

Communication for Development: New Action Plan for Global Refugee Crisis

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Throughout the world, people are leaving their homelands and embarking upon challenging journeys for seeking better future for themselves and their families. In Middle East, Syrian people are leaving their homelands in order to escape from the war and they are trying to pass the Turkish border to find a way to reach European territories. The situation is no different in Central American countries. People are trying to make their ways to North American countries, especially to Canada and United states. However, they are ending up in Mexico after a long and challenging journey. Asia is also a scene for displacement, people are trying to leave their homeland Myanmar in order to reach Malaysia and Indonesia with the hope of finding a better future for themselves and for their families. In Africa, Somalian and Ethiopian people are crossing the Aden Gulf in order to find their ways in to Gulf states, especially Yemen. People from Central and Eastern African countries are leaving their homelands to go to South Africa. Situation is no different for the people from West African countries. They are boarding on long and hazardous journeys in order to reach Spain's Southern costs and European Union. These are examples from specific regions about specific communities who are forced to leave their homelands in respect to difficult conditions such as being in the middle of conflict zone.

According to United Nations Refugee Agency, in 2015, all previous records are surpassed in terms the increase in the number of global forced displacement. Numbers of refugees, asylum-seekers, migrants, stateless persons and people who forced to flee inside their own countries are rapidly increasing from one day to another. Today, number of refugees passed over 20 million for the first time since 1992. This is a particular problem in the world which grows constantly

and I can safely quote that there is an ongoing global refugee crisis on the world. In this paper I will propose my own action plan for dealing with this particular problem in the world by explaining why to protect and how to protect refugees. I will also mention the international community's efforts for dealing with refugee crisis in the world and explain why they failed. I am going to suggest an action plan in the framework of international communication and especially Communication for Development. I believe that communication lies at the center of everything, it is becoming center of everything. The moment communication stops, violence begins and I believe that violence always brings more violence and suffer. Therefore, addressing the refugee crisis from the perspective of international communication and Communication for Development is very important. In this paper my perception and suggestions about communication is not related with information communication technologies. My intention here is to provide a solution to the global refugee crisis, and communication is the most important tool to succeed my goal, in terms of creating new dialogue platforms, building mutual understanding and collaboration, and taking collective action. According to the United Nations, the unique role of Communication for Development in advocacy is to facilitate opportunities and platforms that amplify the perspectives and voices of the people. In this paper I advocate to influence policy-makers, political and social leaders, to create an ultimate solution for global refugee crisis. I suggest that creating a "Global Refugee State" (GRS) can solve and settle the refugee problem of the world. I make this suggestion in the framework of strategies that are proposed by Communication for Development. My suggestion to the global refugee crisis is on the interstate level because it is focusing to the ultimate solution and pointing out the rootcauses of the problem as well as mentioning the importance of involving people, refugees in this case, to the

dialogue platform and allowing them to participate/engage in the discussion. In the first part of this paper, I will talk about the importance of communication for addressing global refugee crisis and its essential role in my action plan. Later I will identify who a refugee is, what have international community have done so far to solve this problem and why they have failed to solve the problem. After that I will point out that why international community should help refugees and try to solve the global refugee crisis. In the final part of this paper, I will present my action plan and suggestion in order to solve the global refugee crisis.

To start with, before explaining the action plan for the global refugee crisis in the world, I would like to start this explanatory paper with introducing Communication for Development and its importance for addressing global refugee crisis. There are many different titles and definitions of Communication for Development. According to June Lenie and Jo Tacchi (2013), a comprehensive definition of Communication for Development is provided by Fraser and Restrepo- Estrada. Fraser and Estrada states that “Communication for development is the use of communication processes, techniques and media to help people toward a full awareness of their situation and their options for change, to resolve conflicts, to work towards to improve their condition and that of society, and to improve the effectiveness of institutions” (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). The importance of this definition is that this quote places the attention equally on communities and development organizations. It provides people’s participation to the development process along with the development organizations. How can development organizations can use communication to to improve practices and help to achieve sustainable development through the engagement of people to the development process? According to

Lennie and Tacchi “Communication for Development encompasses all forms and modes of communication, including community radio and entertainment-education programmes focused on social change and development, community-based information and communication technology (ICT) initiatives, processes such as community dialogue, participatory video, and digital storytelling activities, and the use of various combinations of new and traditional media in support of development activities” (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). However, Waisbord and Wilkins states that “Communication for Development is essentially about people rather than technologies and is both a field of knowledge and of practice (Waisbord, 2008; Wilkins, 2000). My approach is similar to their understanding of Communication for Development. I can safely say that my perception about Communication for Development is shaped around the participation of people to the process and discussion. International arena also paid attention to the issue of Communication for Development and their standpoint includes people to the process and enables them to participate to the discussion. According to the United Nations resolution in 1997, Communication for Development “need to support two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development” (UN resolution 51/172, 1997). Also, The World Congress on Communication for Development (WCCD) Rome Consensus 2006 provides a definition for Communication for Development. According to this definition Communication for Development is “a social process based on dialogue; it is about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change”(WCCD, Rome Consensus, 2006). Communication for Development and participatory development are

promoting dialogue and formation of new dialogue platforms. Lennie and Tacchi underlines that the fundamental principle of Communication for Development is the participation of people to the process. They state that “communication, understood as a two-way relationship that not only acknowledges the right of people to be heard, but includes prioritizing effective listening, and recognizing and respecting alternative forms of knowledge” (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). They present their standpoint stating that “Our framework insists that effective two-way communication is a central and vital component. While it is true that greater time and resources are often required to use participatory evaluation approaches and methodologies effectively, our framework takes the position that a critical, long-term view of the value of participatory approaches is required” (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). As I mentioned before, I strongly support the participatory development in the frame work of Communication for Development. Therefore, while providing a solution to the global refugee crisis, Communication for Deevaluation lies at the center of my suggestion. My action plan for global refugee crisis requires two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development. Formation of new dialogue platforms, in terms of both inter-state and inter-personal level, is essential to adopt the solution that I am offering, a Global Refugee State. Collective action among states is very important through this process, but as Communication for Development points out, non-state actor’s participation, especially people’s involvement to the policy making process is very important in order to accomplish the formation of the Global Refugee State. Without communication among states, non-state actors, non-govermental organizations and most importantly refugees, my sugestion for global refugee crisis would fail. Therefore, while

providing a solution for global refugee crisis, I put Communication for Development at the center of my proposal. Communication for Development offers various strategies to address the problem, however, they are all based on identifying the problem and provide a solution to it. Therefore while developing my action plan for the refugee crisis, I identified the problem, identified the specific groups concerned by the problem and I identify communication needs, objectives, strategies and activities in the light of Communication for Development. In the rest of this paper, I will enlighten this process and suggest the action plan for global refugee crisis.

Moreover, before coming up with an action plan for refugee crisis in the world, we should be analyzing who a refugee is, what have international community have done so far to deal with this problem and why they have failed, in order to come up with a relevant plan and suggest a solution for this particular problem. So, in this section of this paper I will address the issues that I mentioned above.

The 1951 Refugee Convention was the first attempt to define who a refugee is and still it is a key document in terms of stating a refugee's status. This convention was held right after the Second World War in order to find a solution to the ones who forced to leave their homelands and unable or not willing to return their home nations due to the fear of being persecuted because of their race, religion, nationality, social group and political opinion. The 1951 Refugee Convention was legally defining and referring to the status of being a refugee. 1967 protocol removed geographical and temporal restrictions from the convention. Taking this statement as a reference, there are more than 20 million refugees in 2016 according to UNHCR. The total global refugee number was 19, 5 million back in 2015. But the number rapidly increased in one

year and reached to 20.2 million for the first time since 1992 according to UNHCR. They also announced the numbers of internally displaced people which is estimated around 34 million and worldwide displacement exceeding over 60 million people. In other words, one person among 122 has been forced to leave their home nations to seek a better future. Another devastating fact is that 4,600 people is forced to leave their countries every day due to the conflict in Syria, which is one of the biggest reason of increase in the numbers of both refugees and the ones who are not considered as a refugee but forced to global displacement. Excluding Syrian conflict does not make a big difference in these numbers. There is a serious and rapidly growing refugee problem in the world. This creates also difficulties for the host countries. For instance, according to UNHCR's recent report in 2015, Turkey is hosting more than 2 million refugees on its territory which makes Turkey the world's biggest hosting country for refugees. Also, Lebanon is facing with difficulties in terms of refugee crisis. Lebanon hosts 20 refugees per 100 inhabitants in its territory which means hosting more refugees than any other country in terms of its population over refugee rate (UNHCR, 2015). Europe is also facing with refugee problem where people trying to cross Mediterranean Sea by boat and arrive to Europe. This road to hope via Mediterranean became a scene where thousands of refugees lost their lives while seeking for better future. Humanitarian aspect of the refugee problem is rapidly growing. A European country such as Germany has announced that they are going to accept 800.000 refugees on its territory. United States on the other hand, has settled 3 million refugees on its territories since 1975. There are 9 U.S. Refugee Resettlement Agencies which aims to help newly arrived refugees to the community. And U.S. also has other institutions such as Refugee Admissions Program which aims to provide solution to refugee crisis and accept the ones who asked for

asylum. However, all these actions and measures that are taken by states are individual actions in order to solve refugee crisis in the world. What are the international community's collective efforts so far with dealing this particular global problem?

Establishment of The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on 1950 was a major step in terms of international community's collective action for refugee crisis. This agency established in order to lead and coordinate international action to protect refugees and bring solution to the refugee problems worldwide. Its main goals are to protect the rights of the refugees and their well-being. Since its establishment in 1950, UNHCR assisted more than tens of millions to people to rebuild their lives on far away territories from their home lands. After its establishment, UNHCR faced with a major refugee crisis in 1956, where Hungarian people were fleeing from conflict in their homelands which Soviet forces caused. In 1960's, the agency responded several crisis in Africa continent as a result of decolonization act. The agency also helped solving the refugee crisis in Asia and Latin America in 1970's and 80's. In the 1990's UNHCR played role in solving the displacement problems due to the conflicts in Balkans. In the 21st century, the agency concentrates on solving refugee crisis in Africa, Asia, and Middle-East, such as refugee crisis in Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Afghanistan. In 2015, UNHCR actively works in 125 countries with more than 9.000 members of staff. According to the agency's recent evaluation report, UNHCR's budget is approximately 7 billion US dollars in 2015. The contributions of UNHCR to global refugee problem cannot be underestimated but their efficiency in solving the major problem is debatable.

Another major organization where states collectively acting together to settle refugee problem is European Union and its institutions. European Commission presented European Agenda for Migration to settle the refugee conflict in the world. According to European Commission EU has aiming to solve refugee conflict by “helping transit countries with humanitarian funding”, by “putting the EU Civil Protection Mechanism at disposal of member states and neighboring countries, and by “scaling up humanitarian aid for major crises”. Commission President Juncker underlined that EU institutions and its 27 member states are acting together to correspond to the refugee crisis in Europe. Moreover, ASEAN community is trying to respond the refugee crisis by its own ways. They developed institutions such as ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR), the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC), and the ASEAN Committee on Migrant Workers (ACMW). According ASEAN General Secretary H.E. Le Luong Minh, with the help of these institutions, ASEAN aims to respond the refugee problem in the world, especially in their community’s region.

There is no doubt that UNHCR, EU and ASEAN developed institutions and methods in order to deal with global refugee crisis. Their contributions to this particular problem cannot be underestimated but still this major problem exists since the establishment of these organizations. It is certain that international community has failed to solve or prevent global refugee crisis. Their responds to global refugee crisis are not sufficient. There are more than 20 million refugees in the world in 2015. Voluntary return rates of refugees are at its lowest level which indicates the rate of how many refugees can safely go back their home lands. But why international

community has failed to deal with global refugee problem? To propose my action plan to deal with global refugee problem, I come up with 12 reasons which examines why international community has failed to solve this problem. And I will propose an action plan which focuses to solve these 12 reasons.

International community has failed to solve global refugee problem due to these 12 reasons; “lack of sufficient definition of a refugee”, “regional solutions not global”, “burden is not equally distributed”, “lack of radical decisions”, “lack of leadership”, “lack of preparation and precautions”, “lack of belief”, “unable to solve conflicts and prevent wars”, “people feels no bonds with refugees”, “problem goes over which UNHCR can deal”, “refugees are not helping host states”, “Multi-National Companies are not coming forward” and finally “lack of participation of non-state actors and refugees”. In the next section of this paper, I will address to these issues that I mentioned above and I will provide basis for my action plan which I will propose after this section.

To start with, the definition of a refugee was created in 1951 Refugee Convention which was targeting to solve the major refugee crisis that Second World War created in Europe. It did face with an amendment by 1967 protocol but still it was a product of that era. I think the definition of a refugee is not responding to the contemporary issues such as cross-border displacement, environmental change and food insecurity. These contemporary problems are not fitting with the definition of a refugee and create difficulties in terms of helping a refugee. 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee by focusing on “persecution” matter and the contemporary issues that I mentioned above are not fitting with this definition. This creates a

problem in terms asylum demands of displaced people. For instance, %90 of the Zimbabwean asylum seekers were send back to their home land by South African government by claiming that they are not refugees, and do not match with the definition of a refugee.

Moreover, international community was not successful in terms of providing global solutions to the refugee problem of the world. Instead, they focused on proposing regional and temporary solutions. This is an obstacle in order to solve this major problem. European Union focused its energy to protect and help to the refugees who are near their borders. For instance, they European Commission proposed an economic assistance package to Turkey which will provide 3 billion US dollars to Turkish government in order to protect Syrian refugees. But EU did nothing about Rohingya community in Asia. I believe this creates a problem in terms of providing sufficient and permanent solutions to refugee problem of the world.

Another problem is that burden is not shared equally among the members of international community. People who leave its country generally end up in their neighboring country such as in the case of Syrian Refugee. This creates a burden for the host country in terms of social, political and economic measures. Since most of the refugees are from developing countries, it creates a huge burden for the region. For instance, people who flee from Central America with hope of reaching Canada or USA are ending up in Mexico. This creates a burden for the region.

Furthermore, international community has failed to take radical decisions in order to solve this particular problem. For instance, international community has been successfully implied the regulations of Montreal Protocol in 1987 which was related with climate change and global warming. Radical decisions were taken with this protocol with contribution of states. If

international community is capable of taking such radical actions, why still 1951 Refugee Convention is the key legal framework in order to solve refugee problem of the world?

Also another reason why international community has failed in terms of solving refugee problem is because of lack of precautions and preparations. Since the Second World War, international community has always take action after the crisis occurred. States react when the refugees stand in their borders and attempt to enter their territories. Why not taking precautions such as creating a secure buffer zone for the refugees before they attempt to cross borders.

There is lack of leadership in the international arena to solve global refugee crisis and this problem goes over which UNHCR can deal with. This agency established in order to lead and coordinate international action to protect refugees and bring solution to the refugee problems worldwide. But they do not have a mechanism to force the states in order to cooperate with them. States can decide to cooperate or not cooperate with UNHCR; it is up to their policy. For instance, Hungary closed its borders with Croatia to prevent accession of displaced people.

I believe that another reason of international community's failure to responding global refugee problem is that people do not believe that this problem can be solved. People accepted this situation as a permanent problem. They are used to live in a world with refugees just like they used to live in a world where extreme poverty exists. People assume that this as a natural fact of the existing world order and believe that this problem will always exists.

Furthermore, international community has failed to prevent wars and conflict which is one of the major reasons of global refugee problem in the world. Existence of fragile and weak

states makes the situation even difficult to handle. Conflicts in Middle-East and Africa created humanitarian emergencies. Alexander Betts underlines that “if we were able to address the root causes of those conflicts, the number of refugees in the world would decline significantly” (Betts, 2015). There is lack of addressing the roots of conflict in international arena and it makes the existing refugee crisis even worse.

Another obstacle that international community has failed to response is that people are not feeling or forming bonds with refugees if they are not sharing some historical, religious or ethnical ties with them. For instance after Paris attacks in November 2015, European states come together to present an example of solidarity. But they didn't respond in the same manner to the similar incidents around the world. This argument is also valid for the case of refugee problem. States and people are not willing to assist or protect the refugees who do not feel any bonds with compared to the ones who share some values. I believe that the reason behind this fact is European states are sharing common values in terms of economic, social, political, cultural and historic background.

Also another reason of international community's failure is that they could not form a system where refugees can help their host country in terms of both economic and non-economic measures. This will reduce the conflict between refugees and inhabitants. If such system would exit, it will also provide opportunity for refugees to help its host nation by reducing their burden. Instead, international community had so far build a system where host nation takes care of the refugees by providing them food and shelter. Why not creating a system where refugees can take care of themselves, host states can provide opportunities for refugees in labor market.

In addition, international community failed to response to global refugee problem because multi-national companies did not come forward. In the globalizing world states are sharing their powers with other actors such as multi-national companies and non-governmental organizations. When it comes up to global refugee crisis, international community expects states to take responsibility in order to protect refugees by providing their security and well-being. But since states are sharing their powers with multi-national companies, they should also share the responsibility of solving a particular problem of the world. For example, IKEA Foundation donated 130 million US dollars to UNHCR which is the largest amount of donation given by a private company since the establishment of the agency. However, this is not enough in terms of solving this major problem. Other multi-national companies need to come forward as well in order to protect and assist to refugees. Not only with providing financial assist to international organizations but by developing social entrepreneurship campaigns directly targeting the global refugee crisis.

Last but not least, international community failed to “listen” the actual victims of the global refugee crisis, the refugees. According to The UN resolution 51/172 (1997: 2) “the need to support two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development”. Also June Lennie and Jo Tacchi underlines that “Communication, understood as a two-way relationship that not only acknowledges the right of people to be heard, but includes prioritizing effective listening, and recognizing and respecting alternative forms of knowledge” (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). Therefore, it is important to create a dialogue platform

between states, non-state actors and refugees in order to enable the refugees to speak out and engage with the policy making process. International community has never paid attention the actual experiences of the refugees and they never enabled them to participate in the discussion.

So, above I try to explain why international community has failed to response global refugee crisis. In the next section of this paper, I am going to come up with an action plan which underlines why people should help refugees and how should we help them. I am going to address to these two points in my action plan with focusing to solve 12 failure reasons. In order to maintain the success of my action plan, people should understand why to help refugees. That's why my position in this matter is also a part of my action plan. So in the next section, I will talk about why people should help the refugees and try to provide a global solution.

To start with, political thinkers and moral philosophers have been arguing this question since the emergence of refugee crisis back in late 1940's. Moral philosophers suggest that people have ethical commitments to others, defending that we should help those who need for our help. This is the position of humanitarians and implications of humanitarian principle. Communitarian philosophers suggest that we should be helping to our own community first, and then help the other if the cost of it is not too high. For instance, Michael Walzer defends that we should help the refugees due to moral values of our political community if the cost of it is low for our own society (Walzer, 1983). Similar approach is supported by Garrett Hardin who uses "lifeboat ethics" to explain the case. According to Hardin carrying capacity of the boat which in this case is the state, depends on its capability of helping refugees without overloading and sinking the boat (Hardin, 1974). On the other hand, Rawls approach is distinguishes from Hardin's and

Walzer's. Rawls addresses to the refugee case by pointing out the "veil of ignorance" concept which suggests that we are all potential refugees and we must help. Rawls underlines that behind the veil of ignorance, no one knows if she a potential refugee or not, therefore they must prefer to choose helping the refugees (Rawls, 1974). Joseph Carens points out to "reasonable accommodation" of people's differences which means that refugees need to have basic rights in terms of freedom and equality. Singer also addresses to refugee problem in his own perspective. He suggests that refugees need to be protected until their quality of life is no worse or better than our own. Other theorists have broadened the argument by not only focusing with humanitarian aspect. For instance, Seyla Benhabib refers to the globalization and mentions that we are no longer a part of a small society but a global society and our moral obligations extend by globalization (Benhabib, 2004). My position is close to Singer and Benhabib, maybe combination of both. I suggest that we are no longer a part of an isolated small society, we are a global society and we should help the ones who need our help in this society. But we should help them until their quality of life is no worse or better than ours.

In light of this suggestion, I propose a global action plan to deal with refugee problem in the world. I believe that creating a "Global Refugee State" (GRS) can solve and settle the refugee problem of the world. A global refugee state which will open its territory to refugees and protect them until their quality of life is no worse than our own. This state is going to help refugees with their long and hazardous journeys by establishing embassies and bases around the world especially in the developing regions where the 86% of refugees coming from. Global Refugee State will protect refugees until their quality of life is no worse than rest of the global

community and send them back to their home nation when they are ready to go. This state can be established anywhere in the world. It is not going to fit in the framework of traditional state understanding in terms of territories. I suggest that there should be different territories of this Global Refugee State all around the world in order to protect refugees. Global Refugee State does not need to own such a big territory around the world but it should control small territories in every region especially in developing regions. So the cost would be shared between the states in terms of territory. GRS must be established with the contributions of every single state in the world. They should support this establishment by providing security and financial aid. Every state should donate %0.5 of its GDP in the formation process of Global Refugee State. Later on, GRS will be a self-sufficient state where refugees participate in labor force. GRS can be ruled by world states with a similar organization like United Nations but more equal and just with the contributions of every single state. The establishment of GRS would certainly respond to the international community's failure in terms of refugee problem of the world. This new action plan can easily find a solution to the "12 failures" of international community that I mentioned in the previous section. It can become the sole leader in this particular problem, it can redefine the concept of who a refugee is, it can provide global solutions, burdens would be shared equally among all states, people would believe in that this problem can be settled, GRS can take precautions and make preparations before crisis occur, it can provide a system where refugees helps it host state (GRS) by contributing in labor market and finally it can convince multi-national organizations to share responsibility with states. Global Refugee State can play important role in terms of ending global refugee crisis in the world. I developed an action plan which responds to the global refugee problem to our existing world order which is driven by

states. My action plan was to create a Global Refugee State, so it definitely would be more successful in a world which is driven by states. States would work collectively in order to solve global refugee problem according to my action plan. States are capable of doing such action. History has proven us this with in the case of Montreal Protocol in 1987 where states collectively signed the international treaty in order to protect the environment and slow down the climate evolution. I certainly believe that states are capable of working collectively in order to find a radical solution to this particular problem. My action plan is going to lead states in order to do such action and states are going to play significant role in terms of settling or eliminating global refugee problem according to my plan. Proposing an action plan without states is not going to be realistic under the conditions of existing world order. As Hedly Bull mentions” In the first place it seems likely that the state, whether we approve of it or not, is here to stay.” That’s why I developed my action plan with focusing on states and their potential contributions to end global refugee problem. However, this action plan is not relevant without creating new dialogue platforms between states and non-state actors. Communication lies at the center of this solution. Without maintaining the communication and dialogue platform among states, formation of the Global Refugee State seems impossible. It is only possible with increasing the level of communication and dialogue between states, and it requires collective action from both states and non-state actors. Global Refugee State is an ultimate solution in terms of state level of the problem. But, I strongly recommend to create a dialogue platform between states, non-state actors and people. People’s or in this case, refugee’s participation is essential in terms of solving the global refugee crisis. Their needs and personal experiences are going to be the guideline while building the Global Refugee State. As “Communication, understood as a two-way

relationship that not only acknowledges the right of people to be heard, but includes prioritizing effective listening, and recognizing and respecting alternative forms of knowledge” (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). Personal experiences of refugees and their participation to the policy making process will reinforce the foundations of the Global Refugee State.

In conclusion, in this explanatory paper, I tried to develop a solution to the existing global refugee crisis by building a Global Refugee State (GRS) in the light of Communication for Development. First I mentioned what is Communication for Development and declared my approach to it. I support the approach of participatory development and I believe that people should participate to the discussion about their future, they must be engage in the policy making process. This is only available through communication, creating new dialogue platforms between states and non-state actors lies at the center of my argument. More importantly, communication lies at the heart of Global Refugee State because states should engage in dialogue collectively in order to accomplish my suggestion. Moreover, after presenting the necessity of Communication for Development for my action plan to solve global refugee crisis, I moved on to analyzing the status of a refugee in the framework of international arena and I analyzed the collective actions of the international arena to solve this problem. Later, I mentioned why international arena has failed to response to the global refugee crisis with addressing its failuire reasons. After defining the problem, I moved on to discuss why we should help refugees in the framework of ethics. I suggested that we are no longer a part of an isolated small society, we are a global society and we should help the ones who need our help in this society. I mentioned that we should help them until their quality of life is no worse or better than ours. Later, in the final part of this paper, I

presented my action plan to solve the global refugee crisis. I suggested that creating a “Global Refugee State” (GRS) can solve and settle the refugee problem of the world.

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