

**National Settings and Transnational NGOs: Comparative Study  
of Amnesty International in Argentina and Turkey**

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*Submitted to Central European University  
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*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts*

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# Abstract

The proliferation of so called NGOs have roused several discussions addressing the definition of the term, the roles these organizations take, the opportunities they provide, the threats they introduce to local communities and different methodologies for studying them. Among these arguments, global deductive approaches tend to underestimate the different outcomes of national historical trajectories on transnational embeddedness while purely local approaches fail to consider similar patterns emerging from different localities. This study examines the ways in which national histories and institutional fields might influence the role of transnational NGOs and in return the types of interactions between them and the local organizations. By analyzing the role of Amnesty International (AI) in Argentina and Turkey, this research seeks out an approach which explores the critical junctures that connect local, national and transnational processes. This comparative case study reveals that AI occupies strikingly different positions in these two countries, at the same time human rights fields present several similar characteristics. By investigating these cases, I argue that particular network structures are historically produced through the interactions of national and transnational actors, so that the roles of transnational organizations within these networks are constrained and enabled by national institutional settings.

# Acknowledgments

I am profoundly thankful to my supervisor Balazs Vedres whose guidance and support from the initial to the final level enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject. I am also grateful to Don Kalb for his enthusiasm in my research, his constant support and accessibility, as well as his critical insights on the topic.

A number of individuals, their works and guidance in Buenos Aires, Budapest and Istanbul have provided me not only the insight about the complexities of human rights field but also the warmth friendship. In that sense I am thankful to Güneş Çelikkol, Maria Lara Goyburu, Adriana Azcorra, Martin Demingo, Laura Rodriguez, Aslı Pelit, Maria Lis Baiocchi and Lucas Gilardone.

No words can express my gratitude to dearest Natalia Andrea Peral. Her genuine support has gone much beyond the project and without her help and friendship this project would be much difficult and less fun.

I am appreciative of Ayşe Çağlar, Prem Kumar Rajaram, Alexandra Kowalski and John Clarke for their invaluable contributions to this thesis; Eszter Timar for her constant help with the writing process as well as the administrative and academic staff of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology who together enabled me to have a friendly and peaceful experience throughout the year.

I am thankful to my friends and colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of CEU with whom I have been constantly and enthusiastically supported and challenged by throughout the year. I am especially grateful for those who were there until the last moment, for making this process easier in any possible way.

I am heartily grateful to Gürkan Mihçı for his patience, understanding and companionship in each step of this journey.

Finally, I am most thankful to my parents, my partners in crime, Rengin and İbrahim Uzun, to whom this thesis is dedicated. Without them, I would not be who I am now.

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## List of Abbreviations

### *Organizations in Argentina*

ABUELAS	Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo
AEDD	Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos
AI	Amnistia Internacional in Argentina
AMBRU	Asociacion Miguel Bru
APDH	Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos
CELS	Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales
CPM	Comisión por la Memoria
EQN	Equipa Nizkor
FAMILIARES	Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticas
HIJOS	Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio
IIDH	Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos
LIGA	Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre
MABIERTA	Memoria Abierta
MADRES-A	Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo
MADRES-F	Madres de Plaza de Mayo – Línea Fundadora
MEDH	Movimiento Ecuémico por los Derechos Humanos
SERPAJ	Fundación Servicio, Paz y Justicia

### *Organizations in Turkey*

AI	Af Örgütü
AKDER	Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Hakları Derneği
BUIHHA	İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Hukuku Araştırma Merkezi
DOD	Düşünce Özgürlüğü Derneği
HEL	Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği
IHD	İnsan Hakları Derneği
IHGD	İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği
IHH	İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı,
IHOP	İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu
IUIHHA	İstanbul Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Hukuku Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi
KAOS	Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği
MAZLUM	İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar için Dayanışma Derneği
MULTECI	Mültecilerle Dayanışma Derneği
OD	Özgür Düşünce ve eğitim Hakları Derneği
STGM	Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi

# Introduction

Scholarly discussions on ‘proliferation of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs)’ point to the significance of these actors in terms of their role in decision making processes of international governmental organizations (IGOs) such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB) (e.g. Thakur 1994; Clark, Friedman and Hochstetler 1998; Martens 2005; Alger 1997). They seem to provide political opportunities for externalization of local contentions and have the ability to modify local political agendas (e.g. Tarrow 2001; Tarrow and della Porta 2005; McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2003). Several scholars also demonstrated the impact of material constraints on the organizational structure of these transnational NGOs (e.g. Smith 2005; Cooley and Ron 2002). Most of these accounts, whether optimistic or critical, tend to generalize how these institutions operate, what impacts they bring upon policy-making processes and what kinds of interactions occur on transnational and local scales. Also, purely local approaches fail to consider the interaction between national and transnational forces and dismiss the similar outcomes of these interactions in different locales. On the other hand, several anthropological studies critically highlighted how “local organizations (...) make sense of global ideas and norms, and how the global is transformed in response” (Levitt and Merry 2009:443). But these studies mostly concentrate on the differences claiming that “vernacularization is a widespread practice that takes different forms in different kinds of organizations and in different cultural historical contexts” (ibid: 441). Against a global deductive approach and against a purely local one, by doing both qualitative and quantitative analysis, I argue for an approach that seeks out the critical junctures that connect local and transnational processes and in return, produce similar and different national outcomes.

This study examines the ways in which national histories and institutional fields might influence the role of transnational NGOs by analyzing Amnesty International (AI) in Argentina and Turkey. This comparative case study reveals that AI occupies strikingly different positions in these two countries and yet there are significant similarities between two historical trajectories and human rights fields. By investigating the case, I argue that particular network structures are historically produced through the interactions of national and transnational actors, so that the roles of transnational organizations within these networks are constrained and enabled by national institutional settings. It is within these structural settings that the roles of transnational organizations, NGOs in this study, are defined.

Before examining the case of AI in Argentina and Turkey in terms of exploring the transnational and national level of NGO interaction, three interlocked selections for the analysis, namely human rights field, AI and Argentina-Turkey comparison, should be clarified.

The moral claim of human rights is universal by definition, if not by assumption, especially since its institutionalization with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The subject of human rights has been considered as “the fundamental standard for measuring progress or retrogression in civilized society” where NGOs are the ones who “would take on the challenge of transforming the words of the Declaration from a standard into reality” (Korey 1992:1-2). The premise of human rights law which was framed and codified after the Second World War is based “on the idea that outsiders must judge the way states treat their own citizens” (Leebaw 2007: 224). The claim of universality, the warrant to judge nation states from outside and NGOs practicing this universal standard on the “real” grounds make human rights field a fruitful place to look for a better understanding of a locus of interaction for national and transnational, state and non-state, micro and macro spheres. AI, as one of the prominent actors in this field, offers analytical insights due to the multiple roles

it can take, by being “part savvy global NGO, part witness and institution of record, part transnational social movement, and even part corporation” (Hopgood 2010:151). In other words, AI is itself incorporates different aspects of these different spheres and different levels of interactions as an organization.

For the comparative case of Argentina and Turkey, the political historical trajectories of these two countries are central for the selection for comparison, in addition to the already existing studies comparing the two. Argentina and Turkey do not have similar outcomes of historical, political and cultural processes, nor did they experience completely dissimilar transformations. A significant amount of scholarly works on this comparative case addresses various different, yet interconnected subjects. Namely, the import substitution model and 2001 economic crises (e.g. Maxfield and Nolt 1990; Eichengreen 2001; Onis 2006; Woods 2006); state, society and capital relations marked by “bureaucratic authoritarianism” (e.g. Yalman and Yildizoglu 2003; Gülalp 1985, K.Blind 2009) and the relationships between privatizations, labor and democracy (e.g. K.Blind 2009). Most of these accounts address the 1990s period of gradual economic reforms that Argentina and Turkey undertook, while highlighting the relationships of these two countries with IMF, World Bank and 2001 economic crises. For Eichengreen (2002), the striking similarities these two countries have within this period are that both countries implemented exchange-rate stabilizations, both had long periods of economic stagnation and among other similar features, they both had ambitious programs of privatizing public enterprise (p.2-3). For K.Blind (2009), similarities between Argentina and Turkey can be listed, among others, as “a statist developmental model until the advent of neoliberalism in the mid-1980s” (p.201), free market economies in 1980s, and populist yet technocratic privatization programs in 1990s. At the same time, the impact of hardly comparable yet very crucial dominant national ideologies of Kemalism and Peronism should be noted since “they both shaped the soul and identity of their nations and state



institutions” (p.200). Among these, privatization itself is a productive point of comparison, as K. Blind (2009) argues, since processes of privatization in these two countries have significant impacts on democratization processes through workers and unionism, which workers are not only “important collective actors in democratization, but also democratization itself is a process of organizing and mobilizing the masses” (p.12). In terms of democratization, this study offers to examine transnational human rights NGOs as other important oppositional actors in this process. Therefore, this study relies on these arguments, and considers narrowly the tradition of O’Donnell’s (1973) seminal work where he introduces the concept of bureaucratic authoritarianism, followed by Munck’s (1998) theory of transition from bureaucratic authoritarianism to democracy and Collier and Collier’s (1991) *critical junctures* argument. Therefore, the comparison of Argentina and Turkey will give significant insights not only on “the strength of opposition” in the transition period but also about the impact of the type of transition on the evolution of oppositional movements, even though the main concern here is not to test the reliability of this theoretical tradition in details.

In that sense, comparability of Argentina and Turkey in terms of economic transformations through reforms, privatizations and military interventions, which all in all affect the processes of democratization and transition, provide a legitimate ground for carrying this study to the level of civil society to see how these democratization processes play out on NGO level. Therefore, the contribution of this study, which is partially informed with this literature on Argentina and Turkey, would be opening up a space for further questioning the uses of transnational NGOs for comparative cases of democratization and the transition from authoritarian regimes and military dictatorships. Secondly, it would be the introduction of this particular case, namely two non-Western, semi-peripheric middle income countries, to the literature of transnational NGOs for a better examination of the roles they take and their complex negotiations with different actors.

In order to do so, the first part of this paper provides a literature review on alternative theories of NGOs and human rights field followed by a descriptive section on AI. In the same chapter, I will introduce the historical political background in which the current human rights field emerged in Argentina and Turkey. In the second chapter, I will lay out the methodological framework of this study namely a comparative historical perspective and network analysis. I will briefly clarify the significance of this methodology and conceptual framework behind network analysis.

In the third chapter, I will analyze the current field of human rights by identifying the actors within this field and the ties among them in Argentina and Turkey with the tools provided by networks analysis. Before visualizing the current distribution of the roles of human rights actors, I will present several other empirical findings which are relevant to the historical evolution of the case. Finally, I will conclude by addressing two different, yet interconnected directions that can be taken from this point with further intensive research. I will also reevaluate the main research question about the impact of national institutional settings on the roles of NGOs and the extent to which these NGOs are transnationally embedded.

# CHAPTER 1: Alternative Theories of NGOs and the Comparative Case of Argentina and Turkey

This chapter begins with a review of the accounts discussing the meanings of the term “NGO” and the transnational dimension of this phenomenon. In the following sections, attention will be intensified towards the human rights movement and particularly AI. The comparative case of Argentina and Turkey will also be introduced.

## ***1.1 NGOs and Alternative Approaches***

Even it seems that there is no consensus on the meaning of the term ‘NGO’ despite significant amount of studies, it still reserves its significance as an operational definition. For example, Heins (2008) gives a critical account of “the boundaries” of NGOs’ roles and the strategic reasons for sticking with the term “NGOs” rather than “civil associations”, or “advocacy networks”. According to him, NGOs are actively created by the UN system in many ways, as a distinct category of international actors (p.15). He lists distinctive features of these organizations in three categories: First, the struggle in the field of NGOs does not resemble conventional struggles for power within a state or between states, rather there is a claim of impartiality, “a formal independence from governments and political parties [which] is accentuated by a certain aloofness from politics” (p.17). Secondly, the interest that drives the activities of these organizations is not necessarily the well-being of the members, “but of nonmembers who sometimes might not even be aware of the existence of the association” (p.18). And third, their activities are not limited to a given territory. These transnational NGOs are by definition “nonterritorial political actors who choose their sites of engagement, who seek out sources of information and income on a transnational scale, and who make contact with people regardless of their national background” (p.19).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Also for other critical reviews of definitions of the term “NGO” and what they do, see Rudasill in Witt eds. 2006; Fischer 1997.

Particularly focusing on human rights organizations, Spiro (2009) offers a typology of human rights NGOs, by “distinguishing generalist from identity-oriented human rights NGOs and domestic from transnational” (p.2). He draws attention to NGOs and groups what he calls “politically activist as a matter of institutional identity” which according to Spiro, can be listed as AI, Human Rights Watch as “archetypes”. The category of “politically activist” as an institutional identity also “includes such humanitarian NGOs as Oxfam, CARE and Medecins sans Frontieres” (p.6).

Within these lines of thinking, what constitutes the field of “transnational” NGOs is not yet clear. To begin with, if we consider NGOs as parts of the wave of transnational activism, especially in relation to World Social Forums (WSF) and similar gatherings<sup>2</sup>, the definition of what an NGO stands for becomes even more complicated. Although some scholars find the distinction between transnational and national NGOs “artificial” like Spiro (2009), where he argues that these distinctions reify the “former importance of boundaries” (p.6), it is quite difficult to dismiss the significant differences between national NGOs and the transnational ones, especially for the cases like Turkey where the very distinction itself positions actors among historically situated roles for an NGO.<sup>3</sup>

Several scholars discuss transnational NGOs in terms of new forms of activism and in relation to global processes. There are also studies on the ambivalences that the interactions between national and transnational NGOs brought out: Tarrow (2005) defines transnational activism as a “series of waves that lap on an international beach, retreating repeatedly into domestic seas but leaving incremental changes on the shore” (p.219). In this process,

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<sup>2</sup> See for example Sousa Santos 2006. In his book, author considers NGOs as part of counter hegemonic movements especially in terms of their participation in WSF: “The WSF is the set of initiatives of transnational exchange among social movements, NGOs and their practices and knowledge of local, national or global social struggles carried out in compliance with the Porto Alegre Charter of Principles against the forms of exclusion and inclusion, discrimination and equality, universalism and particularism, cultural imposition and relativism, brought about or made possible by the current phase of capitalism known as neo-liberal globalization” (p.6-7). Yet this relationship is very controversial (p.55).

<sup>3</sup> For example see Dalacoura (2003) where the author assesses the impact of Western human rights policies in Turkey, Iran and Egypt.

transnational NGOs operate as carriers of these waves especially in terms of “externalization of contention” through mobilization of domestic issues in the transnational arena in order to put pressure on the domestic government (p.145). Della Porta (2006) characterizes the proliferation of IGOs and NGOs as a matter of the process and the period known as globalization. That is, according to her, not only a matter of change in technologies and modes of production but it is also “*political* tools set in place to regulate and reproduce” which, among other things, means the proliferation of these organizations.<sup>4</sup> An increase in the number of IGOs for example, such as the UN “or with a regional scope of action (for example the EU, the Mercosur in Latin America...)”, signals possible future opportunity structures (p.12). After certain transformations like the increase in these opportunities, especially human rights activists working in the domestic political context of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and authoritarian regimes in Latin America (regions closed to human rights activism in the 1960s and early 1970s), succeeded in transforming these international institutional opportunity structures in the early 1970s and early 1980s (Sikkink, 2005, p.160-161). But it has never been only about *success* stories of international organizations.

In several cases, these opportunity structures of IGOs and/or NGOs brought ambivalences to the domestic scene. In the case of Central European Romani activists, Vermeersch (2006) points out the “ambivalent perception of international politics” such that Romani activists, interacting with international NGOs<sup>5</sup> frame a distinct European national category of *Roma*. As a result of framing through this interaction, local NGOs “became increasingly successful at organizing on a transnational level and lobbying directly towards international organizations”. However, they also faced “new obstacles hindering the development of the Roma movement in domestic and local politics” because of the

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<sup>4</sup> Beck 1999, Boli and Thomas 1999 quoted here in della Porta 2006, p.12.

<sup>5</sup> Although I find the term “transnational” more useful than international which, to say the least, highlights the difference between the positions of UN and organizations like AI vis-a-vis nation states, I used the term “international” here as the author quoted did.

international pressure (p.186-187). In order to analyze the complexity and variety of these international ties, Bruszt, Stark and Vedres argue that “variation in the mode of transnationalization matters: the distinctive forms of transnationalization correlate with different patterns of domestic integration” (p.327). The authors argue that the integration occurs in “three forms of transnational public arenas: transnational social movements, transnational projects, and transnational developmental associations” and departing from this point of argument they emphasize that “there is not one unitary form of transnational activism but several” (p.326).

The tension between transnational and national scales of organizing is relatively more visible in terms of material relations. Opportunities provided on the transnational scale both materially and discursively shape frames and hierarchies of local actors. But operating in a wider scale also put limits and restrictions on the transnational organization. In terms of material constraints for transnational mobilization, Smith (2005) argues that it substantially requires “greater resources than does more locally oriented action”. This is a result of the large scale communication and transportation costs, but also because of “the need to bridge linguistic and cultural distances within the organization” (p.235).

Keeping in mind these scholarly discussions on NGOs, transnational and national relations among these organizations and the nature of these relations that are in question, at this point, it is important to assess the different approaches concerning ‘the transnational NGOs’, their roles, the expectations in the field and how they operate in different localities. It is possible to group these different approaches into three categories: Optimistic approaches considering the growing number of transnational NGOs as the emergence of a promising *global civil society*; critical approaches discussing NGOs as agents of *governmentality* or *imperialism*, and middle ground approaches arguing for taking both optimistic visions and

critical accounts into consideration by analyzing comparative cases and/or *vernacularization* of global ideas and norms on the local grounds.

*Civil Society:* In Gramscian thought, “hegemony” is formed through a certain way of organizing coercion and consent. According to Gramsci, “the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways: as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’” (Gramsci 1971:57). Domination occurs through armed forces of coercion; on the other hand, intellectual and moral leadership operates with non-coercive tools in order to create consent of the masses by which the exercise of coercive force is justified. With respect to that, hegemony functions through “political society” composed of state apparatuses and civil society, “that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private’” (Gramsci 1971:12). For Gramsci, this separation of political society and civil society, domination-consent and moral-intellectual leadership is, for instrumental purposes. Because “the state in Gramsci is characterized by two analytically separate, but historically and mutually penetrating, spheres: civil society, on the one hand, and the bureaucratic/military/administrative apparatus, on the other” (Fontana 2002: 160). Civil society, intertwined with the state apparatus, composed of coercive and non-coercive institutions, contributes to securing the roles of ruling parties and hegemonic powers. On the other hand, dialectically, civil society also refers to the organizational model which encompasses the potential to challenge the hegemony and creating a model later to develop into the dominant power itself, through these coercive and non-coercive institutions and at the end becomes unified with the political society. This dialectical relationship between civil society and state with the composition of coercive and non-coercive institutions, presents itself both in terms of the optimistic ideas about NGOs as part of a counter-hegemonic movement and as a critical perspective where NGOs are considered to encompass the non-coercive forces of the state apparatus.

*Optimistic approaches:* Optimistic visions of *global civil society* arguments have been mostly informed by neo-Gramscian thinking in international relations studies. One of the major strands of this perspective refers to global civil society or the ‘global movement’ as a reformist, somehow progressive force which has the potential to challenge the inequalities of the world system. Although global civil society embodies “the imbalances of power, resources, and access” (Batliwala 2002:397), it is considered as “the most important ‘popular’ force pushing for greater democratization and accountability of global governance (p.396). Some scholars call it “The Third Force” (Florini eds. 2000) and some places specifically NGOs at the center of “Globalization from Below” (Falk 2003 quoted in Katz 2006:334). The optimistic attribution to NGOs within global movements, most of the time is associated with being “alternative”, even though it is still not clear to what or to whom they are alternative. World Social Forum is one example, where different groups of people all around the world as well as various NGOs comes together for dealing with several issues from environmentalism to women’s rights or water sanitation. Those groups are regarded as the deriving forces of an optimistic image of the future of a global civil society.

*Critical approaches:* On the other hand, there is also a significant amount of accounts that are not so optimistic about the proliferated number of transnational “NGOs”. Against the optimistic visions discussed above, Lipschutz (2005) problematizes global civil society “as a central and vital element in an expanding global neo-liberal regime”. According to him, global civil society is a product of social and power relations of this regime. Following a Foucauldian line of thinking, where power is diffused into every aspect of social relations, he considers global civil society as a foundational element of an emergent, globalized, neo-liberal system “organized around individualism, private property, and exchange” which has been disseminated every aspect of oppositional mechanisms. Also he reminds us of the potential it carries as a necessary opposition to the neoliberal regime, especially of the “focus



on human rights advocacy against an overweening state”, which according to him could be interpreted as the capitalist agents’ eagerness to commodify the human body for the sake of profits. Civil society becoming an arena for this struggle where certain fractions of the bourgeoisie seeking action through the state in order to assure regulatory markets, is then considered as another regulatory mechanism put upon the state. For Lipschutz (2005), this is a dialectical relationship rather than a causal one, “while civil society cannot exist absent a liberal system, a liberal system also cannot exist if civil society is absent”. These two are mutually constitutive and they have come into existence “through historical materialist process that, today, continues to generate states, markets, and civil societies” (p.748-754).

Outside of these global civil society discussions, there is a strong current of scholarly work which considers NGOs as exercising new forms of imperialism over dependent, under-developed and under-privileged nations by this top to bottom manner. Ong (2002) for example, considers NGOs within the “new strategies of ruling in developing countries” and claims that the faith of NGOs is to be “‘quarantined’ in university forums and hotel rooms” (p.243). Rabinow (2005) points to the parallel principles and forces which are at work between capital markets and “humanitarian markets” as capital transforms itself from one form to another within the governmental and imperial mechanisms (p.49). Petras (1999), from Marxist tradition, regards NGOs as managers with “multi million dollar budgets with salaries and perks that are comparable to CEOs” (p.429). These NGOs, according to him, “by talking about ‘civil society’ (...) obscure the profound class divisions, class exploitation and class struggle that polarizes contemporary ‘civil society’” (1999: 431). Hardt and Negri, in their very famous book *Empire* (2000), make a similar claim about NGOs presenting them as one of the constitutive powers of “the Empire” as the representatives of “democratic-

representational *comitia*” along with media organizations and other “popular” organisms (p.314).<sup>6</sup>

*Middle ground approaches:* In between neo-Gramscian, Foucauldian, poststructuralist and Marxist sides of the stick, there are several other studies arguing for a middle ground for understanding the complex, multifarious world of NGOs, without taking these critiques for granted. One way or other, they argue for revealing different translations of the messages carried by supposedly “imperial” actors in the various different localities. For example, Berry and Gabay (2009) address different views of the term ‘global civil society’ which has become a significant conceptual tool for analyzing world politics in the post-cold war era “especially following the scholarly interest in transnational non-governmental action in the wake of the protests accompanying the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999 and various G8 meetings” and claim that it cannot account for the differentially experienced terrain of global civil society (p.339-344). Therefore, to understand the role of a transnational agency of any single actor, they point out the necessity of an understanding of particular agent’s perception of and place in the global order. They conclude by assessing various empirical studies from “developing countries” that “it is possible to recognize the transformative potential of transnational political action, while also acknowledging (...) that global civil society may serve to make the global political economy ‘governable’” (p.344, 355).

The transnational NGOs like Greenpeace, Human Rights Watch, and AI have been considered as critical actors shaping the international policy making processes and the national agendas. In these processes of international policy making and national agenda setting, “ideas from transnational sources travel to small communities, they are typically vernacularized, or adapted to local institutions and meanings” (Merry 2006: 39). Therefore, Levitt and Merry (2009) argue that, social relations and networks have strong influences on

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<sup>6</sup> In a review of the book, Balakrishnan (2000) point to their claims of “banality of the enemy”, and quotes that “Amnesty International or *Médecins Sans Frontières* play an essential role in mobilizing public opinion behind humanitarian interventionism” (p.145).

the path and impact of the circulation of these meanings, where the social position of the messenger who carries them is the key element (p.444). By looking at four different sites of women's human rights NGOs in Beijing, Baroda, Lima and New York, scholars found that the leaders embrace a similar pack of ideas on 'women's rights. According to them, "this package circulated widely but was appropriated differently depending on the political and historical context in which the circulation and appropriation took place" (p.446). This process of appropriation, which they call *vernacularization*, takes "different forms in different kinds of organizations and in different cultural and historical contexts" (p.441)<sup>7</sup>.

Within these "different contexts", for analyzing "the dynamic *processes* and constituent mechanisms" enabling actors to operate on a transnational scale, Tarrow and McAdam (2003) question the domestic roots of transnational contention stemming from domestic political conflict. They argue that through the routes of "brokerage" and "diffusion" contentions transpose from one level to another. For somewhat similar purposes, Mendelson and Glenn (2002) argue for a better understanding of these processes and "strategies of international NGOs rather than treating them as if they are the same" (p.1). By looking at the Eastern European cases of transition from authoritarianism, they ask "to what extent these transitions are domestically determined and whether and to what extent international organizations and other outside groups, such as transnational networks have affected them" (p.2).

Although there are various numbers of other studies which cannot be grouped within these three categories, the ones listed here are sufficient enough to represent major trends among scholarly discussions about transnational NGOs.

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<sup>7</sup> For other examples of "vernacularization" see the special issue of *Global Networks* 2009, 9(4).

## **1.2 Human Rights Movements and Amnesty International**

The idea of human rights, that all human beings are equal regardless of their citizenship, national affiliation, ethnic or religious background dates back centuries (not surprisingly, equality on the base of gender arrives much later than rights of ‘mankind’). However it is in the post-world period of 1940s when the first attempts to institutionalize and secure a universal understanding of human rights occurred. Within the global human rights field which emerged after this period, actors involved in human rights movements vary both on transnational and national scales, from governments, NGOs, juridical bodies, international governmental organizations, and international courts to individuals as victims, non-victims and relatives of victims. Also several other institutions or individuals can be added to this list such as “think tanks, philanthropic foundations, state administrations, international organizations such as the United Nations or the World Bank, private consulting firms, professional associations, activist lawyers and, last but not least, academic scholars” (Guilhot 2005:2). In addition, there are also “churches, trade unions, peace movements and foundations such as the Ford Foundation and the German Konrad Adenauer Foundations” in this picture (Risse 2000: 181). Each of these actors struggle over material and symbolic resources that are available in the field. Some of them are relatively in a higher rank in this hierarchical field of power than others in terms of capital they accumulated and also in terms of the distribution of different types of capital.

One striking feature of the human rights movement, which differentiates it from other types of social movements, is the universal moral claims which motivate the actors involved within these movements. Although it is not possible to argue that these claims are shared among actors through similar practices, justifications or for the same purposes, either in the name of ethical reasons or pragmatic concerns, the first and foremost mechanics of human rights organizations are based upon moral interventions. “Modern universalism of (...)

humanitarian NGOs as Amnesty International, Oxfam, and Médecins sans frontières, operates both at the level of rights and at the level of the most basic needs of life” (Rabinow 2005:49)<sup>8</sup>. This universality perpetuates the transnational scale of their operation.

The field of human rights “is determined by the relations between the positions agents occupy” (Johnson in Bourdieu 1993: 6). AI, within these relations, has a significant position, endowed with financial capital (with approximately 2 million supporters), social capital (its consultative status in UN and its annual reports with high reputation among scholars and activists) and symbolic capital (with the ability to put pressure on governments through operationalizing its social capital: reports, monitoring and also with *mobilizing shame*). AI is primarily an NGO of human rights; also it is a witness, an institution of record, transnational social movement, and a corporation (Hopgood 2010:151). It is relentless, persuasive and pervasive (Drinan 2001:193) and politically activist as a matter of institutional identity (Spiro 2009:5).

AI defines itself as “a worldwide movement of people who campaign for internationally recognized human rights to be respected and protected for everyone”<sup>9</sup>. By exerting influence on “governments, political bodies, companies and intergovernmental groups”, AI employs methods of “mobilizing public pressure through mass demonstrations, vigils and direct lobbying as well as online and offline campaigning”. Its power of influence on political institutional bodies also results from the credibility of its reporting, researching and documenting strategies. Drinan (2001) acknowledges this by stating that “no ambassador would feel comfortable in contradicting findings by Amnesty International, knowing that its reputation for accuracy and credibility is very high” (p.63).

AI strongly emphasizes its independence from “any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion” in terms of “impartiality”, analogues to what Heins (2008)

<sup>8</sup> Paraphrasing Hardt and Negri 2000:36. Also see Rabinow 2005:45-47 for a critical account of institutionalization of human rights after mid 1940s through a certain way, in relation to body politics.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/about-amnesty-international>

describes as “aloofness from politics” (p.17). The organization is financed by donations of individual members and supporters. AI has 2 million members, subscribers, and supporters; its name signifies a globally trusted witness, and “its research work often forms the basis for academic analyses of the impact of human rights. Its condemnations can still headline the evening news bulletins and get front page coverage in the newspapers” (Hopgood, 2010: 163). It is a “membership organization” where “national sections allocated proportional representation in an international council whose decisions are undertaken on a majoritarian basis” (Spiro 2009:6).

The very well known story of AI begins with Peter Benenson, a lawyer in London, when he read an article in the newspaper about two imprisoned Portuguese students in 1961. The story of the students who were dining in a restaurant where their conversation followed with a toast to liberty after criticizing the Salazar dictatorship, ended up with them being sentenced to seven years of imprisonment. Benenson, infuriated by this story about these two students and initiated the very first steps of AI for the release of “prisoners of conscience” what later would be the phrase that characterizes the major focus of the organization:

In the wake of the 1961 campaign, the world-wide Amnesty movement grew rapidly. It developed principally through the formation of local groups of Amnesty members, each working on the cases of three 'adopted' prisoners of conscience. In countries with a sufficient network of functioning groups, Amnesty 'Sections' were set up. Initially concentrated in Western Europe, by the early 1970s 2,000 Amnesty groups had been formed and Sections were established in thirty-two countries in all regions of the world. (Cook 1996, p.182)<sup>10</sup>

AI's major mission, the release of political prisoners of conscience, has recently broadened to economic and social rights. From condemnation of the apartheid regime in South Africa to taking up “persecution on account of sexual orientation as a matter of official organization policy”, and working on behalf of abortion rights “can powerfully leverage the

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<sup>10</sup> For detailed accounts on AI's history see Amnesty International 1991; Hopgood 2006; Power 1981, 2000; Korey 1992:160-180.

efforts of relevant identity-oriented NGOs and the constituencies they represent” (Spiro 2009:19).

The importance of AI’s role in the process of institutionalizing and acknowledging human rights universally became definite when the organization was rewarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 11, 1977. This was a moment where human rights “legitimacy had been given a firm foundation” (Korey 1992:159)<sup>11</sup>.

### **1.3 Argentina and Turkey**

There are several similar political mechanisms that have shaped the structure of human rights fields into what it is today in Argentina and Turkey. These mechanisms can also be considered as the cross national equivalences of the comparative case. To begin with, national mechanisms of transition from authoritarian regimes can be considered as one of the major national constituents. “Transitions, defined as periods of regime change, are formative or founding moments. As such, they set a society on a path that shapes its subsequent political development” (Munck and Leff 1997:343). Authoritarian period in Argentina that “sets a path” to democratization and the formation of human rights field, is marked by the terror between 1976 and 1983 exercised by the military regime in the form of mass killings, tortures, kidnapping and disappearances which will later tragically become famous as: *los desaparecidos*. “All the moral obstacles were removed when Argentina became submerged in what the military itself called the 'dirty war’” (Cambridge History of Latin America 2008: 159). Dirty War was the translation of the dictatorship’s project known as “Proceso”, the Process of National Reorganization.

According to O'Donnell, where he challenges the previous modernization theories, the democratization process observed in early stages of development in the Third World

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<sup>11</sup> “To deliver its response to the unique honor bestowed on the organization, Amnesty chose a virtual unknown in the western world, Professor Mümtaz Soysal of Ankara, Turkey” (Korey 1992:159).

collapsed into authoritarianism in later stages (Gülalp 1997). Most scholars extended O'Donnell's arguments on authoritarianism, outside of Latin America to countries such as Turkey and South Korea and to regions such as southern Europe and Africa. They drew on the model as a set of "sensitizing concepts and orienting hypotheses, finding that his ideas had substantial utility when refined to apply to the new context" (Mahoney 2003: 155). Among them, scholars discuss that Turkish authoritarianism begins with the declaration of the republic in 1923 "with limited pluralism" and in 1946 transition to a multiparty system took place (K.Blind 2009:33):

Since then, Turkey has instituted a plethora of political reforms toward the consolidation of its democracy. A prominent feature of the Turkish democratization process has been its interruption by consecutive military interventions, often executed with the alleged objectives of restoring order and protecting the secular nature of the Republic. The high degree of fragmentation of the party system, apparent in unstable coalition governments, has also complicated the democratization process. After the ideological polarization of the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s, marked by three military interventions, the neoliberal Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi, ANAP) came to power in 1983 and ruled until 1991 (ibid: 33).

In the early 1990s, Turkish government moved to a gradual *liberalization* of the political system where "[In March and April 1991] the cabinet introduced a package of constitutional amendments which dealt partly with the political system (enlargement of the assembly, direct presidential elections, lowering the voting age to 18) but also partly with human rights" (Zürcher 2004: 307). After these relatively more liberal moves of the government, the following years were marked with armed struggle between Kurdish guerrilla forces and Turkish military forces, assassinations of intellectuals, and economic crisis of 1994. Along with "a military dominated authoritarianism coupled with a lack of accountability (...) all attempts at democracy and the rule of law were brutally quashed in the name of national security" (Keyder 2004: 72). Also, the 1990s are frequently referred as an environment where the interest in politics has ended or more specifically the class struggles of the previous periods are said to be cut down with the military coup. The silencing project of



the military forces with use of violence in the form of torture and disappearances<sup>12</sup>, characterizes the political atmosphere after the military coup just like the “Dirty War” in Argentina.

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<sup>12</sup> Narratives of the “disappeared ones” are similar in two cases. In *The Lexicon of Terror*, Feitlowitz (1998) mentions memories of people about the car “Ford Falcon” which signifies that someone will be disappearing since it is the car used by secret service. In the Turkish case, according to narratives, secret service car was “white Renault Broadway” without license plates.

## Chapter 2: Methodological discussions

Spatial limits of a master thesis, and the duration of the work done on a particular topic with a particular geographic focus constrain several discussions in this paper that could be incorporated otherwise. The limited selection of the literature reviewed, lack of methodological discussions of a combined analysis of quantitative measures and qualitative forms of research and broad comparative historical case study, with by definition narrow implications on the topic, are only some of the outcomes of these constraints. However, there are still short and yet crucial points to be made on these possible sites of future discussions, both to make the point of this study clear and to note the potential of these constraints for future research agenda.

The method of this research is comparative historical case study of a prominent transnational human rights organization AI in Argentina and Turkey, aiming to demonstrate the different roles it takes in two countries and assess the impact of national histories and institutional fields on these roles. The limited historical research for this study on political institutions, traditions and relations in Argentina and Turkey, as well as the limited amount of qualitative and quantitative data on the networks of NGOs within these countries restrain a generalizable theoretical statement as an answer to the main research question. However the argument for a comparative historical approach where early events within a sequence decisively shape subsequent causal trajectories still reserves its validity (Mahoney 2004:91).

Path dependence “characterizes specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties” (Mahoney 2000:507). In these patterns of historical national trajectories, existence or absence of particular contingent elements, can lead to the “formation and long-term reproduction of a given institutional pattern (...) thus over time it becomes more and more

difficult to transform the pattern or select previously available options, even if these alternative options would have been more ‘efficient’” (Mahoney 2000:508), which are defined as *self-reinforcing sequences*. In this macro-level analysis of transformation of institutional pattern in Argentina and “self reinforcing” pattern of military as constantly intervening in political decision making processes in Turkey with coup d’etat or with “national security” discourses, it is possible to formulate the contrast between two countries as decoding and resolving of the period when military juntas took over. Yet, it is still arguable that as if the institutional change in Argentina towards democracy was successful in terms of constitutional amendments in the way Argentinean human rights organizations are demanding.<sup>13</sup>

These periods of military takeovers in Argentina and Turkey, can be formulated as a critical juncture that is “a period of significant change, which typically occurs in distinct ways in distinct countries (or in other units of analysis), and which is hypothesized to produce distinct legacies” (Collier and Collier 1991:29):

The concept of a critical juncture contains three components: the claim that a significant change occurred within each case, the claim that this change took place in distinct ways in different cases, and the explanatory hypothesis about its consequences. If explanatory hypothesis proves to be false-that is, the hypothesized critical juncture did not produce the legacy-then one would assert that it was not, in fact critical juncture (ibid:30).

Although in their comparative study of eight Latin American countries including Argentina, Collier and Collier (1991) consider the military coups as the end point of *legacy* period since they represent “a major discontinuity in national politics” (p.34). I consider these military interventions as periods of “significant change” considering the human rights fields.

“Comparative method” or “comparative analysis” in social sciences, “carries a more specific meaning i.e. a type of study, in which social units or social processes in diverse social settings are juxtaposed. Social settings vary not only in space, but also in time, so that

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<sup>13</sup> See Jelin 2003.

comparative studies of this sort can be either diachronic or synchronic” (Lammers, 1978: 485)<sup>14</sup>. However, “comparativists face difficulty in establishing cross-national equivalence...Rosas (1984) reports that NPOs like the Red Cross, for example, receive different treatment in different nations” (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990:145). As argued in the chapter one, for the validity of the comparison between Argentina and Turkey, by listing both the “cross national equivalences” and the distinct patterns, it is these “different treatments” that are being scrutinized in this study. According to Collier and Collier (1991):

Any comparative analysis that did not address ...distinctive attributes [of each country] would fail to capture the reality of these countries. Yet it is equally obvious that a meaningful understanding of these cases cannot be gained only by dwelling on their unique traits, but must be achieved in part through a comparative assessment of larger political issues that are fought out and the commonalities, as well as contrasts, in the political and institutional forms taken by the resolution of these issues (p.13).

The ultimate goal for a further study therefore, would be a methodological design which captures both “diachronic and synchronic” aspects of these differences and significant “distinctive attributes” of countries in order to analyze the change in the network structures.

In terms of “non-profit organizations”, DiMaggio and Anheier (1990) argue and exemplify that national societies develop distinctive political traditions and institutional models that are imprinted in national dispositions toward organizing<sup>15</sup> (p.146). Fruhling (1989) describes the role of NP [Non-profit] human-rights organizations “as vehicles for opposition to Latin American authoritarian regimes and their capacity to maintain networks that are mobilized during transitions to democracy” (p.152).

These networks of human rights organizations (which will be discussed especially in terms of international networking in the next chapter) are not only significant for the transition processes. They might also be treated as indicators of the pattern of transition. However “investigations that employ network imagery metaphorically but not analytically –

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<sup>14</sup> In the article, author provides a critical account on the trends of comparative sociology in the 1960s.

<sup>15</sup> Authors quote Jepperson & Meyer 1990.

say by referring to an emerging intellectual community as a ‘network’ without analyzing it as one-have had harder time yielding insights that distinguish them from nonnetwork studies” (Gould 2003:242).

Network approach, although discussed under the methodological part here, as opposed to several critiques, is not merely a methodology. In fact, it is a powerful fundamental approach to study social structure through analyzing the links among the components that form the networks. Powerful in the sense that “the use of network methods allows us to discover important phenomena not identifiable, or at any rate not easily identifiable, through other means” (Gould 2003:266). Another important aspect of network approach is that it challenges the egalitarian perception of networks with voluntarily chosen two person ties; rather network approach sees the world as composed of “asymmetric ties bound up in hierarchical structures” (Wellman 1983:157). Although this approach criticized for neglecting “the cultural and symbolic moment in the very determination of social action” (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994:1446), it is still a very useful approach to conceptualize social structure.

The method used for this study has two components: the first one is the collection and presentation of the historical background of these countries gathered through a combination of several qualitative methods, namely archival research, expert interviews and review of secondary resources such as NGO reports, press releases, project reports. The second one is the assessment of previously gathered and exhibited data by looking at the similarities and differences among two countries using tools provided by network analysis. This data is utilized for the identification of AI’s current position within the networks of human rights organizations on the local scene.

Qualitative methods of this study have been done through various stages. The preliminary fieldwork during which the main research question has emerged and formed has

been conducted from March to June 2009 in Buenos Aires and from June to September 2009 in Istanbul. During this time, I have conducted seven expert interviews with human rights lawyers, scholars, journalists and two historians working on social movements of Argentina. I participated in several talks about current human rights discussions in Argentina such as children's rights, worker's rights and rights of "marginal workers" in order to identify the understanding of "rights" and "human rights" as well as the major actors contributing to these discussions. Since I had relatively better access to Turkish sources as a native of this country, most of the information about the human rights field in Turkey stems from my previous research experience. So that, the interviews done particularly on this topic, with four former AI volunteers and two scholars, took place at this time period in Istanbul. Also, again in this period, I have met with contacts that I kept in touch afterwards. Between December 2009 and April 2010, I conducted several expert interviews in person or by email correspondence while I was in Budapest. I reviewed the relevant literature and secondary sources on the subject as well as the AI publications.

The interviews I conducted were mostly informal talks and/or semi structured. During the interviews, I asked the interviewees to describe the human rights field of their own countries and to identify the major human rights organizations in this field. They were also asked to assess possible alliances between these actors and other oppositional groups. Later, I wanted them to identify the positions of AI and other transnational actors in the picture they described and to evaluate its impact on the local scene.

## CHAPTER 3: Human Rights Fields in Argentina and Turkey: Centrality of AI

AI was one of the major organizations during late 1970s and early 1980s in Argentina among with Madres, Abuelas and Serpaj which set “the rhythm of the social movements during the military regime” (Rossi 2005).

During my preliminary fieldwork in Buenos Aires on human rights organizations in Argentina (while I was not so sure about concentrating on AI as a point of comparison with the Turkish case), almost every informant I spoke was seemed to be surprised when I asked them about AI; the regular response was “so you came all the way down to Argentina, the capital of human rights in the [Latin American] continent and what you are asking about is Amnesty?”. One of the informants, a human rights lawyer and scholar working in and on Argentina, said that “I [he] am having problems locating AI among other actors like Madres and Abuelas.<sup>16</sup> Honestly, I wouldn’t consider AI as a significant actor, they were...what they say impartial, when Argentinean organizations were extremely political, they are still like that.” It was interesting, in a sense that, most of the informants, including the ones with leftwing affiliations, seemed to be proud of the way of human rights movement institutionalized in Argentina as if they are national proud-even though they criticize several points of how recent government (Christina Kirchner of *Frente para la Victoria*-leftwing fraction of Peronist Party) exhausts human rights merely for propaganda purposes.

Former volunteers and several activists also criticize AI as being an elite-driven, project based organization with similar comments on its impartiality like their Argentinean counterparts. Yet they critically emphasize the opportunities this “impartially” and

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<sup>16</sup> Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo known as Madres and Abuelas. Especially, informants addressed Madres’ world wide popularity. Interview by author (March 2010). Another informant exemplified it as such: “Ask any average Argentinean who has no political interest what so ever, about Madres, they will definitely who they are but Amnesty, they wouldn’t even know what it is” (Intreview by the author, April 2010).

transnational support bring in terms of creating a relatively “safe” zone for human rights activism and for attracting potential volunteers, especially for today. Several former Amnesty activists claim that Amnesty in the 1990s was a school for the “politically engaged” people of today<sup>17</sup>.

In this chapter, I will discuss the historical precursors of the formation and transformation of human rights fields in Argentina and Turkey by juxtaposing the empirical remarks. In the second part, I will demonstrate how AI has different roles in these two countries by using network approach.

### ***3.1 Historical Precursors and Empirical Remarks***

Transitions are formative and founding moments of regime change. “As such, they set a society on a path that shapes its subsequent political development” (Munck and Leff 1997:343). Examinations of the links between the prolonged institutional patterns that are chosen during the transition and which persist beyond transition and the distribution of power among rulers and opposition is a productive line of inquiry (ibid:345). In the case of Argentina, in addition to the common agreement that the military defeat in Falklands/Malvinas War was the central catalyst for change by weakening the military, the impact of strong opposition especially the human rights activists played a crucial role in Argentina’s transition to democracy (Sriram 2004:112-113). In the same period, incumbent elite weakened with the military defeat and lost the control of the transition leaving the agenda in the hands of counter elites (Munck and Leff 1997:353).

Military rule throw Isabel Peron from office in 1976 and began a massive violent campaign to eliminate the “terrorist subversives” which were at the time Montoneros and ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo) guerillas. The Argentine military were cautious due to

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<sup>17</sup> One of them expressed this as following: “Probably everyone in Istanbul who are on the scene of activism would have been in touch with AI one way or another”. Interview by the author, July 2010.



their previous experience with Chilean coup d'état of Pinochet Regime. They were careful in terms of international reaction towards human rights abuses, which ended up with secret kidnappings, detaining and the execution of victims “while denying any knowledge of their whereabouts” (Sikkink 1993: 423). This intensity of “state terror in Argentina (...) prevented the development of human rights programs to the same degree as had been achieved in Chile” (Fruhling 1989:368).

This military approach succeeded in silencing the international audience, but at the same time lead to the formation of a national human rights network. These human rights groups documented the human rights violations, formed external alliances with the US and EU media and political and governmental actors in order to circulate the information documented about the violent oppression. Domestic human rights organizations such as the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, and the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights got in touch with the external contacts to publicize their causes, to fund their activities and to protect themselves against any further violent repression by their governments. Therefore, much of the funding for domestic human rights organizations in Argentina came from European and US based foundations in the early years of these campaigns which is also the case today to some extend. With these campaigns, a majority of the external pressure on Argentina was based on the early documentations “provided by AI and other NGOs, not on information received through the embassy of the State Department” (Sikkink 1993: 424-425):

AI and groups staffed by Argentine political exiles first brought the human rights situation in Argentina to world attention after the coup in 1976. To counteract the rising tide of international public criticism, the Argentine junta decided to invite AI for anon-site visit in 1976. In March 1977, on the first anniversary of the military coup, AI published the report on its visit, a well-documented denunciation of the abuses of the regime with emphasis on the problem of the disappeared. AI estimated that the regime had taken six thousand political prisoners, most without charges, and had abducted between two thousand and ten thousand people. The AI report helped demonstrate that the disappearances were part of a concerted government policies by which the military and the police kidnapped perceived opponents, took them to secret detention centers where they tortured, interrogated, and killed them, and secretly disposed of their bodies. When AI won the Nobel Peace Prize later

that same year, its reputation was enhanced, further legitimizing its denunciations of the Argentine regime (ibid: 423).

During the transition process these human rights organizations conducted commemorative activities of the military violence “while political parties and the government kept silent and were absent, as were the military”. In the aftermath period, condemnation of the military junta by the youth increased with the emergence of groups like H.I.J.O.S. (Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Forgetting and Silence). Within this period of transition “the scope of denunciations of human rights violations broadened, to include the rights of sexual and ethnic minorities, as well as economic rights – the unemployed, the homeless” (Jelin 2003:59).

What is characteristic about Argentina in terms of human rights is that the dominant voice shifted “from the military to the human rights movement” (Jelin 2003:59).

However, within this period of transition from 1990s onwards, it is generally acknowledged that AI has lost its significance in comparison to what it used to be in the 80s. Its corporative form, process of “professionalisation”, and impartiality claims where the line between violent acts and non-violent acts draws upon leftwing<sup>18</sup> politics contradicts the major populist political agenda in Argentina as well as the political tradition of opposition. One of AI volunteers in Argentina claims that there is a great chance that AI will be closing down offices in most of the Latin American countries and changing its form of membership into an “e-activism” schema<sup>19</sup>.

Sikkink (1993) claims that these human rights “network activists admit that they have been less effective against states perceived as too important to the national security interests of superpowers: countries such as China, Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey “ (p.436).

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<sup>18</sup> Power 1991 argues that most of the potential prisoners of conscience who exercised violence are leftwing guerillas.

<sup>19</sup> For detailed accounts, see Rossi’s (2005) interviews where author provides critical information about youth networks of AI in Argentina.

This claim could be interpreted into the differences between the impacts of transnational networking of human rights organizations on the local, national scene.

The active role of international pressure can be accounted as one of the similarities between Argentina and Turkey, among others such as their relationship with IMF, WB and the aftermaths of the 2001 economic crises. During the early periods of “neoliberal restructuring”, these two countries were considered as the “success story[ies]” of *Washington Consensus* (Onis 2006:239). But in addition to these indirect impacts of their international relations there are more direct corresponding affects. The international arena, US and EU, put pressure on Argentina’s military oppression and human rights abuses. Also, there has been a pressure on the prolonged human rights abuses in Turkey’s throughout the ambiguous democratic process interrupted with military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980.

Delacoura (2003) describes these attempts of international pressure on human rights violations in Turkey as following:

Western pressure has already begun in the 1980s, a first example being the resumption of the democratic process in 1983. Following the military coup of 1980, the European Community froze its relations with Turkey and blocked the package of aid known as the Fourth Financial Protocol. In 1981 the Council of Europe suspended the Turkish parliamentary delegation’s rights to their seats. These moves did not in themselves cause the return of democracy. It came about because, following the pattern of previous military interventions, which had been temporary ‘correctives’ as opposed to attempts to hold on to power, the military soon left the political limelight. But links with Europe influenced the military regime and helped to speed up the transition to democracy (albeit of a controlled and limited type) (p.13).

Despite the increasing number of NGOs in Turkey from late 90s onwards, the number of organizations in the human rights field both national and transnational) is still limited to only a few. In contrast to “their strong transnational links and support in the second half of the 1990s, Turkish NGOs have not yet had a ‘tremendous’ impact on domestic political and social change” (Cizre, 2001, p.75). This point is one of the major contrasts between the human rights fields of Turkey and Argentina where the latter is known as a country where there is a widespread and transformative (in comparison to Turkey) human rights movement with the organizations like Abuelas, Madres-F, Madres-A, SERPAJ, HIJOS, CELS, APDH and

several others. In the Turkish case, Cizre (2001) gives a critical account on the national human rights:

Human rights values have not aroused Turkey's centrist-liberal passions fully. Nor have they been translated into popular discourse. For the conservative-nationalist position, the concept has no empirical reality outside a shared moral code that can only come with being part of a "community" where duties take precedence over rights. For Turkey's millions in the urban middle classes, the human rights landscape is still unsafe, not worth the time and energy to extend sympathy, support and commitment in terms of the future returns it offers. Only some professional segments that perceive integration with global entities and dynamics in their own objective interests, intellectual dissidents, and those who have suffered materially and psychologically under human rights abuses have engaged with the cause of human rights with some zeal and devotion. (p.55)

During the period of 1990s, the human rights situation *managed* to get attention from external actors such as the EU and US. "In response, the Turkish side, seeking closer relations with both, undertook reforms" (Delacoura 2003:13). With these pressures from the international relationships between Turkey and Western actors, several improvements occurred. However, during the 1990s, these policies were effective only "when relations between Turkey and the West were close *and* Turkey sought to join Western 'clubs' or organizations." In return, Western human rights pressures and policies were successful "only insofar as they coincided with and reinforced domestic Turkish trends to liberalize and democratize". Strong domestic trends on the one hand and the prolonged Turkish modernization project 'towards West' on the other, these policies failed to be fully effective (ibid: 8-17).

Although the transition to a multi-party system happened and operated after 1950, military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980 interrupted the transition process. The Army's active role in politics as an institution in the decision-making processes and in terms of its legacy in political tradition<sup>20</sup> "reveals that the conflict at the heart of the Turkish politics, between liberalism and authoritarianism, does not constitute a clash between elite and society but runs through the entire body politic" (ibid:9).

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<sup>20</sup> For detailed analysis of political tradition in Turkey from Ottoman legacy see Tunçay and Zürcher 2008.

In terms of the violent oppression of the army, the case of Argentina seems more brutal than the Turkish case. However, the military dictatorship of 1980s was more systematic and strategic in terms of eradicating the oppositional force and leftist movements and transforming unionism through constitutional changes and fear politics. In the transition period, the lack of reckoning with past violence and silencing through every apparatus of the state, as Gramsci argues, a popular domestic human rights scene, as established as in Argentina, could not be flourished in Turkey.

Within this context, AI arrived in Turkey in mid-90s. Although the organization was among other major organizations in the activities of condemnation of Argentinean junta, there was no effort at this size to problematize militarism and military dictatorships of the past in Turkey. However, AI in Turkey initiates several campaigns for conscientious objectors as prisoners of conscience, which can be regarded as the organization's sensitivity to militarism. In terms of reporting, human rights activists, scholars, officers utilize the documents and reports provided by AI, since according to some of them AI and Human Rights Watch have the transnational "power" behind them that enable research and generating reports on prisoners, women, refugees etc. Not a surprise that Human Rights Watch is also another transnational human rights organization with technical know how on reporting and legislation and is well-known with significant social capital in the field in Turkey. Helsinki Citizens Assembly, although different in terms of operation, has been active in the Turkish domestic human rights field as well. Another point to highlight in relation to that is the idea of "transnational" also differs from Argentina and Turkey. Argentina is considered to be the human rights capital of Latin America in terms of the local organizations ability to externalize human rights abuses to the international scene. However, as explained above, the "Western

inspiration” in Turkey with domestic political contradictions produced a different understanding of transnational.<sup>21</sup>

Opposing the rumors that AI will be closing down offices in Argentina, the organization recently opened up new divisions in different regions in Turkey. This also gives an idea about the geopolitical differences among the two countries. In Argentina, the federal structure allows local organizations in other cities than Buenos Aires to be almost equally as powerful as the centers. For example AI Tucuman is one of the oldest offices in Argentina.<sup>22</sup> However, none of the cities or regional offices of NGOs in Turkey can operate at the same level of central offices (except the ones founded in other locations than Istanbul).

In addition to the separate stories, the relationship between Argentina and Turkey is composed of several ups and downs. Apart from the nuclear cooperation agreement (1988) between them, Argentina and Turkey had several tense moments. Turkey’s support to UK during the Malvinas (Falklands) War in 1982 and the recognition of Armenian Genocide by the Argentinean Parliament in 2007 are one of those major tense disagreements. Most popularly, the public debates in Turkey, especially during 2001 economic crises reflected an anxiety that as if “Turkey becomes Argentina?”<sup>23</sup> At the same time in the human rights field, the model of ‘Madres de Plaza de Mayo’ is adapted by a group of women in Turkey, the mothers of deceased in the armed conflict between Turkish military and Kurdish guerilla forces, who calls themselves “Saturday Mothers”<sup>24</sup>. However the movement never institutionalized in the way Madres did, not only because of historical conjunctures that allow such a form, but also because of the ethnic nature of the subject of conflict between military and guerilla forces in Turkey. This conflict of “Turkish forces versus Kurdish guerillas”, and

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<sup>21</sup> The first and foremost “transnational” organization that came up to most of the informants’ mind in Argentina was ‘Mercosur’ during my interviews.

<sup>22</sup> See Rossi 2005.

<sup>23</sup> In Turkey, with any religious uprisings, public debates turn towards questioning “what if Turkey becomes Iran”, and during early 2000s, this was formulated as “what if Turkey becomes Argentina”.

<sup>24</sup> For details see Baydar and Iwegen 2006; Gedik 2009, Sancar 2001. They also had the name of “Peace Mothers”.

the nationalist discourses operating against any kind of peace initiatives, constrained the movement's spread and ended up framing these women as "traitors".

### **3.2 Centrality of AI Today**

The question of what is the position of AI in these two countries is significant, since "actors who are the most important or most prominent are usually located in strategic locations within the network" (Diani 2003:169). These strategic locations can be translated into "leadership" by being "at the centre of exchanges of practical and symbolic resources among movement organizations". Also, this leadership should not be directly understood as domination but rather as "varying degrees of influence" (Diani 2003: 106).

There are various measures for identifying the centrality of actors in a given network structure. These are degree centrality, betweenness centrality and closeness centrality (Scott, 2000: 83-87). Degree centrality measures the ties an organization has and if the dataset is a directional dataset, meaning an asymmetrical one, degree centrality can be different in terms of ties the organization is connected with others and ties that other organizations are connected to it. If AI is an organization with so many others connected to it, that is higher *inbound* degree, it signifies the prominence or "prestige" of it. Other measures, namely closeness and betweenness are useful in a sense that closeness gives an account about as if the organization is reachable or can be able to reach others easily. Higher betweenness degree indicates that the organization lies in between many actors with a greater brokerage capacity.

#### **Data and Methods:**

The predictions from preliminary research are tested through network analysis of 17x17 matrix of links between human rights organizations in Turkey and 17x17 matrix for organizations in Argentina. The organizations making up these lists are formed from a n=86 data set composed of different lists gathered from Prime Ministry of Turkey Human Rights

Presidency<sup>25</sup>, Civil Society Development Center NGO database<sup>26</sup>, and Istanbul Bilgi University Human Rights Law Research Center links<sup>27</sup> all together for Turkey. For Argentinean case, the list of organizations is formed from n=96 data set composed of links from Human Rights Secretary<sup>28</sup>, CELS<sup>29</sup> research database, EQN's<sup>30</sup> and APDH's<sup>31</sup> databases in order to keep the variety.

The difference between the total numbers of organizations, that is 86 for Turkey and 96 for Argentina differ mainly because of this reason: in Turkey human rights organizations are more diverse compared to Argentina. From refugees to feminist organizations, ethnic identities to rights of disabled, this diversification allows proliferation of number of different organizations linked to human rights field. However, In Argentina the popular discourse of human rights evolves mostly around military dictatorship and the violence it exercised during 1970s.

Although this type of data is not enough to have a full picture of human rights fields, data on individual-level inter-organizational and inter-personal links, are rare and collecting them is prohibitively costly (Katz 2006: 338). Within these constraints, I tried to form a model through a selection process: from the main lists of organizations (see appendices); I identified the ones who explicitly claim to be a “human rights” organization or a “humanitarian” one or both. Later, I eliminated the ones who are not currently active or closed down their offices, lost their status or not functioning for other reasons. This model for comparison is highly partial by definition, yet sufficient to broadly identify the positions which actors occupy in Turkish and Argentinean human rights scenes.

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<sup>25</sup> <http://www.ihb.gov.tr/Linkler.aspx>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.stgm.org.tr/eng/stklist.php>

<sup>27</sup> <http://insanhaklarimerkezi.bilgi.edu.tr/source/81.asp?r=19.04.2010+01%3A50%3A19&oid=sub8&selid=62>

<sup>28</sup> [www.derhuman.jus.gov.ar/](http://www.derhuman.jus.gov.ar/)

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.cels.org.ar/home/>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.derechos.net/links/esp/ong/>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.apdh-argentina.org.ar/links/index.asp>

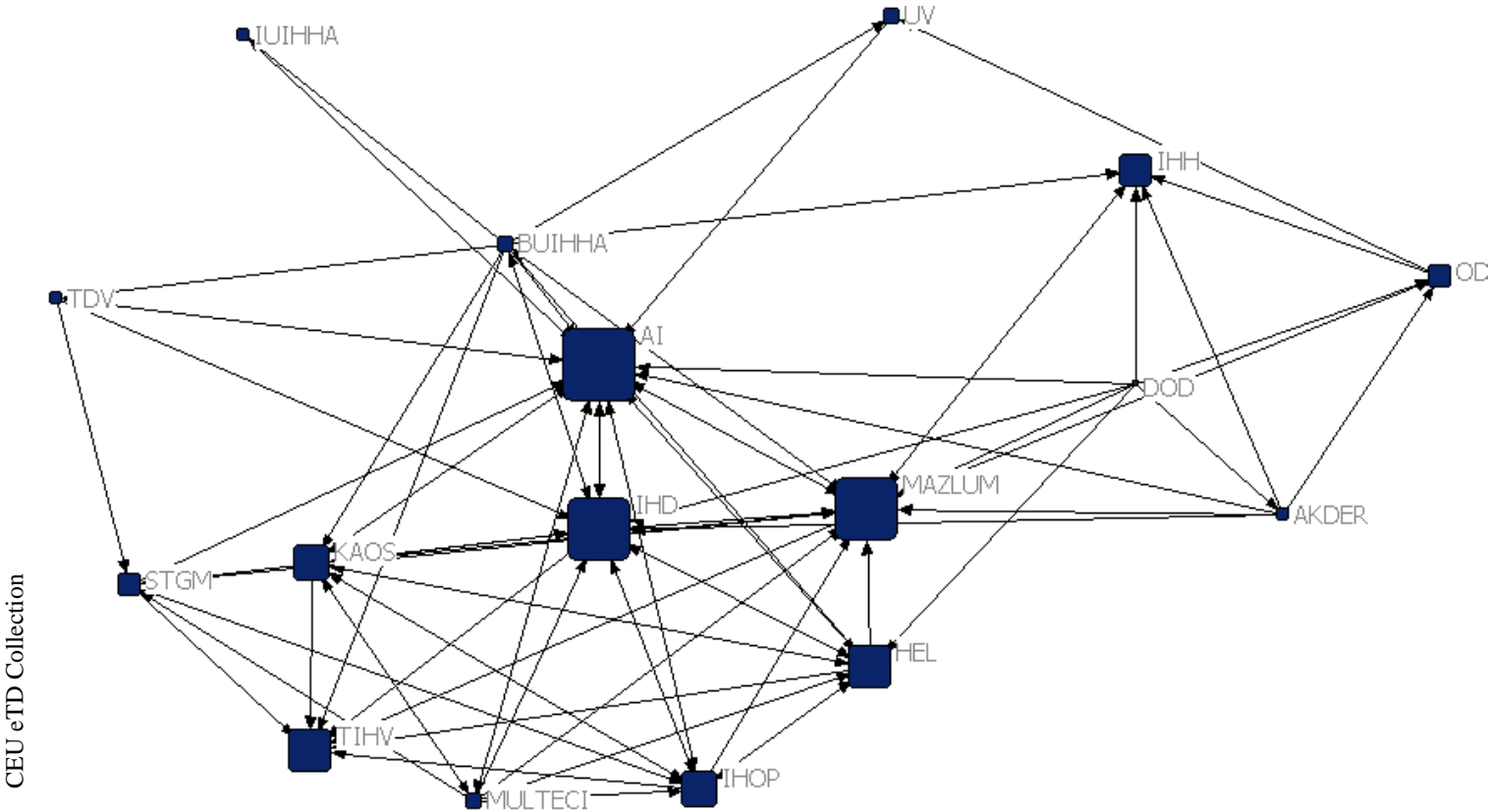


In this sample data set, nodes are organizations and ties signify “linking”. Directional data are binary, 1 and 0 according to if there is a relationship or not. The entries on the diagonal are set to zero for convenience.

The two matrices of 17x17 are formed through Ucinet 6 spreadsheet editor; the abbreviations are the names of organizations (see abbreviations p.iii).

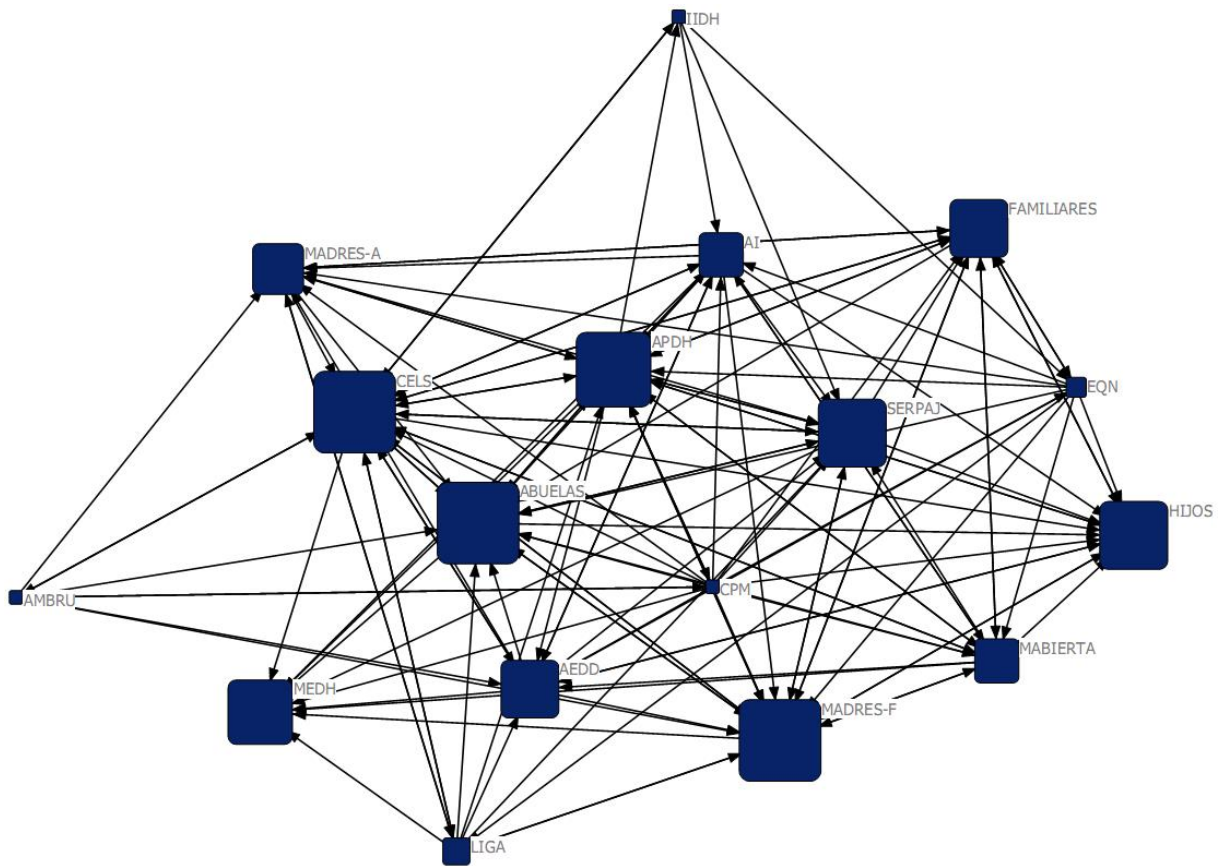
For the analysis of web links, *Freeman’s degree centrality measures* are calculated and these measures later used as actor-centrality attribute matrix for network visualization. That is to say, the sizes of the nodes are defined according to inbound degree that is the web links given to the organization:

Figure 1: Turkey Human Rights Organizations Networks based on web links:



CEU eTD Collection

Figure 2: Argentina Human Rights Organizations Networks based on web links

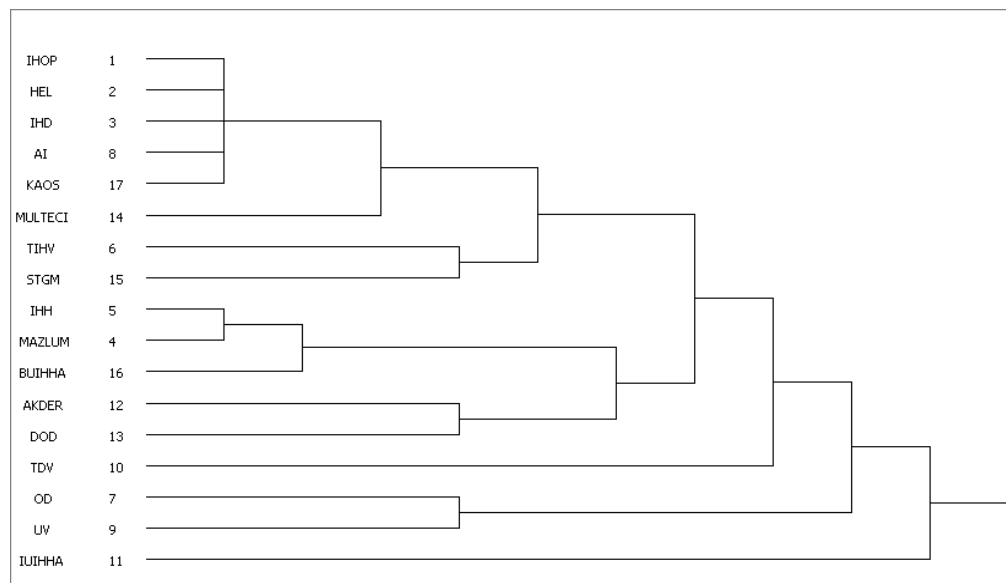


According to inbound degree measures, the position AI has is quite different in each country. It has a more central role in Turkey, than in Argentina. In Argentina, the human rights field is more cohesive where the major organizations have similarly same inbound degrees, especially the ones formed either earlier or right after the military take-over. AI within this setting, reserves its middle ground among local ones.

One interesting point is that in each field, there is a one common platform where the major organizations come together. In Argentina it is MABIERTA and in Turkey it is IHOP. However, not surprisingly though, IHOP in Turkey is consisted of Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, Human Rights Association (the most prominent national human rights organization) and AI, where in Argentina MABIERTA is formed by SERPAJ, CELS, APDH and Madres-F where they are four major national human rights organizations.

For Turkey, another crucial point of analysis from this network visualization is that while AI and IHD stand in the middle of the overall network, there appears to be two main clusters from left to right. This clustering can be related to the fact that the ones on the left hand side have critical affiliations which is also observable through their links to KAOS, an LGBT organization. Rights of homosexuals are one of the major conflicting issues in this scene defining the positions. For example despite the fact that MAZLUM is a religious human rights organization and recently, publicly initiated an anti-LGBT campaign and mobilized other religious human rights organizations in the field (the ones that are only linked to MAZLUM or to each other) it is strongly connected to AI (strong in a sense that it is in the joint organization of IHOP with AI), where AI has been supporting LGBT movement in Turkey as well in the transnational arenas<sup>32</sup>. Another striking thing about the data about Turkey and this particular network is that, with the election of Islamist Liberal government, religious human rights organizations<sup>33</sup> became more visible through and made alliances with several other humanitarian governmental organizations. MAZLUM's brokerage occurs in between these organizations.

Figure 3 Cluster analysis of NGOs in Turkey:



<sup>32</sup> One of the major topics in the latest AI Report on Turkey is about the ongoing trials against KAOS, for shutting down the organization.

<sup>33</sup> Religious here means Islamist.

So in order to understand these groupings within the network, hierarchical cluster analysis gives a comprehensive depiction. From this cluster analysis, the joint platform IHOP and the organizations within this collaborations form the first cluster: IHOP, HEL, IHD, AI and KAOS. Even though KAOS is not part of this IHOP joint formation, clustering it with others indicate that the joint platform (which also includes MAZLUM) has closer ties to KAOS and to LGBT movement. Other cluster IHH and MAZLUM is interesting, former known with its proximity to the current government and the latter one being most prominent religious human rights organization. This is yet not surprising since MAZLUM is in the joint platform IHOP, but here grouped with IHH. AKDER (mostly mobilizing for freedom of headscarf in terms of religious means), MAZLUM, IHH, OD, UV form the other big cluster vis-à-vis the other one of the critical side, closer to LGBT movement and have leftwing affiliations.

AI, is very central in terms of centrality measures, inbound degree centrality, closeness and betweenness in Turkey. However in Argentina AI stands outside of leftwing affiliated national organizations. In Turkey, even though there are conflicting points between main agendas of these organizations, as a result of AI being a prestigious, prominent and powerful organization in the field, actors with different affiliations can come together (even in joint projects). Also, AI's higher inbound degree centrality vis-à-vis its outbound degree measure, and higher betweenness, suggest that, it is a reference point in the field in Turkey.

Network analysis reveals that the different roles NGOs have in the human rights field corresponds to the historical structural settings. However, in terms of data collection, what is missing in this study is that type of ties, since “social network methods for studying individual roles focus on patterns or ‘types’ of ties among actors or subsets of actors as a way to formalize the notion of social role” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p.463). Also further research should be conducted on strong ties, such an inclusive study of different ties among

these actors as web links, joint press releases, joint participation in a symposium or conference, referencing in formal published reports and even a contesting relationship with a negative value attribute. With these examinations, the visualization and the measures of the human rights networks of Turkey and Argentina can be identified more clearly and examined effectively.

## Conclusion

It is thoroughly a complicated task to identify, assess and relate the structural historical settings in a comparative case of two “transition” countries, let alone examining their impact on a transnational organization. By the same token, it is even harder to accurately conceptualize and operationalize the impact of the agents in relation to the networks they are located in. This study reserves the concern for the constitutive interaction between structure and agency; however the focus remains on the implications of the former. For assessing the impacts of national historical settings on the roles of transnational NGOs, by looking at AI in Argentina and Turkey, this study argues that, transnational NGOs have different roles they undertake and/or are attributed to them. Not only because of the different processes of *vernacularization*, *diffusion* or different agendas of these organizations, this study has shown that the variation of the roles result primarily from different national institutional settings and structures that enable and constrain the actors within. It has done so in three parts:

The first chapter has revised the theories of NGOs in terms of the definition of the concept itself, the different roles they have in national and international arenas and the major conceptual frameworks they have been discussed. After a brief discussion of these theories grouped into three categories depending on the scholars’ position, namely optimistic, critical and middle ground, the case in question has been laid by introducing human rights field, AI and the comparative case of Argentina and Turkey.

In the second chapter, a general outline of the methodological framework has presented through a short but ambitious conversation between network approach, comparative historical analysis and critical junctures approach.

The third chapter has provide a comparative lay out of historical precursors of current structuring of human rights fields in Argentina and Turkey followed by a visualization and short analysis of current networking of the organizations of human rights within these fields.

By identifying the actors in the fields of human rights, their relational positions and ties among them and the historical settings in which they emerged, this chapter demonstrates how AI has significantly different positions in Argentina and Turkey and how these relational positions are determined within the national historical settings they are situated.

Answers given here for such an ambitious question of what impacts national historical settings of Argentina and Turkey have on transnational NGOs are bound to remain at the level of hypotheses. In that sense the contribution of this study should be considered in terms of the further research questions it evokes. I will conclude with addressing two different, yet interconnected directions that can be moved from this point with further intensive research:

- 1- What are the mechanisms beyond social structures in which these networks are formed, transformed and reproduced as Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) reminds? How can we capture these dynamic mechanisms of these NGO networks both diachronically and synchronically as oppose to Lammers (1978) “either-or” statement? And what could it contribute to the analysis of networks and to the comparative historical studies?
- 2- What would be the use of transnational NGOs in addition to the study of labor movements for comparative cases of transition from authoritarian regimes towards democratization with further large scale archival research and intensive historical evaluation of the collaborations between transnational and national actors?

I conclude that any attempt to answer these questions would have the potential of providing theoretically powerful, methodologically challenging and empirically fruitful studies.

# Appendices

List of n= 86 data set of all organizations in Turkey

Amnesty International Turkey / Uluslararası Af Örgütü Türkiye  
Ankara Bar Children's Rights Commission / Ankara Barosu Çocuk Hakları Komisyonu  
Ankara Bar Human Rights Commission / Ankara Barosu İnsan Hakları Komisyonu  
Ankara Bar Women's Rights Commission / Ankara Barosu Kadın Hukuku Komisyonu  
Ankara University Women's Studies Center / Ankara Üniversitesi Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi  
Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Immigrants / Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği  
Aydınlık Yarınlar İçin Hak ve Özgürlükler Eğit. Kült. Ve Yard. Derneği  
Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Hakları Derneği  
Barış Anneleri İnisiyatifi  
Birleşik İnsanlık Realitesi Derneği BİR-DER  
Ceza İnfaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Derneği ( CİSST )  
Children Foundation/ Çocuk Vakfı  
Doğu Türkistan Göçmenler Derneği  
Düşünce Suçu(!?)na Karşı Girişim ve DÜŞÜN (Düşünce Özgürlüğü Derneği)  
Edirne Romanlar Derneği -EDROM  
Eğitim Hakları Derneği  
Flying Broom / Uçan Süpürge  
Foundation for the Support of Women's Work / Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı  
Helsinki Citizens Assembly / Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği  
Hukukçular Derneği  
Human Rights Association / İnsan Hakları Derneği  
Human Rights Foundation of Turkey / Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı  
I.H.H. Humanitarian Relief Foundation / İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı  
İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı  
İnsan Hakları Araştırmaları Derneği  
İnsan Hakları Derneği  
İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği  
İnsan Hakları İçin Genç Girişim Derneği  
İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu  
İnsan Kişiliğini Geliştirme Derneği Genel Merk.  
İnsan Vakfı  
İnsanca Yaşam Derneği  
İnsanca Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği  
İnsani Haklar ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi  
İnsani Yardım Vakfı (İHH)  
Institute Of Public Adm.Turkey And The Middle East Human Rights Res.Doc.Centre / TODAİE  
Istanbul Bar Human Rights Center /İstanbul Barosu İnsan Hakları Merkezi  
Istanbul Bar, Children's Rights Center /İstanbul Barosu Çocuk Hakları Merkezi  
Istanbul Bar, Women's Rights Center /İstanbul Barosu Kadın Hakları Uygulama Merkezi  
Izmir Bar, Human Rights Law and Research Center / İzmir Barosu İnsan Hakları Hukuku ve Hukuk Araş.Merkezi  
KA.DER Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitime Derneği  
Kaos GL  
Karayolu Trafik ve Yol Güvenliği Araştırma Enstitüsü  
Liberal Düşünce Derneği (LDT)  
Mahsus Mahal Derneği  
Mardin İnsan Hakları ve İnsani Yardım Derneği  
Marmara University Human Rights Center / Marmara Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Merkezi  
Mersin'e Göç Edenler Derneği – GÖÇ - DER  
METU Gender and Women's Studies Graduate Programme / ODTÜ Kadın Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı  
Milletvekilleri ve Seçilmişleri İzleme Komiteleri Derneği



Mudanya Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği  
 Mülteci Platformu  
 Mülteci-Der  
 Organization for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People/ MAZLUMDER  
 Organization of Patients' and Patients' Relatives' Rights / Hasta ve Hasta Yakını Hakları Derneği  
 Öteki-Ben  
 Özgür-Der  
 Progressive Journalists Association / Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği  
 Purple Roof Women's Shelter and Foundation / Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı  
 RUSİHAK Ruh Sağlığında İnsan Hakları Girişimi Derneği  
 Sığınmacı ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği (SGDD)  
 Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Programı- STK Destek Ekibi  
 Sosyal Değişim Derneği  
 Sosyal Kültürel Yaşamı Geliştirme Derneği SKYGD  
 The Physically Disabled Supporting Association / Bedensel Engelliler Dayanışma Derneği  
 Toplumsal Duyarlılık ve Şiddet Karşıtları Derneği  
 Toplumsal Olayları Araştırma ve Yüzleşme Derneği  
 Tüketicilerle Dayanışma Derneği  
 Türk Demokrasi Vakfı  
 Türk Dünyası Kültür ve İnsan Hakları Derneği  
 Turkish Democracy Foundation / Türk Demokrasi Vakfı  
 Turkish Foundation for Children in Need of Protection / Türkiye Korunmaya Muhtaç Çocuklar Vakfı  
 Turkish Journalists Association / Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti  
 Turkish Medical Association / Türk Tabipleri Birliği  
 Turkish Republic Prime Ministry Directorate General On The Status And The Problems Of Women  
 Türkiye Gönüllü Teşekküller Vakfı (TGTV)  
 Türkiye İnsan Hakları Kurumu Vakfı (TİHAK)  
 Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı (TİHV)  
 Tutuklu ve Hükümlü Aileleriyle Dayanışma Derneği TUHAD-DER  
 Uluslararası Hrant Dink Vakfı  
 Uluslararası İnsan Hakları Avrasya Federasyonu-IHAF  
 Umut Foundation / Umut Vakfı  
 University of Hacettepe Centre for Research and Application of the Philosophy of Human Rights  
 University of Istanbul Centre for Research and Practice in Human Rights Law / IUIHHA  
 Women for Women's Human Rights-New Ways/ Kadının İnsan Hakları-Yeni Çözümler Vakfı  
 Women's Library and Information Centre / Kadının İnsan Hakları Bilgi Belge Merkezi  
 World Academy for Local Government and Democracy / Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi  
 Youth Reautonomy Foundation of Turkey / Türkiye Çocuklara Yeniden Özgürlük Vakfı

**List of n= 96 data set of all organizations in Argentina**

Abogados y Abogadas del Noroeste Argentino en Derechos Humanos y Estudios Sociales -ANDHES  
 Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo  
 Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Refugiados (ACNUR)  
 Amnesty International - Argentina  
 Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos (APDH)  
 Asociación Buena Memoria  
 Asociación Civil por la Igualdad y la Justicia (ACIJ)  
 Asociación Civil Práctica Alternativa del Derecho (PRADE), Santiago del Estero  
 Asociación de Defensores de Derechos Humanos (ADDH)  
 Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos  
 Asociación de Periodistas  
 Asociación El Ágora  
 Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo  
 Asociación Miguel Bru, La Plata

Asociación nuncamas.org  
 Asociación por los Derechos Civiles (ADC)  
 C.O.F.A.V.I.  
 C.O.R.R.E.P.I.  
 Casa de la Memoria y la Vida Mansión Seré. Municipio de Morón  
 Casa del Liberado, Córdoba  
 ced  
 cemida\*  
 Central de Trabajadores Argentinos (CTA)  
 Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Nacional de Lanús  
 Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES)  
 Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales  
 Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas para Argentina y Uruguay (CINU)  
 Centro Nueva Tierra para la Promoción Social y Pastoral  
 CeProDH - Centro de Profesionales por los Derechos Humanos  
 Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Jurídica (CIAJ), La Plata  
 Comisión Provincial por la Memoria  
 Comisión Provincial por la Memoria  
 Comité Argentino de Seguimiento y Aplicación de la Convención Internacional sobre los Derechos del Niño  
 Comité Contra la Tortura  
 Comité de Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas  
 CoNaDI (Comisión Nacional por el Derecho a la Identidad)  
 Conferencia Argentina de Religiosos y Religiosas (CONFAR)  
 Convocatoria Neuquina, Neuquén  
 Defensor del Pueblo  
 Departamento de Planificación y Pol.Púb. el Centro de Der.Hum.y la Licen.en Seguridad Ciud.de la Uni.Nac. de Lanús  
 Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense  
 Equipo de Antropología Política y Jurídica del Instituto .Universidad de Buenos Aires  
 Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticas  
 FAVIM - Acción Ciudadana, Mendoza  
 FLACSO Argentina  
 Fondo de Contribuciones Voluntarias de las Naciones Unidas para las Víctimas de la Tortura  
 Foro Ciudadano de Participación por la Justicia y los Derechos Humanos (FOCO)  
 Foro de Derechos Humanos de San Isidro  
 Foro para la Justicia Democrática (FOJUDE)  
 Foro Una Corte para la democracia  
 Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (FARN)  
 Fundación por la Memoria Histórica y Social Argentina  
 Fundación Servicio, Paz y Justicia (SERPAJ)  
 H.I.J.O.S  
 HelpArgentina  
 Hermana Martha Pelloni  
 HIJOS. Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Rosario, Chaco  
 Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES), Universidad Nacional de San Martín  
 Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (IDES)  
 Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales y Sociales (INECIP)  
 Instituto Internacional de Planeamiento de la Educación IIPe/UNESCO  
 Instituto Latinoamericano de Seguridad y Democracia (ILSED)  
 Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas  
 Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre  
 Madres de Plaza de Mayo – Línea Fundadora  
 Mas derechos más seguridad  
 MEDH - Movimiento Ecuménico por los Derechos Humanos  
 Memoria Abierta

Movimiento Teresa Rodríguez  
 Oficina del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos  
 ONUSIDA - Programa Conjunto de las Naciones Unidas sobre VIH/SIDA  
 OPS/OMS - Organización Panamericana de la Salud / Organización Mundial de la Salud  
 Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT)  
 Organización Zainuco, Neuquén  
 Organizaciones de acceso a la información  
 Participación Ciudadana, Ushuaia  
 Poder Ciudadano  
 Programa “Transformaciones en el Gobierno de la Seguridad Urbana y Derechos Humanos” de la Secretaría General de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes  
 Programa de Investigación sobre Fuerzas Armadas, Seguridad y Sociedad de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes  
 Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD)  
 Proyecto Desaparecidos  
 Proyecto Seguridad Urbana, Institución Policial y Prevención del Delito de la Universidad Nacional del Litoral  
 Rabino Daniel Goldman  
 Raquel y Jorge Witis  
 Red Argentina para la Cooperación Internacional (RACI)  
 Red de abogados de Derechos Humanos (Memoria)  
 Red de Derechos Humanos y Salud Mental  
 Red de Redes de Información Económica y Social (UNIRED)  
 Red Solidaria  
 Relator Especial de las Naciones Unidas sobre Tortura  
 Sección de Criminología y Política Criminal, Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones en Derechos Humanos de la Facultad de Derecho  
 Secretaría de Derechos Humanos  
 Sin olvido  
 UNESCO - Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura  
 UNICEF - Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia  
 Usuarios y Consumidores

Table 1: Data set human rights organizations Turkey

	IHOP	HEL	IHD	MAZLUM	IHH	TIHV	OD	AI	UV	TDV	IUIHHA	AKDER	DOD	MULTECI	STGM	BUIHHA	KAOS
IHOP	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
HEL	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
IHD	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
MAZLUM	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
IHH	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TIHV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OD	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AI	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
UV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TDV	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
IUIHHA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AKDER	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DOD	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
MULTECI	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
STGM	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BUIHHA	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
KAOS	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Table 2: Data set of human rights organizations in Argentina

	AB...	APDH	MADRES-A	MADRES-F	CELS	HIJOS	LIGA	FAM...	MABIE...	MEDH	SERPAJ	AI	AEDD	AMBRU	CPM	IIDH	EQN
ABUELAS	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
APDH	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
MADRES-A			0														
MADRES-F	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
CELS	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
HIJOS	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
LIGA	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
FAMILIARES	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MABIERTA	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
MEDH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SERPAJ	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AI	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	0					
AEDD	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
AMBRU	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
CPM	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
IIDH	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
EQN	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

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