

Research Article

Evaluating The Perspectives of Civil Society Leaders on Rights Advocacy for Syrian Refugees¹

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Abstract

After the 2011 Syrian crisis, Turkey became the country hosting the largest number of refugees worldwide. Syrians with temporary protection status, who are disadvantaged in Turkey due to their legal status, are supported in matters such as improving their legal status and preventing rights violations by human rights advocacy Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The main aim of this study is to conduct a sociological analysis of the relationships between human rights advocacy NGOs and the government, society and other NGOs, focusing on Syrian refugees. In this qualitative research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with NGO authorities in Ankara. The empirical data collected from the field were analyzed on the basis of "Interpretative Sociology.

According to the findings, NGOs do not cooperate strongly with the state except when submitting reports to the state. This situation is understood from the common points that all three NGOs expect from the state. Common expectations: taking opinions from NGOs on policy development by the state and its bodies, providing support to NGOs for public interest activities and difficulties for NGOs to carry out their activities (especially the demonstration, show it is the elimination of situations such as restricting the right to freedom of marching). In terms of the relations and cooperation with other NGOs, it is clear that the NGO whose cooperative network is strongest is the Human Rights Association (*İnsan Hakları Derneği*, İHD). İHD is in cooperation with many NGOs as a strong association of universal networks such as the European Human Rights Network and the International Federation of Human Rights regarding the refugee crisis. It is concluded that the productivity and effectiveness of İHD, whose cooperation network is developed among the three NGOs, are more extensive during the refugee crisis (Daft, 2015).

On public relations, one of the important findings is that the Association of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People (*İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar İçin Dayanışma Derneği*, MAZLUM-DER) opinions and suggestions are included in the media and newspapers that broadcast on the official party line, while İHD and Human Rights Agenda Association (*İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği*, İHGD)'s opinions and suggestions are not included in the mainstream media. İHD can offer its suggestions and opinions in the rights-oriented newspapers. İHGD

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also provides suggestions and opinions in small-scale rights-oriented newspapers currently closed by the government. Although İHD cannot be included in the mainstream media, it is clear that among these three human rights advocate NGOs, the NGO using social media most actively to convey their views to society is İHD. This finding can be explained by the theory of Resource Dependence in inter-organizational relations (Daft, 2015). Although the media, currently broadcasting in Turkey on the official party line, is a very strong medium in terms of conveying opinions and suggestions, İHD, in order to achieve its objectives independently, 'source assurance provides the continuity of the guarantee to communicate its views to the society as an indicator of its effectiveness as an NGO that provides', through its own social media and official website.

In addition, in terms of the working methods of NGOs, the most important situation is, from the answers given by İHD, close to the Management Science approach in organizational decision-making, in a more systematic way, making decisions, taking into account the factors, MAZLUM-DER, on the other side, is seen from an organizational point of view to make instant decisions in some cases, to have spontaneous activities or meetings.

For this reason, it is possible to say that MAZLUM-DER exhibits the Waste Bin model approach in some cases (Daft, 2015). Although organizations like İHD, İHGD, and MAZLUM-DER attempted to establish a cooperative network with the state to improve their effectiveness in solving refugee crises, the state did not respond favourably to these efforts. As a result, neither the NGOs nor the state could form an organizationally strong cooperative network, leading to a low level of activities and effectiveness in addressing the refugee crisis.

Keywords: Human rights, rights advocacy, NGO (Non-Governmental Organization), Syrian, refugee.

*Araştırma Makalesi***Öz**

2011 Suriye krizinden sonra Türkiye, dünyada en fazla mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke haline gelmiştir. Türkiye’de yasal statüleri nedeniyle dezavantajlı durumda olan geçici koruma statüsündeki Suriyeliler, insan hakları savunucusu Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (STK’lar) tarafından yasal statülerinin iyileştirilmesi ve hak ihlallerinin önlenmesi gibi konularda desteklenmektedir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, insan hakları savunucusu STK’ların Suriyeli mültecilere odaklanarak devlet, toplum ve diğer STK’larla olan ilişkilerini sosyolojik bir analizle incelemektir. Bu nitel araştırmada, Ankara’daki STK yetkilileriyle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Sahadan toplanan ampirik veriler “Yorumlayıcı Sosyoloji” çerçevesinde analiz edilmiştir.

Bulgulara göre, STK’lar devletle güçlü bir işbirliğine sahip değildir. Sadece devletle rapor sunma süreçlerinde temas kurulmaktadır. Bu durum, çalışma örneklem olarak belirlenen üç STK’nın devletten ortak olarak beklentilerinden anlaşılmaktadır. Ortak beklentiler şunlardır: Politika geliştirme süreçlerinde devletin STK’ların görüşlerini alması, kamu yararına yönelik faaliyetlerde STK’lara destek sağlanması ve STK’ların faaliyetlerini gerçekleştirmekte karşılaştıkları zorlukların (özellikle gösteri yürüyüşü ve toplanma özgürlüğünün kısıtlanması gibi durumların) ortadan kaldırılması.

Diğer STK’larla ilişkiler ve iş birliği açısından bakıldığında, işbirliği ağı en güçlü olan STK’nın İnsan Hakları Derneği (İHD) olduğu görülmektedir. İHD, Avrupa İnsan Hakları Ağı ve Uluslararası İnsan Hakları Federasyonu gibi evrensel ağlara sahip güçlü bir dernek olarak mülteci krizi konusunda birçok STK ile işbirliği içindedir. İşbirliği ağı en gelişmiş olan İHD’nin mülteci krizindeki üretkenlik ve etkinliğinin diğer iki STK’ya göre daha kapsamlı olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır (Daft, 2015).

Kamu ilişkileri açısından önemli bulgulardan biri, İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar İçin Dayanışma Derneği (MAZLUM-DER)’in görüş ve önerilerinin resmi parti çizgisinde yayın yapan medya ve gazetelerde yer bulduğu, buna karşın İHD ve İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği (İHGD)’nin görüş ve önerilerinin ana akım medyada yer bulmadığıdır. İHD, hak odaklı gazetelerde önerilerini ve görüşlerini sunabilmektedir. İHGD ise şu anda hükümet tarafından kapatılmış olan küçük ölçekli hak odaklı gazetelerde önerilerini ve görüşlerini sunmuştur.

İHD’nin ana akım medyada yer bulamamasına rağmen, bu üç insan hakları savunucusu STK arasında sosyal medyayı en aktif şekilde kullanarak görüşlerini topluma ileten STK’nın İHD olduğu açıkça görülmektedir. Bu bulgu, örgütlerarası ilişkilerde Kaynak Bağımlılığı teorisi ile açıklanabilir (Daft, 2015). Türkiye’de şu anda resmi parti çizgisinde yayın yapan medya, görüş ve önerilerin iletilmesi açısından çok güçlü bir araç olmasına rağmen, İHD, bağımsız bir şekilde hedeflerine ulaşabilmek için sosyal medyası ve resmi web sitesi aracılığıyla görüşlerini

topluma iletme garantisinin devamlılıđını sađlayarak, bir STK olarak etkinliđini gstermektedir.

Ayrıca STK'ların alıřma yntemleri aısından, İHD'nin rgtsel karar alma srelerinde daha sistematik bir Őekilde, faktrleri dikkate alarak Ynetim Bilimi yaklařımına yakın kararlar aldıđı anlařılmaktadır. Buna karřılık, MAZLUM-DER'in bazı durumlarda anlık kararlar aldıđı, spontane faaliyetler veya toplantılar dzenlediđi grlmektedir. Bu nedenle, MAZLUM-DER'in bazı durumlarda p Kutusu (*Waste Bin*) modelini sergilediđini sylemek mmkndr (Daft, 2015).

İHD, İHGD ve MAZLUM-DER gibi rgtler, mlteci krizlerini zmekte etkinliklerini artırmak amacıyla devletle iřbirliđi ađı kurmaya alıřmıřlardır; ancak devlet, bu abalara olumlu yanıt vermemiřtir. Sonu olarak, ne STK'lar ne de devlet gl bir rgtsel iř birliđi ađı oluřturabilmiř ve bu durum, mlteci krizini ele almada dřk dzeyde etkinliđe ve faaliyetlere yol amıřtır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İnsan hakları, hak savunuculuđu, STK, Suriyeli, mlteci.

Introduction

The concept of human rights has been used for centuries, first in the context of ideas and then in the form of laws, constitutions, and international agreements to define fundamental rights and freedoms. It defines the rights inherent to every person by virtue of their humanity. These rights transcend language, religion, race, and geography and can be asserted by any individual. In this respect, it is universal. These rights cannot be violated and cannot be transferred. They cannot be abandoned. It protects the fundamental rights and freedoms of the person from all external influences, such as oppression and violence. The source of these rights is human dignity. In other words, the core obligation of human rights is the protection of human dignity.

Like many concepts in the social sciences, fundamental rights have no single, unquestionable definition. In the most general definition of human rights in a broad sense, "Human rights arise from being an individual" (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (OHCHR), 2004). is understood. Human rights, in a narrow sense, are fundamental rights and indispensable." (Tezcan, 2011). In addition, according to the United Nations, the definition of human rights is as follows: "Basic freedoms are rights unique to all persons regardless of race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion or any other status. Fundamental rights include life and freedom, the freedom of slavery and torture, the freedom of thought and expression, work and education rights and more. Everyone has indiscriminately right to these rights" (United Nations, 2020).

The formation of fundamental rights and freedoms and rules based on them, which is meant by the concept of human rights, is the accumulation of experiences and struggles experienced over the centuries to take its present appearance. Although there have been developments regarding fundamental rights and freedoms since ancient Greece, the subject gained significant depth during the Reform and Renaissance periods (Bingöl, 2018, pp.69-70). Later, Britain, France and the United States gained momentum on fundamental rights; the papers on the subject were published in these countries, and the laws were enacted. By the 20th century, there were many human rights violations due to major wars. To address this, the work on the protection of fundamental freedoms, which started and matured in the private states, then brought about the international institutionalization of fundamental rights (Frabs, 2009). In addition to world wars, the existence of totalitarian regimes and the idea that the infrastructure in domestic law is inadequate are among the reasons that accelerate this institutionalization.

With the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, human rights were first protected by an institutional international structure. In the establishment document, basic rights and freedoms are mentioned, and the UN's responsibility for the protection of these rights is emphasized both in the corporate sense and in the sense of

member states. With this stage, the concept of human rights has acquired a global character, and obligations have been defined by the highest institutional mechanism in the international sense. Thus, the work on fundamental rights has increased globally, and mutual declarations and agreements have emerged in the UN, the UN, and the regional sense. Thus, a common human rights law developed.

Human rights are defined in different categories, such as three generations, according to their scope. The first generation is considered classical rights. Classical rights refer to the rights that protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual against the possible arbitrary practices of the states. The right to life includes rights such as immunity, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, right to property, prohibition of torture, and freedom of work. Second-generation rights are formulated as economic, social and cultural rights. In this title, rights have been introduced that protect the individual against social risks and enable him to live in a way that is human dignity. -generation rights, such as the right to work, the right to form trade unions, the right to participate in cultural life, and the right to health, can be exemplified. Third-generation rights are defined as solidarity rights. The rights that protect the individual and society against environmental problems, the dangers of war, and the problems it raised after the Second World War fall within the scope of the rights of the third generation.

Those who have guaranteed these rights are the states that have signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Turkey does not identify Syrians as refugees. Syrians who have not been registered with the Temporary Protection Regulation cannot benefit from many rights such as education, employment, housing and health.

Human Rights, Migration and Refugees

Migration is a universal concept that can be seen all over the world. In its most general form, it can be defined as the separation of people from where they live for cultural, political and economic reasons. Migration is divided into two main headings according to the reasons. The first is an optional migration, which is not an obligation for this type of migration. The other type of migration is forced migration. This type of migration is divided into two: individually and collectively. Natural disasters occur without depending on the will, such as terrorism, war, famine, exile, and often with safety concerns. At the same time, according to the nature of the migrated place, migration is divided into internal and external. As per the scope of the study, evaluations were made within the framework of external migration. Political, social, cultural and economic consequences occur in the place that migrates (Miller, 2018). While these results are positive and negative, it is inevitable that they will cause a general change (UNHCR, 2020). The consequences of forced relocations of immigrants with a desire to survive

and to live better vary according to the dimensions of migration. The effects of mass migration are greater, and the refugee crisis that will arise is more apparent.

In the immigrant classifications, the focus was again on refugees and asylum seekers due to the scope of the study. Refugee: the person who leaves his place with fear that he will be oppressed and persecuted because of language, religion, race or political thought. He is the one who needs the protection of the country he emigrated from because of this fear and demands this protection. The asylum seeker is the person who is waiting to change to refugee status by making their applications within the framework of the relevant legal legislation from the country they come from with the request for protection. In national and international legislation, the legal status of the migrant is determined. Legal definition of refugees in the Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees of 1951: "With race, religion, nature, belonging to a certain group or political considerations, who is outside the country of the country where he is a citizen, whom he fears for the right reasons that he will be persecuted, and who cannot benefit from the protection of this country, or because of the fear in question; who does not want to benefit; or persons who have no nature and are outside the country of residence where they have previously lived as a result of such events, who cannot return there or do not wish to return due to the fear in question" has been described.

Although the legal status of refugees is defined, there are processes in the countries they migrate to, such as the restriction of their fundamental rights and freedoms, suppression and isolation. These problems can go so far as to violate human rights. For this reason, firstly, legal regulations regarding the protection of fundamental freedoms of refugees have been made, and it has been requested to facilitate access to fundamental rights. These arrangements were initiated immediately after the establishment of the UN, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established before the UN. This institution continues to work in various fields, from refugee status to protection and education to meeting basic needs (UNHCR, 2020). A large part of the main problems facing refugees are issues related to human rights. Therefore, there is a strong relationship between the refugee crisis and fundamental rights.

Migration and Refugees within the Framework of Human Rights Sociology

Sociology examines the relationship between individuals and society using a broad methodological framework, ranging from local to global interactions. The study of "human rights" in sociological science development coincides with a relatively late period. The concept of fundamental rights, in general, has often been studied within the theoretical framework of sciences such as law, politics and philosophy. The development in the field of human rights sociology has shown a parallel development with the increasing importance of human rights in

international relations and international law. The scope of the concept of fundamental freedoms and the areas of interest of sociology are finally conceptualized as human rights sociology. Thus, human rights sociology has gained scientific authority in both theoretical and practical terms.

Human rights sociology aims to contribute to the protection of fundamental rights by examining the reasons and the ways human rights violations arise in-depth on the basis of individuals, state, and society beyond legal grounds. It discusses human rights in the frame of power relations, social, economic and cultural inequalities, historical conditions, cultural differences and social struggles rather than among legal texts or international agreements.” (Karapehliyan, 2013, p.28).

Because migration is a very complex process, it has the potential to significantly impact domestic policies concerning law and foreign policy on health, education, transportation, and trade infrastructures. This effect is becoming more visible, especially in mass migration. Migration has a strong relationship with the concept of human rights. The risk of deprivation of fundamental freedoms of asylum seekers and the previous negative experience of this risk, as well as the issue of refugees, needs to be looked at in terms of fundamental rights norms and responsibilities (UNHCR, 2006, p.4).

Within the framework of the above-mentioned risks, the issue of migration and refugees stands at an important point in human rights sociology. Human rights sociology examines a broad field of knowledge, including economic, sociological, and cultural rights. It also analyzes the individual and social interactions of refugees in countries where they have taken refuge on the basis of fundamental rights standards.

It is the duty of the state to provide legal infrastructure for refugees and to follow them in the most effective way. However, the only authority responsible for asylum seekers is not the state. Of course, refugees are also in contact with the citizens of the country they are in. The society is in contact with refugees. Unfortunately, many problems, such as racism and exclusion of refugees, arise. In this respect, adaptation policies and studies are of great importance to avoid the emergence of fundamental rights problems. Human rights sociology is important within its scientific framework due to its mission to reveal the problems that arise and to produce solutions to the problems by answering the questions of why and how.

Human Rights Advocacy and Civil Society

The UN has described the human rights defender as “the individual who works to support or protect rights in an individual way or in an organized way” (UNHCR, 2020). The human rights defender strives to protect, maintain and implement social, economic, cultural and political rights. At this point, rights advocacy with Syrian refugees enters the focus due to the scope of the work intersects with important points. The widespread violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of refugees causes the human rights advocacy mechanism to take action. Within this framework, examples of advocacy activities can be given, particularly for refugees, to solve the refugee crisis by accessing human rights, protecting rights, ensuring that rights become widespread, and so on. Human rights advocacy can be done in an individual way, as well as in an organized way, through rights defender NGOs. The rights of rights defenders are defined by the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defending (İHD, 1998).

Since the NGOs examined in this study are established on a specific purpose and division of labour as bureaucratically as they are organizations, the study is based on the assumption that the Weberian Bureaucracy Theory and its concepts are appropriate. In this context, it is clear that the study is based on the study of social relations on a micro-scale, “actionary sociology,” as well as “particularist sociology” (Martindale, 1998).

The Weberian Bureaucracy

According to Weber, the governing body of society is shaped in two forms: traditional bureaucracy and modern bureaucracy. Traditional bureaucracy also fills the upper echelons of the governing organization with relatives of authority by those closest to it. In selecting those responsible at the lower levels, people with a friendship relationship with authority or a distant kinship relationship have priority. Sub-level officers are expected to respect the top and fulfil their duties. Officers who complete their duties are given land in exchange for work or paid their share in taxes.

In this way, the officers provide their economic livelihoods. The legal bureaucracy, another governing organization, is believed to be the glory of knowledge, expertise and legal rules. All work in bureaucratic institutions is written into the rules of business regulation. All the upper-lower levels of the management organization are obliged to perform their duties written in the regulation. Employees are expected to be intrinsically connected to their business at the lower level, not the top. The officers who do their duty are paid salaries and can also be made an office rise. The legal bureaucracy seen in modern societies is not unique to political administration. Various organizations, service organizations, corporations, armies, universities, etc., enforce legal bureaucracy. Weber looks at legal bureaucracy from a positive perspective and states that it is a much more efficient form of management than other forms of bureaucracy (Öncü, 1982, pp.7-28).

According to Weber, for political authority to exist, society must believe and value. In the system of values that accept authority, society legally recognizes the rights of authority and adopts the demands of authority in the form of their duties. According to Weber, there are three different types of authority. Traditional authority, customary behaviour, traditions and customs from ancestors in society are valued, and the authority passed from father to son is valued. This type of authority is believed to benefit society. Traditional authority is respected, but its commandments and wishes are unquestionably biased. Legal-rational authority is the type of authority seen in modern societies. In the system of values of modern authority, there is rationality and respect for rules. The activity of giving orders is restricted by law. In other words, the authority cannot perform any activities contrary to the law at its own will, except by law. Charismatic authority solves the crisis, which is believed to be a supernatural abilities by society in crisis situations where traditional and legal authority cannot feel its validity, and is also respected for its charisma. Charismatic authority continues to dominate thanks to charisma (Öncü, 1982, pp.7-28). At the beginning of some concepts, which are usually used operationally in the analysis of medium and small-size organizations, “formal” and “natural organizational structure”, “decision making”, “inter-organizational”, and “intra-organizational” relationships are coming.

In this study, since the non-governmental organizations that aim to defend human rights in the analysis unit are organizations in sociological terms, the concepts that will form the basis for the discussion of the findings are briefly mentioned below.

Organization Concept and Organization Structures

When it is called modern society, organized society comes to mind. Modern society is a society where education and economic levels are high, and energy consumption is high; most of the population lives in cities, and people live in large organizations. When called “City-born”, it is mentioned that people who grow, develop, gain various competencies and work in organizations and produce. With the development and change of society, organizations proceed in synchrony with each other. A researcher who wants to study the development of society from social, economic and political perspectives should concentrate on the subject of organizations (Öncü, 1982, pp.7-28).

Although various definitions have been made for the concept of organization, a consensus has not been reached. According to Richard Daft (2015), an organization is a social asset that is consciously structured, coordinated, and connected to the external environment, such as activities for specific objectives. What makes organizations different from other social structures, such as a factory or a village, is that they have specific pre-planned goals and action plans to achieve them (Öncü, 1982). A football team or a non-governmental organization can be shown as an example of an organization.

The work they do in the hierarchy of authority and responsibility by cooperating and dividing labour among a group of people in line with certain common purposes is the structure of coordination of their labour (Eren, 2019, p. 1121). For example, schools, hospitals, commercial centres and associations are formal organizations.

The natural organizational structure is the informal organizational structure, which is not primarily found in the formal organization design but is spontaneous, depending on the needs of the members of the organization. While individuals work in a formal organization physically, they also bring their own thoughts, values, feelings, culture, problems and experiences to that work environment. These individual characteristics are at the root of different people's needs. It is not possible for the formal organization to meet these needs. A formal organization is a structure created for the realization of the goals of the organization. The level of failure to meet individual needs in the formal organization also encourages the expansion and increasing number of natural organizations. An individual may be part of more than one natural organization. Examples of concepts that enable the formation of the natural organization include spiritual and social needs, natural leadership, spiritual support, conflict, friendship, emotions, and individual goals.

In the marginal model, the view that the main decision of the organization is formed in a series of small elections is dominant. Many organizations prefer to move forward with small initiatives rather than big ones. According to this model, organizations reach several decision points and sometimes encounter obstacles in these decision points. Mintzberg expressed them in the form of 'decision flow disruption'. Disruption of flow requires the organization to return to the previous decision and try new actions. Decision cycles are the method by which the organization learns the steps it will take on the subject of decision-making (Daft, 2015).

Inter-organizational and Intra-organizational Relations

While organizations previously tried to exist by keeping themselves independent and separate and to excel compared to other organizations, organizations today continue to exist through inter-organizational relations and interchange as part of an ecosystem. An organization in a network of inter-organizational relations may be an organization that cooperates with or competes with other organizations. There are four basic approaches to inter-organizational relations. According to the theory of resource dependence, organizations try not to depend on each other as much as possible. In order for an organization to achieve its goals independently, the flow of resources to the organization must be continuous. Organizations also observe their surroundings for the continuity of resource coverage. In cooperative network theory, organizations look to cooperation and interdependence to increase their efficiency and production power. Another approach in population ecology

is to explain how the organizational spectrum will grow with new organizations filling the fields of activity left empty by organizations. Institutionalization theory, on the other hand, examines how organizations can transform themselves into an institutional structure or improve them from an institutional point of view (Daft, 2015).

1.1. Research Problem and Objectives

After the 2011 Syrian mass migration, Turkey became the country with the largest number of refugees in the world. There are approximately 3 million 600 thousand Syrians (5 million with foreign official figures) in Turkey with official figures. The majority of Syrians (3 million 467 thousand 798 people), who are under temporary protection status, maintain their lives outside the camp with limited rights and freedoms under very difficult conditions (Presidency of Migration Management and former General Directorate of Migration Management, 2018). Those living in the camp are only 144 thousand 36 Syrians (Refugees Association, 2018). Being away from his homeland, an uncertain future, and the restriction of his vital rights have negatively affected Syrian refugees emotionally, physically and socially (Döner et al., 2013, p.764). Syrians are unable to benefit from adequate housing, health, education,

The vast majority of Syrian refugees do not speak Turkish and do not know where to apply when faced with a negative situation. The state provides no systematic support for Syrian refugees in obtaining general information about the language and the country. In terms of housing, they face many challenges; housing centres have the capacity to accommodate a very small proportion of refugees. The remaining majority live together in several families, in precarious and unsanitary homes that rest without a contract due to economic conditions, and homeowners often rack-rent to Syrian refugees (Kutlu, 2015). Most asylum seekers in many European countries are placed in housing centres or provided with social assistance to help those outside the housing centre maintain their lives, while Syrian refugees living in Turkey are outside of housing centres, and no social support is provided for them to live their lives. (IGAM, 2017). Employment conditions are also not favourable for Syrian refugees. They work much longer hours in uninsured, precarious, unregistered work and are paid lower wages, and employers earn unfair profits through Syrian refugees. Child labour has also increased in Syrian refugees due to economic conditions (Taş et al., 2016, pp. 265-273). In addition, the inclusion of Syrian refugees in the labour market as a cheap labour force has led some of the unemployed people in Turkey to see Syrians as the cause of unemployment, and they act hostile towards Syrians (Kutlu, 2015).

Turkey, although it has come a significant way in migration and asylum policies over the past 10 years, is inadequate in terms of legal rights for asylum seekers and practices that facilitate the integration of immigrants,

and the integration of immigrants according to the Immigrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2015) it is the most unfavourable country for integration of refugees (IGAM, 2017). The current situation in Turkey is worsening if the parameters in the adaptation of Syrian refugees to society (health, housing, education, employment, language learning and access to social orientation, etc.) are not achieved; it is seen that the increase in unemployment, ghettos and criminal gangs cannot create a healthy living environment for both Turks and migrating Syrians (GİGM, 2018). No evidence was found that Turkey facilitated the compliance process in accordance with the standards in the Geneva Convention (Article 34) (IGAM, 2017). Societies and groups that do not take adequate support from the state and the private sector for the solution of social problems are directed to produce solutions instead of waiting for solutions, which brings civil society organizations (NGOs) to the agenda (Şahin & Öztürk, 2008, pp. 3-29). Non-governmental organizations are organizations that act independently and voluntarily work for collective benefit and have no profit expectations (Emini, 2013, pp.43-46).

Human rights advocate NGOs are obliged to protect the fundamental rights of individuals and carry out activities against structures that commit rights violations (STGM, 2011). There are many human rights advocate NGOs in Turkey actively defending the rights of Syrian refugees (Erdem & Öztaş, 2007, pp. 559-586).

The main problem of this study is that human rights advocate NGOs in Turkey do not get the sufficient support they expect from society and the state, and therefore, their facilities remain inadequate. In other words, in general, civil society and NGOs, specifically fundamental rights advocates, are weak and inadequate in Turkey. The main aim of the study is to examine the activities of human rights advocate NGOs, each of whom plays a major role in the compliance of Syrian refugees. In this context, it is the investigation of the activities of refugees for adaptation, their working methods, their relations with the state, the people and other NGOs and the processes they have experienced regarding Syrian refugee compliance. Its ultimate aim is to present the views that will facilitate the adaptation of Syrian refugees to society with the data collected.

In this article, the answer to the following research questions as sub-problems is searched:

- How is the relationship of rights-based NGOs with the state in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis?
- How is the relationship of rights-based NGOs with society in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis?
- How is the relationship of rights-based NGOs with other NGOs within the framework of the Syrian refugee crisis (cooperation, etc.)?
- What are the work methods and activities of rights-based NGOs within the framework of the Syrian refugee crisis?

The main aim of the study is to examine the activities of human rights advocate NGOs, each of whom plays a major role in the compliance of Syrian refugees. In this context, it is the investigation of the activities of refugees for adaptation, their working methods, their relations with the state, the people and other NGOs and the processes they have experienced regarding Syrian refugee compliance. Its ultimate aim is to present the views that will facilitate the adaptation of Syrian refugees to society with the data collected.

1.2. Importance and Limitations of Research

The most important issue that adds original value to this study is contributing to the gap in the literature regarding the opinions, challenges, processes, and expectations of human rights advocate NGOs in the focus of Syrian refugee compliance. The second point is that it was carried out with rights-based non-governmental organizations in Ankara, where activities are actively carried out on Syrian refugees (which will allow us to collect more data compared to other cities). This study is limited to three NGOs who agree to participate in the study for the sociological analysis of human rights-based NGOs in the focus of Syrian refugees.

While it is thought that meeting with human rights advocate NGOs in Ankara will be important, due to time restrictions, it was interviewed with 3 NGOs who have different ideologies and who have a consensus or disagreement with the state. Especially in NGOs advocating gender equality and women's rights, it is thought that this research will add significant value, and the request for a meeting has been sent to both women and LGBTI rights defenders through communication channels. However, no positive or negative feedback was received from the two associations. Human rights-based international organizations with branches in Ankara also met the demand negatively. Therefore, it was not possible to collect the desired level of data. In addition, although an NGO responds to most of the interview questions with transparency during the interview, the fact that it deliberately answers some questions superficially and wants to move on to the next question is one of the limitations of the research.

1.3. Method

The empirical data collected from the field were analyzed on the basis of "Interpretative Sociology" (Adorjan & Benjamin, 2016). As it is known, it is understood that social actions are not self-explanatory and can only be understood after being interpreted as a "Symbolic Methodological approach, which is also compatible with the micro-sociological theoretical approach called interactionism Interpretative Sociology in the analysis of a lot of qualitative research because it is widely used, it is also considered suitable for this study (Wallace & Alison, 1999). The universe of empirical research is human rights advocate NGOs in Ankara. The sample selected purposely consists of İHD, İHGD and MAZLUM-DER.

İHD was founded in 1986. The establishment of the association was led by the restriction of rights and freedoms that emerged after the 1980 coup, the increasing use of authoritarian practices and the intensifying torture in prisons. Therefore, the main purpose of İHD is to work on basic freedoms. Basic activities: a scientific examination of human rights practices in the world and conducting research, following up on developments in basic rights, releasing to the public, announcing to the relative authorities and establishing research centres in order to maintain its facilities, organizing conferences in order to increase the level of awareness of the society about human rights and freedoms, providing legal support to persons who have suffered rights violations; submission of their applications and complaints to the competent institutions, the public and freedom of thought, etc., it can be summarized as supporting peace at home and around the world, organizing campaigns against torture, ill-treatment and wars and cooperating with organizations that adopt rights advocacy. İHD has global and local collaborations. It is a member of the International Federation of Human Rights, the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, and the Confederation of Refugee Rights. It is also a founding member of the Human Rights Joint Platform (*İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu*, İHOP) ve Turkish Human Rights Foundation (*Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı*, TİHV).

İHGD is a civil society organization that shows rights advocacy in the national and international sense, founded in İzmir in 2003 with the participation of human rights defenders from many cities of Turkey. İHGD, which has adopted that rights are the highest value, is of the opinion that rights violations can only be solved by a systematic approach and appropriate strategies. İHGD is a founding member of İHOP. At the same time, İHGD is in partnership with Amnesty International (AI) and Concern Worldwide globally and is in partnership with the Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Researches and Solidarity Association (KAOS-GL) and the Refugee Rights Association locally.

In 1991, MAZLUM-DER was founded by a group of 54 journalists, writers, lawyers, publishers and business people. MAZLUM-DER was founded primarily in addition to İHD and TİHV. It works in organizations, education, media, social relations, and law. The Association has six different commissions working on specific problems.

Analysis

The documents found on the websites of NGOs, which constitute the sample of the research, are covered under the sub-headings of semi-structured in-depth interview questions (Syrian refugee crisis opinions, relations with the state, etc, their public relations and collaborations with other associations) were examined. In the last stage, NGOs were contacted by phone and e-mail for fieldwork. The ethics committee approval form of the research and the interview questions in the research were also sent via e-mail simultaneously with the request for the

interview. After the positive return of the associations, the appropriate date and time for the interviews were determined. During the interview, the representatives of the association first filled out and signed the voluntary participation form for the research. Subsequently, semi-structured in-depth interview questions were directed to the representatives of the association, and answers to the basic and sub-questions of the research were sought. The entire interview was recorded with a voice recorder.

In order to find answers to research questions, interview questions were directed to rights-based NGOs during the face-to-face meeting.

Interviews recorded on the audio recorder are manually translated into writing. Written data is analyzed by conducting an in-depth analysis.

2. Findings and Discussion

The empirical research findings in this sub-section are presented by discussing the relevant literature on the basis of the purposes formulated in the questions.

2.1. The Relation of Human Rights Advocate NGOs with the State

The relations of the three NGOs examined in this sub-section with the state were presented to the data obtained from the interviews by including them in the tiles. The findings were also discussed in the literature.

The Relationship of İHGD with the State

İHGD is of the opinion that the state does not welcome the activities of rights defenders like NGOs today. Especially since 2015, with the increasing concentration of the authoritarian state structure, it is clear that rights-based NGOs, NGOs' opinions and activities are not very favourably approached. The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı*, TESEV) and the Agenda given with the Child are examples that will strengthen this belief. It underlines the closure of large rights defenders NGOs such as TESEV and Agenda Child, which have recently had significant acts on children's rights. It states that no association has been invited under the İHOP conflict, including the İHGD, where the state has prepared a meeting on the rights of refugees in Turkey. Osman Kavala and Yiğit Aksakoğlu have been imprisoned, and the rights defenders in general are trying to pause. Similarly, the İHGD states that its activities have been blocked for a number of reasons and, therefore, continued to work passively. According to one of the İHGD executives:

Of course, the state loves us very much in this country. The heart is constantly sending us. So, many rights-based associations are often not liked by the state. Because rights-based associations are like horseflies. They disturb power, and they should. That is the reason for existence. That is to say, the things that the state ignores, violates, and disrupts that is the reason for existence. They are not loved already. It seems that they have been targeted in Turkey for the last four or five years, especially in authoritarian Turkey. As you know, TESEV, for example, stopped its activities in İstanbul. TESEV hit the door and left Turkey, which is the first and largest association working on child rights in Turkey, an association with great potential. For example, it was shut down overnight with a “decree law” due to a report written by TESEV about child rights. Many associations like this have been closed down and are currently under investigation. So maybe you saw it in the media in 2017 in a case in Büyükada, ten human rights defenders were detained during the day. They stayed inside for four months. The state has known all of this, and these are rights-based legal human rights defenders who have not been involved in any crime, such as those who are still inside. Most of them are journalists. Osman Kaval is inside; who has been contributing to basic freedoms in Turkey for many years. Our association has also been affected by this situation. Two people from the board of directors went to prison. Our association came to the process of closure. In the near process, for example, Garanti Bank invited us to the bank to close our accounts and said that we should close our bank accounts. We opened the new bank accounts from İş Bank. See, closing accounts means; “Close the NGO,” says. Because for instance, no organization gives money in cash to Brother Osman, who has a grocery store: “Get that money in cash and buy chocolate with this money”. This is how they transfer funds in a fully electronic environment. You have to have a bank account, which is one of the first requirements.

For this reason, bank accounts are known as the respiratory system of associations. You cannot live without him. By cutting this out, the state says that it is, in fact, dying to associations, not living. Therefore, if the state does not receive a reaction from society, all associations, especially our association, will be closed. There are already imprisoned associations. There are associations conducting the investigation. This is considered mobbing over the internet. For example, they have closed the accounts of the association, suffered serious damages, and are forced to open a bank account from a new bank.

The state does not want to cooperate in any way. Thus, a meeting was held during the last process, and invitations were sent. No association participated. The Human Rights Joint Platform (İHOP), associations within the framework of İHOP, did not participate. Due to the fact that Osman Kavala and Yiğit Aksakoğlu are also sick, they are well-recognized human rights defenders in Turkey. Other associations are facing closure. Very insincerely, two days before the meeting without prior knowledge, ‘let’s join the meeting’ says.

As it was understood, there was no cooperation with state bodies. IHGD also mentioned that the state did not fund rights-based organizations. The state could fund the fund to greatly contribute to rights-based associations' activities. IHGD demanded that the state not put obstacles on rights-based NGOs such as its own and believed that there would be more comfortable working spaces. IHGD, although it carried out basic solution proposals and awareness-raising trainings such as the removal of rights violations on refugee compliance, mentioned that these solutions can only be applied by the fact that the state gives status and rights to Syrians. In addition, while we found it very humanly and we appreciated that the state opened its doors to Syrian refugees, it is, in fact, the opinion that the power did this not as humanely but politically. For example, in the Aleppo massacre in 1988', it mentioned that the mass of immigrants from Iraq were not taken to Turkey without humanitarian action. In addition to the non-humanistic political actions of the state, the media close to power also mentioned that the language of hatred against Syrian refugees was dominant.

The Relationship of İHD with the State

İHD stated that its relationship with the state within the framework of the refugee crisis was in the form of reporting and advising the state on the current status of refugees in education, employment, housing, health, etc. These reports were reports prepared according to the principles of international human rights standards. İHD also remarked that the main reason for writing a public report against rights violations was to communicate the situation to authorities having the ability and authority to resolve fundamental rights violations. It provided reports of infringement of rights by making appointments with state authorities and submitting them to the relevant authorities. In cases where it did not get an appointment, İHD announced its reports to the public via the websites. On the other hand, İHD stated that they could have problems with the demands of demonstration, the right to freedom of expression and association. İHD was of the opinion that rights defenders like itself were generally not very welcome by state authorities because of expressing rights violations. According to one of the İHD executives:

Of course, as a non-governmental organization, we have relations with public institutions. We are announcing the reports we have prepared to the public. We send the reports we have announced to the public and all public institutions. In other words, we send a report prepared about refugees to the Migration Administration if we cannot send it directly to the Ministry of Interior. Our aim here is already to convey these issues to the public authorities, that is, to those who are obliged to solve this issue and who have the authority and capacity to solve it. We may not be able to resolve a person's right to housing, but we can help them create and resolve the awareness of the right to housing. Our relationship with the state is progressing in this way. We are advocating for violations that exist with the reports you have, and we request an appointment from public institutions to convey our views on this issue. We prepare our reports and go to them.

This sometimes happens at the ministerial level, which can be at the level of the governor of the province or the mayor of the province, or it can be at the provincial directorate level of the related province. There's nothing in that. For us, we have access to everyone we can access without putting hierarchy among any public authority. What is their attitude to us when we do this? In general, we may not always be welcomed because we talk about problematic issues or because we talk about the problematic aspects of the issues. This is very likely, which means that it may not make you very happy to hear the subject of criticism, which is very understandable. In doing so, of course, we need to exercise our freedom of association, that is, our freedom of association, our freedom of demonstration, and our freedom of expression. We use as much as we can. Sometimes we have problems with this. Let's say that if it is forbidden to do activities in any public area in the city, it can affect our activity, or it can be prevented for security reasons when we go out on the street. Such situations exist, but these are not independent of the general human rights situation in the country; that is, the situation of the asylum seekers is not independent of the general situation, and the general situation is not independent of our right to freedom of expression. These are all situations that affect each other because we use them, and we sometimes face administrative or judicial investigations. So, we pass on our reports to them; our relationship with them is largely based on our interviews after we have prepared our reports. Let's say we couldn't make an appointment for a reason. When our report is made public, it will reach out to them. It stands publicly on our website. The relationship of human rights associations with the state is generally the same in other parts of the world and has always been related. But the process is bumpy depending on the content, sensitivity of the subject, and the approach of public authorities to it."

The expectation of İHD from the state was the fact that everyone is born entitled, and the state policies should be regulated in accordance with this situation. For this reason, legal changes are required to improve the status of Syrians. In addition, the necessary orientation and training should be provided to Syrian refugees in order for their applications to become reality. Supervision mechanisms should also be provided to Syrians in order to prevent discrimination, exclusion, etc., which are applied by parents and school principals. The other expectation of İHD from the state was to meet with various NGOs working in the regions on the harmony and rights of refugees and to prepare policy accordingly. Supporting NGOs' appointment requests, facilitating access to state bodies and notification of opinion, the views and suggestions of NGOs from the village district, announcing up to all public bodies serving provincial and regional services and supervising the practices are the demands that İHD expects from the state.

İHD was of the opinion that the situations in which the needs of Syrian refugees living in Turkey could not be satisfied were supported by international human rights organizations.

The Relationship of MAZLUM-DER with the State

MAZLUM-DER stated that its relationship with the state was limited to the main activities and duties of the NGOs. It stated that they had set up an agenda for the solution of the refugee crisis, published reports and submitted interview requests to the relevant authorities for the discussion of these issues. It stated that cooperation with the state organs is the direct transmission of the reports prepared by Mazlum-DER to raise awareness on behalf of the refugee crisis they were interested in and make suggestions for its solution. If they were rarely able to meet with the relevant authorities, they transmitted the reports in the form of press releases or indirectly via social media. According to one of the MAZLUM-DER executives:

“We determine our relations with the state, our interview titles and our requests. There are requests for visits from the public, and we are very transparent about this. Although we have received various criticisms from almost every environment in our explanations and reports, we have not experienced any difficulties in terms of self-expression until today, and we have not felt any fear. However, in the context of meetings and demonstration walks, there are problems (such as directing to different areas). In terms of freedom of association, we have no problems as MAZLUM-DER. Our aim is to ensure peace and not to have war. Some groups in Syria are radical groups that come under criticism for seeing themselves as right. We cooperate with the state to end rights violations, or we convey the problem to the authorities. If we do not reach that authority, we operate by creating public opinion and agenda. During the February 28th period, our association was destroyed by various pressures. Our managers were put in prison in custody. Some of our branches were closed.

Our cooperation is to communicate problem detection and solution suggestions directly or indirectly (press releases, social media, reports, etc.). Those who came to our association from the Embassies of Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Sudan. Those who came from the Swedish embassy. Since Ankara is the capital, all ambassadors come from time to time to meet with us. They take our ideas on some issues. We exchange mutual ideas.

We publish the report and take it to public institutions. We will be interested, they say, but our bureaucracy in Turkey is also progressing heavily because things are progressing. Unfortunately, their efforts to solve the problem are not as they meet us.”

On the one hand, MAZLUM-DER said that the appointment requests they forwarded to the public institutions took place while they were meeting with the authorities face to face and expressing their reports; on the other hand, they said that the solution proposals in their reports were not seen as a priority agenda item by the state, meaning that it took a long time to implement them.

As can be seen, in general, the relationship of the three NGOs to the state they were in the form of transmitting the reports they prepared on the subject of rights advocacy to public institutions and, in cases where they could not meet with public organizations, they shared the reports they had prepared through their own websites and social media with the public. It is possible to say that all three NGOs had no strong relationship or cooperation with the state except to submit reports to the state. This situation was understood from the common points that all three NGOs expected from the state. Common expectations: taking opinions from NGOs on policy development by the state and its bodies, providing support to NGOs for activities that would be in the public interest and eliminating difficulties for NGOs to carry out their activities (especially the demonstration, showing it was the elimination of situations such as restricting the right to freedom of marching).

In short, although İHGD, İHD and MAZLUM-DER intended to establish a cooperative network with the state in order to increase their efficiency in the solution of the refugee crisis (Daft, 2015), it was observed that the state did not look at this situation favourably. Therefore, it was understood that the three NGOs could not establish a cooperative network with the state, and at the same time, the state's activities and production forces on the solution of the refugee crisis remained at a low level. In other words, it was deduced that NGOs and the state did not add significant value to each other in the matter of the actions taken to solve the refugee crisis.

2.2. Public Relations of Rights-Based NGOs

In this subsection, important findings on the public relations of the three NGOs are included respectively.

İHGD's Public Relations

İHGD stated that they received support in public, especially with the exception of a section that thinks they are in the service of other countries. It stated that part of the public opinion considers the İHGD as the arms of other countries in Turkey and that there was no excuse for this situation. His extensive work towards positively changing the attitude of the public was not available. The issue of positively orienting public opinion's attitude to İHGD was somewhat related to government policies, views, media close to power and education policies. İHGD emphasized that by organizing awareness-raising trainings, it could better communicate its ideology and activities to the public. İHGD also stated that the majority of the participants in the training were members of the association behind the education. In other words, the lower benefit of education was summarized as the rise in the number of members. The wish of İHGD, consisting of 90% of the jurists, was that people from each occupational group be active members of the association because İHGD emphasized that human rights were relevant to all occupational groups and tradesmen, as well as to the whole society. According to one of the İHGD executives:

There is a mass that looks positively on NGOs working in Turkey. We see support from people who do not consider NGOs agents and who do not consider NGOs to be the arm of foreign states here. Still, we continue to receive members even during the crisis. We have taken members, for example, in the last process. There are people like that, but the general population already looks at NGOs as agents, as the tongues of the external forces. There is a discourse that has come since the early days of the Republic. There are communities that are hostile to national existence. We are actually in communities that are hostile to that national entity; people see us a little like that. So they separated this and memorized us. That is, people see us as such: communities that are hostile to “national existence”. The outlook in the first period of the republic, the right-based associations of today, these are taking the measure. The majority see us as such, so if you ask, what kind of activities do human rights associations do on the street. I’m sure they say they oppose unity and solidarity, carry out activities of the agency, and are the cursors of external forces.

To give a self-criticism, it was not very clear to our members about the refugee issue and how it would behave in the first place. For example, 2 weeks ago, I prepared a questionnaire about prejudices to members of the association about “mic” at work. I put in front of everyone, right-wrong, fill one of the two. In our association, for example, we can have members who do not know right from wrong. For example, either “all Syrians are given a home from TOKİ”, put right or wrong, “All Syrians enter the university without examination”, or “Syrians don’t pay tax when they buy a car”, so we’ve had problems too. Do we take a very clear stance when we are having problems including ourselves with biased information about refugees, so it is possible that the public could have a problem with the topic of refugees? I am not sure about all the members. People are tremendously biased. Instead of asking and learning, they are directly attacked because they have information, no matter whether the information is true or false. What do refugees drink and eat? They don’t have big ideas. So the situation is like this. Saying, “Please stop, I’ll tell you the truth of probably biased information about refugees” is very difficult, not possible. Therefore, there are big challenges.

The media is not taking us. At least I mention mass media, the controlled media. We use social media actively, which is also for our benefit. With these concerns, many newspapers working on rights-based small media organizations have also been closed. Jinha was closed two or three times. Sol Fa Sol was closed in Ankara. For example, the little ones were closed, which supported us and tried to put us on their agenda. It is not possible for them to live; they are making heavy taxes... The rest are huge cartels, and since they are already managed by one hand, we cannot relate to all of them.

On the other hand, İHGD mentioned that there were difficulties in the harmony of refugees in their relations with the public. It stated that even members of its own association on the issue of refugees could adopt a biased attitude, and therefore, society was generally biased. It was of the opinion that even members of the association were not fully informed about the refugee rights and the situation of Syrian refugees. “All Syrians are becoming hosts or do not pay motor tax” and “Taken to university without taking the exam” mentioned that there were many members believing in such thoughts and had insufficient and incorrect information about refugees. İHGD was of the opinion that the prejudice posed difficulties, that most of the society was standing up to access accurate information, and therefore had difficulty in refugee compliance.

İHGD stated that the non-free media, in particular, carried the awareness-raising views and activities of İHGD to the screens. İHGD was intensely announcing its voice through social media. It stated that small-scale media organizations, newspapers and magazines, which included the opinions, suggestions and activities of İHGD, dissolved. Small-scale newspapers such as Jinha, Sol Fa Sol also stated that their publications were terminated or that a large amount of fines were cut due to decree law (*Kanun Hükmünde Kararname*, KHK). In summary, İHGD was not supported by strong media in transferring its opinions and suggestions to the public.

İHD's Public Relations

İHD stated that they had a positive image in the public and that their volunteer work on the elimination of rights violations was appreciated. On the other hand, it stated that Syrian refugees sometimes faced misunderstandings or manipulative reactions following reports on their basic rights and needs. İHD organized trainings in order to correct the perception of “refugee”, which was not very positively received in the society.

In addition, İHD, having an active follower base on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, etc., stated that social media platforms are an important tool to transfer issues such as human rights and discrimination to society by reaching more audiences. It also emphasized that it could offer suggestions and opinions in newspapers, which are rights-oriented news rather than mainstream media. According to one of the İHD executives:

“The perception about us, the people who have been violated or who are in this thinking claiming to be violated, the perception about us when it comes to us is very positive. Of course, there is no problem with that. We offer a service to remove the violation that they claim to have experienced. We offer a voluntary service in terms of living up to these principles. Therefore, the people who come to us have a very positive perception of us in their immediate surroundings and the environment they can access. But it is possible, sometimes the reports and reports we have prepared are also the solutions to the rights violations we mentioned; for example, Syrians do not have access to the right to health, Syrians do not have access to the

right to education; there are 300 cases this year. The solution to this is issues such as the right to education for these people. It is possible that, at times, manipulation can turn into a negative perception in the public about us.

One of the lessons we have given in our human rights academy, to our newly-engaged members, to our volunteers, and one of the courses in the program we are conducting is about discrimination and one about refugees, and we are also making efforts to change the perception of these issues related to refugees. We do it to reach the widest range in order to properly explain ourselves. But it is not easy to do that. Because of the perception of fundamental rights in the country, unfortunately, a large proportion of today's conditions are not so positive or have more positive steps to take. Is there a path to take?

We are the main source of news for all journalists who are already rights-oriented. That is, our reports or opinions will be taken in case of a violation; we are one of the basic NGOs, the basic institutions that are asked for evaluation. But I'm highlighting it in particular for journalists who are rights-focused. But, you know, the media that we call the mainstream is already very limited in its news sources. But as we said, we try to create our own space and environment, and this is especially true of social media.

Our basic principles are to deliver all of our reports to the widest segments by posting this to the press by posting this to the public authorities by sharing our Twitter account with 117000 followers, and sharing it to Facebook, where we have more than 20 thousand followers, we are doing our best to provide the picture of our correct policy to everyone in the context of our principles.”

MAZLUM-DER's Public Relations

MAZLUM-DER stated that people generally found their attitude positive but that opposing thoughts and criticisms, including their own base, were expressed from time to time. These criticisms were thought to arise mostly from economic reasons. Especially in the neighbourhoods where Syrian refugees live, employment, poverty, and so on are often associated problems with refugees, it said; for this reason, MAZLUM-DER stated that their views on refugee rights and freedoms could receive criticism in these regions and also in their internal committees.

Also, MAZLUM-DER emphasized that the commitment of the majority of Syrian refugees to the religion of Islam was important in resolving disputes and, so cultural attitudes and behavioural differences between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens could be solved by increasing common religious awareness, and this contributed to social orientation. According to one of the MAZLUM-DER executives:

We find my public attitude generally positive. Already financially and spiritually, MAZLUM-DER is kept alive by the donations of members and volunteers. Again, people from every profession operating in MAZLUM-DER committees and commissions are operating voluntarily and have no expectations. There can be no question of our neutrality because there is a war here. You must be on one side. We are always on the right side. It is also our right to call the parties to the end of the war.

Society gives us positive support. There are some ascents coming from the base. There is war; one is rightly thought of as an injustice. Some organizations (there may be people in our base who adopt this approach). General problems have also plagued us. For example, we have defended the rights of refugees against the social pressures that have been put up there on the problems of refugees living on Siter. Discrimination, people usually settled there. Society thinks its job is taken away. This is seen financially. Syrian refugees have some behaviours. When it looks different, it is perceived as if the Syrians came from a different religion, and there is a reaction against them. To resolve these problems, we had meetings with the people who lived there, namely Turks and Syrians. We calmly gave our advice on the point of calming the incident.

The media is trying to create a perception as it wants. For example, the media use hate language as opposed to a tolerant approach. It uses language that uses otherizing language and encourages people to take a negative look at Syrians. For example, "harasser is labelled" without investigating the true cause of the incident in some cases. For example, there is a shortage of Syrians and Turks in a neighbourhood. The neighbourhood there forms a public opinion on the negative aspects of Syrians in order to remove them from their own neighbourhood, and this is sometimes reflected in this media. There are personal problems here, not social problems. For example, a Syrian refugee opened a Syrian market. Another marketer may not want it or has opened another business. The owner of a business similar to him may not want or is working in another business. He may not want it. Not just at work. He doesn't want Syrian refugees. Negative fuss can occur because they do not want to, as they try to fire before they leave. They can be found in accusations. They unjustly accused refugees as a harasser or a thief. Since the media took it as it was, without any research, "Syrians harassed the child" in the headline of the newspaper. After that, Syrians are not wanted in the neighbourhood. What's going on? This is why Syrians are becoming harassed. But it's not the truth. We witness such situations.

MAZLUM-DER emphasized that its views and suggestions on rights advocacy could be found in newspapers. However, it underlined that the media used language that created a discriminatory and negative perception in the eyes of society rather than a positive language about Syrian refugees. In some cases, it stated that negative

news about Syrian refugees was put in newspapers without investigating the accuracy of the news. It also remarked that the media shaped the current situation according to the perception it wanted to see.

As it turned out, İHD and İHGD could not be featured in mainstream media in the context of public relations and voicing their opinions and suggestions, while MAZLUM-DER was widely reported in the mainstream media, in the media that currently broadcast on the official party line, opinions and suggestions were given.

İHD stated that it offered its suggestions and opinions in the newspapers that are rights-oriented. İHGD also said that it could be included in small-scale rights-oriented newspapers, but these newspapers were closed by the government.

Although it could not be included in the mainstream media, it was clear that among these three NGOs, NGOs which made the most active use of social media in order to transfer their views to society were İHD. This finding could be explained by the theory of Resource Dependence in inter-organizational relations (Daft, 2015). Although there was a very strong media in Turkey in the current situation in terms of the transfer of the views broadcast on the official party line, İHD was, in order to achieve its objectives independently, 'source assurance provided the continuity of the guarantee to communicate its views and suggestions to the society as an indicator of its effectiveness as an NGO such as', through its own social media and official website.

Another important finding was that expressing economic, health and education rights that Syrian refugees did not have access to in the İHD and MAZLUM-DER stated that a public perception could be created by manipulation related to this situation. Making a defence of the rights of NGOs while expressing their own goals in a natural way, the freedom of expression and the reflection of facts and opinions created negative perception, and it signified that refugee harmony was not prepared in many ways, economic and social.

2.3. Rights-Based NGOs' Relationship with Other NGOs

This subdivision included important findings on the relationship of rights-based NGOs to other national and international NGOs.

The Relationship of İHGD with Other NGOs

İHGD cooperated with local and international NGOs on refugee compliance, such as İHD, the Human Rights Foundation, and national NGOs such as Amnesty International. The Discrimination Network Platform, which touched on refugee rights, women's rights, disability rights and LGBTI rights, was organized by İHGD every

month and associations under the umbrella of İHOP, İHD, and Amnesty International. They held regular meetings every month with associations such as the Human Rights Foundation. In addition, İHGD participated in all of the collections organized by İHOP. İHGD stated that it was cooperating with the literary association consisting of Syrian interventionists and calling their meetings. Apart from the İHOP, it cooperated with the Refugee Rights Center and the NGOs and bar associations defending women's rights. The Helsinki Citizens' Association and Equal Rights Association also said that İHGD used the office of İHGD for rights-defender education and interviews. Amnesty also provided support to refugees' rights awareness-raising activities and signature campaigns by İHGD. There was no cooperation with any international NGO other than Amnesty. As it turned out, İHD kept communication with NGOs strong through monthly meetings and cooperation. According to one of the İHGD executives:

We have a project in İzmir right now. Bringing together the organizations that are discriminated against here, the law society is coming from here, the women's associations are coming, İHD under the umbrella of the Human Rights Joint Platform (İHOP), Amnesty International, said, Associations such as İnsan Hakları Vakfı are participating. We come together under the roof of İHOP, and we are a member of İHOP. In fact, there is an İzmir based association which forms of Syrian literary artists. For example, we call that association to our meetings. We can support the issues they want; we provide such support in small matters, administratively and legally. We have a discrimination network. The Discrimination Network is coordinated by İHGD. Meetings are held in the office once a month. We do not have problems in our cooperation with other NGOs on refugee compliance. But, as I just said, we haven't focused too much on these issues.

We are cooperating with the refugee rights centre, the women's associations and the law society called Baro here. When they ask for our opinion, when they apply for capacity, or when they use our office, For example, the Helsinki Citizens' Association and the Equal Rights Association used our office. We also help such organizations.

Whether or not to be a member of the EU did not affect refugee compliance in Turkey. In other words, İHGD did not see refugee harmony as EU-based. However, it was of the opinion that the fund to be provided in the case of Turkey was a member, and the flexibility of Turkey in terms of democracy could contribute a lot to the activities of the İHGD.

Finally, the İHGD manifesto on the right to prevent rights violations by the decision taken on the last board of directors in order to announce its ideology and views more widely and effectively in respect of rights advocacy, including refugee rights, stated that it intended to prepare a strategy document. It stated that categorizing

Syrians about refugee compliance improved IHGD on how it can make more contributions to the prevention of discrimination.

The Relationship of IHD with Other NGOs

In the context of refugees and fundamental rights, IHD stated that they could communicate with every institution that was the interlocutor of the issue, and this approach contributes more to the solution of the problems. Many international organizations, such as the International Federation of Human Rights, the European Network for Human Rights and the UNHCR, are actively cooperating in the refugee crisis. They also stated that they were in the country, such as the Refugee Rights Coordination and IHOP. IHD emphasized that the issues and expertise of national and international NGOs and other organizations could be different. IHD emphasized that there were general perspectives to collaborating with all institutions that might play a role in solving a problem, including legal communities and municipalities.

It was understood that the cooperation and relations of IHD were strong both on a global scale and locally. According to one of the IHD executives:

We are already the founder of the Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP). There is a coalition for refugee rights, and we are working with them. We are working with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Because one of the articles included in the charter of our association has a clause about doing business alone as well as doing business with institutions working on these issues, because the human rights movement is so big and so complicated, it may not be possible for a single organization to overcome it alone. That is why we are in cooperation. We come together with all institutions that we can work with and come together in the light of the association and fundamental rights principles. We have had no problems with this issue since the beginning, both in the country and abroad, at the national and international levels. We have been working very hard on this issue. Here are the visits of 2011, 6 camps that I just mentioned for Syrian refugees, namely 6 camps from 7 camps, together with an international human rights organization. We did this together with the refugee rights working group within the European Human Rights network. We worked with the International Federation of Human Rights. We do all of these things.

We do not focus on whether or not we have problems with other NGOs. So, this is our focus, the issues we cooperate with, and the issues that fit our field of work, but in some political, basic freedoms policy context, we can have differences. But since we haven't put this in our focus, we're bypassing it.

We conduct regular meetings with organizations operating on refugee compliance, and we are on the same platforms. So we can participate in their work for this, we invite them to our own work, right (Ceren) Professor? We are able to organize joint events in the bar, such as the event in the Urfa Law Society (Bar), or we are talking about how we can follow the issue with the power union on these platforms by creating platforms. This is how the Refugee Rights Coordination emerged.

We, ourselves, have a very unique characteristic. When the Human Rights Association was founded in 1986, after the September 12 military coup, the first non-governmental organization is a democratic non-governmental organization, but a movement beyond being an association; because of the human rights movement, we are communicating our strategies as a human rights movement while communicating our messages to the public. Not just through the press. We are trying to communicate it to broad sections of society. Social segments where other non-governmental organizations, except trade unions or parties, some are in communication or interaction, are limited. Therefore, the strategies we apply the tactics may not be compatible with them. Our widespread organization, that is, the fact that we are organizing 40 branches, the ways that we are organizing in half of the country are different, and our needs are different. They might be different. But what is possible is that social media, not just traditional mainstream media, so can access all places where they can access their material, whatever reports or activity reports they have prepared correctly. The one-to-one meeting is because the vast majority of our work is done through one-on-one, face-to-face meetings, and we are a grassroots organization. We have such a difference. So, the strategies we implement or the tactics we have in mind may not fit another organization, the organization consisting of a board of only seven people.

The Relationship of MAZLUM-DER with Other NGOs

MAZLUM-DER did not cooperate officially with other NGOs. With most NGOs, at different times, they conducted interviews for joint work. These meetings, which took place at the level of joint statement preparation and mutual information exchange, are developing instantaneously according to the agenda. MAZLUM-DER emphasized that they were in contact with organizations such as İHH, İHD, Deniz Feneri, UNICEF, UNHCR, IOM ve Af Örgütü, and had many meetings in the past on different topics. According to one of the Mazlum-Der Executives:

In the context of voicing problems, we have worked with almost every NGO operating in the field. Some of the explanations expressed above are jointly made. We have no formal cooperation with any organization. There are people in those associations with whom we are friends. For instance, Syrians need food, coal, etc. Can you help to ensure these things? We say this to our friend who is a member of another NGO. NGOs such as İHH, İyilikDer, Deniz Feneri, and Yardım Eli Derneği maintain activities on clothing, housing, and the

provision of the same basic needs. Our cooperation is developing spontaneously. For example, a refugee came here and said that he was very victimized by a legal citizen. Because we do not work financially on that. We advise the relevant associations to the refugee on meeting his needs. They don't just come for food and drink. Another refugee arrived. A province outside Ankara, they have foreseen the placement of Çorum. He comes to us and says, I don't want to stay in Çorum. I want to stay in Ankara. There are such situations. What can we say here? If the standard of living is healthier when we stay here, we have negotiations with UNHCR, the Migration Administration. If there is nothing to be done legally. If there is a procedural way to stay, we advise on staying. Such things are rare, and only 1-2 examples have come to us. He has not left Ankara. In one-to-one contact, we try ways to work together. We direct refugees to our partner NGOs and provide them with legal support and support on other issues.

It was clear that the strongest NGO, İHD, was the cooperative network among the three NGOs. İHD was in cooperation with many NGOs in the universal sense. Therefore, İHD has collaborations with many NGOs, such as European Human Rights Networks and the International Federation of Human Rights, on the refugee crisis around the world.

As seen that İHD was close to the Management Science approach in organizational decision-making from the answers it gave to the interview, it was also seen that İHD made decisions in a more systematic way, taking into account the factors and on the other hand, MAZLUM-DER made instant decisions in some organizational situations and its activities or negotiations could develop spontaneously. For this reason, it is possible to say that MAZLUM-DER exhibited the Waste Bin model approach in some cases (Daft, 2015).

2.4. Rights-Based NGOs Views, Working Methods and Activities within the Framework of the Syrian Refugee Crisis

This subdivision includes the views of rights-based NGOs on the Syrian refugee crisis and important findings on their working methods and activities within the framework of the refugee crisis.

İHGD's Views on Human Rights Advocate NGOs and the Syrian Refugee Crisis

İHGD did not discriminate against Syrians, approaching the refugee crisis humanly, approaching the refugee crisis with the view of the only difference: "One's hometown is Turkey, and the other one's hometown is Syria". In other words, it was an NGO that assimilated the equality of Turks, Syrians or all people of other ethnicities in terms of rights and freedoms and did not make any difference. İHGD stated that systemic racism was present in Turkey. If we detailed it, it was clear that Turks were racist even to their own citizens, like Kurds. In parallel

with this situation, the belief that social problems related to Syrian refugee harmony can be overcome was insufficient. In the eyes of Turkish society, Syrians are seen as a trouble-maker. İHGD foresaw the return of Syrians to Syria by creating safe zones on the border of Syria. On the other hand, it was believed that the crisis that had been going on for eight years and the prolongation of the stay of Syrian refugees in Turkey made their return more and more difficult. According to one of the İHGD executives:

“It is a very legal discourse to call refugees, but we look at the event more humanely. So, whatever you call refugees, asylum seekers, political asylum seekers or irregular migrants. We consider, defend and demand the basic rights of the people living here in the context of human rights. So, in the same way, we don’t see any differences. Only the difference results from being a citizen. Turkish citizens have certain advantages, but these people are a little more disadvantaged. There is only a difference in this context. But this should be overcome with the necessary studies, and the refugee crisis was not happen humanly. In addition, the refugee crisis was not accepted under international conventions. They came to Turkey massively as a result of more political interests and Turkey’s negative foreign policy strategy. In fact, neither as a capacity nor as an infrastructure, neither economically nor legally, the refugee crisis in Turkey had no infrastructure. They were accepted in this way. So, there’s an incredible mess here. Even in human rights advocate NGOs in Turkey, there is confusion about Syrians. In other words, even rights-based associations can look this way we come across from time to time. But as I said completely, we’re looking at it from a fundamental rights perspective.”

İHGD emphasized that talking about Syrians as our own citizens, without discriminating, without categorizing, was one of the most basic solutions to refugee harmony. The general objectives of the İHGD were to reduce the hatred towards Syrians based in Turkey and to achieve social acceptance by adopting a climate of tolerance. Specific objectives of refugee cohesion as an association did not exist. While there were no concrete activities related to refugee crisis resolution and refugee cohesion, it was developing policy on improving refugee rights in employment, education, health, freedom of travel, etc. İHGD believed that all the parameters ensuring refugee rights and refugee compliance were interrelated. For example, if Syrian parents could be employed, Syrian child labour would be significantly reduced, and the education level of Syrian children would increase. In summary, İHGD provided education, employment, housing, freedom of travel, health services and services in the name of ensuring refugee cohesion in Turkey and resolving the Syrian refugee crisis. İHGD believes that legal obstacles in front of rights should be removed and makes recommendations to authorities regarding this view.

İHD's Views on Human Rights Advocate NGOs and the Syrian Refugee Crisis

According to the information obtained from the interview with İHD, İHD considered everyone as an entitled subject and acted in line with this policy. İHD, Turkey's Syrians, due to the geographical reservations it put in the Geneva Convention, although it did not identify as a refugee and granted 'temporary protection status, it was of the opinion that Turkey should have considered Syrians as refugees due to the international contracts and the Human Rights Declaration signed. In other words, İHD emphasized that the legal status of Syrians should have improved. In addition, İHD remarked that the guest-host framework is a wrong attitude; this definition triggered the refugee crisis. If we detailed it, "guest" discourse led to the perception that Syrians came to Turkey for a short time without any force or reason, and then they would return to their homeland easily. In contrast to this perception, İHD demanded that the prohibition of resending be implemented without exceptions and draws attention to the tolerant coexistence of Turkish society and refugees.

İHD emphasized that within Turkey, a wide variety of communities people from various cultures live together. In addition, it stated that the situation preventing refugee compliance was related to the policies of the state, the right known mistakes related to Syrians, prejudice and the discriminatory language of the media. When Turkish citizens and refugees were in the same environment, there was and would be a reduction in existing prejudices and discrimination. İHD emphasized that the portrayal of the media, especially Syrians, as scapegoats led to the development of negative judgments against Syrians in society. According to one of the İHD executives:

"İHD considers that Syrians with temporary protection status who migrate to Turkey should also enter into refugee status by basing them on international conventions, although Turkey has signed the Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with geographical reservations. It is thought that the prohibition of repatriation should also be implemented. It is not appropriate to call Syrians as guests. This definition puts Syrians in the position that they come for a short time with their own wishes. But that is not the case. Refugees came to Turkey to save their lives.

I prefer to say Türkiye society instead of Turkish society. In Turkey, various communities live together. Many different identities and cultures live together. So, I'm saying that there's a problem here with formal policies rather than speaking on behalf of societies. Let me say again that this is the guest-host framework and, again, the mistakes that are known about the Syrians; the role of the media here is very important, and we have, at least in the last period, problematized this role of the media. We emphasize this in our own work. The fact that the media calls them guests declares them scapegoats, shows them as guilty, unfortunately, and it causes prejudices in Turkish society or causes the deepening of existing prejudices, causing them to spread. Therefore, in the Syrian issue, in the refugee issue, is Turkish society ready? If policies are developed for this and to strengthen life together, Turkish society will be ready.

The basis for overcoming the refugee crisis, fighting discrimination, and overcoming prejudices, our primary goal is to fight discriminatory practices that cause rights violations; in order to be able to break those preconceptions, I think that the basic issue here is that the process should be started not with a top-down integration but with a bottom-up integration.”

The main objectives of İHD were rights violations and the fight against discrimination. It defined the basic actions to be made in order not to use words containing discrimination and to eliminate the judgements given against Syrians as basic moves to overcome the refugee crisis. Another important move was to draw the language of the media in a positive direction. In order for the Syrians to have access to refugee rights, considering the fact that they were refugees, it was also very important that human rights advocate NGOs, in particular, address the Syrians as refugees instead of guests. It stated that refugee harmony would be achieved by organizing from the bottom up, that was, by the people to look at life with the refugees with tolerance and to adopt this situation. If these solutions could not be fully implemented, it predicted that girl-child marriages and violence against women would increase in the medium term. The other development situation was that Syrians would be more timid, which was likely to bring about conservatism. İHD emphasized that the uncertainty of temporary protection status affected women and girls in particular. Lack of access to employment and education for Syrian refugee families forces girls or women to become second wives or be forced to marry. This situation would lead to the development and growth of prejudice against Syrian women. For example, expressions like “Our husbands marry Syrian women, they wear a lot of make-up, very white people” were such negative thoughts. İHD emphasized that this was the result of discrimination. The solution to the situation was to improve employment and economic conditions and ensure refugee rights.

İHD’s main goal in refugee compliance was to develop the capacity to improve refugee rights. Since 2011’, life in camps has been observed and reported that refugees had not reached healthy living conditions. They shared these reports with the public. The main role and main force in ensuring refugee compliance were the larger authorities rather than NGOs, public institutions and organizations, UNHCR, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Interior. İHD observed whether the current situation in Turkey improved in terms of refugee compliance and refugee rights and wrote reports and made suggestions.

İHD stated that there was no distinction in determining the refugees to be supported, while on the other hand, the situation of being a refugee or migrant caused different needs even if the economic level and language level of a Syrian refugee were good. İHD did not discriminate against the rights that ensure refugee compliance. The human rights policy of İHD was that rights were holistic. In other words, it was the view that one right affected

all other rights. For example, even if a person had a good economic situation, he could not be employed, and his economic situation might have fallen if he did not have the right to education. This situation could also lead to the inability to take advantage of the right to housing,” in his opinion.

MAZLUM-DER’s Views on Syrian Refugee Crisis

MAZLUM-DER looked at the Syrian refugee crisis from a broader perspective, saw it as fundamental rights violations, and attributed it to deficiencies in the law. MAZLUM-DER argued that the fundamental rights of refugees, such as the freedom of life, property, religion and expression, must be protected, but at the same time, their return to their homes should be facilitated by the relevant authorities in Turkey and Syria. According to one of the MAZLUM_DER executives:

“BM Contract “refugee”, race, religion, nature, as a result of the events taking place, if a person is outside the country of which he is a citizen because he is a member of the group or because he is rightly afraid that he will be followed because of his political convictions, or if he is not able to return there; he is called. In the context of human rights, there are five basic rights: Can. Rights, Religion, and Expression. At the very beginning, and most importantly, life is the right to life. Refugees are persons who are trying to be stripped of their right to life and housing in their own homeland. MAZLUMDER fights for the defence and protection of these rights.

As MAZLUMDER, we are an association that sees and reports the Syrian refugee crisis before the crisis. In this context, our 2010 report can be examined. The suggestions listed in this report have been expressed, and we think that if there were an improvement in these issues, we would not face a refugee crisis in these dimensions.

When we look at the situation as the right to life and shelter, we also think that when the land on the earth is basically seen as the trust of God to us, the issue we call “crisis” can be overcome. Turkish society is multi-national and multi-cultural. A society accustomed to living together with different ethnicities. This situation is not just unique to today. For example, before and after the World War, there are many exiles. For example, there was migration from Bulgaria in the 1980s, and there were refugees from Northern Iraq. Circassian exile from the Caucasus. We lived with different ethnic groups. We lived with the Armenians. We are a society that has managed to live together peacefully, no matter what ethnicity we are. However, there are some elements, such as ethnic nationalism, which is a bit of nationalism in every person. The structures we call fascists fuel this. Like what these refugees are looking for here, we can’t find a job. However, as far as we know, within the scope of Syrian immigrants, Turkish society was able to gain a workforce from Syrians, who are what we call intermediate technical workers in Sıteleler, Ankara, for example. In this way, there is harmony

to live together. Some people have a prediction that because they work, we are out of work. This has a partial margin of accuracy, but it is not a problem that cannot be overcome. The culture, structure, and religious beliefs of Turkish society are suitable for the community to live together with people of different ethnicities, especially in terms of people's approach to the event, which is based on the idea of social assistance in the religious sense. We all live in a Muslim community. We have an Islamic stance. There may be differences in understanding and interpretation. But because of humanity and helping a person in a difficult situation, lifting the fallen human being is our basic principle, and we have previews that the refugee crisis can be overcome."

In addition, MAZLUM-DER stated in his 2010 report on human rights in Syria that he saw the refugee crisis in advance and that the extent of the crisis would not come to its present state if the headlines featured in the report were implemented. In this context, it argued that the main measures outlined in the report could keep the refugee crisis at a smaller scale. The relevant measures were, respectively, for the Syrian administration to inform the public more transparently about the war crimes that had occurred in Syria, the opening of prisons and detention centres to the control of human rights advocate organizations and especially the repeal of laws against basic freedoms, etc., consisted of a series of titles.

As can be seen, İHD, İHGD and MAZLUM-DER were looking at the refugee crisis and the situation of Syrian refugees from the perspective of human rights and developing solutions in this direction. The three NGOs adopted the fact that Syrian refugees were entitled subjects, and in accordance with this situation, they believed that government policies and legal legislation should be regulated and that the status of Syrians should be improved. MAZLUM-DER, from a more religious perspective, was of the view that refugee harmony would be facilitated by common religion and faith, and an environment of tolerance would be ensured in terms of overcoming the refugee crisis. İHD was convinced that Turkish society, which was a multicultural society in the past by referencing the situations in the past, would respect different cultures and provide a pleasant environment. İHGD was of the opinion that refugee cohesion was the same for Syrian refugees as discrimination and hatred speech to Kurds in the past and that refugee cohesion would not occur because this situation would not improve.

3. Conclusion

Societies and groups that do not receive sufficient support from the state and private sectors for the solution of social problems are turning to solutions from problems rather than waiting for solutions, which brings up non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The main problem of this study is that human-rights advocate non-governmental organizations in Turkey cannot see the support they expect from the state, and therefore, they are

inadequate. The aim of this study is to make a sociological analysis of the relations of human rights advocates and non-governmental organizations with the government, society, and other NGOs in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis.

As it is known, with the Syrian refugee crisis of 2013, the number of Syrians under temporary protection has increased, and approximately 220 thousand Syrians have reached 3.5 million Syrians. The presence of such a high number of Syrian refugees interacting with Turkish society is very important from a sociological point of view. Syrian refugees live in the largest cities. The Turkish state has provided Syrians with housing in temporary protection camps as a service. However, the proportion of Syrians living in camps that can take a limited number of people is 3% of Syrians. The majority (97%) reside in major cities such as İstanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, Adana, Ankara etc. When the age and gender ratios of Syrians are examined, the rate of the young population is quite high. The average age of Syrians is 22.7 years old. Although infant birth is an indicator of normalization, birth rates are more than the proportion of Turkish citizens. Since it is very difficult for Syrians to transfer to citizenship, 465 stateless babies are born daily in the current condition.

The state provides education and health services to Syrians comprehensively through the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education. Psychological support is provided by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services. 88.9% of primary school-aged Syrian children and 70.1% of middle school-aged Syrian children were schooled. Studies can be made to increase preschool (30.8%) and (high school age) schooling services. In terms of health, both public hospitals, university hospitals and private hospitals serve Syrians. An increase in the number of Syrians receiving outpatient services has been observed. There are companies established by Syrians that operate in different areas, such as food trade, wholesale, education, and accommodation. The state does not prevent Syrian refugees from starting a business. On the other hand, informal Syrian worker employment remains a major problem.

When looking at the facilities and services provided by NGOs, NGOs try to open the way for access to education to ensure that refugees receive education. It carries out studies for the supply of educational materials. They provide training services to increase various social orientations towards refugees and to gain competence. They provide language, psychological support and vocational training with their own budgets and international funds. Rights defender NGOs, on the other hand, are working on the elimination of rights violations in education. On the other hand, the work it carries out on employment is to benefit from the social security rights of the workers, to prevent their informal employment and not to be subject to discrimination. Services provided by NGOs include emergency and preventive health services, physical rehabilitation, psychological support, vaccination

and drug support. In addition, rights defenders of NGOs, in order to improve social communication, should conduct activities such as providing training on legal and social rights, raising public awareness, and eliminating public misconceptions.

As can be seen, the state is bureaucratic; in other words, it is a rational organization that provides services such as education, health, and social orientation to Syrian refugees through various public institutions such as ministries, universities, and hospitals. The state offers these services to Syrian refugees more easily as it is a more bureaucratic and stronger organization compared to NGOs and human rights advocate NGOs. Although NGOs have various activities related to refugees and to solving the refugee crisis, they are not as effective and comprehensive as the services provided by the state. Another reason for this situation is that the state could create obstacles for NGOs in these matters, and the activities of the NGOs are restricted as they are extracted from the empirical research findings. This shows that the state, as a bureaucratic institution, wants to provide all activities and services for the resolution of the refugee crisis on its own.

In general, the relationship of the three NGOs to the state is to transmit the reports they have prepared on rights advocacy to public organizations and to share them through their own websites in cases where they cannot meet with public organizations. For İHD, it is in the form of sharing reports they have prepared both through the website and social media with the public. It is possible to say that all three NGOs have no strong relationship or cooperation with the state except when submitting reports to the state. This situation is understood from the common points that all three NGOs expect from the state. Common expectations: taking opinions from NGOs on policy development by the state and its bodies, providing support to NGOs for public interest activities and difficulties for NGOs to carry out their activities (especially the demonstration, show it is the elimination of situations such as restricting the right to freedom of marching).

While three NGOs have tried to establish a cooperative network with the state in order to increase their efficiency in the solution of the refugee crisis (Daft, 2015), it is seen that the state does not look at this situation favourably. In this current framework, where the State and NGOs are not in a cooperative network organizationally, in the solution of the refugee crisis, it is understood that both NGOs and the state's activities on the solution of the refugee crisis have remained at low levels of effectiveness and productivity. In other words, it is clear that the NGOs and the state have not added significant value to each other because they have not established a strong cooperation network for the resolution of the refugee crisis.

On public relations, one of the important findings is that MAZLUM-DER's opinions and suggestions are included in the media and newspapers that broadcast on the official party line, while İHD and İHGD's opinions and suggestions are not included in the mainstream media. İHD states that it offers its suggestions and opinions in the newspapers that are rights-oriented. İHGD states that its suggestions and opinions be included in small-scale rights-oriented newspapers, but it is closed by the government. Although it cannot be included in the mainstream media, it is clear that among these three human rights advocate NGOs, the NGO using social media most actively to convey their views to society is İHD. This finding can be explained by the theory of Resource Dependence in inter-organizational relations (Daft, 2015); although the media, which is currently broadcasting in Turkey on the official party line, is a very strong medium in terms of conveying opinions and suggestions, İHD, in order to achieve its objectives independently, 'source assurance provides the continuity of the guarantee to communicate its views and suggestions to the society as an indicator of its effectiveness as an NGO that provides', through its own social media and official website. Regarding the relations and cooperation with other NGOs, it is clear that the NGO whose cooperative network is strongest is İHD. İHD is in cooperation with many NGOs as a strong association of universal networks. This situation is understood from the joint concrete activities of İHD on the topic of the refugee crisis with NGOs worldwide, such as the European Human Rights Network and the International Federation of Human Rights. It is concluded that the efficiency and activities of NGOs, whose cooperation network is developed among the three NGOs, are more extensive (Daft, 2015).

The views of the three NGOs on the refugee crisis are seen as the rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey and are in the form of improving their status and preparing state policies accordingly. The most important situation in terms of working methods is, from the answers given by İHD in the interview, close to the Management Science approach in organizational decision-making, in a more systematic way, making decisions, taking into account the factors, MAZLUM-DER, on the other side, is seen from an organizational point of view to make instant decisions in some cases, to have spontaneous activities or meetings. For this reason, it is possible to say that MAZLUM-DER exhibits the Waste Bin model approach in some cases (Daft, 2015).

As a result, it is concluded that the relations of all three NGOs with the state are not strong enough and that the views of the NGOs are not implemented even if they are listened to. This shows that in semi-developing countries, the government, where civil society is not able to be effective enough, can play a role in suppressing the activities of NGOs. This study could shed light on future efforts to enhance the power of civil society in developing countries, such as the strength and effectiveness of civil society in developed countries.

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