights, which is elaborated more in the following sections. The intersection between the Islamic morality and human rights is noteworthy topic in terms of their impact on human rights NGOs' advocacy agenda.

Thirdly, MazlumDer purports their sensitivities regarding the misuse of human rights in the international sphere. They condemn the use of human rights as political gain in international politics. They indicated that the military actions of Unites States and NATO against Iraq and Afghanistan were typical examples of the misuse.[22] "Human rights become the instrument of imperialist powers to increase their sphere of influence into the oppressed countries", according to MazlumDer official.[23] The misuse of the idea of human rights creates insecurity towards not only the Western powers but also the Westernist notion of human rights. In this context, MazlumDer specifies the ethical basis of their human rights perspective. They stress on the imperialist ambitions of the use of universal human rights phrase, and they clearly state their skeptical position on this issue.

In terms of their human rights understanding, MazlumDer is unique and significant example. Their conservative position in human rights advocacy reinforces more encompassing human rights perspective in Turkey's civil society. In similar with IHD, MazlumDer have received individual applications, and they used judicial way to resolve the violations. With their

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[21] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[22] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[23] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

numerous branches in different regions of Turkey, they act as grass-roots organization with considerable number of members and volunteers. These advantages make MazlumDer driving force of human rights advocacy together with IHD in Turkey. Apart from that, considering the fact that Turkish society has conservative tendencies, human rights understanding of MazlumDer that has reflected conservative tones is influential among Turkish public.

The advocacy agenda of MazlumDer contains numerous issues and vulnerable populations. Considering background information of MazlumDer, three themes come to the forefront. *First,* MazlumDer is highly concerned regarding international issues particularly ones in the Middle East region (Sarkissian and Özler, 2012). The Palestinian issue seems very prominent in terms of the reactions of MazlumDer in the form of press releases. Apart from the violations in Israel, as of May 2012, the ongoing violence in Syria occupied significant space in the agenda of MazlumDer. They reacted to international issues not only by publicizing through their websites but also through publishing special reports. Within the year of 2011, combining field research with documented violations, MazlumDer prepared human rights reports on Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Syria, Azerbaijan, and Tunisia.[24] The selection of issues for these reports is mostly in parallel with political developments within these countries.[25]

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[24] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[25] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

Figure 7 : Press Releases of MazlumDer, March 2011- March 2012

Second, the frequent press releases regarding headscarf and Koran courses reflected the conservative nature of MazlumDer. They regarded them as high profile issues to be dealt with in Turkey. Especially the headscarf issue has paramount importance for the conservative camp in Turkey during the 1990s (Cindoğlu and Zencirci, 2008). MazlumDer was specifically interested in women who cannot continue their education because the headscarf they wear. In similar vein, MazlumDer exerted efforts to remove age limitation for Koran learning (current age limit is 12). Other conservative civil society organizations and MazlumDer made joint campaigns on these issues (Kadıoğlu, 2005). Expectedly, MazlumDer stressed on the suppression of religious people by the radical secular Turkish Republic, and furthered that radical transformation led by the young Republican institutions brought negative consequences.[26] The revolutions such as adoption of Turkish alphabet and wearing codes victimized religious population both physically and

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[26] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

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symbolically. Consequently, overemphasis of Islam and religious issues can be easily seen in the MazlumDer agenda.

Third, Kurdish issue occupied significant place not only in IHD's agenda but also in MazlumDer advocacy agenda. State aggressions, disappearances, village evacuations and other human rights violations become the subjects of press releases and special reports in some cases. MazlumDer has numerous branches in the Eastern regions, and that is why, they can assimilate information quickly and easily. In the Kurdish-populated regions, MazlumDer branches frequently cooperated with IHD, and the activist-base is mixed. In Diyarbakir branch, there are leftist activists as well as the ones with headscarves (Aktan, 2007). Since the human rights problem for these regions is pressing, the politicization in human rights advocacy remains low. Therefore, MazlumDer and IHD jointly make field research to report violations and campaign to get public attention (Kaliber and Tocci, 2010)

With its distinctive human rights perspective, MazlumDer represents the conservative side of human rights advocacy in Turkey. Primarily stressing on the victimization of religious people in Turkey as a result of radical secular policies, they made campaigns on the issues of headscarf, Koran courses and others. They are also concerned with human rights violations in the Muslim geography, and report them by publishing special reports. Their numerous branches and significant number of activists contributes massive information flow from the local to national and international settings.

3.2.3 Helsinki Citizens' Assembly

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly was established officially in 1993 with the personal efforts of Murat Belge, who is well-known intellectual in Turkey. In fact, the Association was a product of post-Cold war initiatives that shared the same name. Helsinki Citizen' Assembly was designed

as international solidarity network that worked on democracy and rule of law but this international project did not result in success. However, Murat Belge who organized Turkey's branch of this project continued his advocacy efforts in Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Association. Until the establishment of the Association, they organized activities as initiatives. In 1992, the Helsinki Citizen Initiative arranged a conference called "Peace Initiatives for Kurdish Issue", which was crucial progressive step for the discussions on Kurdish Issue considering the repressive political climate at the beginning of the 1990s. Since officially 1993, Helsinki Citizen Assembly have made advocacy campaigns and published human rights reports to promote human rights culture in Turkey.

HCA adopted the principles what Helsinki Accords in 1975 and Paris Charter in 1990 promoted, and these principles defines their area of interest on a large scale. These principles contain not only the protection of fundamental human rights but also other liberal values and codes for peaceful resolution of conflicts (Göksel and Güneş, 2005). HCA is interested in specifically EU integration process of Turkey, recognition and protection of minority rights, rule of law, strengthening democracy and civil society and protection of fundamental rights and liberties.[27] HCA has single branch in Istanbul, and they did not receive individual applications. They function as academy-oriented NGOs rather than activist-oriented.[28] They have crucial mission to inform human rights activists in Turkey regarding human rights advocacy tactics. Furthermore, they organize seminars and conferences to provide free platform where the problematic issues can be discussed. They make efforts to create projects to be funded by donors.[29]

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[27] Statute of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. (2012) Retrieved March 5, 2012, from http://www.hyd.org.tr
[28] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[29] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

Considering the decentralized structures and volunteer base of IHD and MazlumDer, HCA is a completely different organization. HCA does not have significant number of members and volunteers. They have one branch in Istanbul; therefore, their ability to collect information from different parts of Turkey is limited. They also do not engage with street protests to respond human rights violations. However, HCA makes enormous academic contribution to the development of human rights platform by providing credible special reports, organizing conferences and workshops to strengthen civil society. [30] While ideological motivations embedded in the organizational cultures of IHD and MazlumDer allow certain space for the other issues to be vocalized in their agenda, without significant member basis, HCA is more open to adopt different issues and allocate resources to work on them. Therefore, diversity of issues finds their place in the agenda of HCA from women rights to language rights.[31] In this respect, HCA presents an advocacy platform where individual activists seek to support and realize their projects (Aktan, 2007).

Since the activist side of HCA is more limited in comparison to IHD and MazlumDer, the deliberative school rather than the protest school have more explanatory power regarding principles and fields of HCA. The deliberative school represents secular side of human rights discussion, and it locates human rights as one of the liberal values historically constructed. In similar vein, the crucial objective of HCA is to develop liberal democratic institutions and values rather than to assist adoption of human rights ethic (Dembour, 2010). HCA has worked on the creation and empowerment of viable channels of democracy for citizen participation. The EU integration process of Turkey that contains development of democratic structures, therefore, has paramount importance for HCA. In addition to that, HCA's emphasis on strong civil society

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[30] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[31] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

emanates from the liberal assumption that positions civil society as fundamental requirement of healthy democracy. While IHD and MazlumDer have stressed on the emancipation of the oppressed and ethical dimension of human rights, HCA's concerns are development of democratic institutions to provide the political climate where the fundamental rights and liberties are respected and promoted. From this perspective, the differentiation in their tactics and strategies is more understandable.

Since HCA does not use press releases to react human rights violations, the reports and activities draw the boundaries of the advocacy agenda of HCA. Apart from the fields what the statute of the Association specifies, HCA makes advocacy efforts on refugees and Roma rights during the last few years. Even though HCA acts in a way that produces academic sources for local and international actors, in terms of refugee issue, they engage in intense efforts to support refugees.[32] In refugee advocacy and support program, HCA provides psychosocial support programs for refugees. Furthermore, they published reports for the condition of refugees and asylum-seekers in satellite cities where asylum-seekers have to wait until their asylum applications are processed. In this context, HCA is the most significant association that intensified their advocacy efforts on refugee support in Turkey. Therefore, refugee issue becomes one of the mandate topics of HCA.

The problems of Romani people living in Turkey are another issue HCA worked on (Uzpeder, 2008). Currently, HCA is not working on the projects on this issue but it is the first institution that works on Romani people.[33] HCA initiated a project for the promotion of Roma rights through the assistance of European Roma Rights Center. They organized series of activities to build capacity for civil society actors to engage in effective advocacy efforts and raise

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[32] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[33] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

consciousness regarding Roma rights in Turkey's public.[34] Within this project, HCA arranged trainings and workshops for Roma organizations to reinforce their capacities to make advocacy efforts for human rights of Romani people.

To conclude, HCA responds the need for capacity building efforts in human rights advocacy in Turkey. They assume more advisory role for civil society actors. Their specific fields are protection of minority rights, development of democratic institutions, strengthening civil society and EU integration process of Turkey. The problems of refugees and asylum seekers become the mandate topic for HCA, and they have implemented refugee support and advocacy program. Romani people are another vulnerable population HCA worked on. With these advocacy efforts, HCA occupies significant place in human rights advocacy in Turkey.

3.3 Discussing Human Rights Advocacy Agenda of Civil Society in Turkey

In this section, utilizing theoretical framework regarding issue emergence in TANs, I will discuss the implications on human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey. In terms of their issue pool, the politicization of issues and different understandings of human rights determine the behavior of NGOs to select particular issues. Their institutional identity designed by members, executives, and donors, furthermore, makes additional impact in this selection process. However, context-related factors such as development of political divisions and Europeanization process create certain space for establishment and development of the identity of these NGOs.

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[34] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

3.3.1 Issue-Related Characteristics

Particular issues find more space than other issues in human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey. With the exception of HCA that has worked on issue-specific basis, IHD and MazlumDer as significant grass-roots human rights movements have diversity of issues in their advocacy agenda. However, while both human rights NGOs consider certain issues significant and make joint efforts to campaign; their attitude becomes different in the context of other issues. Considering issue-related characteristics, IHD and MazlumDer make distinction between the violations against the right to live and other issues. This distinction also specifies the boundaries between common issues and NGO-specific issues for these two human rights NGOs. When the issue deals with the legal equality claims of specific groups, it becomes highly politicized issue in Turkey's context. Second implication is that the tension between universal human rights and culture-specific Islamic understanding of human rights constitutes another boundary in the advocacy agenda. This tension is visible in MazlumDer's views on the LGBTT rights and abortion.

3.3.1.1 Politicization of Oppressions

At first glance, when HCA is excluded because of their exceptional status, both IHD and MazlumDer are highly interested in torture, prison and Kurdish issue. Human rights violations in Kurdish-populated regions always got attention from these two human rights NGOs. Considering the fact that these violations generally contain state aggressions in these regions, both NGOs demonstrated their reaction to these violations. For instance, in December 2011, 34 civilians were killed as a result of the firing of Turkish F16 jets acting on an information that these civilians were PKK militants. This incident was called as Uludere Massacre. Since its inception, IHD and MazlumDer exerted joint efforts to force authorities to punish responsible officials. Following the

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views of Keck and Sikkink (2007) on issue emergence, we may see the Uludere Massacre as an example of event with simple causal chain and identifiable victims and aggressors. Even though there was an intense disinformation effort that focused on the smuggling activities of 34 victims, the obvious mistake of authorities in the incident remains on the table in the media. In civil society, IHD and MazlumDer published fictional letters of victims everyday in their websites to dramatize the incident to get attention from the public. In this context, in terms of violations involving bodily harm and with simple causal chain, both IHD and MazlumDer use their capacities to respond these violations in Turkey. In addition to that, MazlumDer also engaged in advocacy efforts when such violations occurred in Muslim geography.

IHD	*MAZLUMDER*
Uludere Incident	Uludere Incident
Torture	Torture
Hrant Dink Case	Hrant Dink Case
Detention of trade unionists	Law on Armenian Genocide denial
Conscientious Objection	Pakistan/Nigeria/Syria
Language rights	Headscarf issue
Police busts on IHD and BDP offices	Hocalı Massacre

Figure 8: Main themes of press releases of IHD and MazlumDer, (January-February 2012)

Even though IHD and MazlumDer are highly concerned of issues involving bodily harms in Turkey, in terms of other issues such as violations involving legal equality, other vulnerable populations, the politicization starts to differentiate the agendas of two NGOs. The political

positions of IHD and MazlumDer clearly demonstrate itself. The closer examination of themes of press releases in January and February 2012 confirms the politicization argument. In this period, Uludere incident, torture and Hrant Dink case came to the forefront as common topics in the agendas of IHD and MazlumDer. Hrant Dink was an Armenian originated Turkish journalist assassinated by a Turkish ultranationalist in 2007. He becomes the symbol of freedom of thought in Turkey. In January 2012, even though there was widespread belief in the public that the criminal enterprise was responsible for the assassination, the court decided that there was no crime syndicate by punishing only suspected individuals. Most of civil society actors cried foul at the court's decision. Therefore, these common topics represent the most publicized issues in the public agenda. However, as we can see in the table, apart from these common topics, the two NGOs reacted to completely different issues in this period. While police raids on IHD and BDP branches under the KCK investigations constituted the primary focus in the IHD agenda, MazlumDer ignored them but gave significant place to international issues and headscarf issue. In this context, the discourse school offers crucial insights into the agenda configuration of human rights NGOs. Both IHD and MazlumDer select particular issues in the issue pool, and they contribute their circulation in the public. IHD framed KCK investigations as aggression to fundamental human rights, and they tried to make primary issue that is talked on in the public. On the other hand, MazlumDer promoted different issues in compatible with their political position. In this respect, my implication is that both IHD and MazlumDer give priority to advocacy efforts on the violations involving bodily harm with simple causality but their agenda become politicized in terms of issues other than violations against the right to live.

3.3.1.2 Universalism vs. Islamic Understanding of Human Rights

Moral rules, including human rights, function within an ethical community (Donnelly, 1984). The universal human rights, therefore, assumes single ethical community at the globe regardless of cultural diversities. Culture is such a significant phenomenon that specifies assumption of human nature on which human right base. Two theoretical schools have criticized the idea of universal human rights. Feminist school sees human rights as gender-specific norms that bases on the male as the norm in application and theory (Brems, 1997). For post-colonial scholars, human rights have been developed through Western experience of modernization; therefore, they are incompatible with non-Western contexts (Pollis and Schwab, 1980).   In   this respect, Turkey as non-Western context becomes crucial case for applicability of universality for human rights. The tension between the universality and particularity has impact on the behaviors of human rights NGOs not to select certain "sensitive" issues. The approaches to the issue of LGBTT rights offer crucial case study for human rights advocacy in Turkey. The difference between the advocacy agendas of local human rights NGOs and Turkey branch of international NGO Amnesty International is salient. The vulnerable condition of LGBTT population in Turkey

Figure 9: Press Releases of Amnesty International Turkey branch office, March 2011- March 2012

is documented by human rights reports. However, both IHD and MazlumDer did not allocate considerable space for LGBTT rights advocacy. IHD was the first civil society organization that allows the establishment of LGBTT rights commission in its structure but it was short-lived.[35] In the eyes of IHD officials, the existence of LGBTT civil society organizations in Istanbul and Ankara is crucial development, and in this context, IHD fulfill their function in this issue by canalizing aggrieved parties to these issue-specific NGOs.[36] Furthermore, in the Eastern and Southeastern regions, IHD and local LGBTT initiatives such as HEBUN in Diyarbakır is close to each other.[37] However, IHD complained that they could not find any convenient platform for closer cooperation with other LGBTT associations, and they put emphasis on the fact that they are open to joint press statements and campaigns for the LGBTT rights advocacy.[38] In some cases, IHD provides logistic needs such as press meeting place for LGBTT associations such as Istanbul LGBTT Association that focuses on the problems of transsexual and travestite individuals.[39] IHD's attitude toward LGBTT rights advocacy is generally positive but their excuse for their lack of interest is the dearth of their capacities to deal with these issues. In this context, as I mentioned before, fully committing the idea of universality of human rights, IHD have pursued international trends in human rights advocacy. They ignore the term of "culturally-sensitive issues". In response to the question regarding IHD's possible attitude towards the issue of male-circumcision as cultural practice when it is framed as human rights violation, IHD officials will consider on this issue if they receive application.[40]

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[35] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[36] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[37] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[38] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[39] A Practitioner in Istanbul LGBTT Association (personal communication, April 2, 2012)
[40] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

On the other hand, MazlumDer offers different side of story in the context of cultural-specific understanding of human rights. In their principles and missions, they aspire to build human rights ethic that is based on Islamic references. They repetitively express their skeptical attitude towards use of human rights in the West by indicating manipulation of the idea of human rights as excuse for Western involvement in Muslim geography. MazlumDer officials put emphasis on two factors that shapes their human rights perspective. *First*, people of Turkey and Muslim geography have different kind of world of perception in comparison to Western world. Lifestyles, perspectives towards outside, the historical development of the communities are very different.[41] While the European minds have changed by distancing the idea of the God because of their discouraging experiences with corrupted religious institutions, the Muslim population has not experienced similar developments.[42] These differences result in distinct abstraction regarding rights and freedom. In the West, freedom is understood as the escape from the God but for Muslims, freedom is submission to the God.[43] The submission to things other than the God is the deadly sin in Islam, and violations to human rights that is given by the God mean that the aggressor consider him/ her as the God.[44] Today, in most cases, the aggressor becomes states.[45] Because of these different worlds of perceptions, Western mentality of human rights is not always compatible with the Muslim understanding of human rights. Second factor is more context-specific. Turkey has different *sociology* developed through their modern history. Radical secular republican understanding in Turkey has repressed Islamic culture since the foundation of the Republic by banning their representation in public and private spheres and breaking off their

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[41] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[42] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[43] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[44] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[45] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

continuity from the past.[46] The victimization of conservative population is regarded in human rights perspective of MazlumDer, and they make efforts to ameliorate the vulnerabilities of this population.
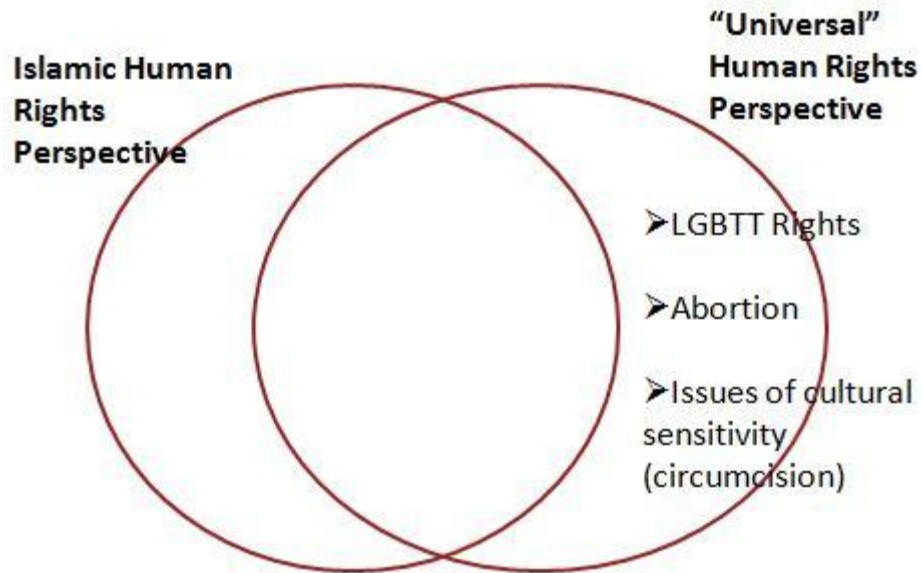
Figure 10: Tension between Perspectives of Islamic Human Rights and Universal Human Rights

In theory, MazlumDer justifies their different human rights perspective by focusing distinct world of perception of Muslim and Western communities. Their perspectives toward human rights inescapably differentiate. The difference in perspectives has clearly reflected not only in their agenda but also in views on some sensitive issues. In this context, two issues come to the forefront. MazlumDer sees abortion as basic violation against the right to live. They define abortion as crime against the emerging third person as a result of sexual intercourse of man and woman.[47] In similar vein, MazlumDer sees the sexual intercourse of same-sex individuals as

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[46] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[47] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

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crime against the nature and humanity.[48] However, in terms of the vulnerabilities of LGBTT population, MazlumDer expresses that they will do their utmost when an LGBTT individual comes to them because of the violations against the right to live and bodily integrity.[49] MazlumDer's attitude toward the issue suggests additional proof for politicization argument that assumed difference between the violations against right to live and other issues. When the legal equality demand of LGBTT populations comes to the agenda, MazlumDer's perspective is solidly negative. Expectedly, MazlumDer officials also stated, they did not approve activities of LGBTT civil society organizations because they act as agents to spread and normalize this "deviant" identity.[50] MazlumDer vocalized Islamic references and different world of perception of Muslim geography to justify their position in these issues. These issues are located as culturally-sensitive issues for MazlumDer. Therefore, they are outside of MazlumDer advocacy agenda because of their characteristics.

To conclude, in terms of issue-related characteristics, in parallel with the perspectives of Keck and Sikkink (2007), issues involving bodily harms have been given priority in the advocacy agenda of IHD and MazlumDer but issues dealing with legal equality of groups and other issues have found place in the advocacy agenda in a politicized fashion. Issues other than involving bodily harms have not become common issue both human rights NGOs make joint efforts. In the context of these issues, IHD and MazlumDer have appealed to different groups in compatible with their political positions. Another factor is related with the tension between the universality of human rights and culturally-specific codes. The case of MazlumDer comes to the forefront in the context of different understanding of Islamic human rights, and it reflects in the advocacy

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[48] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[49] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[50] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

agenda. Despite the positive international trends in favor of LGBTT rights advocacy, MazlumDer expressed their disapproval of promotion of these rights by focusing different world of perception of Muslim geography.

3.3.2 Actor-Related Characteristics

In this section, to identify actor-related factors that shape advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey, I examine NGOs' identities as institutional actors by focusing their mandate topics and organizational characteristics. In addition to that, I analyze roles of individual actors such as members, presidents and donors in shaping advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs. In terms of human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey, human rights NGOs have adopted mandate issues to canalize their capacities to promote these issues; therefore, cooperative efforts have been limited. The closed organizational structure generally constrains the advocacy agenda that have unwelcoming attitude toward new issues. Furthermore, the ideological motivations of members and presidents have considerable impact on the configuration of advocacy agenda, and in general, the donor preferences have little impact.

3.3.2.1 Problem of Silos

Human rights NGOs have diversity of issues in their advocacy agenda can be seen in the tag clouds; however, they clearly give priority to particular issues. Some issues are belonged to specific human rights NGOs. Therefore, there has occurred compartmentalization of issues among human rights NGOs, which is known as the problem of silos (Brown, Ebrahim and Batliwala, 2012). Each human rights NGO has operated in its silos. This situation has two drawbacks. Overemphasis on single issue makes NGO more close to new issues, and defining NGO identity through working on single issue makes cooperation among NGOs more unlikely

because of the lack of common issues. In human rights advocacy agenda of Turkish civil society, the problem of silos manifests itself with slightly conservative nature of advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs. Even though Human Rights Joint Platform was established in 2005 by IHD, MazlumDer, HCA and Amnesty International Turkey branch, MazlumDer left the platform and the effectiveness of the platform is limited in terms of NGO activities.

IHD predicates prison, torture and Kurdish issue as their mandate topics since its inception in 1986. They consider that their experiences with these issues made IHD more able NGO in these issues. [51] MazlumDer prioritizes headscarf issues, the problems conservative population face and issues in Muslim geography as their mandate topics. HCA canalizes their capacities to the refugee advocacy and support program. In this respect, for instance, when IHD receives applications regarding refugees, they forward to HCA.[52] There are different issue silos in the human rights advocacy in Turkey. One might claim that it does not constitute a problem because they should contribute to what they do best. However, there is limited number of large NGOs in Turkey and even in terms of human rights advocacy, there is few. If large human rights NGOs become more and more issue-specific and close their doors to new issues, numerous issues and populations of concern will not find place in the agenda. In this context, especially the attitudes of MazlumDer and IHD that have decentralized structure and large number of volunteers are significant. Furthermore, the politicization of issues comes to the forefront in the context of the problem of silos. The actors involved in the issues rather than the nature of issues gain significance for the reaction of NGOs. State's violation against freedom of expression is huge problem in Turkey; however, while MazlumDer put emphasis on its reflection of conservative intellectuals, IHD perceived this problem in the context of Kurdish issue (Aktan,

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[51] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[52] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

2007). Turkish law has not recognized the right of conscientious objection, and it becomes crucial problem for individuals desiring to use this right. However, MazlumDer made campaign for individuals who reject to do military service due to religious reasons; IHD prioritized conscientious objectors due to their refusal to militarist ideology.

The compartmentalization of issues among human rights NGOs, furthermore, constrains cooperative efforts. Even though some publicized issues such as Uludere incident, Hrant Dink case created common spirit for human rights advocacy, the politicized differences make joint efforts more difficult. With the exception of close cooperation of local branches of MazlumDer and IHD in the eastern regions, the local branches in western part of Turkey have differentiated in terms of their prior concerns. Their ideological motivations shape their selection of issues, configuration of their advocacy agenda and their mandate topics. In the context of human rights, Turkey has particular problems but human rights NGOs have operated within their silos, and their advocacy efforts has divided with their political positions (Aktan, 2007).

In addition to these drawbacks, the authorities in Turkey have labeled human rights NGOs as enemies of state to damage their credibility in the eyes of public, and the compartmentalization of issues among human rights NGOs have enabled success of smear campaign. IHD's emphasis on Kurdish issue made them potential civil collaborators of PKK in the eyes of public because of frequent police raids in their branches.[53] Some groups accused MazlumDer for being reactionary and pro-Shari'a due to their interest in headscarf issue and Koran courses. Their prioritization of some issues is claimed as indicators of their insincerity in their use of human rights. In this context, their focus on certain issues harms their public image and their credibility.

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[53] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

In conclusion, the problem of silos becomes significant in Turkey context where limited space for human rights advocacy is available. Adoption of mandate topics by human rights NGOs put barriers to entry of new issues in the advocacy agenda because they canalize their capacities to work on mandate issues. The allocation of issue among human rights NGOs limits cooperative efforts of NGOs due to lack of common issues. Furthermore, the politicization of human rights NGOs make joint efforts very difficult even in common issues. Human rights NGOs' engagement with particular issues is also manipulated to harm their credibility and image.
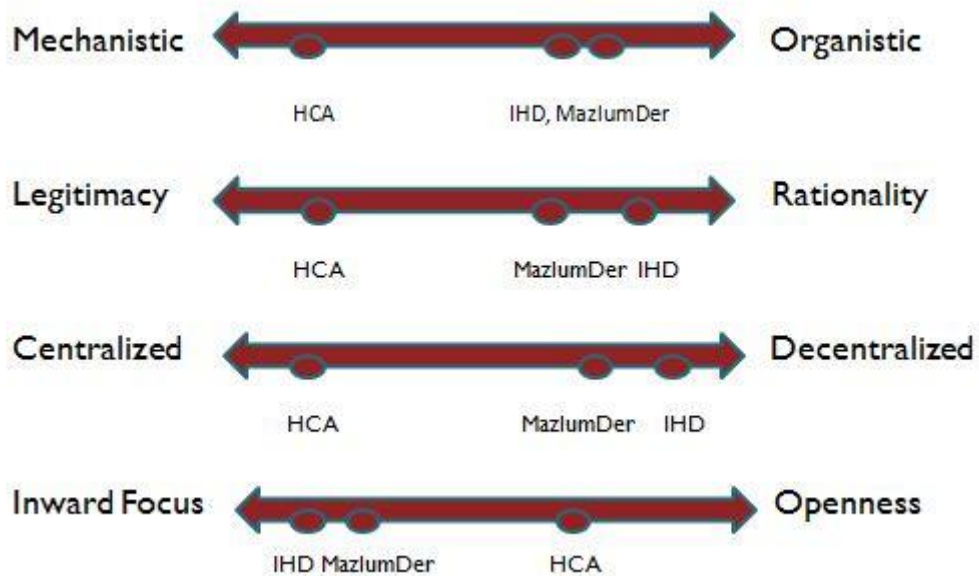
3.3.2.2 Organizational Culture

The Organizational theory provided four ideal types to locate organizational culture of an institution. These are mechanistic/organic, legitimacy/rationality, centralized/decentralized and inward focus/openness balance. In terms of issue selection of human rights NGOs, the position of NGO in the inward focus/openness spectrum might give crucial hints regarding its openness to new issues. Other organizational characteristics of human rights NGOs have crucial impact of formation of their identity. However, in the context of human rights NGOs in Turkey, these characteristics of organizational culture did not provide significant hints to predict their configuration of advocacy agenda.

The mechanistic/organic balance refers the organizational characteristics concerning bureaucratic ability to organize tasks and interaction with the environment (Calnan, 2008). Both IHD and MazlumDer have few professionals in their branches and their advocacy activities are based on mostly efforts of volunteers.[54] Therefore, their bureaucratic structures are not rigid. Since they receive applications from individuals facing with violations, their ability to assimilate information from their environment is strong. Their lack of bureaucratic ability leads problems

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[54] IHD, A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)s

regarding organization of activities. Both human rights NGOs bemoaned the lack of participation of volunteers in the activities (Aktan, 2007). IHD and MazlumDer are receptive towards their environments. However, this openness did not have an impact upon the nature of their advocacy agenda. The practitioners said that they receive applications regarding credit card debts or housing problems but these issues did not find a place in politicized advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs.[55] On the other hand, HCA has bureaucratic structure with limited interaction with their environment. Therefore, they have more professionals in its structure. They define their field of activities in their statute. Even though the professionalization is high in HCA, independent efforts of activists are welcome. However, the project-based understanding limits the issue pool.

Mechanistic ◄──────► Organistic
        HCA   IHD, MazlumDer

Legitimacy ◄──────► Rationality
        HCA   MazlumDer IHD

Centralized ◄──────► Decentralized
        HCA   MazlumDer   IHD

Inward Focus ◄──────► Openness
   IHD MazlumDer   HCA

Figure 11: Positions of Human Rights NGOs in Organizational Model

The legitimacy/rationality balance pays attention to the interactions of institutions with other parties in their environment. In the context of civil society, NGOs may prioritize legitimacy

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[55] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

concerns in order to cooperate with government and other actors. Human rights NGOs may put emphasis on these concerns to have impact on government decisions by presenting themselves as credible organization. In Turkey context, IHD and MazlumDer were emerged as reactions of nationalist and secular state ideology; therefore, Turkish state, which has been seemed as primary violator of human rights in Turkey, have not been an actor to negotiate for human rights promotion. There are some contextual rapprochements between two parties due to European integration process in some cases but they have not been institutionalized (Aktan, 2007). This irreconcilable atmosphere between Turkish state and human rights NGOs trivialized legitimacy concerns for human rights NGOs. In other words, they do not seek legitimacy from Turkish state. Therefore, they have not considered priorities of Turkish state regarding human rights. For instance, IHD and MazlumDer have interested in Kurdish issue that has been the most sensitive issue of Turkish authorities. Especially IHD conducted field researches to identify violations of humanitarian law in the war between Turkish Armed Forces and PKK to document them in human rights reports. These issues have problematic aspects in the eyes of Turkish authorities. On the other hand, these characteristics of human rights NGOs reinforce their politicized positions in these issues. Their strong identities deemphasize the importance of their legitimacy claims in the eyes of public. Their rational objectives become more important in their advocacy efforts. In this context, HCA represents different kind of NGO in term of legitimacy/rationality balance. Since its inception, they focus on their expert-based academic orientation.[56] Their mission is to provide credible documents on human rights issues and to guide civil society actors in terms of advocacy. Therefore, their attitude towards Turkish state is softer in comparison to IHD and MazlumDer. They are more open to possible cooperative efforts for human rights

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[56] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

(Aktan 2007). Furthermore, the issues in their advocacy agenda assist the establishment of "healthy" relations with state institutions.

IHD and MazlumDer have decentralized organizational structures with their extensive branches in different regions in Turkey. Numerous branches of NGOs enable information flow from local to national. There are relatively independent branches. The high number of local branches in the eastern regions in Turkey provides the accumulation of information concerning Kurdish issue. On the other hand, HCA has single branch in Istanbul. There are not significant differences in their advocacy agenda because of their organization structure regarding centralized/decentralized balance.

The inward focus/openness balance refers to the existence of strong identity for NGOs. This balance has the significant impact on the configuration of advocacy agenda. In fact, this balance is another correlation of the degree of politicization for human rights NGOs. Expectedly, MazlumDer and IHD have very strong political identity; therefore, they tend to be more inwardly oriented in case of new issues and sources. Their members and volunteers have generally static political motivations. In this context, IHD always stands distant to headscarf issue and MazlumDer does not fully adopt IHD-like perspective toward Kurdish issue. On the other hand, because of their academic orientation, HCA tends to operate without strong commitments to their identity. HCA is more open to new issues, information and sources. Their openness is limited by their adoption of mandate topics.

3.3.2.3 *Influence of Individual Actors*

In structures of IHD, MazlumDer and HCA, members and volunteers have power in decision-making mechanism.[57] All of human rights NGOs decide their activities after their activists discussed in the meetings. In general meetings, general decisions are taken and executive posts are elected.[58] Even though the meetings have shaped advocacy efforts for human rights NGOs, the procedures for publication of press releases in the websites have included few activists. The board of directors has utmost power in shaping the reactions of NGOs toward to particular issues. As I mentioned before, IHD and MazlumDer have also acted as political actors due to their politicized volunteer basis. The ideological motivations and priorities of their members have shaped their advocacy agenda in a large scale. Therefore, the members of IHD and MazlumDer have drawn the boundaries of advocacy agenda of two NGOs. However, it is noteworthy to state this impact has been processed through the decisions of board of directors. Especially the priorities of presidents have resulted in minor changes in their advocacy agenda of NGOs.

In contrast to HCA that has presided by Murat Belge since its foundation, IHD and MazlumDer have experienced changes in their presidents. Even though the presidents do not have authority over the daily operations of NGOs, their ideological perspectives enable entry of some issues in the advocacy agenda. Eren Keskin who was the former president of IHD Istanbul branch made efforts for the promotion of woman rights in the IHD agenda.[59] Ayhan Bilgen who was the former president of MazlumDer canalized MazlumDer capacities to the human rights violations concerning Kurdish issue. In MazlumDer case, the difference is so sharp that Bilgen

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[57] IHD, MazlumDer and A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)s
[58] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[59] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

has positive attitudes towards LGBTT rights advocacy. Even though Bilgen's distinct perspectives on LGBTT rights advocacy had no impact on the advocacy agenda of MazlumDer, the current administration of MazlumDer that completely disapproved LGBTT identity has very conservative tones in comparison to Bilgen's presidency. On the other hand, HCA has stable standing vis-à-vis their configuration of their agenda. Their structure has not allowed the changes according to individuals. The incomplete professionalization and bureaucratization of IHD and MazlumDer put forward individual actors in shaping advocacy agenda of NGOs.

3.3.2.4 Deep Dilemma: Donor's Impact

The impact of donor agencies on the activities of NGOs is highly discussed topics in the literature (Van der Heijden, 1987; Lewis and Sobhan, 1999; Loman, Pop and Ruben, 2011). In Carpenter's research, donor agencies are claimed as one of the factors that is effective in shaping advocacy agenda of networks (2007). In terms of human rights advocacy, the funding of donor agencies is the most sensitive issue in civil society sphere. Human rights NGOs have primary function to document human rights violations; therefore, their impartial and credible attitudes are crucial. States are primary violators of human rights, and human rights NGOs should stand adamant against diffusive power of states in their contexts. In this context, the funding issue problematized because the impartiality of human rights NGOs become questionable when donor agencies involve in the process of advocacy. Especially in Turkey context, some groups accuse human rights NGOs for being enemy of state, and when donor agencies assist these NGOs, they point to these connections to justify their claims. Apart from this inconvenient domestic atmosphere, the motivations of donor agencies have also paramount importance. In Turkey, donor activism has gained impetus with the European integration process (Ketola, 2011). Donor agencies tend to fund projects regarding democratization attempts to harmonize EU system.

However, IHD and MazlumDer rejected to get funds in principle. HCA adopted project-based approach to get funds from donors. In this context, the general impact of donors' preferences regarding issue is limited in advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey.

Putting emphasis on the necessity of human rights NGOs to be impartial, MazlumDer totally rejected to get funding.[60] For MazlumDer officials, there are two basic reasons to explain MazlumDer's disapproval. *First,* the identity and connections of donors have always problematized the funding taken by human rights NGOs. Human rights is utilized by western countries to interfere domestic affairs of other countries. Human rights NGOs should be cautious regarding their function that might be manipulated by donors.[61] In this context, it is noteworthy to state MazlumDer has serious concerns regarding funding. Because of disagreements on funding, MazlumDer left Human Rights Joint Platform.[62] *Second*, according to MazlumDer officials, human rights advocacy is not a profession and should not be a profession that will estrange the advocacy efforts from their ethical basis.[63] Financial concerns should not be involved in volunteer-basis efforts.[64] Membership fees, donations of the members and supporters and compensation cases constitute the income of MazlumDer to maintain advocacy efforts.

While IHD, in principle, has not got funding from donor agencies but their attitudes are not so rigid in comparison to MazlumDer. The head office of IHD occasionally got funding for their activities. However, Istanbul branch has not approved getting funding, and they criticized head office for getting funding. There is a debate on funding among local branches. According to a practitioner in Istanbul branch, when NGO and donor agency provide considerable degree of

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[60] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[61] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[62] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[63] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[64] A Practitioner in MazlumDer (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

transparency in their activities that are funded, the funding do not damage impartiality and credibility of human rights NGOs.[65] The limited income opportunities of human rights NGOs necessitate the professionalization in their operation, and the donors agencies gain significance in these professionalization efforts.[66] However, the politicized character of human rights NGOs in Turkey has impact in shaping perspective of IHD towards donors. The majority of members in decision-making mechanism have leftist tendencies, and for them, the professionalization of NGOs and getting funds from donor agencies are seen as neo-liberal developments that downplay activism aspect of human rights advocacy.[67] Therefore, since IHD and MazlumDer have human rights advocacy mentalities in parallel with the protest school understanding on human rights, their concerns on the activism aspect of advocacy affect these NGOs not to engage funding relations with other parties.

On the other hand, HCA has close relationships with the donor agencies. They make significant efforts to prepare projects and seek suitable donor agencies to fund these projects.[68] For HCA officials, there is an interactive relation between NGOs and donor agencies but this interaction does not have significant impact on the configuration of advocacy agenda.[69] Donor agencies take cognizance of issues in the advocacy agendas of NGOs; therefore, their grant programs are prepared in parallel with NGOs' preferences.[70] HCA has predetermined field of activities, and they apply for funding programs that are in compatible with their fields; therefore, the impact of donor agencies on the advocacy agenda is minimized.[71]

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[65] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[66] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[67] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)
[68] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[69] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[70] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)
[71] A Practitioner in HCA (personal communication, March 12, 2012)

3.3.3 Context-Related Implications

In this section, I explain the reasons why some issues are highly regarded in general picture of advocacy agenda in Turkey. The hegemony of Kurdish issue-related human rights violations and the problems of pious people in advocacy agenda can be seen as consequences of historical evolution of Turkish politics (Özbudun, 2000). Today, the driving force of human rights advocacy is politicized volunteer basis of IHD and MazlumDer, and this fact has manifested itself in the configuration of advocacy agenda. Furthermore, the EU integration process during the 2000s has considerable impact on advocacy efforts but it is limited to flourish encompassing understanding of human rights advocacy in civil society sphere in Turkey.

3.3.3.1 Burden of History: Exclusion of Kurdish Opposition and Political Islam

In Turkish political history, two political groups make enormous pressure for the pluralization of Turkish politics. Kurdish opposition and political Islam, especially after the 1990s, utilized relatively free political atmosphere provided by international factors and started to voice their discontents with the existing state ideology. The emergence of two groups in the political arena is directly related with the nature of Turkish state ideology formulated by single party regime of Republican People's Party and historically guarded by Turkish military. The Turkish state ideology is based on Kemalism that aims to create homogenized and centralized nation-state with secular society (Yavuz and Özcan, 2006). These nationalist and radical secular ideals became the missions of Turkish governments, and in several cases, these missions were reminded by Turkish military. The oppressive nature of state ideology manifested itself not only in political sphere but also in civil society field (İçduygu, 2011). However, the repressive practices of Turkish state on Kurdish population and religious groups brought the strong reactions

of two groups. Because of vulnerabilities of two groups, these reactions have deeply shaped human rights advocacy efforts in Turkey.
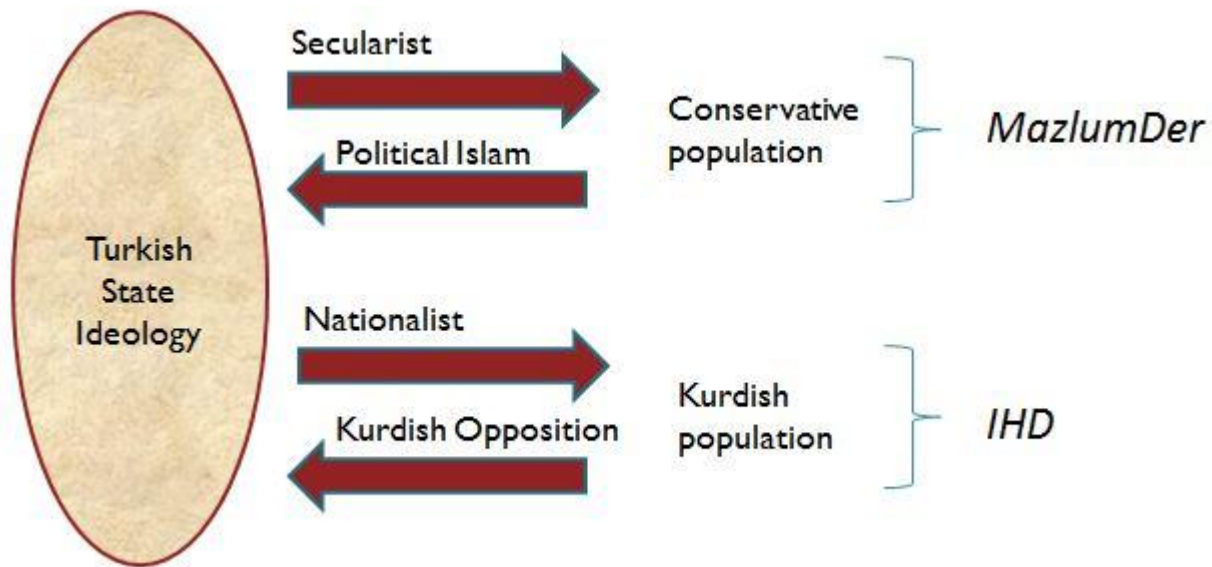
Figure 12: Contextual Spaces for IHD and MazlumDer

During the early Republican period, the nationalist state ideology had crude implications in government discourse and practices. The statements of government officials including Mustafa Kemal, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, the attempts to develop race-based projects such as Sun Language Theory and Turkish History Thesis and the infamous Settlement Law that aimed to assimilate Kurds into Turkish population were conscious efforts to construct homogenized Turkish nation by eliminating multinational structure of Turkey (Beşikçi, 1991; Kirişçi, 1997; İçduygu and Soner, 2006). During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Turkish state did not change its position regarding their nationalist ideals, and they did not recognize existence of different Kurdish nation in Turkey's lands. Even though political activism of Kurds was operated within the broad umbrella of leftist opposition during the 1960s and the 1970s, the disagreements among leftist opposition result in schism in the movement, and PKK was established in 1978 to create a

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Marxist-Leninist Kurdish state (Cornell, 2001). In September 1980, Turkish military seized the control of the country, and they violated fundamental human rights of politically activists in left and right political spectrum (İçduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999). However, Kurdish political activists and Kurdish population living in the eastern regions were subjected to intense pressure. Because of the tragic conditions of the mid-1980s, Kurdish issue become aggravated, and the abortive strategies of government officials and numerous human rights violations as a result of military operations resulted in strengthening of PKK in the eyes of Kurdish population living in the regions (Payaslıoğlu and İçduygu, 1999; Kirişçi, 2003). In this respect, Kurdish issue becomes democracy and human rights problem of Turkey rather than the problem of specific ethnic group. In 1986, IHD was founded in response to these developments. Kurdish population and Kurdish politics have became target of Turkish state in terms of physical and political pressure due to their resistance to the state ideology; therefore, it is not surprising that they assumed the role of driving force in human rights advocacy.

On the other hand, the secular characteristics of Turkish state led to the rise of another political group, political Islam. During the early Republican period, state elites started to implement policy of laicism that aimed to eliminate religion from public sphere and institutions (Ayata, 1993; İçduygu, Çolak and Soyarık, 1999). However, it created crucial societal cleavage between ruling Westernized elite and religious masses in Turkish society, and this division has reflected with tensions in Turkish politics (Ayata, 1993; Heper and Güney, 2000). National Order and National Salvation in 1970s and Welfare and Virtue in the 1990s had represented political Islam traditions in Turkish politics, and all of them were closed by the courts (Narlı, 1999). Especially in the post-1980 period, the relationship between political Islam and Turkish state elites was tense. Headscarf issues, discrimination against religious people in public sphere come

to the forefront as prominent issues. In this context, MazlumDer filled the vacuum by focusing on headscarf issue in the beginning of 1990s. At these times when leftists dominated human rights advocacy and were not receptive to headscarf issue, MazlumDer ensured that conservative sensitivities entered the human rights agenda (Stork, 2011). Put it another way, MazlumDer becomes representative of conservative strain of anti-state ideology camps in the civil society sphere.

With their significant political and ideological basis, IHD and MazlumDer have filled contextual spaces created by political implications of nationalist and secular state policies. Their politicized volunteer bases have mostly shaped their advocacy agenda in compatible with the raison d'être of NGOs.

3.3.3.2 Europeanization Effect

In December 2004, EU started accession talks with Turkey after Turkish governments had completed set of tasks such as abolishment of death penalty, some progressive steps regarding recognition of minorities (Grabbe, 2004). The EU integration process bears on civil society in Turkey in two ways: civil society as an object of structural change and active participant of integration process (İçduygu, 2011). Committed with liberal notion of civil society that assumes civil society as fundamental requirement of healthy democracy, EU initiated civil society dialogue with Turkey, and allocated 8-10 % of pre-accession financial assistance to civil society-related activities (Ketola, 2011). Apart from this direct EU assistance on civil society development in Turkey, the idea of Europeanization refers development of participant democracy and civil initiation that imply structural changes in state-society relations give significant role to civil society (Öniş 2003; Diez, Agnantopoulos and Kaliber, 2005; İçduygu, 2008). In this context,

EU integration process as international dynamic has considerable impact on human rights advocacy agenda in two ways. *First*, through financial assistance programs, EU has initiated advocacy efforts in the fields in which Turkey has to fulfill EU conditionalities. *Second*, through discursive impact of Europeanization, new issues and populations of concern have drawn attention and they have been included in advocacy agendas.

In terms of financial assistance, EU authorities have prioritized some issues according to problematic aspects of Turkey's political system. These general issues contained "development of democratic practices, the rule of law, human rights, equality for women and men and the protection of minorities" (Kubicek, 2005: 368). A myriad of NGOs including IHD and HCA made cooperation with EU partners in these issues, and EU integration process provide incentives for human rights NGOs to broaden their scope of activities (Kubicek, 2005). EU process has also provided significant amount of funding opportunities for issue-specific NGOs. For instance, LGBTT rights advocacy has gained impetus since EU civil society dialogue began, and EU integration process has provided not only legal environment for LGBTT civil society to vocalize their problems but also funding opportunities to realize projects for the development of LGBTT rights advocacy in Turkey.[72] The development of issue-specific NGOs provides significant place for their issues in general advocacy agenda in Turkey and human rights NGOs has also been affected with this developments.

Furthermore, Europeanization constitutes discursive impact on the perspectives of civil society actors, and through Europeanization impact, human rights NGOs become more receptive to new issues which become prominent with EU-related effects. It should be noted that domestic political atmosphere has still determined human rights advocacy agenda in a large scale. In this

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[72] A Practitioner in Istanbul LGBTT Association (personal communication, April 12, 2012)

respect, IHD and MazlumDer have spearheaded to shape general agenda. However, through progress reports published annually and funding programs, EU has considerable impact on the highlight of other human rights issues such as refugees, LGBTT population, Roma population. Since MazlumDer and partially IHD did not get involved in funding relations, this impact becomes limited but it is indirect. The violations stated in progress reports of EU have attracted attention from the public as well as human rights NGOs. Since 2004, the EU progress reports have pointed to the vulnerable conditions of Roma population living in Turkey, and HCA started capacity-building program for Roma NGOs in 2006.[73] In similar vein, the progress reports have also called attention to the conditions of asylum-seekers in Turkey, and several NGOs including HCA intensified their advocacy efforts in this issue. The asylum-seeker issue was virtually absent in advocacy agenda at the beginning of the 2000s; however, today it becomes an issue that every human rights NGO should deal with.[74]

To conclude, civil society in Turkey has been significantly affected by the EU integration process both as an object of integration projects and as active participant of the process. In this context, considering the significance of EU as normative power that commits to promote democracy and human rights, it is not surprising the impact of EU human rights agenda for Turkey on agendas of human rights NGOs. The financial assistance provided under the framework of civil society dialogue have made an impact on the configuration of advocacy agenda by pointing significant issues immediately to be dealt with for the membership perspective for Turkey. Moreover, the Europeanization discursive impact on Turkey's civil society makes domestic human rights NGOs more open to new issues.

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[73] See 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 Progress Reports of EU.
[74] A Practitioner in IHD (personal communication, February 23, 2012)

	IHD	MazlumDer	HCA
Issue Attributes	➢ Priority of politicized issues	➢ Priority of politicized issues ➢ Islamic Human Rights Understanding (exclusion of LGBTT rights and abortion)	➢ Priority of democracy promotion
Actor Attributes	➢ Problem of Silos (Mandate topics are prison, torture and Kurdish issue) ➢ Presidents and members are influential ➢ Strong identity → inward-oriented ➢ Concerns of independence in terms of donor agencies	➢ Problem of Silos (Mandate topic is Headscarf issue) ➢ Presidents and members are influential ➢ Strong identity → inward-oriented ➢ Concerns of independence in terms of donor agencies	➢ Problem of Silos (Mandate topic is refugees) ➢ More professionalized structure → open to new issues ➢ Donor agencies have minimum impact
Broader Context	➢ Contextual production of Kurdish opposition	➢ Contextual production of conservative opposition	➢ Beneficiary of European Union impact

Figure 13: General Picture of Findings

4 CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Since human rights language become more and more powerful in political setting, human rights advocacy has gained prominence. The paradoxical position of states vis-à-vis their role in human rights protection and violations make civil society a perfect candidate to enforce human rights in state and society levels. In civil society sphere, human rights NGOs specifically deal with human rights violations by utilizing several political channels to make pressure on aggressor parties. Considering different conceptualizations of human rights depending on time and context, human rights NGOs have selected particular issues not others to advocate and campaign. As a result, advocacy agendas of human rights NGOs have been differentiated and several factors related to human rights issues, the actors got involved in this process and broader context have played role in shaping advocacy agendas of NGOs. This thesis attempted to understand roles these factors have played in the configuration of advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs in Turkey.

The thesis shed light on which factors and dynamics influenced the advocacy agendas of human rights NGOs in Turkey through examining the issue-related, actor-related and context-related factors. Drawing on primary documents and key informant interviews, as well as secondary sources and interviews, this research have reached significant findings in terms of characteristics of human rights NGOs while shaping their advocacy agenda. The main findings of the research were as follows:

First, the politicization of issues and populations in the advocacy agendas is salient fact and it has enormous impact on NGOs' selection of particular issues. Especially the agendas of IHD and MazlumDer offer typical examples of politicized attitudes towards selection of issues. In the

context of politicization, in Turkish case, we witnessed that issues human right NGOs had similar reactions are characterized as violations against right to live; however, in case of issues dealing with legal equality of some groups or populations, the reactions of NGOs indicates highly politicized characteristics. To concretize, while IHD and MazlumDer responded similarly to human rights violations that includes violations against right to live, in case of headscarf issue or specific group rights of Kurdish population, the degree of reactions were differentiated. Therefore, while selecting issues to advocate and campaign, human rights NGOs prioritize certain issues due to their politicized character. Furthermore, related to issue-related characteristics, the tension between universalism claim of human rights and cultural relativism has crucial impact on issue preference of NGOs. In Turkish case, MazlumDer, which prefers Islamic references in human rights advocacy, constitutes notable example. As a result of this tension, culturally sensitive issues such as LGBTT rights, abortion and circumcision are not included in the advocacy agenda of MazlumDer.

Second, in terms of actor-related characteristics, institutional identities of human rights NGOs, their members and executives and donors can be counted as effective factors in shaping advocacy agenda in Turkish context. We witness the problem of silos in human rights advocacy field in Turkey. Each human rights NGO becomes more and more interested in its specific issues; therefore, new issues do not find space in advocacy agenda. On the other hand, even though the politicized nature of human advocacy field have significant effect on organizational culture of human rights NGOs, organizational characteristics of human rights NGOs have less impact on structure of advocacy agenda. While the strong identities of IHD and MazlumDer dominate advocacy agenda and make them more inward-oriented, HCA is more open to new issues due to their academy-oriented nature. In parallel with politicization argument, the politicized member

and volunteer base of IHD and MazlumDer limits freedom while NGOs select issues. Additionally, in some cases, presidents as individual actors have considerable power to shape advocacy agenda. While IHD and MazlumDer stand distant to engaging funding relations due to concerns on independency and transparency, HCA pursues project-based culture in their working fields. However, the influence of donors on advocacy agenda is relatively limited because of mutual interaction between NGOs and donors and broad array of issues donors prefer to fund.

Third, the historical evolution of Turkish politics and European Union integration process have utmost importance in explaining current state of advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs. Nationalist and secular characteristics of Turkish state ideology victimized two different populations in Turkey, conservative and Kurdish populations. Therefore, two groups primarily appealed to power of human rights to resist Turkish state pressure and became pioneers in human rights advocacy field. As a consequence, the issues related to these two populations dominate human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey. Another contextual effect is the general impact of European Union integration process on Turkish civil society sphere. I classified EU impact as financial and discursive impact. Through financial assistance, EU strengthened numerous civil society actors in Turkey including issue-specific human rights NGOs. The increasing power of these organizations constitutes pressure on large human rights NGOs to transform their advocacy agenda. The development of LGBTT civil society organizations and increasing influence of LGBTT issue in human rights advocacy field after the 2000s become significant instance to characterize this impact. As discursive impact of Europeanization, HCA provide numerous new issues in general advocacy agenda in Turkey in compatible with their mission to support integration process.

Based on findings, this thesis provided detailed analysis on human rights advocacy agenda in Turkey. In general, we can classify motivating and inhibiting factors in shaping human rights advocacy agenda. First of all, since historical-political context produced particular victimized groups, which were driving force of human rights advocacy in Turkey, human rights NGOs specifically IHD and MazlumDer have highly politicized identities; therefore, their priorities were influenced by their ideological positions. The ideologically motivated issue selection of NGOs inhibits encompassing human rights perspective in advocacy agenda. Because of their politicized member and volunteer base, transformative character is constrained. Member base demands particular politicized issues which executives are ready to adopt. The circle seems to not to be broken. As a result, extensive politicized member base and contextual role human rights NGOs cast themselves have acted as inhibiting factors for more encompassing human rights perspective. In Turkish context, HCA example indicated that European Union impact and donor agencies are positive factors that extend human rights perspective.

This thesis demonstrates introductory and partly exploratory characteristics in examining advocacy agenda of human rights NGOs. Based on these findings and methodological experiences in this research, it is possible to draw some important lessons that in turn can form a preliminary basis for future research on human rights advocacy. As a result of my personal experiences in this research, there are some limitations in terms of sampling and methodology to provide more complete picture of human rights advocacy in Turkey. *First*, in this research, IHD, MazlumDer and HCA are selected as representative samples of domestic human rights NGOs due to their reputation in public image and their long-established associations in human rights advocacy in Turkey. However, the politicized nature of IHD and MazlumDer and the problem of silos make these NGOs more issue-specific rather than NGOs that are interested in diversity of

issues. For further research, to map human rights advocacy completely, the sampling should be broadened by including all significant NGOs including women rights organizations, LGBTT organizations, NGOs advocating disabled people and other advocacy-based organizations. This broad sampling is crucial to locate the state of Turkey's civil society in terms of their openness to new issues in human rights advocacy. In addition to that, it is noteworthy to state the lack of capacities in civil society organizations in Turkey such as the absence of websites and the lack of digitization of reports pose significant challenges in this step of the future research.

Second, even though two-fold methodology aims to provide full picture for to understand dynamics that shaped human rights advocacy agenda, in the research process, the methodology remain insufficient to give insights into the process of issue selection in human rights NGOs. To observe the issue selection procedure in human rights NGOs, the participation to meetings of board of directors and observation of daily working of NGOs might give crucial hints to understand this process. With this participant observation, the researcher would find out organizational characteristics of NGOs in terms of their impact on issue selection. Furthermore, the preliminary focus group discussions would give significant findings for NGO's preferences of issues and responsible dynamics for their preferences. These findings would be very useful in the preparation of interview questions.

Third, the behaviors of human rights NGOs are result of complex interactions that contain external factors as well as institutional characteristics of NGOs. Therefore, the preferences of other parties such as donor agencies, relevant governmental and intergovernmental institutions should be taken into account. In the research scheme, the interviews with key institutions in the environment of human rights NGOs should be included to provide full picture of human rights advocacy field in Turkish civil society.

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6 *APPENDIX A*

PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION (IHD)[75]

1. IHD is a non-governmental and voluntary organization.
2. IHD is not a body of any States, Governments and political parties.
3. IHD upholds the principle that the human rights are universal in nature and indivisible.
4. IHD struggles against any kinds of discrimination based on language, religion, color, gender, political thought and etc...
5. IHD is against the death penalty at regardless of geographical location and circumstances.
6. IHD is against torture regardless of the individual, the geographical location and circumstance.
7. IHD upholds right to a fair trial and right of defense for everyone, in everywhere and under any conditions.
8. IHD is against war and militarism in everywhere and in all time but defenses right to peace.
9. IHD defends unconditionally and without any restriction the right to freedom of expression.
10. IHD considers freedom of thought and belief as an untouchable right and defends unconditionally and limitless.
11. IHD defends right to freedom of association.
12. IHD stands up for the oppressed individual, people, nation, sex and class.
13. IHD upholds right of nations to self determination.
14. IHD defends humanitarian law.

Human Rights Association accepts and defends personal, political, economic, social and cultural rights and solidarity rights as a whole.

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[75] Source: http://www.ihd.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=976&Itemid=127

7 APPENDIX B

PRINCIPLES AND MISSIONS OF MAZLUMDER[76]

1) Mazlum-Der is not the voice of any particular ideology. It struggles for the expression and organization of all kinds of ideas.

2) Mazlum-Der supports every activity that is done for human rights and freedom of individuals regardless of the characteristics of the doers.

3) Mazlum-Der opposes every activity that violates human rights regardless of the characteristics of the doers.

4) Mazlum-Der protects its human rights understanding that exceeds the conjecture and conditions, and be determined to maintain its position.

5) Mazlum-Der establishes its all national and international dialogues in order to develop human rights and freedom; and to put an end to the violations.

6) Mazlum-Der opposes the usage of human rights issue as a mean of political gain by states.

7) Mazlum-Der perceives individual rights and freedoms above the states and international pacts.

8) Mazlum-Der disapproves the consideration of usage of universal human rights related with political gains, and adds correction of this distortion to its activities.[84]

Missions:

1) To gain responsibility and morality to the existing human rights understanding.

2) To work for put an end to all kinds of oppression and injustice in the world; to ascertain, expose and display oppression to the public.

3) To help and guide the oppressed.

4) To warn and guide the authority against violations, and to make oral, written and actual struggle.

5) To oppose all kind of unjust treatment without considering the characteristics of the doer and subject by being impartial, and to have impartial struggle of human rights.

6) To make contributions for the establishment of a human rights understanding that has a moral basis and can decrease the differences between existing human rights theories and their applications, and to struggle for this understanding.

7) To reach a certain level of knowledge and consciousness on the issue of human rights in Turkey and in the world.

8) To manufacture public opinion on the importance and indispensability of human rights and consequently to impede human rights violations.

9) To work a just world where there is deference to human rights.

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[76] Source: http://www.mazlumder.org/main/pages/hakkimizda-ilkelerimiz/8

8 *APPENDIX C*

Aims and Brief History of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly[77]

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly [hCa] is a non-governmental organization, working on the notions of fundamental rights and freedoms, peace, democracy and pluralism.
hCa, works independently from political parties, government and states, aims to;

* introduce the basic rights and freedoms accepted in international agreements and outlined by universal standards into daily life
* to promote peaceful processes for the resolution of problems through mutual understanding dialogue and peace
* to improve pluralist democratic bodies and civil society initiatives
* to ensure the supremacy of law and to defend an economic system that promotes the well-being of human life and the environment.

hCa acts with the basic premise that citizens should have a say on the actions and decisions that are directly affecting their life. It takes special care to create a space where differing sides can discuss their problems and produce solutions in the resolution of social problems. It tries to constitute a chain of contact, dialogue and mutual understanding, leading to cooperation and peaceful co-existence.

The Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, an international conference which is the basis of HCA Turkey's work, is an inter-communal cooperation and communication network working within the framework of peace, human rights, an economy that is promoting the environment, the supremacy of law and international democracy.

The Helsinki Final Act, which has founded the basis for the improvement of the necessary conditions of a peaceful environment in Europe, proclaimed human rights to be a common value that every community had to respect throughout the world. The word "Helsinki" in our title refers to the exceptional importance of this agreement. hCa aims to extend the Helsinki process, which continues along with OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the Charter of Paris, as well as at the level of states and governments. It believes that the goals, principles and values defined by the Act and other similar international instruments can only be realized from the grass-root level, and that inter-communal dialogue must be enriched.

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[77] Source: http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=175