

-ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ-

THE EVOLUTION OF TURKISH HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE CENTENARY OF THE REPUBLIC: CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Turkish foreign policy is well known with its special emphasis on humanitarian diplomacy as increasingly witnessed in recent years not only in formal discourses, but also in practice. Türkiye stands, today, among the leading humanitarian states in the world. The article aims, on the occasion of the centenary of the Turkish Republic, to provide an analysis of the evolution of this humanitarian diplomacy with emphasis on a social constructivist perspective. The constructivist approach, in its conventional form, does not provide an alternative, but a complementary explanation to world affairs where political realism is dominant, without rejecting the latter. This approach helps to better explain how states' foreign policies are constructed, and how states can perceive the external material world, where states are required to act rationally.

Methodologically, the article follows an interpretive and descriptive analysis of the policy outputs through constructivist tools, such as discourse analysis, historical and ideational studies. In the article several relevant data is analysed as shown in the tables and charts therein. In analysing the evolution of the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy, the article dwells, among others, on not only historical perspectives of this evolution, but also its current postures in the face of international humanitarian issues and matters, such as organising the first-ever world humanitarian summit and the devastating covid-19 pandemic to provide a broader picture.

Foreign policy is all about pursuing, attaining, preserving and improving the defined national interests of a state. The article argues in this context that Turkish humanitarian diplomacy based on the balance between conscience and power can be seen as a good example to test the role and importance of humanitarian approaches in pursuing such interests. Having started to deploy soft power elements more effectively by diversifying its foreign policy options, Türkiye has expanded the geography of its humanitarian assistance and developed a humanitarian diplomacy perspective that transcends the realist-idealist dichotomy in discourses. With its emphasis on the above-mentioned factors, social constructivism acts as a complementary tool to the realist ones for a better analysis of Türkiye's humanitarian diplomacy to make it more comprehensive and holistic.

Keywords: *Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Social Constructivism, Discourse Analysis.*

JEL Codes: *O10, F5, F50, F51, F55, Z18.*

Başvuru: 20.09.2023 **Kabul:** 09.10.2023

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CUMHURİYETİN YÜZÜNCÜ YILINDA TÜRKİYE’NİN İNSANİ DİPLOMASİSİNİN EVRİMİ: SOSYAL İNŞACI PERSPEKTİF²

Öz

Türk dış politikası, son yıllarda sadece resmi söylemlerde değil, pratikte de giderek artan bir biçimde insani diplomasiye verdiği öneme tanınmaktadır. Türkiye, bugün, bu alanda dünyanın önde gelen insani devletleri arasında yer almaktadır. Makale, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yüzüncü yılı münasebetiyle, sosyal inşacı bir bakış açısına vurgu yaparak, bu insani diplomasi evriminin bir analizini yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Konvansiyonel sosyal inşacı yaklaşım, geleneksel biçimiyle, siyasal gerçekçiliğin hakim olduğu dünya meselelerine, bu gerçekliği reddetmeksizin, alternatif değil, tamamlayıcı açıklamalar getirir. Bu temelde, sosyal inşacı yaklaşım, devletlerin dış politikalarının nasıl inşa edildiğini ve devletlerin rasyonel davranmasının gerekli olduğu dış maddi dünyayı nasıl algılayabildiğini daha iyi açıklamaya yardımcı olur.

Metodolojik olarak makale, gerektiği ölçüde olmak üzere, söylem analizi, tarihsel ve düşünsel çalışmalar gibi yapılandırmacı araçlar aracılığıyla politika çıktılarının yorumlayıcı ve tanımlayıcı bir analizini içermektedir. Makalede, insani yardımlara dair ilgili veriler çeşitli tablo ve grafikler üzerinden analiz edilmektedir. Bu kapsamda, insani diplomasi evrimi tarihsel perspektiften anlatırken, güncel durumlara da atıfla, dünya insani zirvesi ve covid-19 gibi uluslararası gelişmelerde Türkiye'nin izlediği politikalara da değinilmektedir.

Dış politika, bir devletin tanımlanmış ulusal çıkarlarını takip etmek, elde etmek, korumak ve geliştirmekle ilgilidir. Makale, bu bağlamda vicdan ve güç arasındaki dengeye dayanan Türk insani diplomasisinin, bu tür çıkarların sürdürülmesinde insani yaklaşımların rolünü ve önemini test etmek için iyi bir örnek olarak görülebileceğini savunmaktadır. Dış politika seçeneklerini çeşitlendirerek yumuşak güç unsurlarını daha etkin kullanmaya başlayan Türkiye, insani yardım coğrafyasını genişletmiş ve böylece söylemlerdeki realist-idealist dikotomisini aşan bir insani diplomasi perspektifi geliştirmiştir. Bu kapsamda, yukarıda belirtilen faktörlere vurgu yapan sosyal inşacılık, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasisinin daha kapsamlı ve bütüncül analizi için realist yaklaşımlara tamamlayıcı bir araç görevi görmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Türk İnsani Diplomasisi, Dış Politika, Sosyal İnşacılık, Söylem Analizi*

JEL Kodları: *O10, F5, F50, F51, F55, Z18.*

“Bu çalışma Araştırma ve Yayın Etiğine uygun olarak hazırlanmıştır”.

1. INTRODUCTION

Turkish foreign policy is well known with its special emphasis on humanitarian diplomacy as increasingly witnessed in recent years not only in formal discourses, but also in practice. Türkiye stands today among the leading humanitarian states in the world. Besides providing sanctuary to the most crowded population of the Syrians outside Syria, who fled their country, Turkish assistance for humanitarian emergencies and development projects has also increased globally in terms of expenditures and geographical scope. The present form of humanitarian diplomacy institutionalised with practices since the millennium has been indeed the most visible posture of soft-power of Türkiye in the following sense: the ability to get “others to want the outcomes that you want” (Nye, 2004: 5), and as “the ability to affect others by attraction and persuasion rather than just coercion and payment” (Nye, 2017:2).

The following excerpt quoted from the speech of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs before the plenary of the parliament on 22 December 2022 in the budgetary talks which constitutes a form of most conventional speech acts, describes what the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy is about in the official narratives: “While protecting the interests of our state and nation, we did not turn our backs on the oppressed and the needy. Our enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy, which aims to contribute to the vision of “Peace at Home, Peace in the World” stated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which constitutes the founding philosophy of our Republic, will continue to contribute increasingly to the common goals of humanity while ensuring our national security and interests” (2023 yılına girerken girişimci ve insani dış politikamız, 2022).

The preceding statement transpires as a conduct of humanitarian diplomacy used within the confines of the attainment of national interests for humanitarian purposes moulded with efforts for global and regional peace,

² Genişletilmiş Türkçe özet, çalışmanın sonunda yer almaktadır.

security, stability and prosperity, the main attributes of which can be *inter alia* cited as “human-oriented”, “idealistic,” “moral-based,” “value-driven”, “conscientious and compassionate” as well. In analysing the evolution of the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy, one should dwell, among others, on not only historical perspectives of this evolution, but also its current postures in the face of international humanitarian issues and matters, such as organising the first-ever world humanitarian summit and the devastating covid-19 pandemic to provide a broader picture.

In view of the foregoing, the article aims, on the occasion of the centenary of the Turkish Republic, to provide an informative analysis of the evolution of this humanitarian diplomacy with emphasis on a social constructivist perspective. Thus, methodologically, it follows an interpretive and descriptive analysis of the policy outputs through constructivist tools that are used where appropriate, such as discourse analysis, historical and ideational studies. As humanitarian and development assistance programmes are *sine qua non* of such a humanitarian diplomacy, the relevant data that are collected from documents, including official documents of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)’s Annual Reports, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Health as well as reputable international NGOs, such as the Development Initiative, have been referenced to. This is naturally further supported by academic studies as secondary sources as well.

2. HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

As the focus of the article is on the humanitarian diplomacy as conducted by Türkiye, one first needs to touch upon the conceptualization of such a diplomacy form. The related literature shows a variety of definitions based on the perspectives used for the conceptualisation of the term in question.

The term *humanitarian diplomacy* was used for the first time “*at the beginning of the 20th century by the American diplomat Oscar Straus, who distinguished it from the traditional repertoire of the activities of diplomatic departments*” (Bogatyreva, 2022: S1350).

During post-World War II period and with the growth of global humanism, humanitarian diplomacy started to evolve through practices on the ground (Bogatyreva,2022). Naturally, this period was much preoccupied with the conditions of conventional wars, from the perspective of international humanitarian law, focusing on the need of norms and rules to govern military issues and their impacts on human suffering. Primarily, the practice of humanitarian diplomacy at that time was meant for the ways in which humanitarians acted in their diplomatic efforts for their activities in the field (Rousseau and Pende, 2020: 258). In the aftermath of the Cold War, the world order system has been increasingly exposed to the new challenges, such as internal conflicts and failed states etc. This new emerging type of conflicts paved the way for the development of humanitarian diplomacy (Dülger, 2017).

The literature also shows that the term "humanitarian diplomacy" which is coined by Larry Minear and Hazel Smith in the study of "Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft" (Minear &Smith, 2007) is described as an important skill in protecting and helping those prone to risks.

Another scholar points out that humanitarian diplomacy is linked to crisis management and totals for all policies and practices of national and international bodies which work for humanitarian assistance by preventing risks and challenges over a certain population (Regnier, 2011).Most scholars also underline some other characteristics in humanitarian diplomacy such as negotiation skills and public campaigns for raising awareness about while engaging in a humanitarian crisis (Fiott, 2018; Rousseau and Pende, 2020).

Others draw attention to the aspect of humanitarian assistance: “*humanitarian diplomacy refers to the policies and practices of national and international agencies active in humanitarian aid work*” (Regnier, 2011:1212). Naturally, all stake holders ranging from state bodies to *humanitarian* organizations deploy such a policy in addressing national or international emergencies. At present, in fact, several states tend to use humanitarian diplomacy globally as part of their conventional diplomacy.

As noted, the aftermath of the Cold War has also witnessed expansion in the scope, scale, and meaning of humanitarianism. This transformation is mainly associated firstly with policies more focusing on political aspects, such as addressing the root causes of conflicts by means of promoting human rights and democracy, economic development, and state-building. Secondly, institutionalization and standardization have been intensified through norms and rules on the conduct of humanitarian operations (Şeyşane, 2022).

The aforementioned discussion in the literature clearly shows that humanitarian diplomacy is still an emerging concept, and thereby, there is no consensus over its definition and scope. Each actor, be it state, or non-state, develops its brand of humanitarian diplomacy based on its activities. For example, from the view point of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which are the leading actors on the ground of humanitarian diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy is defined as follows: a process in which opinion leaders and decision makers is sought to be persuaded to take measures to assist peoples in need in line with basic humanitarian norms and principles (IFRC, 2009).

Yet, definitely one can talk about certain common attributes of this concept based on the practices on the ground. For example, the concept, which is day by day encountered more steadily in the academic literature and in practice, is the provision of help needed by people due to natural disasters, conflicts, etc., to be provided by state and non-state actors. In this context, international humanitarian organizations in a region, by accessing the civilians in need of protection and help, pursuing aid programs, encouraging to follow the international law and norms, assisting local community or establishments and promoting help for humanitarian goals, play important roles at various levels (Gündoğdu,2022).

Given all these, some draws attention to this component by defining humanitarian diplomacy as a policy for protecting and assisting those in need, due to wars, civil conflicts or natural disasters (Aslanov,2013). Thus, one can assert that humanitarian diplomacy is needed when there is a humanitarian crisis, be it protracted or acute, affecting the peace, stability and security of the country and its vicinity and beyond, due to either man-made problems, such as internal conflicts and wars or natural disasters, such as earthquakes, pandemics, famines or droughts etc.

In that regard, the tools of humanitarian diplomacy can be generally listed under three main categories: the first one is peace building, the second is humanitarian aid, and the third is development aid (Battır, 2016). These tools can be used in tandem or in a sequential order depending on the local requirements.

In view of the foregoing, according to academic studies in this literature, one can sum up with confidence that human diplomacy is defined in general as a policy pursuing humane objectives in terms of international relations through tools of foreign policies varying from peace building efforts to humanitarian and development assistance programs for the needy in the world. One of the main distinctive features of humanitarian diplomacy is to focus on human beings' needs and humanitarian values. It is possible to say that this focus points out the major difference between traditional diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy.

Focusing on the humanitarian values and norms and being human-oriented in nature, humanitarian diplomacy is not an alternative to conventional, bilateral or multilateral diplomacy. On the contrary, its application in coordination with these forms of diplomacy is a key element for success. As noted earlier, humanitarian diplomacy is an ever-emerging form of diplomacy. What is more important is how states translate such a policy into their diplomacy. This is an issue which definitely requires analysing how a state perceives the world affairs and adopts policies accordingly. In the formulation of policies not only material factors, but also identities formed by states *vis-a-vis* other states or foreign policy matters play important roles. This brings us to the role of social constructivism as a theoretical tool to better evaluate the humanitarian diplomacy of the state in question.

3. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

In view of the foregoing one can rightly argue that for providing a better account of humanitarian diplomacy of a state directed on a certain country or region, it is not only the economic capacity and the institutional efficiency of countries are important, but it is needed also to focus on the socio-psychological notions, in particular the formation of collective identities and common perceptions which are generally overlooked in mainstream approaches of positivist nature. The presence of such notions is particularly important in the humanitarian diplomacy conducted by Türkiye as will be discussed in the following sections below.

Given that, for a better understanding of this sort of humanitarian diplomacy, it is of particular value to refer to social constructivism. The constructivist approach, in its conventional form, does not provide an alternative, but a complementary explanation to world affairs where political realism is dominant, without rejecting the latter. This approach helps to better explain how states' foreign policies are constructed, and how states can perceive the external material world, where states are required to act rationally (Ulusoy, 2007). In fact, the constructivist approach acts as a bridge between the current theories of positivist rationalities and the "interpretivist" theories of post-positivism. In this sense, social constructivism, which builds on the work of the English school, seeks to offer a third way between positivism and post-positivism (Hydeprice, 2001). Speaking of a "third way", social

constructivism is commonly portrayed as an approach that lies between rationalism and reflectivism, and for that reason, it is also called a *middle ground* or a *via media* approach (Smith, 2001).

The Importance of social constructivism is that it does not disregard the existence of a world out there. Yet, despite its existence, constructivists argue that this world is socially constructed; therefore it helps the states to better understand world affairs in a more complementary and comprehensive manner. For this reason, it is called “ontological realist” as well (Ulusoy, 2007).

For the purpose of this article, the added value of the constructivist approach lies in its emphasis on the use of two concepts. Firstly, given the methodology of the article, discourse analysis is of special value. Formal texts and discourses constitute the forms of social practice. Therefore, discourses are seen as social practices that both construct social practices and are constructed by them. Especially prominent critical discourse analysis researchers accept discourses as a form of social action and interaction (Wodak, 2001 and van Dijk, 1997). In foreign policy, discourses that are analyzed are considered as a whole “speech act”. A speech act is the act of speaking in a form that gets someone else to act, in short.

In fact, it is argued that discourses are speech acts of particular value for two reasons: They reflect the identity of foreign policy of states while facilitating the understanding of such identities at the same time. As the product of such identities, discourses written or spoken of the state officials and institutions, furthermore, contribute to their formation as well in a never-ending circle of interactions (Ulusoy, 2005:20).

Secondly, the added value also comes from the analysis by social constructivism of socio-psychological factors, namely ideational factors in understanding and pursuing the foreign policy of states since ideational factors are equally instrumental in the constructed interests of a state. In other words, this approach underlines the importance of socio-psychological factors in the analysis of the foreign policies of states. In this regard, for humanitarian diplomacy where these kinds of ideational, socio-psychological factors play an important role in the success of this analysis, the presence of collective identities thus become more important. In other words, in a world dominated by realistic parameters, the common denominators that have contributed to the creation of shared identities and perceptions are of particular importance for the success of humanitarian diplomacy. In this view, by creating common denominators, history plays an important role (Ulusoy, 2007).

4. TURKISH HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

As mentioned earlier, the practice of humanitarian diplomacy was originally more associated with humanitarian NGOs and UN agencies. Yet, today, states, too, conduct humanitarian diplomacy generally to intervene in humanitarian emergencies in line with their foreign policy goals. In fact, the term “humanitarian diplomacy” has been instrumental for states to present their policies implemented for humanitarian reasons. Especially, providing humanitarian assistance to those affected abroad due to man-made or natural humanitarian crises is now conducted by new donor countries active in humanitarian diplomacy (Şeyşane, 2022). Among them does Türkiye hold a distinctive place given its form of humanitarian diplomacy.

4.1. Historical Background

History shows that situated in a disaster-prone geography, Türkiye enjoys a solid legacy of assisting peoples in need. Humanitarian efforts were always visible in the territories ruled by the Turkish rulers over the history. Exiled or fleeing peoples found sanctuary in the Ottoman territories. For example, the Ottomans welcomed the Sephardic Jews of Iberia fleeing from the Spanish inquisition in 1492 and granted them permission to settle in the lands of the Empire (Cihan-Penah, 2016). Since then the Turks have embraced and helped countless peoples in dire needs, regardless of their religious, ethnic or linguistic backgrounds, throughout history. The table below on the humanitarian assistance by the Ottoman state displays some of such aids:

Table 1: Humanitarian Assistance by the Ottoman State

YEAR	HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BY THE OTTOMAN STATE
1567	sending military protection the Muslims of Aceh to protect them from pirates' attacks
1613	providing sanctuary in the Ottoman state to Al-Andalus Muslims who took refuge
1742	assistance to Sweden for harsh winter conditions
1772	providing sanctuary in Thessaloniki to 300 Polish families who took refuge in the Ottoman state
1847	food assistance to the Irish people suffering from famine due to drought
1847	cash assistance to Wallachia for the victims of the fire in Bucharest
1856	cash assistance to France for the victims of river floods
1868	cash donations to the charity organized by the Prussian queen for the victims of famine in eastern Prussia
1870	cash assistance to the Irish people suffering from famine
1876	wheat assistance to Sweden for the victims of famine

Source: compiled by the author from the book entitled Cihan-Penah (2016)

The above examples are not exhaustive, but chosen to mark the different categories of the assistance. In fact, there were more cases of similar assistance throughout centuries, through which the Ottoman state regularly provided assistance to those in need. The selected examples demonstrate firstly that the assistance ranged from providing protection abroad or welcoming refugees in the country, to cash and food assistance to victims of famine or natural disasters. Secondly, they were given to various states and peoples of different origins and religious backgrounds. All these indeed correspond to the tools and philosophy of the present time's humanitarian diplomacy of Türkiye as well.

Based on such a heritage, the Turkish Republic has continued the same philosophy in helping peoples in need, both in its land and in the countries where affected peoples live, within the confines of its available resources and capacities. In this journey, Türkiye has gradually evolved its stance from an aid-recipient to a donor state. In the course of the 20th century, Türkiye's efforts in the humanitarian field were mainly limited to foreign aid programmes, given its capacity in economic and other related aspects.

The concept of "foreign aid", which means aids of mostly material in nature by a state to other states or communities, has come to the fore as a term in the discipline of international relations and as a tool of diplomacy in interstate relations after 1945 (Turhan, 2022). Türkiye's initiatives in the field of humanitarian diplomacy started with aid activities in parallel with the Development Assistance Committee in the 1980s and began to take shape with official aid planning activities within the State Planning Organization (DPT). In this process, in 1985 Türkiye for the first time launched an aid package of 10 million USD for institutional capacity building provided by the State Planning Organization (DPT) to certain Sub-Saharan African countries. Yet, due to the lack of a regulatory body in the field regarding the inadequacy in the amount and diversity of aid, international aid activities were not regular until 1992 (Türkiye'nin Dost Eli, 2022). Nevertheless, with TİKA, which was established in 1992 under the name of Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency, Türkiye's activities in the field of humanitarian diplomacy evolved in a more organized manner, albeit limited to neighbouring regions at the beginning.

Turhan (2021:4) sums up Türkiye's position during the Republican era in foreign aids to third countries in the following table:

Table 2: Timeline With the Phases of Turkish Development Assistance

TIME LINE	NAME OF PERIODS
1920-1945	Early Period
1945-1985	Regression Period
1985-1992	Resurgence Period
1992-2004	Institutionalization Period
2004-2020	Flowering Period

As can be seen in the above table, the period commencing from the early 2000s has ushered the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy into a new era. Not only the Turkish foreign aids in the form of humanitarian and development assistance were in increase, but also the conceptualisation of the Turkish form of humanitarian diplomacy accompanied the process.

Thanks to the experiences gained by the state over decades, the Turkish authorities have gradually developed a series of policies reflected in its humanitarian diplomacy which has a more complex and combined structure, along with humanitarian assistance programmes that form an indispensable part of the former. Humanitarian diplomacy as Türkiye conducts can be explained with its human-oriented and conscience-driven policies prioritising in its efforts, human dignity, humanitarian assistance and development in countries affected by humanitarian crises (Ulusoy, 2017). This transformation has indeed mainly been accelerated by the opening of Türkiye to the Sub-Saharan Africa, which required a holistic approach to these countries where Türkiye established several resident diplomatic missions in a relatively short period of time.

The then Foreign Minister of Türkiye once stated: *“We don't just say this in terms of humanitarian aid. Any diplomacy that does not touch people, does not have a human essence, and does not appeal to people's conscience will no longer be permanent”* (MFA, 2013). This was a clear attempt to furnish the diplomacy with a new dimension, by making efforts to facilitate finding solutions to the crises in its region and beyond, and at the same time addressing the conscience of the peoples and humanity. One can see through the above mentioned quotes, that humanitarian diplomacy, as executed by Türkiye, emphasizes the importance of humans and the human conscience in this strategy which aims to share and consolidate the well-being of peoples on the basis of a balanced partnership with the countries or regions in need, through comprehensive programs of assistance and cooperation. As practiced in Sub-Saharan Africa, the reflections of this policy in practice are of two kinds: finding solutions to the urgent humanitarian needs for these countries, and supporting in the process of their sustainable development, (from economy to education, from health to security, access to drinking water, etc.) (Ulusoy, 2017).

As stated earlier, this form of humanitarian diplomacy has shown a gradual evolution based on practices on the ground in the 2000s. In order to provide the readers with a systematic flow of issues about the process, the article focuses on the following sub-sections, such as its humanitarian assistance dimension as known Turkish model of Development Oriented Humanitarian Assistance to be followed by the current form of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy which encompasses the former. They are followed by a section to show how the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy is also acknowledged globally with special emphasis on international humanitarian summits hosted by Türkiye and finally by a summary of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy during the Covid-19 period.

4.2. Turkish Model of Development Oriented Humanitarian Assistance

Over the years Türkiye's engagement in humanitarian emergencies both abroad and inside the country has evolved into a unique model of development-oriented humanitarian assistance (Turkey's national position paper in WHS, 2014). In this process, Türkiye has provided humanitarian assistance to various humanitarian emergencies stemming from famines, droughts, conflicts, refuge flows or natural disasters such as earthquakes, fires, floods or pandemics, using different tools as needed which is explained below.

Through these humanitarian responses, Türkiye has gradually been named the “most generous” state according to the percentage provided to humanitarian assistance in its gross national income. As earlier mentioned, humanitarian assistance is allocated both to the Syrians who are accorded temporary protection in Türkiye and to those countries affected by humanitarian emergencies. Furthermore, a great majority (almost 70 percent) of the development assistance provided by Türkiye is also directed to humanitarian assistance (Türkiye'nin dost eli, 2022).

Naturally, while assisting victims abroad, helping those inside the country has led to a unique but rather bitter and costly experience for Türkiye in terms of its economy, security and societal aspects. Moreover, this has also made Türkiye both an international donor and affected and a recipient country, enabling itself though to better understand the global humanitarian system.

The development-oriented humanitarian assistance policy which is in fact an indispensable part of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy can be summarized as follows (Türkiye national position paper, 2014; Ulusoy, 2017 and Turhan, 2021):

Naturally, Türkiye's humanitarian assistance is demand-driven. In other words, assistance programmes are conducted in cooperation with the affected country in need. These programmes are run under the general coordination of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a combined manner in which certain public bodies such as the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), the Turkish Red Crescent and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), as well as specialized Ministries actively contribute to the process. Similarly, the role of civil society and NGOs is also prevalent on the ground.

That Türkiye combines its humanitarian and development assistance whenever and wherever necessary, constitutes the core of its development-oriented humanitarian assistance model. This model is in fact built on the following approach: in the face of complex humanitarian crises at present, there is a strong necessity to enforce the humanitarian-development nexus so that better and more comprehensive policies can be implemented *inter alia* to increase the resilience and capacity of recipient countries to tackle humanitarian emergencies themselves.

The combined approach serves well particularly for humanitarian crises which are recurrent and protracted ones. Such crises are prone to severe negative impacts of a destructive nature for the country in question. For example, Ulusoy (2017: 69) notes that “*in many cases in sub-Saharan Africa, there exists a vicious circle entangling the countries. Food crises mostly resulting in famine repeat themselves in circles, due to either drought or flooding which are aggravated by climatic degradation such as deforestation or desertification.*” Inevitably, when such climatic incidents are further aggravated by the lack of state capacities such as infrastructural and institutional weaknesses, states become exposed to systemic collapses even leading to severe consequences, such as conflicts and refugee crises as well.

The presence of structural problems in development normally complicates the situation. In such situations, various tools need to be deployed. Here, Türkiye first engages “with humanitarian aids for emergency humanitarian relief and then continues with development projects to support resilience, in tandem or simultaneously as appropriate” (Ulusoy,2017:69).

The combined use of humanitarian and development tools proves useful for all, be they affected or donor states, despite the difficulty in getting together the different bureaucracies of development and humanitarian silos in certain donor countries to act in a concerted manner. For example, reinforcing the level of development in such countries facing humanitarian crises triggered by under-development as mentioned above, would be less costly for a donor state in the longer run as such an affected country's resilience could be increased, thanks to the development aids facilitating to lower their need for humanitarian assistance in future.

Based on years' long practices, one can list the key words for the success of such a combined use as follows: “*a case-specific but holistic approach, joint and integrated strategy and planning based on shared analyses, context-based and tailor-made programmes, localized responses to local needs, concerted actions through better coordination avoiding duplication, overlapping and flexible budgeting*” (Ulusoy, 2016: 71). Naturally, the successful conduct of all these can be better attained via a culture of collective working supported by political backing.

4.3. Current Form of Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy

Türkiye deploys its aforementioned model to humanitarian crises of protracted nature which are caused by military conflicts or wars as well. In such cases, further tools are utilised to accompany the process. As earlier mentioned, the development-oriented humanitarian assistance model of Türkiye is an indispensable part of its humanitarian diplomacy. The latter obviously consists of more tools such as peace building efforts as part of stabilization and political processes to be deployed when needed in cases jeopardising the state systems in question.

In this context, the main components of the Turkish humanitarian policy can be summarized as follows: As witnessed in several current crises in the world, if one can make an analogy, humanitarian crises can be considered “the symptoms of bigger maladies”. Therefore, to cure that malady one should focus on its root causes. One can argue that Turkish humanitarian diplomacy is guided by this understanding (Ulusoy, 2016).

In order to tackle humanitarian crises of such origins, today's realities require holistic approaches, on the basis of which countries could use various tools complementing humanitarian emergency response policies with preventive and peace building measures. These all constitute the main components of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy.

Conflict-driven humanitarian crises affect not only the country of origin, but also its vicinity. For Türkiye, the Syrian case constitutes the latter. In the face of this protracted crisis affecting severely neighbouring countries

in many aspects ranging from economy to security, Türkiye had to cope with its impacts, hosting millions of Syrians. “Turkey is hosting the largest number of refugees in the world” was the quote by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees when launching the annual Global Trends Report on 18 June 2015 (Press Release Regarding the Visit of Mr. Antonio Guterres,2015), which still is the case. As it is widely acknowledged, this has continued in the absence of a meaningful international support.

As to the second case, Turkish humanitarian diplomacy implemented in countries affected by internal conflicts, Somalia can be seen as the most representative of such a policy (Altunisik,2023, Gündoğdu, 2022, Şeyşane, 2022 and Ulusoy,2016). Somalia can indeed be considered as the most striking example in recent times for cases where a country is severely damaged by a series of protracted crises triggered by both conflicts and natural disasters which affect each other in a vicious circle. Following the visit of the then Turkish Prime Minister in 2011, Türkiye launched comprehensive programmes which consisted of not only emergency responses and humanitarian assistance, but also development projects. They were also coupled with stabilisation efforts in peace building. Naturally, all these have become possible with a holistic and integrated approach.

As can be seen from this case, peace building efforts remain another important component of the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy which are deployed when and if needed. Peace building is more than a process that has a broad post-conflict agenda and more than an instrumentalist method to secure peace. Peace building includes promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation techniques (Lucuta, 2014). Peace building aims to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. It is a complex, long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace. As the UN relevant documents underline, “*peace building measures address core issues that affect the functioning of society and state, and seek to enhance the capacity of the state to effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions*” (UN Peace Keeping).

It is argued that “Türkiye’s approach to peace building has transformed from the strategic state-centric security engagement of the 1990s to a more multifaceted conceptualization that encompasses both state building and social peace making” (Sazak & Woods,2017).

It is underlined that “Türkiye carries out this role with a multi-layered and diverse architecture of initiatives including mediation efforts in the field holding the co-chairmanship of Groups of Friends at the UN, the OSCE, and the OIC, hosting international Mediation Conferences and the “Mediation for Peace” Certificate Program” (Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts and Mediation).

In this pursuit, one can note that Türkiye has aimed to contribute to the international efforts for the resolution of several conflicts in various regions. Among them comes the most recent ones: Türkiye’s assistance to talks between Somalia and Somaliland through a Turkish ambassador, named as special coordinator ; Turkish support to the peace process in South Philippines with a special representative, i.e. a Turkish ambassador to the process and most recently, several efforts to facilitate dialogue in the Ukrainian war through some mediation efforts as well for the exchange of prisoners of war between the two states (Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts and Mediation).

4.4. International Acknowledgement of Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy

In the last decade, Türkiye has also increased its efforts to contribute to the normative and institutional capacity building efforts in the field of humanitarian diplomacy in a global scale. Among them comes hosting UN summits and co-sponsoring UN initiatives to promote humanitarian norms, together with those for the capacity of the global humanitarian assistance system. The first UN summit hosted in Istanbul was the Fourth UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) held in May 2011 which led to a normative development as well such as the Istanbul Program of Action to outline the international strategy for sustainable development of LDCs and this was later followed by the opening of the UN Technology Bank for the LDCs in Türkiye to help LDCs in building their capacity in relevant fields (Türkiye’s Development Cooperation).

The second was the hosting of the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit (WHS) on 23-24 May 2016 in Istanbul. Türkiye was selected in UN among other candidates to host the summit amid the current challenges facing the global humanitarian system. Organized in the aftermath of a preparation process lasting 3 years, the WHS Summit, “*in line with its inclusive structure, brought together for the first time in history all stakeholders of the world humanitarian community, including representatives of affected populations*” (Ulusoy,2017:64).

The participation at the WHS summit of 9.000 participants from all stakeholders, including 173 Member States, among which 55 countries were represented at the level of Heads of State and Government, was record breaking,

according to the UN figures which marked the summit as a venue hosting the highest number of the United Nations members who have ever come together at this scale in one single time outside its headquarters in New York (Turkish Emergency Humanitarian Assistance).

Some reasons can be attributed to this record in participation from all stakeholders, such as the increased attention shown by the international humanitarian community in the face of transcending problems such as refugee flows and pandemics. Moreover, as one argues, *“hosting of the Summit, which was not assumed by a traditional donor country but by Türkiye as a leading donor and an affected country which conducts an active humanitarian diplomacy, had an impact on this active engagement”* (Ulusoy,2017:65). Similarly, another scholar also asserts that *“the holding of the first-ever WHS in Istanbul also shows the acknowledgment of Türkiye’s emerging global humanitarian actor status by the international community”* (Şeyşane, 2022:164).

Thanks to the engagement and hosting of Türkiye, the WHS provided a timely gathering to raise awareness and express commitments for the betterment of the global humanitarian system in the face of millions affected by humanitarian crises of various origins. The appeal by UN Secretary General was highlighted with the motto *“leave none behind”*, through which he stressed *“We should collectively assess progress made in taking forward the Agenda for Humanity and the commitments we have made at this Summit by 2020. We owe it to all people affected by crises, and we owe it to ourselves in the name of our common humanity and our shared responsibility”* (Agenda for humanity).

Türkiye considered from the very beginning the summit as a process to be followed by consecutive initiatives. To this end, a year later it organized another important event as a follow up of the Summit: The High Level Workshop "Advancing the New Way of Working (UN NWW)" held on 18-19 May 2017 in Istanbul. The workshop was intended to further the implementation of the NWW, which in fact constituted an important part of the reform agenda of UN Secretary General to bring together the UN humanitarian and development agencies *“from the beginning of a crisis to support affected communities, address structural and economic impacts and help prevent a new spiral of fragility and instability”* (UN NWW). As can be seen, this initiative was actually similar to what Türkiye has been doing in its development-oriented humanitarian policy with a view to facilitating to transcend the development and humanitarian divide (Ulusoy, 2017).

4.5. Türkiye’s Humanitarian Diplomacy During the Covid-19 Pandemic

As strongly emphasised by Türkiye during the World Humanitarian Summit, tackling pandemics has also been a priority issue in its development-oriented humanitarian assistance model. At the time of the Summit the focus was on zika and ebola, which were mainly the pandemics with regional effects. However, with the advent of Covid-19 and its variants of corona virus, the world later had to face a paradigm shift in the health and all relevant fields.

In the face of Covid-19 pandemic, despite the shortages in terms of medical kits, protection gears and of course anti-Covid vaccines, Türkiye nevertheless tried to extend its benevolent hands to those in need abroad. Official data support this political stance, which show that by September 2022, 161 countries were assisted as follows: 19 countries benefited from vaccine donations, 133 countries benefited from donations of medical materials and 50 countries were given cash aid. Among the regions, the African continent with 49 countries was most helped (Koronavirus Salgını Sürecindeki Rol ve Vizyonumuz).

Given Türkiye’s special focus in humanitarian diplomacy, as early as April 2020, Somalia was the first to receive medical assistance against Covid-19 (Turhan, 2023: 9). Furthermore, Türkiye also pledged to donate 15 million doses of COVID-19 vaccine to African countries, at the third Partnership Summit between Türkiye and African countries in December 2021. Among the vaccines sent to African countries were its first domestically developed vaccine TURKOVAC too (Turhan, 2023).

The fact that Türkiye provided all these medical aids, including PCR test kits, PCR machines and vaccines to those in need although it was also dependent on such foreign aid, particularly COVID-19 vaccines, can be seen as a peculiarity of the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs explains this along the following lines: *“the humanitarian factor remains at the heart of our efforts. As such, Türkiye is positioned as a compassionate power. During the corona virus pandemic, Türkiye acted with the understanding of “a friend in need is a friend indeed”* (Koronavirus Salgını Sürecindeki Rol ve Vizyonumuz).

5. BRIEF OUTLOOK OF TÜRKİYE’S HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN FIGURES

Based on its humanitarian diplomacy moulded with benevolent humanitarian assistance programmes, Türkiye has always been in the lead among the donor countries when it comes to the humanitarian and development aids. In

fact, since the WHS in 2016, the practices of the Turkish humanitarianism have continued in several countries wherever there was a humanitarian crisis of varying degrees. According to the information given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Turkish Emergency Humanitarian Assistance), the following categories can be sorted in the table below:

Table 3. The breakdown of the countries provided humanitarian assistance by Türkiye since WHS

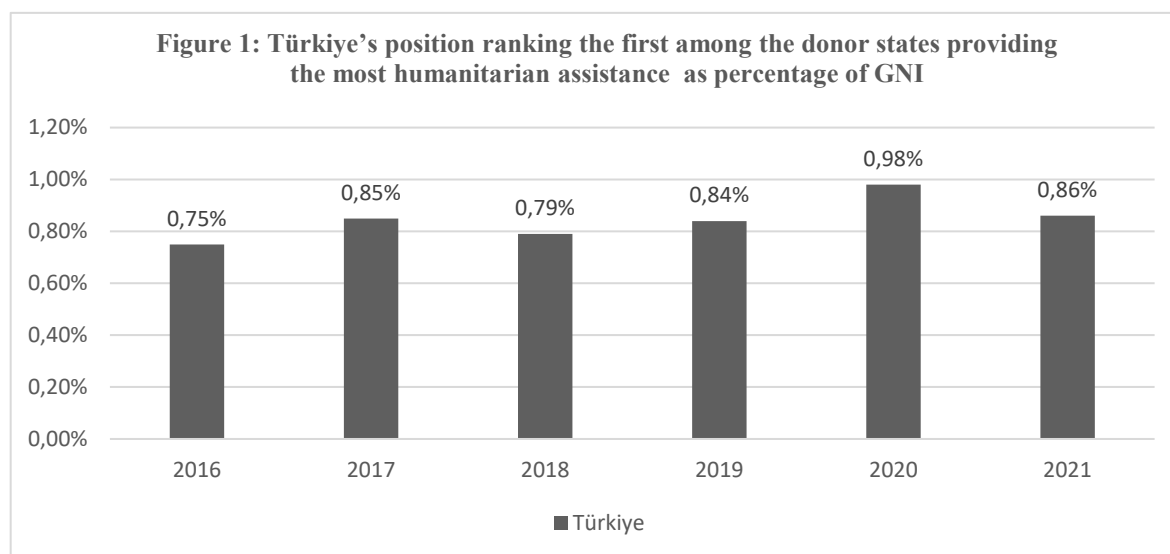
Years	Countries Assisted
2017	two countries: 1 from Latin America, 1 from the Caucasus, both with predominantly non-Muslim populations
2018	3 countries: all from south east Asia, only one with predominantly Muslim population
2019	32 countries, 15 from Africa, 6 from Asia, 4 from the Middle East, 2 from the Balkans, 1 from the Caucasus, 1 from the Latin America, all from both Muslim and non-Muslim populations
2020	24 countries: 8 from both Africa, 8 from Asia, 5 from Europe, mostly the Balkan countries, 3 from the Middle East, all from both Muslim and non-Muslim populations
2021	12 countries: 2 from Africa, 2 from the Balkans, 2 from Asia, 6 from the Caribbean and the Latin America, all from both Muslim and non-Muslim populations
2022	5 countries: 1 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from the Middle East and 1 from the Latin America from both Muslim and non-Muslim populations

Source: compiled by the author from the information released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA,d)

The breakdown of the countries assisted by Türkiye clearly shows that the Turkish state provided humanitarian assistance to countries, regardless of their development level or religious standing. The criteria is simple: the request from those in need of such assistance, which in fact attests to the continuation of the tradition in Turkish humanitarian diplomacy, as earlier mentioned in reference to the Ottoman period.

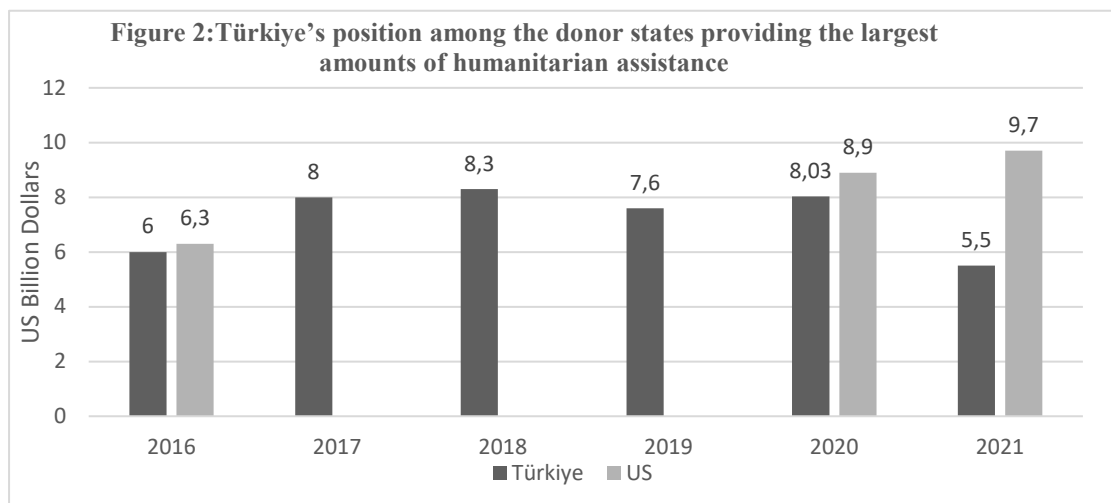
For long Türkiye has also been named as “the most generous country” which is attributed to the donor state whose share allocated to humanitarian assistance is the highest as a percentage of GNI (gross national income). Similarly, Türkiye’s expenditures as a donor state for humanitarian assistance have placed the country either the first or the second in the ranking in terms of total amounts allocated to humanitarian assistance by donor states as well. Such data are gathered through the national reporting communicated by the states to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC). In this process, Türkiye as of 2016 began to report to DAC its expenditures on hosting the Syrians in its territory as well which in fact marked the largest refugee population in the world.

Figure 1 below clearly shows how Türkiye ranks its position as the most generous country in terms of its GNI/humanitarian ratio. Interestingly, despite the harsh economic and health conditions owing to the pandemic’s peak in 2020, Türkiye still managed to increase its share allocated to foreign humanitarian assistance in its GNI to almost 1 percent which marked the record level so far.



Source: Compiled by the author from Global Humanitarian Assistance reports, accessible at www.devinit.org

When it comes to total amounts of humanitarian assistance by the donor states, since the WHS, Türkiye has also managed to keep the first position in 3 years consecutively from 2017 to 2019. As Figure 2 shows below, even in 2020 its total expenditure for humanitarian assistance reached its highest level by more than 8 billion US Dollars. Yet, after the Trump administration the US policy seems to have begun to focus again on such aids and thus their expenditures reached almost 9 billions US Dollars as of 2020 which made impossible for Türkiye to cope with it despite its increase in 2020.



Source: Compiled by the author from Global Humanitarian Assistance reports, accessible at www.devinit.org

6. CONCLUSION

It is true that the global humanitarian system has made considerable progress throughout history to the common benefit of peoples in need. However, as the current features of humanitarian crises clearly reveal, the global humanitarian community confronts enormous challenges causing or triggering humanitarian crises which cannot be tackled properly due to their severity and transboundary nature.

Currently, 80 percent of humanitarian crises are resulted from conflicts, mostly recurrent or protracted ones. Over 100 million people have fled either conflicts or disasters. Natural disasters claim not only human lives, but also material and economic losses. As a consequence, it is estimated that quadrupled in the last decade, 340 million people are in need of humanitarian assistance as of 2023 (WFE).

Faced with such a situation globally, Türkiye has continued to display its humanitarianism through an evolution of its humanitarian diplomacy. The humanitarian diplomacy as Türkiye conducts is in fact three-fold: humanitarian and development assistance, stabilization and peace building efforts, all of which are used when needed, in varying combinations depending on the requirements of the local conditions.

Deploying humanitarian and development assistance together, its development-oriented humanitarian assistance model has been internationally acknowledged as instrumental to transcend humanitarian-development divide. Normally, the following analogy is given to refer to development-oriented humanitarian policies: "Give those in need the fish to eat, but teach them also how to fish". However, what Türkiye carries out, transcends this analogy as its model of development-oriented humanitarian assistance additionally helps the country in need to manufacture fishing tools and create its fishing industry as well.

Similarly, the peace building efforts of Türkiye have also a distinct feature as marked by its leading policies in mediation particularly, which are carried out not only in international fora, such as UN, OSCE and OIC, but also through bilateral arrangements.

It is true that in the final analysis, foreign policy is all about pursuing, attaining, preserving and improving the defined national interests of a state. Turkish humanitarian diplomacy based on the balance between conscience and power here underlines the role and importance of humanitarian approaches in pursuing such interests. Having started to deploy soft power elements more effectively by diversifying its foreign policy options, Türkiye has

expanded the geography of its humanitarian assistance and developed a humanitarian diplomacy perspective that transcends the realist-idealist dichotomy in discourses.

This humanitarian diplomacy, rejecting state-centric realpolitik and external interference in domestic affairs, but highlighting the importance of acknowledging “local values” and local ownership, emphasizes the need to put human dignity and human security at the forefront of policy considerations. Indeed, investing primarily in peoples’ hearts in the countries where its humanitarian diplomacy is conducted is both a strategic and conscientious choice. This cannot be implemented by only rhetoric or discourses.

Here, social constructivism helps to provide better explanations to the philosophy guiding Turkish humanitarian diplomacy, through its emphasis on psychosocial and ideational factors. In this context, the importance of such factors can be better seen in reference to the following Turkish saying which stresses the unrequited manner of helping others : “iyilik yap denize at, balık bilmezse halik bilir” (*Just make goodness, throw into the sea, should fish not appreciate, god does*). Moulded with such an ideational setting, the success of the humanitarian diplomacy of Türkiye is obviously linked *inter alia* to the confidence and attachment shown by the states and their peoples to it.

In this context, one can clearly see the functionality of fostering common understandings and perceptions, even leading to the formation of collective identities and utilising common denominators such as history and socio-cultural commonalities, all of which can be better explained by social constructivism as well. It is a fact that Turkish humanitarian diplomacy has become more effective in countries or regions where historical and socio-cultural denominators and ideational factors play positive roles, naturally in addition to material factors in the form of assistance and aids. Thus, with its emphasis on the above-mentioned factors, social constructivism acts as a complementary tool to the realist ones for a better analysis of Türkiye’s humanitarian diplomacy to make it more comprehensive and holistic.

In view of the foregoing, the devastating earthquakes of the 6th of February that hit Türkiye and its aftermath clearly show the importance of creating a positive image and understanding about Türkiye and its humanitarian policies directed to other countries when they were in similar needs. Over the years, as a disaster-prone country affected by earthquakes, floods and landslides, forest fires and mining accidents, Türkiye has enhanced its capacity for disaster response through which it has also extended humanitarian assistance to other countries stricken by natural disasters.

Similarly, following the earthquakes on 6th February, more than 100 countries offered assistance to Türkiye (Anatolian Agency, 2023). Even some of the countries in Africa, which could not afford to provide help, showed solidarity to the Turkish people by their statements (Ataman, 2023). “11,488 international personnel from 90 different countries and international organizations such as NATO, the EU, the OSCE, 49 the Organization of Turkic States, and several others demonstrated their solidarity with Türkiye” (Akıllı, 2023:18). These aids were not necessarily for the sake of reciprocity. This international solidarity coupled with various forms of assistance can also be seen how Türkiye’s international humanitarian aid activities have increased the sympathy toward our country and the impact of Türkiye’s humanitarian diplomacy (Ataman, 2023). Clearly, had Türkiye’s humanitarian diplomacy not been so human-driven and benevolent reaching the hearts of peoples of numerous countries, the solidarity shown to Türkiye after the earthquakes in February would have probably been not so enthusiastic.

Based on this mere fact, one can conclude by once again underlying the utility of social constructivism in better explaining the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy. As the selected discourses display in the article, this is because of the fact that through this diplomacy, not only interest-based approaches, but also such socio-psychological factors including the formation of common bonds and understanding, happen to serve instrumental in the bilateral relations of Türkiye with other states in a world that is also socially constructed, all of which are analysed by social constructivism in a more comprehensive manner.

CUMHURİYETİN YÜZÜNCÜ YILINDA TÜRKİYE’NİN İNSANİ DİPLOMASİSİNİN EVRİMİ: SOSYAL İNŞACI PERSPEKTİF

1.GİRİŞ

Türkiye’nin insani diplomasisi 2000’li yıllardan itibaren dış politika araçları arasında önem kazanmıştır. Makalede bu diplomasinin ayırt edici özellikleri, sosyal inşacı yaklaşımla ele alınmaktadır. Türkiye, son yıllarda sadece resmi söylemlerde değil, pratikte de giderek artan bir biçimde insani diplomasiye verdiği önemle tanınmaktadır.

Türkiye bugün bu alanda dünyanın önde gelen insani devletleri arasında yer almaktadır. Makale, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yüzüncü yılı münasebetiyle, sosyal inşacı bir bakış açısına vurgu yaparak, bu insani diplomasinin evriminin bir analizini yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

2.YÖNTEM:

Metodolojik olarak makale, sosyal inşacı yaklaşımı esas alarak, söylem analizi, tarihsel ve düşünsel çalışmalar gibi inşacı araçlar aracılığıyla politika çıktılarının yorumlayıcı ve tanımlayıcı bir analizini içermektedir. Bu kapsamda, makalede, öncelikle insani diplomasinin kavramının literatür taraması yapılmaktadır. Bunu takiben, sosyal inşacı yaklaşımın, ana akım yaklaşımlardan farklarına da vurgu yapmak suretiyle, insani diplomasinin analizindeki önemi ortaya konmaktadır. Bu analizin ışığında, Türkiye'nin uyguladığı insani diplomasinin ne gibi farklılıklar içerdiği, tarihsel süreçten de örnekler verilerek anlatılmaktadır. İnsani diplomasinin ayrılmaz bir parçasını oluşturan insani yardımlara dair, ilgili veriler çeşitli tablo ve grafikler üzerinden analiz edilmektedir.

Makalede, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasinin analizi yapılırken, öncelikle bu diplomasinin ayrılmaz parçası olan kalkınma odaklı insani yardımına ve uygulandığı alanlara atıf yapılmakta, bunu takiben de küresel düzeyde Türkiye'nin, Dünya İnsani Zirvesi gibi organizasyonlarıyla normatif oluşumlara verdikleri desteklere değinilmektedir. Bunların ışığında, Kovid-19 döneminde Türk insani diplomasinin bir özeti de verilerek, son dönemde gerek kalkınma odaklı insani yardımlar, gerek insani diplomasinin bir diğer parçası olan, çatışma sonrası süreçlerde barış inşası ve arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine de değinilmektedir.

3.BULGULAR & TARTIŞMA:

Literatür taraması, insani diplomasinin henüz yeni gelişen bir kavram olduğunu, dolayısıyla tanımı ve kapsamı konusunda bir fikir birliğinin tam olarak oluşmadığını göstermektedir. Faaliyetlere ve odağa bağlı olarak farklı insani diplomasinin yönelimleri ortaya çıkmaktadır. Literatürdeki akademik çalışmalara göre, insani diplomasinin genel olarak, barış inşası çabalarından uluslararası insani yardım ve kalkınma yardım programlarına kadar değişen dış politika araçları aracılığıyla uluslararası ilişkiler açısından insani hedefler izleyen bir diplomasinin olduğu söylenebilir. İnsani diplomasinin temel ayırt edici özelliklerinden biri insanın ihtiyaçlarına ve insani değerlere odaklanmaktır. Bu odağın geleneksel diplomasinin ile insani diplomasinin arasındaki temel farka işaret ettiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Konvansiyonel sosyal inşacı yaklaşım, siyasal gerçekçiliğin hakim olduğu dünya meselelerine, bu gerçekliği reddetmeksizin, alternatif değil, tamamlayıcı açıklamalar getirir. Bu temelde, sosyal inşacı yaklaşım, devletlerin dış politikalarının nasıl inşa edildiğini ve devletlerin rasyonel davranmasının gerekli olduğu dış maddi dünyayı nasıl algılayabildiğini daha iyi açıklamaya yardımcı olur.

Bu bağlamda, konvansiyonel sosyal inşacı yaklaşım, özellikle kimlik analizlerine de imkan tanıdığı cihetle, sosyal inşacılık, bir yandan sosyo-psikolojik etkenler ve herşeyin aynı zamanda sosyal olarak inşa edildiği vurgusu temelinde, insani diplomasinde daha bütüncül analizlere imkan vermektedir. Keza, yöntem olarak söylem analizlerini kimlik temelinde kapsamlı yapmaya yarayan yapısı nedeniyle de, insani diplomasinde kullanılan söylemlerin analizi de daha kapsayıcı ve bütüncül olabilmektedir.

Her ülkenin olduğu gibi, Türkiye'nin de insani diplomasinin, kendi tanımlanmış ve inşa edilmiş ulusal çıkarları temelindeki dış politikasının yapılagelişinde, maddi gerçekliklere ilave olarak, vicdani değerleri ve insani yaklaşımları ön plana çıkaran bir ayırt edici özellik içermektedir.

Türkiye'nin yürüttüğü insani diplomasinin, insani krizlerden etkilenen ülkelerdeki çabaları, insan onurunu, insani yardımları ve kalkınmayı ön planda tutan insan ve vicdan odaklı politikalarıyla açıklanabilir. Bu dönüşüm aslında Türkiye'nin Sahra Altı Afrika'ya açılmasıyla hızlanmıştır.

İç işlere dış müdahaleyi reddeden, ancak "yerel değerleri" ve yerel sahiplenmeyi kabul etmenin önemini vurgulayan bu insani diplomasinin, insan onurunu ve insan güvenliğini dış politika değerlendirmelerinde ön plana koyma ihtiyacını vurgulamaktadır. Nitekim insani diplomasinin yürütüldüğü ülkelerde öncelikli olarak insanların kalplerine yatırım yapmak hem stratejik, hem de vicdani bir tercihtir. Bu sadece retoriklerle ya da söylemlerle hayata geçirilemez. Bunu söylem analizleri ortaya koymaktadır.

Türkiye'nin uyguladığı insani diplomasinin araçları genel olarak üç ana kategoride sıralanabilir: İnsani yardımlar, kalkınma destekleri ve barış inşası katkıları. Bu araçlar, yerel gereksinimlere bağlı olarak birlikte veya sıralı bir şekilde kullanılabilir.

5.SONUÇ

Yukarıdaki bulgular ve tartışmalar ortaya koyduğu üzere, 2000'li yılların başından itibaren başlayan bir süreçte, Türk insani diplomasisinde yeni bir döneme girilmiştir. Sadece insani ve kalkınma yardımı şeklindeki Türk dış yardımları artmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda Türk insani diplomasisinin kavramsallaştırılması da bu sürece eşlik etmiştir.

Bir yandan küresel çapta yaşanan gelişmeler, diğer yandan ülke içindeki milyonlarca geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeli nüfus karşısında, kendi pratiklerini geliştiren Türkiye, insani yardım ve kalkınma yardımı, istikrar ve barış inşası çabaları gibi insani diplomasisinin temel alanlarında, çeşitli politikalar izlemektedir.

Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasisi, vicdan ve güç arasındaki dengeye dayanan, ulusal çıkarların sürdürülmesinde insani yaklaşımların rolünü ve önemini test etmek için iyi bir örnek olarak görülebilir. Dış politika seçeneklerini çeşitlendirerek yumuşak güç unsurlarını daha etkin kullanmaya başlayan Türkiye, insani yardım coğrafyasını genişletmiş ve böylece söylemlerdeki realist-idealist dikotomisini aşan bir insani diplomasi perspektifi geliştirmiştir. Bu kapsamda, yukarıda belirtilen faktörlere vurgu yapan sosyal inşacılık, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasisinin daha kapsamlı ve bütüncül analizi için realist yaklaşımlara tamamlayıcı katkı yapmaktadır.

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KATKI ORANI / CONTRIBUTION RATE	AÇIKLAMA/ EXPLANATION	KATKIDA BULUNANLAR/ CONTRIBUTORS
Fikir veya Kavram / Idea or Notion	Araştırma hipotezini veya fikrini oluşturmak / Form the research hypothesis or idea	Hasan ULUSOY
Tasarım / Design	Yöntemi, ölçeği ve deseni tasarlamak / Designing method, scale and pattern	Hasan ULUSOY
Veri Toplama ve İşleme / Data Collecting and Processing	Verileri toplamak, düzenlenmek ve raporlamak / Collecting, organizing and reporting data	Hasan ULUSOY
Tartışma ve Yorum / Discussion and Interpretation	Bulguların değerlendirilmesinde ve sonuçlandırılmasında sorumluluk almak / Taking responsibility in evaluating and finalizing the findings	Hasan ULUSOY
Literatür Taraması / Literature Review	Çalışma için gerekli literatürü taramak / Review the literature required for the study	Hasan ULUSOY