THE ROLE OF AFAD IN TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

ZUHAL KARAKOÇ DORA

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the Doctoral Thesis.

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Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a Doctoral Thesis.

_____

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Sıtkı BİLGİN

Examining Committee Members (first name belongs to the chairperson of the jury and the second name belongs to supervisor)

Prof. Dr. Hasan ÜNAL (Maltepe Uni., Pol. Sci. Int. Relations) _____

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Sıtkı BİLGİN (YBU, Int. Relations) _____

Prof. Dr. M. Murat ERDOĞAN (Türk-Alman Uni., Pol. Sci. Int. Relations) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Giray SADIK (YBU, Int. Relations) _____

Asst. Prof. Dr. Bayram SİNKAYA (YBU, Int. Relations) _____

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Name, Last Name : Zuhal KARAKOÇ DORA

Signature :

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF AFAD IN TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

KARAKOÇ DORA, Zuhal

Ph.D., Department of International Relations
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The concept of power which has a history as old as humanity is very important in understanding international relations. This concept has been scraped away from its traditional meaning in time and today it is sharpened into a whole new concept of Soft Power, in which almost all states try to implement their strategies to understand this changing context. Power potential is based on the adoption of a state's requests to another state by using the arguments of historical, cultural, social, education and tradition without any threatening force and today it has become one of the most determinative factors in the success of Public Diplomacy.

This research examines the concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy, a part of Public Diplomacy, which has become an important component of foreign policy as a consequence of political, economic, technological and social development with Turkey's changing foreign policy understanding.

At this point, AFAD case is handled in the context of soft power and how and how much AFAD uses this power is examined in the context of benefit-cost analysis and the role of AFAD is analyzed by looking through some of its works both at national and international levels. AFAD's, of which main purpose is planning, risk reduction and responsing to the natural disasters and which is institutionally bound to the Ministry of Interior; role and responsibility in the area of foreign aids which is a tool of foreign policy is handled from the viewpoint of its risks. Starting from this perspective, the policies of Turkey in the field of Humanitarian Diplomacy are examined in terms of the results and the success rates and shortcomings of these policies, the location where they bring Turkey in international relations scene is explained with data.

While the humanitarian diplomacy perception of Turkey, which might be accepted as unique of its kind, is analysed with datas and comparisons; foreign aids, the main tool of this kind of diplomacy, is examined thoroughly from transparency issue to the integration, cooperation and management issues. The parameters are set while problematic areas are tried to be defined with an analytic perspective.

From the point of hot datas and comparisons of the countries (one is Turkey and the others are the USA and Germany which are accepted to be one of the best coutries applying soft power policies), the efficiency of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy applications are interrogated and strong and weak sides are tried to be set forth. After analysing the current strategy of Turkey, it is questioned if the inputs that Turkey gives, worth the results it receives. This research examines, mainly, the works of AFAD which has become an important part of humanitarian diplomacy with specific examples and explains the benefits of these works in the international field with benefit-cost analysis. Within this context, suggestions are made, which is believed to contribute positively to Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy activities and their efficiency in the international arena.

Keywords: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, Humanitarian Diplomacy, AFAD, Turkey.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'NİN İNSANİ DİPLOMASİ UYGULAMALARINDA AFAD'IN ROLÜ

KARAKOÇ DORA, Zuhal
Doktora Tezi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi : Prof. Dr. Mustafa Sıtkı BİLGİN
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İnsanlık tarihi kadar eski bir geçmişe sahip olan güç kavramı, uluslararası ilişkileri anlamada son derece önemlidir ve bu kavram zaman içinde geleneksel anlamından sıyrılarak bugün neredeyse tüm devletlerin bu değişen bağlamı anlamak için stratejilerini uygulamaya çalıştığı yepyeni bir kavrama, yumuşak güç kavramına yontulmuştur. Güç potansiyeli, bir devletin taleplerinin herhangi bir tehdit edici güç olmadan tarihsel, kültürel, sosyal, eğitim ve gelenek argümanlarını kullanarak başka bir devlete kabul ettirilmesine dayanmaktadır ve bugün Kamu Diplomasinin başarısında en belirleyici faktörlerden biri haline gelmiştir.

İşte bu araştırma bugün; politik, ekonomik, teknolojik ve sosyal bir gelişmenin bir sonucu olarak dış politikanın önemli bir bileşeni haline gelen, kamu diplomasisinin önemli bir parçası olan İnsani Diplomasi kavramını, Türkiye'nin değişen dış politika anlayışı ile birlikte incelemektedir.

Bu bağlamda, AFAD kurumu yumuşak güç bağlamında ele alınmış, AFAD'ın bu gücü nasıl ve ne kadar kullandığı fayda-maliyet analizi çerçevesinden değerlendirerek; AFAD'ın bu bağlamdaki rolü onun hem ulusal hem de uluslararası spesifik çalışmaları aracılığı ile analiz edilmiştir. Esas kuruluş amacı planlama, risk azaltma ve doğal afetlere müdahale olan ve İçişleri Bakanlığına bağlı olan AFAD'ın bir dış politika unsuru olan dış yardımlar konusunda aldığı görev ve sorumluluk, taşıdığı risk bakımından ele alınmıştır. Buradan hareketle, Türkiye'nin İnsani Diplomasi alanındaki politikaları; ulaşılan sonuçlar, başarı oranları ve eksiklikleri açısından inclenmiş ve bu politikaların Türkiye'yi uluslararası ilişkiler sahnesinde getirdiği yer verilerle açıklanmıştır.

Bir yandan Türkiye'nin kendine has olduğunu ifade edebileceğimiz insani diplomasi anlayışı veriler ve mukayeselerle analiz edilirken; bir yandan da bu diplomasi türünün en temel aracı olan dış yardımlar hususu şeffaflıktan bütünleşikliğe, işbirliğinden yönetim alanına kadar pek

çok açıdan incelenmektedir. Parametreler ortaya konurken, problematik alanlar da analitik perspektifle tanımlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Ülkelerin verileri ve karşılaştırmaları ışığında (bu ülkelerden biri Türkiye, diğer ikisi ise yumuşak güç politikalarını en iyi uygulayan ülkeler olarak kabul edilen ABD ve Almanya), Türkiye'nin insani diplomasi uygulamalarının etkililiği araştırılarak güçlü ve zayıf yönler ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Türkiye'nin halihazırda uygulamakta olduğu strateji analiz edilmiş ve ortaya koyduğu çabanın aldığı sonuçlara değip değmediği sorgulanmıştır. Bu araştırma, temelde, spesifik örneklerle insani diplomasinin önemli bir parçası haline gelmiş bulunan AFAD'ı incelemekte ve yaptığı çalışmaların uluslararası alanda sağladığı katkıyı fayda maliyet analizi bağlamında açıklamaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasi uygulamalarına ve bu uygulamaların uluslararası arenadaki etkinliğine pozitif yönde katkı sağlayacağına inanılan öneriler getirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yumuşak Güç, Kamu Diplomasisi, Insani Diplomasi, AFAD, Türkiye.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD **:** Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority)
ASEAN **:** Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASELSAN **:** Askerî Elektronik Sanayii **(**Military Electronics Industries)
BC **:** Before Christ
BMZ **:** Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CDU **:** Christian Democratic Union of Germany
CERT **:** Community Emergency Response Team
CIEE **:** Council on International Educational Exchange
CR **:** Continuing Resolution
CSIS **:** Center for Strategic and International Studies
CWUR **:** Center for World University Rankings
DAAD **:** German Academic Exchange Service
DED **:** German Development Services Agency
DoC **:** Directorate of Communications
DSI **:** Devlet Su İşleri (State Hydraulic Works)
EEC **:** European Economic Community
EU **:** European Union
FPA **:** Foreign Policy Analysis
G20 **:** Group of Twenty
G8 **:** Group of Eight
GDP **:** Gross Domestic Product
GIZ **:** German International Co-operation Institution
GTZ **:** German Techical Cooperation Agency
ICG **:** International Crisis Group
ICRC **:** International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC **:** International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
INSARAG **:** International Search and Rescue Advisory Group,
InWent **:** German International Advanced Training and Development
IR **:** International Relations
ISIS **:** Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
JDP **:** Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
METU **:** Middle East Technical University
MoFA **:** Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MTP **:** Medium-Term Program
NATO **:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO **:** Nongovernmental Organizations
OECD **:** Organisation for Economc Co-operation and Development
OIC **:** Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OPD **:** Office of Public Diplomacy
OSCE **:** Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PM **:** Prime Minister
R&D **:** Research and Development
TCK **:** Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü (Turkish State Highway Commission)
THY **:** Türk Hava Yolları (Turkish Airlines)
TİKA **:** Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency)
TL **:** Türk Lirası (Turkish Lira)
TMF **:** Türk Maarif Vakfı (Turkish Maarif Foundation)
TOBB **:** Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey)
TRT **:** Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Association)
TV **:** Television
UK **:** United Kingdoom
UN **:** United Nations
UNESCO **:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR **:** United Nations Refugee Agency
UNOSOM **:** United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNRWA **:** United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine
USA **:** United States of America
USAID **:** United States Agency for International Development
USC **:** University of Southern Carolina
USD **:** US Dollar
USIA **:** United States Information Agency
USSR **:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEF **:** World Economic Forum
YEE **:** Yunus Emre Enstitüsü (Yunus Emre Institute)
YTB **:** Yurt Dışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of power which has a history as old as humanity is very important in understanding international relations. This concept has been scraped away from its traditional meaning in time and today it is sharpened into a whole new concept of Soft Power, in which almost all states try to implement their strategies to understand this changing context. This power potential is based on the adoption of a state's requests to another state by using historical, cultural, social, educational and traditional arguments without any threatening force and today it has become one of the most determinative factors in the success of Public Diplomacy.

This research examines the concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy, a part of Public Diplomacy, which has become an important component of foreign policy as a consequence of political, economic, technological and social development with Turkey's changing foreign policy understanding. Along with the changing global conditions, humanitarian diplomacy is the actively used instrument that Turkish Government prioritized in their agenda with its changing foreign policy understanding in 2000s. As a result of such kind of a policy, Turkey is among the largest donor countries of the world in terms of official humanitarian assistance extended.

As one of the new emerging economies, Turkey has risen to the first position in humanitarian aids and also Turkey is the biggest refugee hosting nation in the World.[1] Turkey is the place shaping the international humanitarian system and preapred the "Agenda of the Humanity" with the occasion of World Humanitarian Summit. Turkey has won the UN Public Service Award in 2015 by establishing the innovative humanitarian aid system Project.[2] These successes are directly related to the paradigm shift in Turkish foriegn policy in 2000s. The Justice and Development Party's (JDP) foreign policy may be new, especially in its emphasis on soft power, but it is not a radical departure from Turkey's past foreing policy and humanitarian endevours.[3]

[1] Daily Sabah. Turkey Largest Refugee Hosting Country as Global Numbers Hit New Record in 2015 UN Says. https://www.dailysabah.com/world/2015/12/18/turkey-largest-refugee-hosting-country-as-global-numbers-hit-new-record-in-2015-un-says. Date of Access: 13.11.2018.

[2] Anadolu Ajansı. BM'den Türkiye'ye Kamu Hizmetleri Ödülü. https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/bmden-turkiyeye-kamu-hizmetleri-odulu/32739, Date of Access: 14.11.2018.

[3] Onis, Z. (2010). *The Multiple Faces of the New Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics And A Critique*. İstanbul:GLODEM Working Paper Series, 4-5.

This research focuses on Turkey's use of humanitarian diplomacy, indireclty soft power, handled via institution of AFAD by sampling five different cases since it was established till the year 2019 -when this thesis is written.

It also examines the concept of humanitarian diplomacy and its implementations in the context of the humanitaran aid with Turkey's changing foreign policy understanding. At this point, Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) case will be handled in the context of soft power and how and how much AFAD uses this power will be examined in the context of benefit-cost analysis and the role of AFAD will be analyzed by looking through some of its works both at national and international levels. Starting from this perspective, the policies of Turkey in the field of Humanitarian Diplomacy will be examined in terms of the results and the success rates and shortcomings of these policies, the location where they bring Turkey in international relations scene will be explained with data.

In this thesis, the humanitarian diplomacy perception of Turkey, which might be accepted as unique of its kind, is analysed with datas and comparisons. From transparency issue to the integration, cooperation and management issues, the problematic areas are tried to be defined with an analytic perspective.

From the point of hot datas and comparisons of the countries (one is Turkey and the others are the USA and Germany which are accepted to be one of the best countries applying soft power policies), the efficiency of the Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy applications are interrogated and strong and weak sides are tried to be set forth. After analysing the current strategy of Turkey, it is questioned if the inputs that Turkey gives, worth the results it receives. It could be summarized that this research examines mainly the works of AFAD which has become an important part of humanitarian diplomacy with specific examples and explains the benefits of these works in the international field with benefit-cost analysis. In this way, through improvements to be made in the mentioned problematic areas, it is argued that a more systematic policy is urgently needed to be set. With the suggestions to these areas, it could be claimed that Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy activities could be developed in a better way by taking minimum risk and giving less and by receving much more in return. These suggestions are believed to provide more benefits and contribute much more to the efficiency of Turkey in the international arena.

1.1. Scope of Thesis

In this research humanitarian diplomacy as an element of the public diplomacy and soft power is elaborated both in theory and practice together – including decriptive analysis and case study.

In Chapter One, the thesis begin with the Scope of the Thesis which supplies an introductory overwiew of all chapters to form a general framework of this study. The research objectives and questions, for which answers are sought are given within. Research Background and Literature Review, where the resources and background of the research is provided. The Argument, followed by the Mehtodology used throughout the thesis.

In Chapter Two, a theoretichal framework is drawn on the term of "power" and as a political international relation theory realism, idealism, liberalism and constructivism are discussed giving a more focus on the constructivist perspective. Then the types of power and their use in politics are examined thorougly by looking at 2 different counries; the USA and Germany. After these, a general overview is made on Turkey's soft power approach and two periods are handled: the Post Cold War term and the Justice and Development Party term.

In Chapter Three, today's perception of soft power and the changing paradigm in the understanding of power is discussed. Moreover Turkey's humanitarian aid perspective and humanitarian aids are analyzed by touching upon the outstanding related institutions of Turkey in this section.

Chapter Four provides general backgorund information of the concept of humanitarian diplomacy, including the comparision between the concepts of humanitarian diplomacy and humanitarina aid, and the deductive relationship between diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy. Moreover, this chapter includes the understanding of humanitarian diplomacy. Additionally; in this Chapter, the Turkish foreign policy and humanitarian diplomacy approach is elaborated with the analysis of paradigm shift on Turkish foreign policy in 2000s and the implementation of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkey.

Chapter Five discusses the Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy of Turkey. As one of the new emerging economies, Turkey has risen to the first position, in terms of Humanitarian Aid, according to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2018. Turkey also is the biggest refugee-hosting country in the world. Turkey, who prepared the "Agenda of Humanity", could

be defined as the place shaping the International humanitarian system. Therefore, it has taken the title of the most generous country in the world and it has become “conscience of the world in the field of Humanitarian Aid. Here in this part, the humanitarian diplomacy perception of Turkey, which might be accepted as unique of its kind, is analysed with datas and comparisons. From transparency issue to the integration, cooperation and management issues, the problematic areas are tried to be defined with an analytic perspective.

In the Conclusion part, two different tables are provided in order to clearly set forth the real situation of cost-efficiency balance by comparing three mentioned countries in datas. It is questioned if the inputs worth the received results or not. It could be summarized that this research examines mainly the works of AFAD which has become an important part of humanitarian diplomacy with specific examples and explains the benefits of these works in the international field with benefit-cost analysis. With the suggestions to the problematic areas, it could be claimed that Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy activities could be developed in a better way by taking minimum risk and giving less and by receving much more in return. These suggestions are believed to provide more benefits and contribute much more to the efficiency of Turkey in the international arena.

1.2. Research Objectives and Research Questions

The humanitarian system of today’s world is no more capable of meeting the needs of the arousing challenges. Increasing needs and rapid changes in many areas -from disasters to politics- an effective and prompt responding system is far from reality. Human suffering has reached the highest level since the Second Wold War be it as a result of natural disaster or armed conflict. While 60 million people are displaced due to conflict and violence, 218 million people each year become victims of natural disasters and the cost of these disasters on the World economy exceeds 300 billion dollars.

When the international humanitarian system is in crisis, Turkey has gained expereince in humanitarian asssisstance which should be model to other countries. In this context, the expereinces in the field of Turkey should cooperate with the acedemic literature in order to enlighten the international humanitarian system.

Spesific question on this thesis can be listed as follows:

- What does humanitarian diplomacy in IR imply?
- What is the relation between public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy?
- What are the characterisics of Turkish foreign policy?
- Is there a correlation between the humanitarian aid and Turkish foreign policy?
- What are the aims and targets of Turkey by using humanitarian diplomacy?
- Is there any determinig factors for Turkey while performing its humanitarian diplomacy? If there is, what are the determiners of using of humanitarian diplomacy? Is there any ethical, religious, political o economical distinctions to account?
- What are the shortages of these policies implemented by Turkey that is unable to reap the benefits of these aids in the international arena and can not use the prerogatives of them in public diplomacy despite being elected as the most generous country in the world with its humanitarian aids and how these shortages are corrected?
- What are Turkey's humanitarian aids through the instrument of AFAD and the benefits of these in the international arena?
- Does Turkey receive what it invests in return?
- What are the suggestions to improve the current system?

1.3. Research Background and Literature Review

According to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2018, Turkey has taken the title of the most generous country in the world with $8.07 billion dollars in Humanitarian Aid.[4] In this thesis, Turkey that helps the countries in the difficult situation without any discrimination will be revealed with data. In this thesis, the experiences in the field of Turkey should cooperate with the academic literature in order to enlighten the International humanitarian sector. On the other hand, in spite of all these aids, the policy shortages of Turkey that is unable to reap the benefits of these aids will be shown and how to overcome these shortages will be explained in different methods.

When literature is reviewed, it is seen that most of the resources are belong to the public institutions which means that they are less academic. As one of the public institution is handled

[4] AFAD News. The Most Generous Country in the World: Turkey. https://www.afad.gov.tr/en/19320/The-Most-Generous-Country-in-the-World-Turkey, Date of Access: 13.11.2018.

in this thesis, while setting the current situation and making analysis, an academic perspective will be provided.

1.4. Methodology

Descriptive analysis utilized for providing the background information in this thesis for the political and social aspects of the humanitarian diplomacy with the case of Turkey and detailed discussions have been conducted within these descriptive analysis. Within this scope journal articles, books and reports is used to provide a perspective for the topics discussed in this thesis and it is tried to present both the defending and opposing arguments regarding the thesis statement to give an objective view as much as possible. Academic research, review of the relevant academic articles, books and press has all been conducted and the utilized refences are listed in the References chapter. Moreover, some of the most relevant of these, both in Master of Science and Philosphy of the Doctorate degrees have been reviewed to gain understanding in how to construct the backbone, to provide a coherent development of ideas, discuss the topics and to sum up all the findings in the form of a Conclusion chapter. Moreover, internet is one of the major sources of the information especially to follow the most recent press announcements and the news regarding the specific topics of the chapters.

Since this thesis subject contains very current topics, (For instance, the number of Syrian citizens coming to our country as a result of the internal turmoil in Syria to reach 3.5 million) newspaper articles and reliable web information is also utilized in order to provide a very up-to-date thesis content with the most recent developments.

Case study method is used to present the details of AFAD's works and the results of these works in the international arena. Based on this method, five of the works that AFAD has done so far is selected and examined specifically.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2.1. Foreign Policy

Foreign policies are the strategies governments use to guide their actions in the international arena which spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation.[5] To enable a systematic discussion of various theoretical and conceptual perspectives on foreign policy, a concise depiction of the subject of study is needed.[6] Instead of randomly reviewing definitions, a brief review of the core analytical units developed in the discipline of foreign policy analysis allows us to identify what can be considered as the gist of the concept of foreign policy.[7]

States establish various organizational structures and functional relationships to create and carry out foreign policies; officials and agencies collect information through various channels; like writing memoranda outlining options for action or holding meetings to discuss the matter. [8] Scholars are especially interested in exploring whether certain kinds of policy processes lead to certain kinds of decisions—whether certain processes produce better outcomes (for the state's self-defined interests) than do others.[9]

"Foreign policy outcomes result from multiple forces at various levels of analysis. The outcomes depend on individual decision makers, on the type of society and government they are working within, and on the international and global context of their actions. The study of foreign policy processes runs counter to realism's assumption of a unitary state actor. Because the study of foreign policy concentrates on forces within the state, its main emphasis is on the individual and domestic levels of analysis."[10]

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[5] Goldstein, J.S. and Pevehouse, J.C. (2006). *International Relations.* (7th Ed.). http://www.ablongman.com/gold/goldsteincp04.pdf, Date of Access: 07.07.2018.

[6] Keukeleire, S. & Schunz, S. (2008, September). Foreign Policy, Globalization and Global Governance - The European Union's Structural Foreign Policy, Riga. *Paper prepared for the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics*, 3, 25-27.

[7] Keukeleire, S. & Schunz, S. *ibid.*, 2008: 25-27.

[8] Goldldstein, J.S. & Pevehouse, J.C. (2009). *International Relations*. (6th Ed.). USA: Pearson International Edition, 123.

[9] Goldldstein & Pevehouse, *ibid.*, 2009:124.

[10] Goldldstein & Pevehouse, *ibid.*, 2009:124.

"Foreign policy analysis is the study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system. Diplomacy, intelligence, trade negotiations and cultural exchanges all form part of the substance of foreign policy analysis. At the heart of the field is an investigation into decision making, the individual decisionmakers, processes and conditions that affect foreign policy and the outcomes of these decisions. By virtue of this approach, foreign policy analysis is necessarily concerned with the boundaries between the external environment outside of the nation state and the internal or domestic environment, with its variety of sub-national sources of influence."[11]

The field of foreign policy analysis needs a common set of concepts and analytical frameworks to facilitate comparison of alternative policy options.[12] In order to build policy-relevant knowledge concerning success and failure in foreign policy, the following questions must be addressed: how effective is a policy instrument likely to be, with respect to which goals and target, at what cost?[13] At this point it would be helpful to remember the purpose and the source of the existence of the states: power. In order to better construct the appropriate goals and to reach them, in order to effectively determine the capacity and the tools and most relevantly in order to better analyse the cost efficiency of the policies; it is inevitable for a state to use its power in the right way. Before going through it in details, it is important to overview the power itself.

2.2. Concept and Types of Power

This title constitutes a perspective centered on international relations related to the history of power concept. In this context, the concept of power will first be evaluated through the definitions of people belonging to different ecoles, and then various approaches to the concept of power through realism and idealism theories will be discussed.

The concept of power which has a history as old as humanity is significant in comprehending international relations. The definition of this concept, which emerged with the desire to influence individuals first and then to influence societies and control them, has been made many times up to today, but due to its multidimensional nature, an agreed-upon definition has not been made.

[11] Alden, C. (2011). *Foreign Policy Nnalysis.* University of London International Programmes, 10.
[12] Baldwin, D.A. (2002). *Power and International Relations.* (Edt: Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B.A.). Handbook of International Relations. London: Sage Publications, 167.
[13] Baldwin, *ibid.*, 2002:167.

Thus, it is not surprising that power has been prominent in discussions of international interaction from Thucydides to the present day.[14]

Before the definition of various theorists, it is useful to look at the dictionary for the meaning of power. According to the "Oxford Dictionary", power means the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events. [15]Unfortunately, in the English language; power is an awkward word, for unlike influence and control it has no convenient verb form, nor can the subject and object of the relation be supplied with noun forms without resort to barbaric neologisms.[16] In this way, the concept of power is a more unique concept that can contain all of them rather than refer to such concepts as authority, control, repression, influence. For this reason, it has been emerged as the most defined and popular concept in international relations literature.

Various theorists and world leaders have also stated that power is one of the main concepts in international relations and policy analysis.[17] For instance, British historian Edward Carr says that power is an indispensable tool for states/governments[18], while American politician Kenneth Waltz acknowledges that the definition of power is a controversial issue and points to a fundamental concept[19] in the realist theories of international politics. As it is seen, power is a theoretical concept but can not be explained by a single definition. It has been like this indeed, although the concept is extremely important in terms of international relations, the definitions have not been able to reveal the meaning of the concept clearly. At the roof of this failure lies a dilemma about the expression of a very complex concept in theoretical simplicity, as the concept is simplified, it loses its meaning, and the explanations that approach the truth are in a complexity that does not allow analysis.[20]

It is necessary to look at different definitions in order to better internalize the concept of power but the aim is not to achieve a new definition of power, but rather to increase the

[14] Baldwin, *ibid.*, 2002:167.
[15] Lexico Dictionary. Power. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/power. Date of Access: 18.11.2018.
[16] Dahl, R.A. (1957). The Concept of Power. *Behavioral Science*, 2(3), 202.
[17] Rothgeb, J.M. (1933). *Defining Power:Influence and Force in the Contemporary International System*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 18.
[18] Güneş, N. (2016). *Edward H. Carr vs Hans J. Morgenthau on Power*. Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri. https://www.ilimvemedeniyet.com/edward-h-carr-vs-hans-j-morgenthau-on-power.html. Date of Access: 19.11.2018.
[19] Baldwin, D.A. (2016). Power and International Relations: A Conceptual Approach. Date of Access: https://www.princeton.edu/~dbaldwin/selected%20articles/Baldwin%20%282012%29%20Power%20and%20International%20Relations.pdf., Date of Access: 19.11.219.
[20] Özdemir, H. (2008). Uluslararası İlişkilerde Güç:Çok Boyutlu Bir Değerlendirme. *Kırıkkale Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi,* 63-3, 114.

comprehensibility of the concept by showing the change of definitions in time. However, before going into these definitions, it is necessary to briefly mention what those who make these definitions are based on. Theories that enable us to approach international relations from a systematic point of view play an active role in defining the concept of power. Generally, the concept of power is identified with the realist theory but it is also important for the other theories. In the field of international policy, there are thoughts that express power as elements that a state has only physically owned, as well as thoughts that the applicability/usability of the power is more eminent than physicality of power, and that the power that can use power in a real sense.[21]

The basic logic of international relations theories is to explain why international events occur. Each theory is distinguished by topics, methods of analysis and tools. They all ask different questions and reach different results. The international literature that is trapped between schools of realism and idealism for a long time has witnessed different theories produced to better understand the changing world in time. The first thing that comes to mind when you think of international relations theories is the endless war of idealism and realism. At this point, firstly power must be evaluated from the perspective of idealism and realism.

Idealism is the movement that leads to the emergence of international relations as a discipline. It was based on the idea that the world would never testify to a war like World War I that brought the destruction that history had never seen before. This is possible with a new world order based on the development of international organizations such as League of Nations, respect for law and common universal values.[22] Woodrow Wilson's principles are the principles that define idealism. However, these principles were not sufficient to protect world peace and the way to apply the realist approach to international relations was opened in 1939 with the outbreak of World War II.

According to idealists, the only thing that determines international relations is not power, but also international law, international organizations and moral values must take place. Also, as John Locke points out, man is a good creature in essence and his misbehavior is due to poor institutional and structural regulations and these force people to harm others.[23] If the right conditions exist, the international policy could be carried out in a friendly environment. As a result, they oppose the classical power approach advocated by realism and believe that

[21] Arı, T. (2011). *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, Bursa: MKM Yayıncılık, 132.
[22] Aydın, M. (1996). Uluslararası İlişkilerde Yaklaşım, Teori ve Analiz. *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 51(1), 92.
[23] Özdemir, *ibid.*, 2008:114.

international peace will be ensured with the rule of law that will be developed through the international organization.

After the 1930's, it was seen that idealists were mistaken with both the failure of the League of Nations and dictators came to power in different countries. Also, as the idealists advocated, international organizations could not prevent wars alone, the actors of the international relations were nation-states and international relations also consisted of power and conflict of interest between these states.[24] Here is the theory of realism, which has made its mark on this period, shaped in the light of these thoughts. The roots of realism extend from the Ancient Greek historian and the Athenian general Thucydides to the Florentine thinker Machiavelli, the famous work of the Prince. However, if it is necessary to evaluate in the international relations discipline, Hans Morgenthau is the person who made realism as realism.[25]

As in idealism, the aim in realism is to prevent conflicts. However, on the contrary to international law, international organizations and common values which are considered in idealism, the ultimate goal of all countries for a realist is to provide security in the hostile and anarchic environment. This is only possible with the military force of states. Military force is a usable and effective instrument in realist theory, it is the means of power.[26] This is not surprising when we look at from the historical perspective because the victories that have been achieved so far were provided in this way and the ongoing order consisted of this system. That is to say, what would prevent the war was not be formal-legal structures, but to have the power to deter the opposite side. In other words, classical realism interprets the concept of power based on deterrence and indicates that power is the basic concept of international relations, also providing the order is related to the use of this owned power.

At this point, it's necessary to touch on the liberal theory that has been used instead of idealism many times. It can be said that, "Wilson's idealism was a precursor to liberal international relations theory, which would arise amongst the institution-builders after World War II and Liberalism in general, the belief that it is the aim of politics to preserve individual rights and to maximize freedom of choice"[27] so Liberalism is a worldview based on the individual and his

[24] Mearsheimer, J.J. (2005). E.H. Carr vs Idealism: The Battle Rages On. *International Relations*, 19(2), 139-152.
[25] Arıboğan, D.Ü. (2000). *Kabileden Küreselleşmeye*. İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınları, 19.
[26] Rasheed, M.F. (1995). *The Concept of Power in International Relations.* Pakistan Institute of Internationa l Affairs, Pakistan Horizon, 48, 95.
[27] McLean, I. & McMillan, A. (2009). *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics.* (3rd Ed.). UK: Oxford University Press, 73.

freedom. In the classical sense, Liberalism has emerged with the Age of Enlightenment and one of the most important thinkers of the 17th century, John Locke, is one of the most important prescursors of Liberalism. According to him, ‘’the idea that no one ought to harm another in his life, liberty and or property’’[28] constitues the basis of Liberalism and in this direction, the purpose of the state is to guarantee the freedom of the individual. The purpose of Liberalism, which is based on such an idea, is to preserve peace after the wars that lead the world to incerdible destruction and this is possible with the international cooperation rather than use of force. According to the theory, in the case of the establishment of international institutions, legal rules and regimes to prevent the use of force, the reasons for the use of force will be eliminated, and according to this, states will prefer to implement their demands for each other by using peaceful methods without resorting to force[29] because, unlike the realists, liberals argue that human nature is good, and the state that created by individuals has no bad intension so conflicts are caused by misperceptions. If the conditions that cause these misperceptions are corrected, conflict and competition would be reduced and states would cooperate with each other. Besides, according to the liberals, military power is quite costly and must be the last option for a state to prevent conlicts. Liberalism has formed the basis of many theories in the field of international relations with these ideas. Also, the idea of stroke to the individual who guided the theory of Constructivism came from the Liberalists.[30]

With the end of the Cold War, the inability of rationalist theories to explain the changes in the system has led to the emergence of the various approaches within critical theory. These approaches are shaped around the idea of social interaction that traditional theories lack. In these approaches, it is the constructivism approach that leaves its mark in that period and makes the sociology of the international community in some way. The most significant emphasis of constructivism is the idea that states are a social entity and international relations is a social field.[31] Thus, international relations has become a part of social theory. Constructivists do not reject the material structure, but according to them, mental structures are the main thing that affects the international relations. In other words, the world is not based on material elements, but rather on social, experimental, cultural and normative factors. These factors have been

[28] Goldwin, R. (1976). Locke's State of Nature in Political Society. *The Western Political Quarterly,* 29,126.
[29] Varlık, A.B. & Demir, S. (2013). *Uluslararası İlişkilerde Realist ve Liberalist Kuramların Güç Kavramına Yaklaşımı, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Teorik Yaklaşımlar.* İstanbul: Beta Yayınları, 67.
[30] Yakışır, B. (2011). *Din-Dış Politika Etkileşimi ve Bu Etkileşimin AB Entegrasyon Politikalarına Yansıması*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 14.
[31] Ertem, H.S. (2012). Kimlik ve Güvenlik İlişkisine Konstrüktivist Bir Yaklaşım: “Kimliğin Güvenliği” ve “Güvenliğin Kimliği*”. Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi,* 184.

neglected for a long time and they have been forgotten about how important affects they have in foreign policy.

According to constructivists, interests determine the behavior of states[32] but here, it's not mentioned about a concrete interest concept. Unlike the realists, this interest is related to ideas; so, interests are shaped by specific ideas. Accordingly, power alone does not make sense unless it is used in accordance with the interests around specific ideas, relationships, perceptions, and preferences.[33] At this point, it would not be wrong to say that constructivists look at the power in the context of soft power because realists contend that hard power -the coercive use of military might - is the primary determinant of behavior and outcomes in the international system.[34] In contrast, neoliberals and constructivists argue that "soft power"- the capacity to get what one wants through persuasion rather than coercion- is as important, if not more so, than military might.[35] Besides, according to Alexander Wendt, one of the pioneers of constructivism, ''anarchy is something that states do'', that is, it has emerged spontaneously in the international system and does not form the basis of the system.[36] In short, in such an environment, what is called power is something that is based on the social identity of the state and is associated with the knowledge, culture, thought and social norms of that state.

Theories of international relations are the field of study of the theoretical perspective of international relations, and there are many theories that are willing to analyze international relations from this perspective, but in this thesis, the power perspectives of theories which have dominated in international relations for many years are discussed. After this part, the definitions of power made by the people who added important contributions to the meaning of power concept will be emphasized. The purpose is not to set a new definition of power, but to show what power has changed over time in accordance with different definitions.

Hans Morgenthau who is recognized as the father of realism and has been accepted by the other realists of his time is a German-born American international relations theorist who has an important position in shaping the international relations discipline. The principles set by

[32] Alexandrow, M. (2003). The Concept of State Identity in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis. *Journal of International Development and Cooperation*, 10(1), 33-46.
[33] Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 96-120.
[34] Goddard, S. (2012). Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism by Giulio M. Gallarotti. *Political Science Quarterly,* 127, 316-317.
[35] Goddard, *ibid*.,2012:317.
[36] Wendt, A.E. (2013). Anarşi Devletler Ne Anlıyorsa Odur: Güç Politikalarının Sosyal İnşası. *Uluslararası İlişkiler,* 10, 3-43.

Morgenthau are basically based on an essentialist view of human nature. Inspired by Thomas Hobbes's views, Morgenthau identifies people as beings who, in essence, are self-centered, act with the ambition of power and pursue their own interests.[37] Just like in Hobbes's opinion, getting rid of this war situation is only possible when people give up the power to manage themselves and hand it over to the state because the state is the only political authority in the international area. This authority must seek power in the field of international politics and struggle for power. At this point, Morgenthau defines power as a type of relationship, the main aim of international politics, as well as a tool for the realization of the aim.[38] The aim mentioned here is the national interest. Morgenthau argues that nations pursue interests like individuals. He defined the national interest with concept of the power and places this concept at the center of realist theory. Hans J. Morgenthau suggests that 'the concept of political power poses one of the most difficult and controversial problems of political science.[39] For this reason, he considered it to be one of the 'perennial problems' of politics which is why he repeatedly turned to questions of power.[40]

One of the important criticisms of Morgenthau's definition of power belongs to the Finnish scholar Kalevi Jaakko Holsti. He criticized Morgenthau for using the elements in the definition in a different way. According to him, power is the capacity and ability of a country to influence and manipulate the counterpart's behaviors in line with their own interests through reward, punishment, persuasion and various strategies.[41] In other words, in contrast to the thought of Morgenthau, national interests are not achieved only by the power struggle in the field of international politics, but the capacity of the state to influence and guide another state are also important.

Robert Dahl is one of the leading theorists of modern political science and thought as the person who invented the term polyarchy. [42]He is known for his studies on democracy in the academic world so, he is designated as "Democracy Man".[43] In many ways, Dahl created the field of

[37] Neacsu, M. & Hans J. (2009). Morgenthau's Theory of International Relations, Disenchantment and Re-Enchantment. *International Political Theory Series*, 1-30.
[38] Holsti, K.J. (1964). The Concept of Power in the Study of International Relations. *Background*, 7(4), 179-194.
[39] Holsti, *ibid.*,1964:179-194.
[40] Morgenthau, H. (1962). *Politics in the Twentieth Century (The Decline of Democratic Politics).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 19.
[41] Holsti, *ibid.*,1964:179-194.
[42] Tivey, L. (1992). *Robert Dahl and the American Pluralism*, in Leonard Tivey, Anthony Wright, eds., *Political Thought since 1945: Philosophy, Science, Ideology*, Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 96.
[43] Shapiro, I. (2014). *Democracy Man: The Life and Work of Robert A. Dahl.* https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2014-02-12/democracy-man, Date of Access: 22.11.2018.

modern political science.[44] In terms of power, he has been the first name that influenced the concept of power and its discussions with the article of "The Concept of Power". Dahl's concept is a milestone in this matter because he has developed a formal definition of the concept in this article. According to Dahl, A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.[45] Obviously, he tried to fill the content of the concept with this definition, but this definition has a set of shortcomings. One of the roots of soft power could be traced to Steven Lukes' argument on the third face of power.[46] The first face of power was associated with Dahl, who stated that an actor who wins the argument or an issue has the power.[47] However, Dahl's definition is devoid of the second and the third faces. The second face refers to the ability to set the agenda. Lukes introduced the third face of power; illustrating the ability of an actor A to get B to do something B would not otherwise do is to affect B's preferences, desires or thoughts.[48] In this case, Luke's definition of power is different from Dahl's definition of power. According to Luke, If B is doing a behavior or action imposed by A, despite the fact that B is not in its own interest, then it has power over B.[49]

The main goal of the neoliberal theory, which is to minimize the state intervention in the economic sphere, argues that the free economy moreover, the private enterprise, should carry out the economy. Joseph Nye, one of the most influential scholars of the last twenty years, is one of the pioneers of the Neoliberal theory with Robert Keohane. Joseph Nye based the concept of soft power in his article ''Bound to Lead'', and brought it into the international relations literature. Although there are a number of criticisms about that the concept is not a new concept and there are deficiencies in certain points, today, it is possibly one of the most popular concepts in the field of international relations within the concept of smart power.

How does Joseph Nye define the power purely? According to him, power in international politics is like the weather; everyone talks about it, but few understand it.[50] In a sense, he indicates that everyone talks about this concept, but few understand the logic of it. According to him again, power is the ability to produce the outcomes you want.[51] Even though he doesn't use very clear

[44] Shapiro, *ibid.*, 2014.
[45] Dahl, *ibid.*,1957:201-205.
[46] Lukes, S. (1974). *Power: A Radical View, second ed.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 22-23.
[47] Lukes, *ibid.*,1974: 22-23.
[48] Lukes, *ibid.*,1974: 22-23.
[49] Lukes, *ibid.*,1974: 22-23.
[50] Nye, J.S. Jr. (1990a). The Changing Nature of World Power. *Political Science Ouarterly*, 105(2), 177-178.
[51] Nye, J.S. Jr. (2003a). *The Velvet Hegemon*, Slate Group, LLC, Foreign Policy, 136:174.

expressions in the definition of the concept, his perspective on power is pretty clear. He advocates that want to succeed in the international arena need both hard power and soft power.[52] In other words, a state must have a compelling power that can make something to other states, as well as culture, ideas, and values that can shape the long-term preferences of those states.

Apart from these definitions, power has been described many times in different ways in the international literature. Starting from this perspective, it is possible to say that power is a relative concept and therefore no consensus can be made on it and that it will be always defined in different ways by people who adopt different ideas. Power only becomes meaningful when it is compared to the capacities of other countries.[53] However, it is not possible to define the elements of power in a universal and concrete manner or to measure the power. At this juncture, it is important to use the results according to a certain will, rather than the elements of power. Nye qualifies the ability to use the elements of power as a policy tool by combining the elements of power, as power conversion. What is important in the process of transforming the elements of power into power, institutional structures, bargaining ability and political processes are shaped by preferences.[54] Briefly, if power is not used for a specific purpose then power remains as a potential power.

According to mainly adopted international relations approach, the meaning of power varies but, it is an undeniable fact that its quality has changed over time. During the Cold War and before, as the realist theory advocated, the power was identified with military power. Being strong was composed of having a superior military skill or being in a position to balance of power or having an important raw material but, the changing world has brought a new dimension to the concept of power. "Today, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important."[55] Nowadays, there are many reasons why soft power has come to the forefront while the availability of military power has decreased, but it is also possbile to specifically classify them as follows; firstly, increasingly ineffective military power to achieve desirable results due to the increasing role of international organizations, legal

[52] Nye, *ibid.*, 2003a: 136:174.
[53] Gültekin, H. (2015). *Türk Dış Politikasında Kamu Diplomasisi ve Yumuşak Güç Kavramı*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Beykent Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 17.
[54] Nye, *ibid.*,1990a: 178.
[55] Nye, J.S. Jr. (1990b). *Foreign Policy*, No. 80, Twentieth Anniversary, Autumn, 1990, 153.

rules and international public opinion in international politics and secondly, reducing the effectiveness and deterrence of classical armies by asymmetric methods.[56]

For example, Canadians today are not afraid that U.S. soldiers will burn Toronto for a second time (as in 1813); rather they fear that Toronto will be programmed into a backwater by a Texas computer.[57] As can be seen in the Joseph Nye's example, the most effective power in today's information age is directing the public with the intention of using a country's political preferences agenda for its own purpose without any coercion and attracting that country on its side with the persuasion and bargaining ability.

From this point of view, it should be said that this thesis will be formed around the center of soft power and the power understanding of constructivism will be taken into consideration. Also the types of power will be described in a subheading from hard power to smart power.

2.2.1. Hard Power

In this title, in connection with the concept of power in a top heading, the concept of hard power which constitutes an important type of power will be mentioned. It will be tried to put forward with the support of various opinions about how the concept has changed in accordance with the requirements of ages from the its roots to the present.

While the existence of hard power has a long history, the term itself arose when Joseph Nye coined soft power as a new and different form of power in a sovereign state's foreign policy.[58] The concept of power has been associated with the concept of hard power formed by military power, from the moment it has emerged until the end of the 20th century. Surely, it is not right to put such a time limit because even though military power is a dominant power in the current time period also, some examples of the power which is called soft power today were seen from time to time. Likewise, there also have been cases in which hard power is still effective after the popularization of soft power. However, it can be said that today, the hard power which is based on military and economic power has emerged with the need to protect people themselves, continued with the desire to protect tribes themselves, reached its current meaning with the fact that the units, which in time turn into the concept of the state, have the grip of the army called

[56] Özdemir, *ibid.*, 2008.:136.
[57] Nye, J.S. Jr., *ibid.*, 1990b:157.
[58] Barzegar, K. (2008). *Joseph Nye on Smart Power in Iran-U.S. Relations*, Belfer Center.

the purpose of protecting themselves and been the most decisive element of the national and international power of a state until the Cold War, when the concept of power reached a different dimension. [59]

The roots of hard power are found in Machiavelli who is the founder of history and political science, in his book, The Prince, on how he can maintain a sovereign's reign to end the turmoil in Florence and stregthen his reign.[60] Machiavelli measures this power in terms of military capacity as described in The Prince: "I judge those princes self-sufficient who, either through abundance of troops or money, are able to gather together a suitable army and fight a good battle against whoever should attack them; and I consider those who always need the protection of others to be those who cannot meet the enemy in the field."[61] Machiavelli goes on to state that, "The principal foundations of all states are good laws and good armies, and that a Prince, therefore, must not have any other object nor any other thought but war, its institutions, and its discipline."[62] Thus, if it is necessary to draw a conclusion from Machiavelli's ideas, the main concept for a state in an anarchic system is power, and this power is achieved through wars and politics, which might be described as the essence of life. In such a structure where every path is made to achieve the goal, the leader of the country, the prince, must fight against his enemies by trying to possess a military capacity much more than he ever had. In this way, this work written exactly 505 years ago is clearly seen as the basis of the military-centric hard power that remains active until today.

The British thinker Thomas Hobbes, who lived about one century after Machiavelli, touched on the significance of the economic power that completes the hard power in his book Leviathan, which he wrote during the English Civil War and whose effects have contiuned to this day. "He expands the measures of power by adding the ability to control not just armed forces, but also economic and financial forces: Not only the whole militia, or forces of the commonwealth; but also the judicature of all controversies, is annexed to the sovereignty. These are the rights, which make the essence of sovereignty; and which are the marks, whereby a man may discern in what

[59] Keohane, R. & Nye, J. (1987). Power and Interdependance. *International Organization*, 41, 725-730.
[60] Semercioğlu, H. (2016). Machiavelli'nin Perspektifinden Bugünün Uluslararası İlişkileri. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi,* 9, 496-497.
[61] Cahn, S. (1997). *Classics of Modern Political Theory: Machiavelli to Mill.* New York: Oxford University Press, 147.
[62] Cahn, *ibid.*, 1997:22-28.

man, or assembly of men, the sovereign power is placed, and resideth. The power to coin money; to dispose of the estate and person of infant heirs, to have praeemption in markets."

It is seen that both works were written by two different thinkers with two different values affected by the political and social disturbances in their countries. Although they are different in terms of the sources they consider, these two works are similar in terms of understanding of power. The sole purpose of both is to gather sovereignty and political power in one hand and to ensure the continuation of this power with military or economic force.

In that case, starting from these two works, which constitute the foundations of hard power, the concept corresponds to its current meaning can be defined as follows: hard power is the use of military and economic means to influence the behavior or interests of other political power is often aggressive (coercion), and is most immediately effective when imposed by one political body upon another of lesser military and/or economic power.[63]

At this point, it is also necessary to look at the concept that exists with the soft power from the eyes of the theorist of the concept. According to Joseph Nye, hard power involves the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will.[64] "Here, "carrots" stand for inducements such as the reduction of trade barriers, the offer of an alliance or the promise of military protection. On the other hand, "sticks" represent threats - including the use of coercive diplomacy, the threat of military intervention, or the implementation of economic sanctions."[65]

This power is based on compelling factors. There are varieties such as the use of armed forces, economic sanctions, blows and assassinations. Hard Power has two important foundations. These are the size of the military forces and the economic power it has. Doubtlessly, the most outstanding tool of hard power is the use of military intervention. "It entails, quite simply, the use of military might to obtain one's objectives. Military power has significantly directed the foreign policy of the last two hundred years."[66] The twentieth century alone has a plethora of

[63] Copeland, D. (2012). *Hard Power Vs. Soft Power*, The Mark. https://themarknews.com/articles/895-hard-power-vs-soft-power, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[64] Nye, J.S. Jr. (2003b). *Soft Power: Propaganda Isn't the Way.* New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/10/opinion/IHT-soft-power-propaganda-isnt-the-way.html, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[65]en.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FHard_power&usg=AOvVaw3-N8_ReESKKDtvvlu-wfxA, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[66] Tarakçı, N. (2014). *Askeri Güç ve Dış Siyaset*. http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/5405/askeri_guc_ve_dis_siyaset., Date of Access: 23.11.2018.

such examples: the 1900 invasion of China by the 8 Country Alliance in order to quell the Boxer Rebellion; the 1939 invasion of Poland by Germany that triggered the second World War; the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the the Soviet Union, an attempt to prop up Afghanistan's Marxist government; the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the U.S. over concerns about Iraq's weapons capabilities.[67]

Military force, however, is not the only coercive measure in a state's arsenal. The application of economic pressure can be deployed for similar ends. U.S. trade embargos on countries such as Cuba, Iran, and Iraq in the half of the 20th century provide prime examples of such exercise of hard power. Based on Joseph Nye's typology of power, it can be said that the main tools of economic power are money-making and investment, and that it is implemented through incentive and coercion. However, it is not possible to distinguish this power from the military force with a certain line because they both complement each other and form the concept of hard power. Instead of evaluating them differently, they should be seen as parts of a whole.

"The threat of either military or economic force also functions as an exercise of hard power. This strategy -as described by Alexander George, who refers to it as "coercive diplomacy"- involves backing one's demands of an adversary "with a threat of punishment for noncompliance that he will consider credible and potent enough to persuade him to comply with the demand."[68]

The concept of hard power is associated with the theory of realist theory of international relations. Machiavelli and Hobbes are accepted together with Thucydides as the founders of the theory. "More recent thinkers in the realist school also offer descriptions of state power in terms of hard power. Hans Morgenthau emphasizes the use of coercive force in enumerating political power: In international politics in particular, armed strength as a threat or a potentiality is the most important material factor making for the political power of a nation."[69] According to the realist school in international relations theory, power is linked with the possession of certain tangible resources, including population, territory, natural resources, economic and military

[67] Bush, G.W. (2003). *Remarks by President Upon Return From Camp David*. Washington, DC.:White House Press Release. http://state.gov/p/nea//rls/18934.htm, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[68] George, A.L. (2004). *Coercive Diplomacy, The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics.* (Edt: Art, R.J. and Waltz, K.). USA: Roman & Littlefield Inc., 70.
[69] Morgenthau, H.J. (1950). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 4-15.

strength, among others.[70] Hard power describes a nation or political body's ability to use economic incentives or military strength to influence other actors' behaviors.[71]

The military power, which is one of the powers that constitute the hard power today, had been the most important element of the national power until the Industrial Revolution. In the process between the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, the level of soldiers and war capabilities came into prominence. The feeling of nationalism, which were rekindled by the revolution, led to the formation of large armies based on voluntarism. Especially, during the Hundred Day's War, the increasing number of Napoleon's army from 56 thousand to 198 thousand[72] in a very short time is one of the most crucial examples of this situation. The fact that the armies grew bigger led to the belief that military power was the number of soldiers. However, it might not be right to think hard power as a military power at the present time. At this point, another power that completes the hard power could be the economic power, which is an important part of the activity. The Industrial Revolution is a milestone in this regard because together with the Industrial Revolution, it is seen that the number of soldiers and military capabilities alone are not enough to define the national power, the industrial production capacity and the capacity to produce and keep up with new technologies have become more important.[73]

Nowadays, with the increasing communication and information age in international relations, it has been the transformation of the military power where weapons and military power take place; to the soft power perception where ideas and ideologies take place. However, it is possbile to say that this transformation does not eliminate the existence of hard power. In the name of foreign policy interests, in the 21st century there were still states that resorted to this method. The US invansion of Iraq by using the military force on March 20, 2003 is one of the most basic examples of this. However, many critics mention that the war in Iraq had the United States lose its reputation as an icon for democracy and justice.[74]

Of course, the importance of military power capabilities associated with brute force in anarchic international environment still shows its effects. Today, it still holds the importance of having

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[70] en.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FHard_power&usg=AOvVaw3-N8_ReESKKDtvvlu-wfxA, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[71] en.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FHard_power&usg=AOvVaw3-N8_ReESKKDtvvlu-wfxA, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[72] Longford, E. (1971). *Wellington the Years of the Sword.* London: Panther, 548-6, 484-485.
[73] Özdemir, *ibid.*, 2008:135-136.
[74] Quirk, T. (2012). Soft Power, Hard Power, and Our Image Abroad. *https://www.lagrange.edu/resources/pdf/citations/2010/22Quirk_PoliticalScience.pdf*, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.

the world's largest army and equipment in the world but it is asn undeniable fact that this power is sharpened to the soft power which has the ability to control the knowledge and direct the public. Because military power is more costly and less transferable today than in the earlier times; the games of world politics encompass different players at different tables with different piles of chip soft power.[75] Also, while the soft power has a longer lasting effect with less cost, the impact of hard power is limited to a short period of time. Beside, hard power strategies that do not take into account a country's international image may have serious consequences.[76] If a country's credibility abroad deteriorates, attitudes of mistrust tend to grow while international cooperation diminishes, such that the country's capacity to obtain its objectives is damaged.[77] As a result, the great powers of today are less able to use their traditional power resources to achieve their purposes than in the past.[78]

2.2.2. Soft Power

In this part, in relation to the types of power, the concept of soft power, which is a significant tool of the state policies in the 21st century and forms the basis of humanitarian diplomacy that is the main subject of this thesis, will be mentioned. The concept will be evaluated on the basis the views of Joseph Nye, the creator of the concept, bur various other opinions will be taken into consideration.

Soft Power, one of the most popular concepts of the 21st century; is frequently used by columnists, academicians and specifically by political leaders. The concept is, of course, very much linked with the American political sciencist Joseph Nye because he is the first person who used the concept of soft power. However, at this point, it is useful to look at the history of the concept independently of Joseph Nye so unnamed soft power. The famous Chinese commander Sun Tzu, who lived in 500 BC, pointed out the importance of the victories won without fighting with the idea that "If you fight, it would be necessary to kill people but the greatest victory is that which requires no battle."[79] Also the propogandas of the Ottoman State, who sent its merchants to a place before occupying there, successfully implemented the mechanism of soft

[75] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:15.
[76] Nye, J.S. (2004a-May/June). *The Decline of America's Soft Power.* https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2004-05-01/decline-americas-soft-power, 24.11.2018.
[77] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:160.
[78] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:160.
[79] Tzu, S. (1910). The Art of War, *The Oldest Military Treatise in the World*. Translated from Chinese By Lionel Giles, M.A., 8.

power for centuries for the benefit of the people living there. It can be considered one of the primitive examples of soft power. In the 17th and 18th centuries, France promoted its culture throughout Europe; during the French Revolution; France, sought to appeal over the heads of governments directly to foreign populations by promoting its revolutionary ideology.[80] By this way, many ideas that spread to the world from the concept of nation to the concept of nationalism deeply influenced the system of existing and newly formed states. Also they played an important role in French to become a diplomatic language. On top of that, the French language was used even in some foreign judicatures, like Prussia and Russia.

Following the World War I, many states, especially the USA, have begun to compete with each other to spread their own cultures. With the development of technology, soft power-building efforts have also accelerated. Radio broadcasts made in foreign languages became a milestone in this issue with the popularization of radio among civilians in the 1920s. This was followed by propaganda movies known from the Hitler period. Also the Soviets, especially after 1945, tried to attract many people to their ideology and spent billions on the public diplomacy that they were trying to implement fot this purpose. However, the first comprehensive soft power application was carried out by the USA after the World War II with the Marshall Plan. The USA, between the years 1962-1972 within the framework of this plan, has charged with the hundred of Peace Corps in accordance with the agreements made in Turkey, as well as in the seventy countries of the World. The Peace Corps contributed to economic and social development of many countries, while trying to spread American culture.[81] This has been one of the important events shaping America's sense of soft power in the near future because by this way, about seventy thousand people have participated in cultural and economic exchange programs of the USA. [82]

The concept of soft power, which gained popularity over the media and politicians as well as the academic field since the 1990s, approaches power in the framework of the constructivist / neo-liberal approach.[83] While the realists see the basic element of power as military power, the power in modern sense is that the material elements are at the forefront. Elements such as technology and economy are determinant. Then it can be said that today the soft power is everywhere; in the diplomatic infrastructure of the countries, the capacity of education, the attractiveness of the

[80] Nye, J.S. (2004b). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: Public Affairs, 11.
[81] Yılmaz, S. (2011). Yumuşak Güç ve Evrimi. *Turan Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Dergisi*, 3, 31.
[82] Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Facts and Figures. https://eca.state.gov/impact/facts-and-figures., Date of Access: 25.11.2018.
[83] Gallarotti, G.M. & Filali, A. (2014). The Soft Power of Saudi Arabia. *International Studies,* 49(3-4), 249.

business world, the products in the field of culture, the power of the media, the capacity and the use of technology and in many more different areas. But how can a power that affects the world so deeply is defined? Before explaning of the definition of Joseph Nye and the approaches of others, it is useful to look at how the concept is defined in the dictionary because dictionaries give the basic meaning of a concept. Accordingly, the Cambridge Dictionary that based on English sources defines the concept as the use of a country's cultural and economic influence to persuade other countries to do something, rather than the use of military power.[84] As seen here, the concept is defined very superficially whereas the concept is much more than what it expresses.

The events that the world witnessed until that day have caused a change in the concept of power. Especially towards the end of the Cold War, something was clearly understood, the only element that would deter the other side was no longer only military capacity. The soft power emerged in search of such a hegemonic power fiction and in the following years, it would become an important tool in the foreign policy of many countries, particularly in the USA. The term is generally agreed to have been coined by Joseph Nye in the early 1990s, first in his book, Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power, and then elaborated upon in subsequent works.[85] American political scientist Joseph Nye, whose main purpose is to prove that the USA is not powerful only in a military and economic sense, but it's also powerful in a third dimension that expresses its soft power,[86] firstly described the soft power as follows: soft power is the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through attraction rather than coercion.[87] So the concept of power is considered as the co-optive power[88] which means that others want to make our own wishes. In this context, the word of co-optive can be expressed as an idea or policy, which means that the source actor is adopted to the target actor for his own purposes, that he draws himself, cooperates, creates cooperation in choices or indines.[89]

As a result of the great interest shown to the concept in the discipline of international relations, there have been many criticisms that Nye's definition was insufficient, and in the light of these

[84] Cambridge Dictionary. Soft Power. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/soft-power., Date of Access: 26.11.2018.
[85] O'Bright, B. (2016). *The Conceptualization of a Qatari-Africa Foreign and Economic Policy Framework: The Case of Soft Power*, Centre on Governance Research Paper Series Research Paper No. 04(16), 3.
[86] Nye, 1990b:155.
[87] Nye, J.S. Jr. (1990c). *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power*, New York: Basic Books: 31-35.
[88] The Free Dictionary. Co-opt. https://www.thefreedictionary.com/co-optive., Date of Access: 01.12.2018.
[89] Özel, C. (2018). Yumuşak Güce Bütünsel Bakış. *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi*, 7(1), 6.

criticisms, Nye made additions to his definition or tried to explain the same things with different definitions. Joseph Nye, in his article 'American's Information Edge' published in 1996 with William Owens, found in the following additions to the definition: "soft power can rest on the appeal of one's ideas or the ability to set the agenda in ways that shape the preferences of others. If a state can make its power legitimate in the perception of others and establish international institutions that encourage them to channel or limit their activities, it may not need to expend as many of its costly traditional economic or military resources."[90] It is very clear that he tried to reveal the elements of soft power he defined six years ago with this addition. Beside this, he compares the soft power with the concept of power and reveals its importance on the basis of economy. In 2004, he mentions three sources of soft power with the definition that the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. "It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies and he explains that culture can be high culture such as literature, art, and education, and popular culture; then he claims that if a country's culture includes universal values and promotes interests and values which other countries share, it can produce soft power because of the relationship of attraction."[91]

At this point, it is beneficial to look at the typology of power in order to understand Nye's point of view of Soft Power in a concrete way.

Table 1. *Joseph Nye's Power Typology*[92]

		Behaviours	**Basic Tools**	**Government Policies**
HARD POWER	**Military Power**	*Coercion *Deterrence *Protection	*Threat *Force	*Coercive Diplomacy *War *Alliance
	Economical Power	*Incentive *Coercion	*Money-Making *Investment	*Support *Bribe
SOFT POWER		*Admiration *Set the Agenda	*Values *Culture *Policies *Institutions	*Public Diplomacy *Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy

To sum up it is possible to say that according to Nye, hard power proceeds from the military and economic capacities of a country and occurs with the ability of coercion, on the other hand, soft power arises from the culture, vakues, policies of a country and occurs with public diplomacy or bilateral or multilateral diplomacy. If these policies are seen as legitimate by the other country,

[90] Nye, J.S. & Owens, W.A. America's Information Age. *Foreign Affairs,* 75(2), 20-36. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1996-03-01/americas-information-edge., Date of Access: 01.12.2018.

[91] Nye, *ibid.,* 2004b:11.

[92] https://21yyte.org.tr/merkezler/islevsel-arastiema-merkezleri/politik-sosyal-kulturel-arastirmalar-merkezi/dis-politikada-yumusak-guc-olgusu, Date of Access: 01.12.2018.

the soft power of that country is mentioned at this point. This relationship between two states or several states increases the likelihood that the hegemonic state will achieve the desired results on that state or states. As can be understood from the typology, althought it is easy to explain the concept in theory, it is quite difficult to apply in practice. For this reason, the finder of the concept needed to redefine the concept at different periods and tried to express it explicitly.

In 2005, he used the following phrase for soft power based on power typology; soft power and hard power affect both the behavior of others to forms both arms of the goal.[93] The difference between them is both in the type of behavior and in the concreteness of resources. While the force of power can withstand the coercion (change the behavior of others) and persuasion (economic), the power of pulling someone to your side (shape other's preferences) can be based on the ability of that person to be able to use the political pereference agenda according to his own purpose by providing the attractiveness of the culture and values, or by making them appear exaggerated or unreal. [94] Again in the same year, he made a definition by taking an expression that is an originally English phrase and passed as a carrot and stick method to the litearature of International Relations. According to his definition, soft power; unlike hard power that uses carrots or sticks, is the ability to reach the desired results indirectly by using the second face of the power without using money or threats.[95] Carrot and stick method is the most valid diplomacy of states against each other in International Relations. In this case, for carrot, it can be said that it's a gift in the case that if a state accepts other state's will or interest on itself and for stick, it is a situation that a hegemonic state harms a state that does not fulfill the demands of the hegemonic state, by using its means of psychological and political pressure. In such a case, carrot can be considered as the economic power and the stick as the military power. Soft power is completely different from these, it occurs when the state accepts the interests of the hegemonic state with its own consent.

Finally, in 2008, Joseph Nye defined the concept like this: "soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others, without the use of force, coercion or violence, but through intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values, institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority."[96] As it is seen, Joseph Nye

[93] Nye, J.S. (2005). *Yumuşak Güç, Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, Aydın, R.İ., Ankara: Elips Kitap, 16-17.
[94] Nye, *ibid.*, 2005:16-17.
[95] Nye, *ibid.*, 2005:14-15.
[96] Nye, J.S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 95.

described the concept of soft power in many ways, but this made it a vague concept, although the concept seems simple at first sight.

Although the concept was not the product of a close century as it was stated in the beginning, together with Joseph Nye, it was rapidly popularized in the discipline of International Relations and tried to be explained by many political scientists and academicians other than Nye. The first of these, the definition of American professor Christopher Layne who dealt with the elements of soft power differently from Nye. He claims that soft power coincides with International Relations theories, the role of norms is a part of democratic peace, institutionalism, and constructivism.[97] However, Nye explains that soft power is not a theory, it is an analytical concept which fits realist, liberal and constructivist perspectives; therefore, it should not be compared with other theories.[98] English professor Shaun Breslin, like the definition of Joseph Nye, describes it as, "Soft power is conceived as the idea that others will align themselves to you and your policy preferences because they are attracted to your political and social system, values and policies."[99] And another professor Giulio M. Gallarotti describes it based on liberal values, "Soft power is not the same as intangible or ideational power. Soft power is about acting in accordance with liberal principles."[100] As it is seen, with its increasing importance, the soft power, which has gained widespread use in both literature and international politics, is still considered as a concept that has not been fully achieved with an academic compromise. [101] The best conclusion to be made from these definitions, such as the concept of power, the soft power also has a qualification that it is hard to compromise on.

Apart from these definitions of the concept, International Relations literature also includes several concepts that are similar to the concept of soft power. The most important of these is Steven Lukes' concept of three-dimensional power, which is emphasized in the concept of power. In his famous book Power: A Radical View he defines this approach as: "A may exercise

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[97] Layne, C. (2010). *The Unbearable Lightness of Power'.* (Edt: Parmar, I. And Cox, M.). In: Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical, and Contemporary Perspectives. New York: Routledge, 53.

[98] Nye, J.S. (2010). The Future of Soft Power in US Foreign Policy' in Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (eds.), *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical, and Contemporary Perspectives*, London; New York: Routledge, 219.

[99] Breslin, S. (2011). *The Soft Notion of China's 'Soft Power*, Chatham House, 8.

[100] Gallarotti, G.M. (2012). Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism, Source: Political Science Quarterly, Published by: *The Academy of Political Scienc* , 127, 317.

[101] Akhundova, J. (2015). Rusya'nın Yumuşak Güç politikaları, İstanbul: Ekin Yayınevi, 18; Vuving, A. (2009). How Soft Power Works.
http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Vuving%20How%20soft%20power%20works%20APSA%202009.pdf ., Date of Access: 09.05.2019; Fan, Y. (2008). Soft Power: Power of Attraction or Confusion?, Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 4(2), 147-158.

power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants."[102] Lukes' study of the third face of power with Nye's concept of Soft Power shows similarity. This face that is the unseen face of power epmhasizes not only the agenda, also the importance of shaping the preferences of the actors. "By this way, A prevents any potential conflict with B by shaping B's preferences and make B think that B's preferences are its own although they are actually A's. Lukes states that thought control is an important process in this dimension and it can be done through the control of information, the mass media, and the processes of socialisation. In addition, people accept their role in this structure because either they can see no alternative to it, or they see it as natural, or it is sacred and beneficial."[103] It is clearly seen that the concept can basically be identified with the soft power, but in terms of the means of power, this concept shows a number of differences. While culture and values are the outstanding concepts of Nye, Lukes puts more emphasis on information and mass media.

Here, it is also necessary to mention the concept of Gramsci's hegemony by approaching the subject from a different perspective. There are similarities between soft power and the Gramscian Approach. Antonio Gramsci, an Italian thinker, politician and socialist theorist, argued that by expanding Lenin's concept of hegemony at the beginning of the 20th century, it expressed not only the inclusive leadership of the proletariat, but the moral sovereignty of all power relations. According to him, hegemony is based on a durable and independent civil society that recognizes autonomy as the source of consent, such as education, church and political parties, labour unions.[104] But if we ask at what point the approach of this Marxist thinker is similar to soft power; the answer is probably that according to Gramsci, capitalism is not governed by violence or economic hardship, but by the dominant culture, which has become the common thought of all. Thus, a culture of reconciliation was developed and the current situation (lack of conflict) was maintained. Indeed, the fact that Gramsci's concept of hegemony is considered as the organization of consent which is based on consensual forms of conscience, which are constructed without resorting the violence or force, exhibits significant parallels with soft power. [105] After the examination of both concepts, it can be said that they are similar to the

[102] Lukes, *ibid.*,1974: 23.
[103] Lukes, *ibid.*,1974: 23-24.
[104] Gramsci, A. (1986). *Hapishane Defterleri: Tarih, Politika, Felsefe ve Kültür Sorunları Üzerine Seçme Metinler,* (Çev: Somer, K.). İstanbul: Onur Yayınları, 73-74.
[105] Fontana, B. (2008). *Hegemony and Power in Gramsci.* (Edt: Howson, R. ve Smith, K.). In: Hegemony: Studies in Consensus and Coercion. New York: Routledge, 65.

soft power, at the point where they give importance to concent instead of coercion. In conclusion, in the light of the available data, the concept of soft power is discussed conceptually in previous studied, but the expression of soft power is first expressed by Joseph S. Nye.[106]

2.2.3. Smart Power

In this section, Smart Power, the last subject of the title ''Concept and Types of Power'' will be mentioned. The concept, which basically incorporates both soft power and hard power, will be evaluated in the framework of the views of Joseph Nye, the creator of the concept, just as in the sof power, and especially after the post-Cold War period center.

In today's conditions, it won't be enough to use only pure hard power phenomenon, also it might not be enough to use only soft power phenomenon in order to reach a goal in the international system. The concept of Smart Power that should come to mind when a formulation based on the combination of hard and soft power elements is needed in order to achieve the desired gains. Understanding smart power is especially important in a world that is changing at a historically unprecedented pace and generating tumultuous outcomes as a consequence.[107]

Altough the nomenclature of smart power has recently occured, the application of it in the US policy dates back to earlier times. It is not right to think of the concept independent from the USA as the first examples of the concept are found in the USA where the concept was born. For instance, President Theodore Roosevelt described his style of foreign policy as "Speak softly and carry a big stick."[108] Today, this discourse takes place as a big-stick diplomacy in international relations literature. In 1948, the USA launched large-scale soft power programs under the name of the world of information to fight the Soviet Union. This situation is of course also related to the history of soft power, but while soft power accepts soft tools solely, smart power intercorporates both soft and hard power tools and when these soft power programs were launched in 1948, undoubtly the military power was also quite significant. In 1991, the Berlin Wall was collapsed and Joseph Nye explained the situation by this phrases: "When the Berlin Wall finally collapsed, it was destroyed not by artillery barrage but by hammers and bulldozers

[106] Özel, *ibid*., 2018:16.
[107] Gallarotti, G.M. (2015). Smart Power: Definitions, Importance, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 38, 2.
[108] US History. Roosevelt's Big Stick Foreign Policy. https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-ushistory2os2xmaster/chapter/roosevelts-big-stick-foreign-policy/., Date of Access: 02.12.2018.

wielded by those who had lost faith in communism"[109] The collapse of the Wall was a milestone because during the Cold War, hard power was used to prevent Soviet aggression and soft power was used to break belief in communism. This event laid the ground for the collapse of communism and shortly after this event the Soviet Union was scattered, thus the Cold War, one of the most important wars of the 20th century, ended.

The concept of power together with the end of the Cold War period reached a new dimension. Now, traditional methods would not be enough to have a voice in the international arena. It became necessary to solve something in the systems of individuals and then states that were formed by individuals; so it was important to persuade them based on their consent without relying on brute force. When Nye first invented the concept of soft power; of course, the roots of the concept were going back to much earlier times, but had never been so clearly expressed. With the formation of the concept of soft power, military and economic power, which have been the most basic force for centuries, were started to call as hard power. However, the boundaries of soft power in creating the desired effect have led to the popularization of the concept of smart power that express the ingenious constitution of hard and soft power.[110] By this way, Joseph Nye created a whole new concept of combining soft power and hard power; Smart Power.

The origin of the term smart power is under debate and has been attributed to both Suzanne Nossel and Joseph Nye.[111] Nye introduces the term smart power in his book, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics; "Smart power is neither hard nor soft. It is both," he writes.[112] In the article he wrote in 2009, he clarified the term as follow: "Smart power is a term I developed in 2003 to counter the misperception that soft power alone can produce effective foreign policy. Power is one's ability to affect the behavior of others to get what one wants. There are three basic ways to do this: coercion, payment, and attraction. Hard power is the use of coercion and payment. Soft power is the ability to obtain preferred outcomes through attraction. If a state can set the agenda for others or shape their preferences, it can save a lot on carrots and sticks. But rarely can it totally replace either. Thus the need for smart strategies that combine the tools of both hard and soft power."[113] In an article in "Foreign Affairs", analyst Suzanne Nossel used the term smart power. According to her, smart power means knowing that the United States'

[109] Nye, J. (2009). Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power. *Foreign Affairs*, 88(4), 160-163.
[110] Armitage, R.L. & Nye, J. S. (2007). *CSIS Commission on Smart Power*, 6-7.
[111] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:32.
[112] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:32.
[113] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:32.

own hand is not always its best tool: U.S. interests are furthered by enlisting others on behalf of U.S. goals.[114]

In 2006, in USA's famous think-tank, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), established the Commission on Smart Power, which prepared a report called "A Smarter More Secure America". The main purpose of the report was to identify the measures that need to be taken and the strategies to be followed fort he global empire of the United States. The report states that the US should foresee a serious strategic concept change in order to maintain its global superiority and that it is not possible to guarantee its interests with military power in today's international arena and consequently, the smart power term is defined as an approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions of all levels to expand one's influence and establish legitimacy of one's action.[115]

Thus, on the basis of the definitions, we can say that smart power does not have a stereotypical point of view as represented by hard and soft power elements. Smart power is based on mixed methods as a means of analyzing events. Since globalized and diversified international dynamics after the Cold War remained relatively transient compared to the black and white perspectives of hard and soft power projections; it required the generation of a new interpretation of power, hybridized and features of both power projections. The political dynamics and threat paradigms of the near-term put forward the use of dynamic analysis against events and developments. In this case, the security and foreign policy tools identified with sharp lines make it extremely disfunctional.

The concept has come to the fore even more as a result of the change of the international environment and of course, the concept's finder, the USA; who wants to maintain its privileged position in the international arena, would not remain indifferent despite the rising powers like China and India, because already the most obvious reason to reflect seriously on smart power is because of the widely perceived shortcomings of the policies of the U.S. administration over the past seven years.[116] Washington, the theory goes, should thus offer assertive leadership

[114] Nossel, S. (2004). *Smart Power*. Published by: Council on Foreign Relations. 83 (2). https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2004-03-01/smart-power., Date of Access: 03.12.2018.
[115] Cohen, C., Nye, J.S. & Armitage, R.L. (2007). *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, https://www.csis.org/analysis/smarter-more-secure-america, Date of Access: 01.01.2018.
[116] Wilson, E.J. (2008a). The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Public Diplomacy in a Changing World, Published by: Sage Publications, Inc. in association with the American. *Academy of Political and Social Science Stable*, 616, 110-124.

diplomatic, economic, and not least, military-to advance a broad array of goals: self-determination, human rights, free trade, the rule of law, economic development, and the quarantine and elimination of dictators and weapons of mass destruction.[117]

In 2009, Obama put smart power in the very centre of his foreign policy tools and Hillary Clinton, as a Senate, confirmed this policy by declaring in the same year that; "We must use what has been called smart power -the full range of tools at our disposal - diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural - picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation. With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy."[118] So that, the foreign minister of the Obama period, she determined the U.S.'s global strategy with these words. In 2012, in an article she wrote in New Statesman America, she reminded that power is still dominant: "As the balance of world power shifts, the US is developing a novel range of diplomatic, social, economic, political and security tools to fix the world's complex new geopolitical problems."[119]

So, what does this concept, which is to eliminate the shortcomings in the foreign policy of the United States, mean for the rest of the world? Firstly, in literature it is not possible to say that there is a different definition of this concept. Surely, there are different perspectives of different writers or academicians from different countries, but these perspectives are usually derived from the definition of Joseph Nye. According to the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester A. Crocker; "smart power involves the strategic use of diplomacy, persuasion, capacity building, and the projection of power and influence in ways that are cost-effective and have political and social legitimacy – essentially the engagement of both military force and all forms of diplomacy."[120] As seen here, the concept has not been far from the original because in contrast to the uncertainty of concepts of power or soft power, it consists of a combination of soft power and hard power. Although it is not possible to redefine the concept (cause probably it will never be original), there are quite a lot of criticism for the concept. One of the most important ones is that the concept is seen as an element of American Imperialism. In an interview with the Boston Globe, interviewer Anna Mundow, questioned Joseph Nye over the criticism

[117] Nossel, *ibid.*, 2004.
[118] Clinton, H. C. (2009). Use ''Smart Power'' in Diplomacy. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/clinton-use-smart-power-in-diplomacy/, Date of Access: 04.12.2018.
[119] Clinton, H. (2012). The Art of Smart Power. https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/07/hillary-clinton-art-smart-power, Date of Access: 04.12.2018.
[120] Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O. & Aall, P.R. (2007). *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*, US Institute of Peace Press, 13.

that smart power is the friendly face of American Imperialism.[121] But Joseph Nye defends smart power by noting that criticism often stems from a misunderstanding of the smart power theory. Nye himself designed the theory to apply to any nation of any size, not just the United States. It was meant to be a more sophisticated method of thinking about power in the context of the information age and post – 9/11 world. 19 President Obama defined his vision for U.S. leadership as "not in the spirit of a patron but the spirit of a partner."[122] One of the other important criticisms is the claim of the ineffective use of this power. "An American diplomat and political writer, Ken Adelman, in an article entitled 'Not-So-Smart Power,' argues that there is no correlation between U.S. aid and the ability of America to positively influence events abroad. He points out that the nations who receive the most foreign aid, such as Egypt and Pakistan, are no more in tune with American values than those who receive less or no U.S. foreign aid; overall, he criticizes the instruments of smart power, such as foreign aid and exchange programs, for being ineffective in achieving American national interests."[123]

As it is seen, although Joseph Nye argues that smart power is a general power that can be used by all countries, the concept is criticized for being a power specific to the USA, both by the people in which the concept was born and which it was used most effectively, and people belonging to different parts of the world. Indeed, smart power means developing and integrated strategy created with both hard and soft power to achieve American goals. While emphasizing the importance of the need for a strong military structure, it is also an approach that makes great investments in alliances, partnerships and institutions to spread the influence of the United States and legitimize its initiatives. Beside, the country that uses this power, in this case the United States, provides the opportunity to move more freely. This means that the country can apply soft power or hard power when needed.

Even though this power has recently started to get away from monopoly of the United States, the country that implements it in the most effective manner is undoubtedly the Unites States. During the Obama period, the peak period of the power was experienced. In a sub-chapter, the

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[121] Mundow, A. (2011). *Wielding 'Smart Power' in World Affairs.* http://archive.boston.com/ae/books/articles/2011/02/06/wielding_smart_power_in_world_affairs/, Date of Access: 01.10.2018.

[122] Dimitrove, A. (2011). Obama's Foreign Policy: Between Pragmatic Realism and Smart Policy. http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/academy/Anna-Dimitrova-Obama%27s-Foreign-Policy-Between-Pragmatic-Realism-and-Smart-Diplomacy.pdf., Date of Access: 05.12.2018.

[123] Adelman, Ken, *Not So – Smart Power*, Boston Globe, Foreign Policy, https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/04/18/not-so-smart-power/, Date of Access: 2 October 2018.

approach that is related with this power will be detailed in the context of the events of September 11 and the Obama period.

2.3. Soft Power Phenomenon in Foreign Policy

Though the term of soft power conceptualized recently, it does not mean that the states were not using it as one of the instruments in their foreign policies. Under the previous heading, it was mentioned in the context of the occupation policy of the Ottoman State and the effects of the French Revolution and here, it will mentioned about how states use soft power and what the limits of this power are. The concept, as mentioned earlier, was introduced to the international literature by famous professor Joseph Nye towards the end of the 1980s; because it was a period, the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s, that when the bipolar system in the world came to an end and the U.S. declared the victory of a liberal system based on the open market system and now then there emerged a new world order in the world. In more concrete terms, military power was no longer effective in determining global politics, but instead emphasized the concept of soft power formalized based on consent. This power was built entirely on culture and ideology and depended upon the consensual use of it without pressure and violence. Joseph Nye even expresses this situation as, "If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow soft power"[124]

Although the concept is not clear, it is with no doubt sharply seperated from the hard power, but the question arose here; how will states use this power? Nye would of course explain this, though not clearly. However, before proceeding to this issue, it is necessary to pick up on something; it is hardly possible to think of the concept apart from the USA, but the explanation of Nye is based in the USA rather than giving a general view; that is how the States uses soft power. So it would be better first handle Joseph Nye's point of view and then try to draw a general frame based on his ideas.

Besides, before going through Joseph Nye; it's worth mentioning Franklin Roosevelt, who tried to implement this effectively in U.S. history. The longest-serving president in the United States, Franklin Roosevelt, tried to implement the Good Neighborhood Policy, a political policy for Latin Americans, valid starting from 1933. The policy was a policy based on a totally optimistic policy centered on the power called soft power today, although it did not achieve the desired

[124] Nye, *ibid*., 1990b:160.

success.[125] In fact, the USA has tried to apply a variety of policies in various periods within the framework of soft power, before it was called as soft power.

So the only question to be answered at this point is "How do states use Soft Power? With this in mind, what then might constitute notions of soft power?"

> The term is generally agreed to have been coined by Joseph Nye in the early 1990s, first in his book, Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power, and then elaborated upon in subsequent works. Firstly, Nye argues that this is specifically due to five major trends, namely increased economic interdependence between states powered by revolutions in information; communications and transportation technology; the rise of transnational actors who predominantly exert influence by effecting the ways in which national interests are originally defined by policy-makers; a social awakening that has stirred nationalism in developing states, which limits the capacity for external actors to apply military force; the spread of modern technology, which enhanced the capabilities of those same developing states; and the increasing transnational nature of political, economic, security and cultural issues in world politics, which require multilateral responses.[126]

This actually explains the changes that have occured in the world during the power began to become important in the system. Rather, Nye firmly believes that Soft Power is, in behavioral terms, the power of attraction and example, facilitated by material resources.[127] So what does Nye mean with the expression of material sources? Nye explains it in his book, *Soft Power* that "foreign policy is not enough to provide information, or pitch an idea that the state or non-state actor wants to convey, but effective diplomacy, and the successful building of soft power involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies".[128] This can be done in a number of capacities. For one, governments often communicate daily about decisions that they have made, or plan to make. And while much of the attention is on domestic media outlets, soft power can be built through focusing on international media as well.[129] Along with daily communications is also strategic communication, which can be the use of symbols, as well as planned campaigns towards particular issues in international relations.[130] Lastly, in diplomacy is the importance of friendship building among states, and among citizens of the respective states; and soft power can be developed with this approach through the establishment of places where citizens can dialogue,

[125] Black, G. (1988). *The Good Neighbor: How the United States Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean*, New York: Pantheon Books, 59.
[126] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:160-163.
[127] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:160.
[128] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:8.
[129] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:7.
[130] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:6.

or programs that promote cultural exchanges between the different countries.[131] Shortly, Nye explains that this power is nourished from certain sources and prefers certain behaviors. He argues that the resources that make up the power stem from the values of the country that dominates the power, the foreign policy practices, the examples it created with its policies and the relationship with other countries.

Beside all these, Nye argues that institutions also contribute to the power. Nye also indicates that soft power is not something connected to hard power. According to him, "soft power is not a last resort when hard power fails." Therefore, soft power is not necessarily related to the economic and military might that a country possess; it can be dependent on those factors, in the sense that the more economic and military force a country has at its disposal, the more soft power it can deploy.[132] But despite such a clear seperation, at the same time he acknowledges that hard power sources create soft power in some cases, such as the qualified economic and military structure, the myth of invincibility, people's inclination to power, military cooperation and education programs.[133] Foreign and domestic policies are also the sources of soft power, but sometimes they can undermine soft power if they are hypocritical or arrogant.[134] The USA's decrease in attractiveness after the Iraq War may also be an example of this kind.

In that case, from these informations, the sources of Soft Power can be listed as follows:

1) Culture -if it is attractive to others-,
2) The political values that remain loyal to acting in domestic and foreign,
3) Foreign policies that are legitimate and morally authoritarian,[135]
4) Institutions or non-governmental organizations that create the agenda and determine the framework of the agenda.[136]

It is not possible to limit the resources of a power that will affect the world in this way because there can be many different things that might be a source of power, but this classification is done to draw a general framework. In a shorter and more efficient way, it would be a good idea to add famous social scientist, Ben O'Bright's sentence; "States, in short, have to find the means of

[131] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:5.
[132] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:5.
[133] Nye, J.S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs.
[134] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:13-14.
[135] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:97.
[136] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:160.

swimming against what could be a current of bad publicity derived from multiple mediums, so as to gain related soft power."[137]

In addition to its popularity, the concept is criticized in many points. In general, an important part of these criticisms is the fact that Nye's concept does not provide theoretical clarity. The first criticism of the concept is that its inability to measure. This is because the concept of classical power that sees power as a result rather than vehicle, at this point, we can say the Hard Power, has proved it with the measurable military and economic power. However, here also it must be reminded that, for example, the behavior of a state may change as a result of bilateral or multilateral relations with another country or countries or with an international treaty and it may be possible to observe it in foreign policy. Surely, this might not be an effective result in the short term, such as military power, or it might result in but, it may not be easy to observe. As it is seen, the uncertainty of the concept emerges at this point. In Nye's approach on the other hand, "soft power is fundamentally about improving the USA's image among populations in other countries. Its premise is that the better America's image in the world, the more allies it will have, the more support its policies will receive from other states, and the more secure it will be."[138] In short, it is not possible to prove that soft power changes more specifically the actions of a country.

Secondly, soft power is partly an attitude, in the sense that states or actors should be educated in soft power; put another way, soft power is not so easy to understand, and its potentialities are very often disregarded.[139] It is surely beyond doubt that this can be complemented by the attitudes of other countries because the country's leader's awareness of the potential of this power alone does not change the situation unless the leader implemets it in the country's foreign policy or specifically in bilateral relations. Indeed, Nye refers to this situation as follows; "However, just because a leadership realizes the importance of soft power in international relations, does not mean that establishing soft power is without difficulty; many see both military and economic power as 'straightforward'".[140] However, soft power, on the other hand, "is more difficult, because many of its crucial resources are outside the control of governments, and their effects depend heavily on acceptance by the receiving audiences". Furthermore, "soft power is also difficult to achieve because it can take a long time for a county to be able to develop

[137] O'Bright, *ibid.*, 2016:6.
[138] Layne, *ibid.*, 2010: 53.
[139] Yukaruç, U. (2017). A Critical Approach to Soft Power. *BEÜ SBE Dergisi*, 6, 493.
[140] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:2-25.

adequate soft power capabilities."[141] As can be seen in Joseph Nye's statements, he also pointed out this aspect of the concept, however according to him, this is not because of the lack of the concept, but because of the nature of it; because soft power is such a thing and it is necessary to wait for a while to benefit from blessings that it will bring. [142]

One of the other important criticism is that even branches of the government that have traditionally viewed as being part of the "Hard Power" establishment can build Soft Power (and country's can also develop a combination of both, which has been termed "Smart Power")[143] But, this is something that Nye also acknowledges, as previously mentioned, rather than criticism, Nye agrees with this by arguing that these two types of power are not interrelated.

In addition to the sources and deficiencies of the concept, it is necessary to talk about the Soft Power, which is a global index. This index is published by Portland Communications and the USC Center on Public Diplomacy.[144] In the report created according to the index, the countries are ranked in defined criteria from the most soft to the most hard. The data is composed of two groups, the first one is the objective data and the second one is scanning data. These data are actually based on the definition of Nye 28 years ago. Objective data; it analyzes the government, digitalization, culture, entertainment, education and business life in terms of business life. On the scan channel; culinary culture, technical protocols, smiling face, proximity to people, foreign policy, livability and general culture. All the options under the objective and scan heading take their place as part of the larger image of the Soft Power.[145] According to the 2016/17 Monocle Soft Power Survey, ranks the United States as the leading country in soft power. The Elcano Global Presence Report scores the European Union highest for soft presence when considered as a whole, and ranks the United States first among sovereign states.[146] Despite this, or 2018, the United Kingdom the leading sovereign state in soft power. Other leading countries in soft power

[141] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:2-25.
[142] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:2-25.
[143] Wilson, E.J. (2008b). Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 110-123.
[144] A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2018. USC Center on Public Diplomacy. https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2018.pdf. , Date of Access: 07.12.2018.
[145] Alkan, A.L. (2017). 2017 Ülkelerin Yumuşak Güçlerindeki Sert Değişiklikler Yılı Olabilir. *Dünya.* https://www.dunya.com/kose-yazisi/2017-ulkelerin-yumusak-guclerindeki-sert-degisiklikler-yili-olabilir/345230. Date of Access: 08.12.2018.
[146] Elcano Royal Institute. Elcano Global Presence Report. http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/f36b5f004830c24a8e3b8fe0dd72d861/Global_Presence_2015.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=f36b5f004830c24a8e3b8fe0dd72d861., Date of Access: 08.12.2018.

include France, Germany, the United States, Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Australia, Sweden and the Netherlands.[147]

This index may be one of the important sources for the development of the soft power literature, but the criticism of the experts at some point brings to light the lack of the report; the fact that the objective and scanning main groups are represented by different weights within the overall total. For example, in this model, it is focused on 70% of the objective data and 30% of the scan data, but someone else can give different weight to his data and then the balances may be distorted. However, it can be still said that this study is one of the pioneering studies for Soft Power.

> Another study on Soft Power published by the United Kingdom's House of Lords Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, testimonial witnesses pointed to difficulties associated with what is termed "soft power propaganda". When a government body, actor or institution unilaterally commandeers the control of a cultural mechanism, such as a film production, this action could limit the mechanism's interpretative range and thereby trivializes it, tarnishing the reputation of that mechanism and its operators and removing its ability to strengthen a state's soft power. Equally, the Select Committee mirrors concerns of Nye and others that soft power is difficult to measure and is largely intangible.[148]

Rather than these technical studies, it is useful to briefly touch upon the European Union, which is more than a unity, which applies to soft power in a very best way. The EU uses Soft Power elements effectively in the context of being global power. It takes care to solve the problemsen countered in international politics with soft power instead of hard power. Thus it can be said that it has a more successful soft power background compared to other countries.

In short, in the light of all these informations, it can be said that soft power is a very important concept for a country's foreign policy perspective. Particularly, the insufficiency of hard power in the changing world order contibuted much to the rapid popularization of the soft power. Thus, when foreign policy decision-makers have the applicable skills, they will not resort to a wild method, such as war; while solving a problem, and their war will be the battle of

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[147] McClory, J. (2017). *The Soft Power 30: A Global Ranking of Soft Power*. Portland: USC Center on Public Diplomacy. https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2018.pdf, Date of Access: 02.01.2018.

[148] United Kingdom House of Lords, "*Persuasion and Power in the Modern World – First Report"* Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, 2014: Chapter 3, https://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/governance/sites/socialsciences.uottawa.ca.governance/files/cog_research_paper_04_16_en.pdf, Date of Access: 02.01.2018.

spreading their culture and ideologies without giving human loss and with less cost compared to other powers' costs.

2.3.1. New Approaches After 9/11

This title examines the soft power approaches after 9/11 in connection with the of "Soft Power Phenomenon in Foreign Policy". In particular, this title, which focuses on US power approach after 9/11, emphasizes that 9/11 is a turning point fort he USA's soft power applications and there are shifts towards hard power with the war against terorism.

September 11 is one of the most traumatic events in the history of the US and then world history. This event came down to the world history by the airplanes kidnapped by al-Qaeda and suicide bombing of two different targets in the Unites States on the September 11, 2011. As a result of attacks, 2996 people, including 19 hijackers, lost their lives and more than $10 billion in property damage occured.[149] The attack and the following events were followed by all the world media, because the terror had never taken more lives at one attack until then. Some even dubbed it the Clash of Civilizations by quoting Samuel Huntington. The US, which had been attacked, started a huge struggle against terrorism with the support of other countries. Bush, who showed the attacks as reason, first attacked to Afghanistan, which helped and abetted terror, then attacked Iraq and launched a huge campaign against terrorism worlwide, received support from many countries, particularly in the UK. However, this period, which sparked September 11, increased hatred towards other Western States, especially the US, and a large increase in hate crimes against Muslims have also increased.[150] Thus, it was understood that the soft power which the US thought could preserve its hegemony with the less cost, would no longer be enough solely, but it needed a power of military intervention that lasting for centuries but, this power had to be completed with the soft power because of the change in the balances of the world politics. Indeed, Nye also expressed this situation as follows: "The use of soft power frees the country from the cost of hard power and from being exposed to reactions from other countries in international arena. However, as hard power gains are limited, the impact of soft power is also limited. Soft power is mostly effective in promoting democracy and protecting human rights,

[149] Institute for the Analysis of Global Security. How much did the September 11 terorist attack cost America. http://web.archive.org/web/20180215013048/http://www.iags.org:80/costof911.html., Date of Access: 09.12.2018.
[150] Lichtblau, E. (2016). *Hate Crimes Against American Muslims Most Since Post-9/11 Era.* New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/18/us/politics/hate-crimes-american-muslims-rise.html, Date of Access: 09.12.2018.

and large countries can use results in a combination of soft and hard power in areas such as terrorism or precention of nuclear activities."[151]

It can be said that 9/11 attacks have caused a change in the foreign policy perceptions of the countries. The concept of security, which was defined from a narrow military perspective during the Cold War period, led to the revision of the strategies of almost all Western States, notably the USA, after the Cold War, specifically after 9/11. The 9/11 terrorist attacks and the anti-terror campaign launched in Afghanistan following these attacks and the operations to end the Saddam regime in Iraq have dramatically changed the balance of power and the international security discourse that emerged after the Cold War. The US's position in the international system has been strengthened and the strategic interests of the US have begun to take effect globally. In addition to conventional and nuclear threats, weapons of mass destruction and terrorist organizations using these weapons, rogue states and failed states have been put forward as the primary threat. Thus, the agenda of the United States has become closely linked to the Great Middle East and Asia.

Thus, the US, shocked after September 11, showed the world its angry side not its face introducing hope, optimism, tolerance and opportunity from more traditional American values.[152] Because the image it had created up until that day was a victim of great hatred therefore, it has given fear to countries that have helped or even made it available to terrorism. However, this undermined the ability of the US to attract allies on its own, even though they supported its campaign against terrorism. Joseph Nye expressed this situation as follows: "Our nation must embrace a smarter strategy that combines our 'hard power' with our soft power. Whether the crisis in Pakistan or ending wars in Iraq with Afghanistan, whether to deter Iran and North Korea's nuclear ambitions, to cope with China's rise, or to improve the lives of those left behind due to globalization, needs a balanced approach. We cannot return to the 'myopic' perspective before September 11, but we cannot get stuck in the narrow outlook after September 11, which excludes most of the world."[153]

It is possbile to say that the soft power itself only is insufficient due to the policies pursued, because although the US is trying to emphasize Soft Power, events at the beginning of the 21st

[151] Nye, *ibid.*, 2009:160-163.
[152] Nye, J. (2007). *11 Eylül Travmasından Çıkma Zamanı*. https://www.dunyabulteni.net/11-eylul-travmasindan-cikma-zamani-makale,3216.html, Date of Access: 23.11.2018.
[153] Nye, *ibid.*, 2007.

century put it in a image of state that violates international law. In this case, the US had to destroy this bad image and also fight against terrorism. It could not, of course, give up the soft power mechanism that provides permanent results in long time with less cost, but another kind of power was also necessary to intervene when needed. Based on this rationale, the US completely changed the perspective of public diplomacy. In the post-September 11 period, the American public diplomacy service accelerated the work of influencing the Islamic World and Muslim Societies and changing the image of the hated American image. However, in May 2006, a report by the Government Accountability Office considered the failure of public diplomacy targeting Muslims.[154] The failure of the multi-faceted work put forward by the US Department of State since 2002 to conclude and end the fiasco, as the report indicates, has shown that the US public diplomacy does not have a strong communication strategy.[155]

> Channeling outrage over the attacks, the Bush administration shifted from a detached to a defiant unilateralism. Bush adopted an evangelical, militarist agenda. At the same time, however, he embraced some of the idealistic rhetoric of his liberal predecessors. His 2002 National Security Strategy, for example, pledges not only to fight terrorism and 'preempt' threats, but also to 'actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world.[156]

To this end, Bush vowed to make post-Saddam Iraq a model for democracy in the Middle East and some conservatives even proclaimed themselves Wilson's rightful heirs.[157] Despite all of these, Bush's administraion's practices and unilateral policies have greatly reduced support the USA in the international environment. In 2002, the leading position of the US in the international arena was supported by 64% of Europeans, but in 2004 this figure decreased to 31%; the number of those who did not support the leadership of the United States in 2008 was 59%.[158] Accordingly, Obama's first job after becoming president was to correct the image of the US had lost in the eyes of the world, especially in the Middle East. Obama's foreign policy was shaped by the idea of winning the hearts of these nations and he had to follow a policy that prioritized the elements of soft power but at the same time that always foresees an effective public diplomacy ready for a military intervention.

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[154] Government Accountability Office. U.S. Public Diplomacy. www.gao.gov/new.items/d06535.pdf., Date of Access: 08.12.2018.
[155] Government Accountability Office. *ibid.*
[156] Nossel, *ibid.*, 2004:134.
[157] Nossel, *ibid.*, 2004:134.
[158] German Marschall Fund of the US. Transatlantic Trends 08. www.transatlantictrends.org/trends/doc/2008_English_Key.pdf., Date of Access: 09.12.2018.

Besides, international security, which emphasized the military dimension during the Cold War period, also gained a humanitarian dimension with the increase of 9/11 terror attacks and the increasing environmental disasters caused by global warming. The macro-securitization carried out by the US government after 9/11 after the terrorism threatened the human dimension of the terrorist threat, pointing to the need for hard power for the 21st century security agenda as well as the need to use soft power.[159] This has brought major changes in the world agenda to a position that is closely related to civil society as well as governments and since then, civil society organizations have been actively involved in the world politics.

In fact, after 9/11, countries began to give more importance to public diplomacy and instead of direct governmental links; they began to use soft power tools to communicate with the people of other countries. Although Nye used this expression first in 2008, the soft power concept he mentioned has been sharpened of smart power since then. Thus, a smart power centered public diplomacy that can be applied to hard power when necessary began to take the first place in the agenda of the countries. One of the most fundamental examples of this rise is China.

China is one of the best cases in terms of development in recent years. It would not be wrong to claim that the rise of China's use of soft power has led to a decline in US power in Eastern Asia. In addition, though the United States is unwilling to sign the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, it continues to have many sanctions on South-East Asian states.[160] As Kurlantzick pointed out in 2006 during President Bush's term:

> America's popularity is plummeting around the world. Washington has made it harder for foreigners to obtain visas, undermining the idea of the United States as a land of opportunity. The United States' unrivaled global power has fostered resentment in some nations toward the United States. Furthermore, although Obama tries to improve the US image, his foreign policy has been specifically shaped by countries, especially Israel, which has caused the reaction of Muslim countries and the US's soft power to fall. In addition to this, China appears to have stronger ties with countries than the US. Moreover, people see China's hard power increase in the future, which could affect their soft power today.[161]

In this section, it has been tried to explain that 9 /11 changed the view of the world about public diplomacy. This has been tried to understood through two countries, which are important powers

[159] Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü. Güvenlik Sorunları ve Kamu Diplomasisi. http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/makaleler/haberler/130-guevenlik-sorunlar-ve-kamu-diplomasisi., Date of Access: 09.12.2018.

[160] Kurlantzick, J. (2006). *China's Charm: Implications of Chinese Soft Pow*er, Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief, 47, 1-7.

[161] Breslin, *ibid.*, 2011:1-18.

of the world in terms of economic and technology. Surely, it is not possible to think 9/11 independently from the US. The US strategy, which changes with and after 9/11, will further be elaborated under the title of "The United States."

2.4. Soft Power Approaches of Countries

Measuring capabilities to explain how one state influences another is not simple, however it requires summing up various kinds of potentials.[162] States possess varying amounts of population, territory, military forces and so forth and a state's tangible capabilities (including military forces) represent material power.[163]

National exercise of soft power is thought to be one of the most effective tools available for propagating a country's public diplomacy agenda. It can increase a country's ability to influence other, strengthen international prestige, increases global interaction, and obtains better economic opportunities with an eye towards establishing and sustaining long - term relationships. When Joseph Nye first introduced "soft power" into the international relations lexicon, it was a reminder that hard power is not the only tool available to achieve national goals.[164]

This section is essentially based on two countries which appear to be willing powerful states by adding soft capacities into their foreign policy tools heavily: the USA and Germany. As Turkey is at the centre of our thesis, it is handled in a separate section. The reason why these two countries are selected is their clear and rising capacities of public diplomacy. The USA case is very important as it is the birthplace of all related concepts due to its concrete policies. Second case is Germany, who has importance in terms of its outstanding soft power system developed by using the related institutions as important tools.

2.4.1. The United States

The United States of America is the country that might be seen as the Roman Empire of the modern age[165] and also has the capacity to shape the international system according to its own

[162] Goldldstein & Pevehouse, *ibid.,* 2009:46.
[163] Goldldstein & Pevehouse, *ibid.,* 2009:46.
[164] Feizi, H., & Talebi, B. (2012). Iran's Soft Power Borne of Necessity and Complexity of its Multi-Dimensional Audience. *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy*, 3, 48.
[165] Toman, M. & Akman, H. (2014). Tarihi Süreç İçerisinde Amerikan İmparatorluğu. *Journal of History School,* 7, 296.

will. In other words, it is one of the most effective and powerful states in today's world, which can lead the events and their results in their own interests. Thus even though the orijinal name is the United States, when America is said, a continent name, we all perceive it as the United States. So what makes a country such strong? There are many answers to this question, of course, but if we have to start from somewhere, it would be best to start with their history, so the country that is not stumbling because it has no common past. Of course, as we learned from the common history teachings, common language and also common culture is what makes a country a country and causes them to be recognized in the international system with these qualities. However, the US has shaped the conception that has cost the countries of the world or even the history according to its own will. Today, having a common culture or common language is not enough to make a country hegemonic power, on the contrary it combines the different cultures and values around a common purpose and that is to rule the world.

At this point, it is necessary to scrutinise the concept called as American Power. What is the understanding of power of such a state that can influence and even -to some extend- shape the world politics? The United States has stepped into the international system as a great military force, especially with its participation in the First and Second World Wars, and it has dominated its power in this way, until the concept produced by itself is wrapped around the world. At that point, the view of the USA to power understanding has changed and began to shape its foreign policy based on that concept. However, despite the existence of such a power, soft power; the US, the country that does not compromise its military power, makes half of the world military spending on a single scale and has unique conventional capacity. Based on an immense military industry using the most advanced technologies and not numerically very crowded, highly equipped US armed forces. For instance, The President's budget request for the year 2019 is $686.1 billion. This budget represents 5 percent real growth over the initial President's Budget of 2018 and 10 percent real growth over the current Continuing Resolution (CR).[166] The US military superiority stems from its capacity to deploy military and advanced weapons systems to any part of the world, as well as its nuclear power. With air and sea facilities and observation and communication satellites, the US can wage real-time battles from a distance.[167] However, today the US's hard power capabilities are not the decisive factor for it domination of the

[166] Department of Defense. Office of the Under Secretary of Defense Chief Financial Officer February 2018. https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/FY2019-Budget-Request-Overview-Book.pdf., Date of Access: 10.12.2018.
[167] Dorel, G. (2007). *Amerikan İmparatorluğu Atlası: ABD, Hipergücün Jeostratejisi*, çev. Altuğ, A., İstanbul.

international system. The concept of soft power entering the international literature with the renowned Harvard Professor, Joseph Nye, at the end of the 1980s is undoubtedly the most powerful convinced figure today and also the most popular power used by countries that want to become regional or hegemonic power, or countries that have taken this form on the world stage, to stabilize their situation, especially the United States.

Today it is not possible to think such a concept independently of the USA. Although the concept has entered the literature in the early 90s, this concept is frequently seen in the history of the US. The United States was a relative latecomer to the idea of using information and culture for the purposes of diplomacy; in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson established a Committee on Public Information, which was directed by his friend the newspaperman George Creel.[168] Creel's task, he said, was a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventure in advertising.[169] Besides, in the late 1930s, the Roosevelt Administration became convinced that "America's security depended on its ability to speak to and to win the support of people in other countries." President Roosevelt was particularly concerned about German propaganda in Latin America.[170] Following this, one of the other classic soft power examples is Marshall Plan. After World War II, the United States pumped billions of dollars into war-ravaged western Europe to prevent it from falling to the influence of the Communist Soviet Union.[171] The Marshall Plan included humanitarian aid, such as food and medical care; expert advice for rebuilding destroyed infrastructures, such as transportation and communication networks and public utilities; and outright monetary grants.[172] These policies clearly show that although the US has dominated its power with hard power, it has always given importance to soft power at some point and has realized that it can implement it as the power of the future. Although the US understood that this power could become popular in the world, the uncertainties about its policy continued until the end of the Cold War. At the end of the Cold War, the use of the soft power of the United States in addition to hard power has caused the Soviet System to consume away from inside. In this way, it can be clearly said that the US won the Cold War with a combination of soft and hard power tools. Nye also confirms this as follows; "Of course, soft power was crucial to the U.S. victory in the Cold War."[173] In the post-war period there have been different changes in the

[168] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:2.
[169] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:2.
[170] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:3.
[171] Jones, S. (2019). *Understanding Soft Power in U.S. Foreign Policy*. https://www.thoughtco.com/soft-power-in-u-s-foreign-policy-3310359, Date of Access: 11.12.2018.
[172] Jones, *ibid.*, 2017.
[173] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990b:74.

structure of the international system. The most important of all is undoubtedly a through understanding of the importance of a centralized power because states have recognized the different ways of directing the behavior of other states rather than concrete sources. This can expressed as follows: States have turned to soft power based on values such as art, culture, science and education rather than hard power. In a globalizing world, superpower status is related to gaining the hearts and minds of other people, rather than obtaining resources or winning wars. In other words, the super power position is primarily based on soft power. [174]

As mentioned beforehand, the concept entered into the literature of international relations with the publication of a book by the US political scientist Nye in 1990, Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power. Following this work in which America claimed to be the largest country of the international system in terms of soft power sources,[175] Nye published the book "The Can't Go, Already Superpower" Following this book, which includes America's suggestions for how to use its soft power to keep its long-term national interests and superior position,[176] in 2004 Nye published "Soft Power's Means in Success In The World Politics" in order to reveal the phenomenon of soft power systematically. Nye, in this work where he deepened his analysis of soft power; argued that all the states, especially the USA, should have a better understanding of the concept of soft power and use soft power sources more effectively in their foreign policies.[177]

Hard power is easy to measure, of course. It can be counted by the number of missiles and tanks and troops or so on; but what is the content of soft power? Nye puts it into three categories: cultural, ideological and institutional.[178] So in other words, the culture that is attractive to other countires, the political values accepted in the country and abroad, and foreign policies which are seen as legitimate or moral by the international community. These categories are of course based on the USA case mostly. The most influential element in being the leader of the US is undoubtedly the soft power resources it has. For Nye, the basis of the U.S. soft power is liberal democratic politics, free market economics, and fundamental values such as human rights—in

[174] Özdemir, H. (nd.) *Süper Güç Nedir? ABD'nin Ortadoğu'ya Yönelik Dış Politikası.* Strateji Enstitüsü Makaleleri. http://www.ankarastrateji.org/yazar/doc-dr-haluk-ozdemir/super-guc-nedir-abd-nin-ortadogu-ya-yonelik-dis-politikasi/, Date of Access: 13.12.2018.
[175] Nye, *ibid.*, 1990c:15.
[176] Nye, J.S. Jr. (2002). *The Paradox American Power: Why The World Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, New York, Oxford University Press, 16.
[177] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:12.
[178] Li, E.X. (2018). *The Rise and Fall of Soft Power*. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/20/the-rise-and-fall-of-soft-power/, Date of Access: 13.12.2018.

essence, liberalism.[179] Indeed, the U.S. market today, its attitude towards human rights, its position in technology, free but also respectful to others' lives, cinema movies, free trade understanding cover the vast majority of the world. Besides; its brands, eating habits, and even its music are adopted by other societies from day to day and are also imitated. It has brought a significant part of scientific discoveries to mankind and continues to gain, the first place among young people who want to go to study, and is taking more brain drain than any other state, and it has a large part of global computer chat networks, and also manages these networks, and has the most preferred language in international correspondence.[180]

It is also possible to support this situation with data. The USA has many soft power providers. According to the quoted data from Nye:

- The USA is not only the best economy in the world, but also the top 500 companies in the world belong to the Americans.
- The USA is accompanied by influx of six times more foreign migrants then Germany.
- In fact although the Indian cinema Bollywood produces more film in one year, the USA is the world's top trend film and TV program exporter.
- 14% of 1.6 million of students enrolled to the universities outside their homeland in the United Kingdom, 28% are studying in the United States.
- In 2002, more than 86,000 foreign academicians worked under American educational institutions. [181]

Although the data are from the year 2005, these figures are still largely conserved today. Undoubtedly, it has almost all the features of the country that revived people's mind as country of dreams.

If it is necessary to mention these data specifically, one of the most notable examples of soft power is the U.S. film industry. The USA uses Hollywood movies, the strongest representative of the film industry to achieve its foreign policy goals. These films appeal to almost every audience from children to adults from all over the world. These people do not want to miss any conversation about these movies they watch, and this effect spreads all over the world.

[179] Li, *ibid.*, 2018.
[180] Brezezinski, B. (2016). *Büyük Satranç Tahtası Amerika'nın Küresel Üstünlüğü ve Bunun Jeostratejik Gereklilikleri,* çev. Türedi, Y., İstanbul, İnkılap Kitabevi, 43-47.
[181] Nye, J. (2017). *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Araçları: Yumuşak Güç*. İstanbul: BB101 Yayınları, 108.

Furthermore; Academy Awards, Oscar, given by the US Academy of Motion Picture Arts And Sciences are being watched by millions of people around the world. Also it is spoken for days with everything from award-winning movies and artists to women's clothes and the menu. Moreover the Universal Studios theme parks attract many millions of tourists every year, and many people travel miles of distances to take a photo in front of the Hollywood sign they see in the movies. Apart from the economic power, the USA tries to shape the values of other societies through these films and legitimize its political attitude in their eyes. For instance, the US nearly managed to diminish its bad reputation in Vietnam through Hollywood films in which American soldiers and politicians are shown as the people who act just for the sake of the good. American film industry cannot be defined as the entertainment industry. This multi-billion dollars of sector which is a forthcoming tool of propoganda, takes on the task of introduction and creation of a positive image of America to the rest of the world.[182] From stopping a meteor hit to the world, to preventing alien invasion; this sector is used for image making to show the people that America is the savior; as it was so successful to set the perception that Vietnam war was won - though it was lost in reality.[183]

Another prominent example of soft power is technology. The USA is one of the leading countries in the world with the technology it has, especially after the Cold War. Apple Company just indicated that 1.3 billion Apple devices are actively used as of 2018. This corresponds approximately 17% of the world's population. [184] On the other hand, the internet might also be defined as a source of soft power. Today social media has become a very big part of the people's lives. Poeple reach all over the world with one touch and contact with them. US citizens and artists also successfully use it to raise awareness and this contributes to soft power both directly and indirectly. Furthermore, its soft power, nourished by its economic, demographic, cultural, technological and political power, also facilitates US diplomacy activities. With the data of 2008, the world's number one economic power with $ 14 trillion in gross domestic product,[185] America has many of the world's best-known and most turnover companies: Microsoft, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Mobil, Procter & Gamble. Universalized American culture, the most important

[182] Oda TV. (2016). Amerika'nın Unutturulmaya Çalışılan Tarihi. https://odatv.com/amerikanin-unutturulmaya-calisilan-tarihi-2001161200.html., Date of Access: 12.10.2018.
[183] Oda TV. *ibid.*, 2016.
[184] Kemp, S. The Incredible Growth of the Internet Over the Past Five Years. https://wearesocial.com/blog/2017/03/incredible-growth-internet-past-five-years-explained-detail. Date of Access: 12.10.2018.
[185] Statista. Gross domestic product (GDP) of the United States from 1990 to 2017 (in billion current U.S. dollars). https://www.statista.com/statistics/188105/annual-gdp-of-the-united-states-since-1990/., Date of Access: 12.10.2018.

distributor of this culture, Hollywood, world-renowned American athletes and artists, student exchange programs, world-renowned American universities and press organizations are the most important elements that strengthen the hand of American public studies in public diplomacy.[186]

However at this point, it is necessary to ask a question like this; "In the case of the United States, do America's presumably unique values create a uniquely American approach to foreign policy?"[187] Of course, these sources cannot be said that have solved all the problems that the USA faces internationally, or that these have always had a positive effect. For example, North Korea leader Kim Jong II likes to watch Hollywood movies but does not stop developing nuclear weapons. The liberal portrayal of liberal women in Hollywood films is welcomed in some countries and is not welcomed in some countries.[188] However, it can be said that soft power has an important role in the issues such as the prevention of the gaining of new supporters of the internationally active terrorist groups and the fight against international problems that require multilateral cooperation.[189] Especially the USA's policies undermine the advantages of soft power partially and destroying its image.

Particularly, after the end of the Cold War, one of the main factors that reduces the soft power of the United States is its in country-blows to being the only superpower with self-confidence. For instance, although the Gulf Crisis in 91 has not suffered a great loss but the Iraq Intervention in 2003 caused the US to weaken its image in the Middle East and diminish its soft power. The process of 9/11, which led to 2003, was a milestone in the both change of security perception of the United states and the decline of soft power at the end of the war against terrorism. After the 9/11 period, the US has begun to question how they were a victim of such kinship, and in the following process, it has waged an international war against terrorism in order to destroy this hatred, but at the same time it tried to gather its shaken image under the name of soft power. In the post-September 11 period, the American public diplomacy service accelerated the work of influencing the Islamic World and Muslim Societies and changing the hated American image. However, in May 2006 a report by the Government Accountability Office the target area

[186] Akçadağ, E. (2010b). ABD'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Startejisi: Akıllı Güç. http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/abdkdstratejisi.pdf., Date of Access: 12.12.2018.
[187] Iriye, A. (1979). *Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations, Diplomatic History*. UK: Oxford University Press, 3, 116.
[188] Nye, *ibid*., 2011:92-93.
[189] Nye, J. (2006). *Soft Power and European-American Affairs.* (Edt: Ilgen, T.L.). In: Hard Power, Soft Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations. London: Routledge, 26.

considered the failure of public diplomacy. The failure of the multi-faceted work put forward by the US Department of State since 2002 to conclude and end the fiasco, as the report indicates, has shown that the US public diplomacy does not have a strong communication strategy.[190] As Nye says, "the Middle East presents a particular challenge for American soft power and public diplomacy."[191] The region is not only the home of terrorists, but also a region that does not adopt to modernization. The low living standards and the endless hostility of the people of this region reveal America's soft power in this region's desperation.

If the USA wants to have both the benefits of soft power facilities and improve its image damaged in the international arena, especially in the Middle East, it should reduce the hostility against it by stopping its disagreeable movements by other societies and on the other hand, it should increase the consent-based persuasion by using the soft power facilities as effectively as possible. However, Nye mentiones as follows "Nearly five centuries ago, Niccolo Machiavelli advised princes in Italy that it was more important to be feared than to be loved. In today's world, it is best to be both. To defeat terrorism, the United States must learn to combine soft and hard power more effectively."[192] Soft power alone is not enough for the continuation of this hegemony. Of course, soft power is very important in the international arena and its importance is increasing day by day. In such a period, it would be a full mistake for a state to focus only on soft power or hard power. Although soft power is more adventageous and permanents results in long term, it is still important to have hard power in international politics. In the post-9/11 period, the fact that states maintain their presence in the international system and maintain their national independence depends largely on their hard power.[193] However, in today's world, it is very costly for states to use their hard power and it is obligatory to get approval from national and international public opinion.[194]

In addition to these, another issue that should be mentioned in the field of USA's soft power is the activities of civil societies. However, it is necessary to look at the structure of civil societies in the USA in order to better understand the subject before proceeding to the details of the subject. Today's information age has been marked by the growing role of non-governmental

[190] Government Accountability Office. U.S. Public Diplomacy. *ibid.*
[191] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b:18.
[192] Nye, *ibid.*, 2003a:75
[193] Nye, *ibid.*, nd.:2.
[194] Karaca, K. (2012). Çin'in Değişen Enerji Stratejisinin Dış Politikasına Etkileri (1990-2010). *Uluslararası İlişkiler,* 33, 94.

organizations (NGO's) on the international stage.[195] In this context, due to the increasing number of these non-governmental actors in recent years, it is possible to make direct pressures on the states and the leading businessmen by using all means of communication beyond the national borders and they can be asked to change their policies.[196] Although this role of NGOs is not new, this increase in the importance of their roles is surely a product of the 21st century. Thus today, many NGO's claim to act as a "global conscience," representing broad public interests beyond the purview of individual states.[197] In addition, today the presence of NGOs, outside of their global roles, also constitutes one of the development indicators of a country, because in a country where non-governmental organizations are powerful, the boundaries of the state and bureaucracy are so clear there.[198]

In the light of this information, it is possbile to say that NGOs are interesting sources used by the USA. The United States firmly believes that a robust civil society - independent of state control or government involvement- is necessary for democracy to thrive.[199] While some states such as China, Russia, Brazil and India spend a lot of time and money to manufacture national narratives in a top-down manner, the U.S. does it in through non-governmental organizations.[200] In this context, there are approximately 1.5 million NGOs in the USA.[201] These organizations allow refusals to reach a wide range of areas such as promoting economic development, environmental protection, human rights, and conflict resolution to providing humanitarian aid[202], while at the same time some of them have important roles in the international arena. If it is necessary to mention about their financial supports, their sources of finance include donations from private individuals (American or foreign), private sector for-profit companies, philanthropic foundations, or grants from local and espcially federal and state governments. Sources of finance may also include foreign governments.[203] For instance, in addition, many NGOs in the United States are qualified as exempt from state and federal taxes. This is a very important point because it facilitates their work and allows them to use the revenue they have

[195] Nye, J. (2004). The Rising Power of NGO's. https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-rising-power-of-ngo-s?barrier=accesspaylog., Date of Access: 13.10.2018.
[196] Yılmaz, D.V. (2017). Geleceğin Diplomatik İnşası: Kamu Diplomasisi Aracı Olarak Türk Yükseköğretimi, The Journal of Academic Social Science, 5, 141.
[197] Nye, *ibid.*, nd.:2.
[198] Nye, *ibid.*, nd.:2.
[199] U.S. Department of State. Non-Governmental Organizations in the United Satates. https://www.state.gov/non-governmental-organizations-ngos-in-the-united-states/., Date of Access: 13.12.2018.
[200] U.S. Department of State. Non-Governmental Organizations in the United Satates., *ibid.*
[201] U.S. Department of State. Non-Governmental Organizations in the United Satates., *ibid.*
[202] Aall, P. (2000). NGOs, Conflict Management, and Peacemaking. *International Peacekeeping*, 7.
[203] U.S. Department of State. Non-Governmental Organizations in the United Satates., *ibid.*

directly for their work. Only, NGOs organized for political purposes receive limited tax exemptions only for income received from contributions solicited from the general public, membership dues, or fundraising events.[204] However, in spite of all these financial means, organizations are quite sensetive and often independent in establishing relations with political parties, unlike some organizations will be seen in the case of Germany.

Besides all these, for the activities of NGOs in the international arena, NGOs also help shape the specifics of US soft or combined power efforts.[205] In this case they offer different methods and programs around the world. Just like in many parts of the world, the US government also rely on NGOs as conduits through which they wield soft power by dispensing foreign aid to developing countries in recent years, because of the comparative advantages these organizations are seen to possess.[206] One of them and surely one of the most important is Council on International Educational Exchange, CIEE. The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) is a non-profit organization promoting international education and exchange.[207] As Senator J. William Fulbright said, "Educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations"[208] In accordance with this purpose, CIEE, founded in 1947 based the USA, is one of the leading organizations in the field of soft power.[209] CIEE create opportunities that help bring people together, foster the development of understanding and mutual respect between communities and nations and help students, teachers, and young professionals from across the world by giving them skills that make them active and responsible global citizens.[210] In this framework, there a number of programs carries out by CIEE through the instrument of mor then 40 countries, these programsa re often categorized under two headings; Study Abroad Programs and Work Exchange Programs, and each topic has specific subheadings.[211] Under these considerations, it is possible to say that CIEE has become one of the pioneering soft power non-

[204] U.S. Department of State. Non-Governmental Organizations in the United Satates., *ibid.*
[205] Saleh, L. (2012). *Soft Power, NGOs, and the US War on Terror,* University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 259.
[206] Saleh, *ibid.,* 2012:259.
[207] CIEE. Advocacy. https://www.ciee.org/about/what-we-stand-for/advocacy., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.
[208] Snow, N. (2008). *International Exchanges and the US Image,* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, SAGE, 198-199.
[209] CIEE. History. https://www.ciee.org/about/what-we-stand-for/history., Date of Access: 04.04.2019.
[210] CIEE. What We Do. https://www.ciee.org/about/what-we-do., Date of Access: 05.04.3029.
[211] CIEE. What You Can Do?. https://www.ciee.org., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.

governmental organizations in the USA due to the increase in the effect of USA's soft power in this context, by providing the participation of 2 million people worldwide since its foundation.[212]

As a result, if it is necessary to clarify the situation, the period when the hard power alone ruled the world has ended, of course it is not possible to give up the hard power in such an international environment, but the US needs to put soft power before hard power.

2.4.2. Germany

Under this title, the soft power approach of Germany, which has the fourth most powerful economy in the world[213] and devotes a serious budget to the development studies and makes a serious effort, will be examined in the context of its specific institutions.

No position had put Germany, who is a central European country that has witnessed many events throughout history and has been *de facto* in many wars, in a position as difficult as the events of the 20th century.[214] Firstly, as a result of the First World War, it was subjected to heavy conditions of the period with the Treaty of Versailles, and reactions to this situation increased over time and finally this situation pushed the country into the Second World War.[215] With the end of the war, Germany has found itself in a new war with two poles. In this context, Germany witnessed a blockade that shook the country deeply in 1948 and in the following process the construction of the Berlin Wall, which in 1961 divided the country not only geographically but also ideologically[216], which is called as Wall of Shame today.[217] However, on September 2, 1990, Two Plus Four Treaty, which was signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Democratic Republic of Germany and the four victorious countries of the Second World War, France, Great Britain, Russia and the US, has ensured reunification of Germany and given it for the first time full international independence.[218] Although the collapse of the Berlin Wall

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[212] CIEE. CIEE Celebrates 70 Years with Scholarships to Help More Sudents Study Abroad. https://www.ciee.org/about/blog/ciee-celebrates-70-years-scholarships-help-more-students-study-abroad., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.
[213] World Bank. GDP. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[214] Kıratlı, O.S. (2016). Avrupa Dış İlişkiler ve Güvenlik Politikası ve Üç Büyükler: Almanya, Fransa ve İngiltere. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 11, 207-224.
[215] Uçarol, R. (2013). *Siyasi Tarih*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 693-94.
[216] Uçarol, *ibid.*, 2013: 693-94.
[217] The New York Times. (2009). There Once Was a Wall of Shame. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/23/arts/design/23conn.html., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[218] Helwig, N. (2016). *Europe's New Political Engine Germany's Role in the EU's Foreign and Security Policy*, Helsinki, FIIA Report, 44, 24.

provided the integrity of the country, this time it has brought different problems. The bad reputation of Germany, emerging as the natural and informal leader of the Union after the fall of the Berlin Wall was frightening France and Britain.[219] However, these problems were not only eccentric, but also turned into a crisis in Germany itself after the merger, because other countries' inspections had ended and the sovereignty limits had been eliminated with the merger and what kind of policy Germany would follow in this period was also being discussed.[220] While this direction debate started at the beginning of the 1990s, it is clear that during the period of the Schröder government there are two main sides of the debate, according to Risse. The first group includes the protestors of normalization, who advocate the unified and dominant Germany to pursue a policy of self-reliance, which focuses on its national interests. They call for a return of Berlin to the world stage, suggesting that Germany should pursue a foreign policy that prioritizes its own interests, like all other normal nation-states. The second group consists of those who want the continuation of the concept of civilian power during the Cold War period.[221] In the long run, the discussions have arrived at the conclusion in the manner of need for Germany to strive to promote itself as a positive partner in its foreign policy with other countries.[222] Given the current circumstances, it is possible to say that this crisis, the unification of Germany, opened the door to the re-reform of Germany's foreign policy identity and discourse.[223] In fact, Germany has chosen to carry out multilateral diplomacy on many issues, despite the fact that a united Germany has many options to carry out force diplomacy.[224]

Germany, which positioned itself as a civillian power, in the Western system after the Seond World War, has acted as the locomotive of Europe throughout the integration process, in a wide range of areas ranging from human rights to disarmament[225] and in the end of this process, today it has created an image that has an important role in the world scene with its economy and the advantages of this powerful economy. Germany serves as a successful model with these features.

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[219] Kıratlı, *ibid.*, 2016.
[220] Büyükbay, C. (2017). *Germany's Leadership Role in the EU: Continuity and Change in Foreign Policy in the Context of International Crisis.* Türk-Alman Üniversitesi, 8, 21.
[221] Risse, T. (2004). *Kontinuitaet durch Wandel: Eine "neue" deutsche Aussenpolitik?*, Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B11, 24.
[222] Holguin, J.C. (2013). *German Soft Power: From the Fall of the Wall to the 2006 World Cup.* Master Thesis, Georgetown University, Washington DC., 8.
[223] Kıratlı, *ibid.*, 2016:212.
[224] Rittberger, V. (2011). *German Foreign Policy Since Unification: Theories and Case Studies,* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 4.
[225] Kıratlı, *ibid.*, 2016.

Even Gary Lineker' famous quote during the World Cup may contain much more profound meanings than a reality:

"Football is a simple game, 22 men chase the ball for 82 minutes and the Germans get a player sent off so 21 men chase the ball for 13 minutes and at the end the Germans somehow... win."[226]

As it is mentioned before, Germany has the fourth most powerful economy in the world,[227] its gross national product (GDP) is $3,677 trillion,[228] which means that it is higher than GDP of the most important powers of Europe such as United Kingdom and France. The fact that Germany has successful economy is, of course, its production capacity and trade volume, but the competitive environment of globalization, September 11, 2016 World Cup and especially the change of government that will produce innovative but at the same time stable policies in 2013 have provided an opportunity the development of this situation specifically.[229] However, it is not possible to say that this event, which is shown in the field of economy, is equally successful in the political arena. When we look at the last 12 years, there are some shortcomings in foreign policy and security strategy.[230] For instance, Germany's refusal to vote for the creation of a no-fly zone in Libya in 2011 in the UN Security Council was considered a lack of foreign policy strategy.[231] Again, Germany's alienation in the military and political spheres in its foreign policy and its commitment to multinationalism are regarded as deficiency by some.[232] Although this optimistic policy, now called the Zivilmacht tradition, settled in Germany in the long run, it will not be wrong to argue that he will again turn to power politics like other states and will gradually abandon the Zivilmacht understanding, because of its passion for power in the genes of the German people and, more importantly, because of its built-in understanding that foreign policy is only a power policy in the international system and that other forms are not realistic.[233] One of the most important examples of this is that Germany is not one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, although it has one of the world's strongest economies. This is

[226] France 24. (2018). The Germans Somehow Win – Lineker Updates Famous Quote. https://www.france24.com/en/20180624-germans-somehow-win-lineker-updates-famous-quote.., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[227] Focus Economics. The World's Top 10 Largest Economies. https://www.focus-economics.com/blog/the-largest-economies-in-the-world., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[228] World Bank, GDP., *ibid.*
[229] Hülsse, R. (2009). The Catwalk Power: Germany's New Foreign Image Policy. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 12, 307-308.
[230] Büyükbay, *ibid.*, 2017: 8, 21.
[231] Helwig, *ibid.*, 2016:44
[232] Baumann, R. & Helmann, G. (2001). Germany and the Use of Military Force: Total War, the Culture of Restraint and the Quest for Normality. *German Politics*, 10(1), 61.
[233] Hellmann, G. (2002). *Sag beim Abschied leise Servus!, Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 3, 507.

evidenced by various documents that prove Hellmann's opinion. For example, an expression such as follows is found in a document published on globalization:

> Together with key partners, we want to advance the debate on updating the UN system. We want to exploit the possibilities for reform in order to ensure, for example that Asia, Africa and Latin America are properly represented on the Security Council. But those countries, such as Germany, that makes some of the largest contributions to the UN, must be also appropriately represented." And continues in that way, "We would like to enter into dialogue and cooperate in a spirit of partnership and equality to ensure that globalization proceeds fairly and to find solutions to global challenges. [234]

It was ultimately elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 2018[235] which can be said that this situation softens its distance slightly from the US-led NATO and the UN. In other words, in 2014, as a result of German foreign policy elites voicing their demands for leadership of Germany with a higher voice, it can be said to show the effects of a determined German foreign policy.[236]

German foreign policy, which was shaped and finalized as a result of these developments, includes managing Europe and Transatlantic partnership, peace-making efforts and globalization today.[237] In this case, Germany does not only have the characteristic of an economic vehicle and a civillian power of its traditional foreign policy, it also increases its political effectiveness.[238] Thus it is possible to say that we are facing a more focused and stable German foreign policy. This is clearly one of the most important reasons affecting the German soft power.

It can be expressed that Germany's foreign policy is perfectly suited to the use of soft power because it is based on a foreign policy aimed at building trust in the long term.[239] Considering the history of the 20th century, this principle has been shaped by two world wars and the Cold War that deeply affected Germany[240] and in this context, modern Germany is seen as a

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[234] Bundesregierung, D. (2012). *Shaping Globalization-Expanding Partnerships-Sharing Responsibility: A Strategy Paper by the German Government.* Berlin, Auswärtiges Amt., 6-12.
[235] Federal Foreign Office. (2019). Germany: Member of the United Nations Security Council in 2019-20. https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/internationale-organisationen/vereintenationen/-/229924., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[236] Der Bundespraesident. (2014). Speech to Open 50th Munich Security Conference, http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/EN/JoachimGauck/Reden/2014/140131-Munich-Security-Conference.html., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[237] Büyükbay, *ibid.*, 2017: 8, 21.
[238] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[239] Krotz, U. (2001). *National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policies : France and Germany Compared*. Harvard University, Cambridge MA, Working Paper no. 2.1.
[240] Pamment, J. (2013). Time, Space & German Soft Power: Toward a Spatio-Temporal Turn in Diplomatic Studies. *Perspectives*, 21(2), 3.

significant example of soft power. In fact, the point that Germany came to today is not very surprising, because the country is traditionally excellent at pursuing its ideas, values and aims using diplomatic, cultural and economic tools.[241] In other words, it can be said that Germany is trying to integrate this with its ever-increasing role on the world stage by developing a system that meets the requirements of the global system. However, interestingly, unlike most countries, there is no primer book or article on German soft power, nor is it blatantly dedicated as a focal point of foreign policy such as in Turkish foreign policy.[242] Its features manifest in a general nature rather than a specific area. Furthermore, German officials do not use the term of soft power policy, they usually use cultural relations and education policy as a part of its foreign policy. In other words, Germany's cultural relations and education policy is an analogy of soft power.[243] Talking about Germany's cultural relations and education policy, it is focused on several aspects and elements:

- The German language remains in high demand-German schools abroad,
- "kulterweit" international cultural volunteer programme-Science, research and universities,
- Protection and restitution of cultural property-Preservation of cultural heritage,
- Cultural programmes abroad,
- Responsibility of the religions for peace.[244]

This terms is functionally similar, although it differs from the concept of soft power in terms of terms. Moreover, Germany's soft power strategy is diverse, as it promotes not only education and culture, but also political values.[245]

Although German foreign policy is governed by the German government, the government is far from being a homogeneous actor.[246] This situation diversifies the actors while at the same time providing the establishment their authorities in that field. For instance, German political parties lead the German foreign policy debate, as well as the administration, and the parties follow the

[241] The Local De. (2013). Germany Tops World Soft Power Rankings. https://www.thelocal.de/20131121/germany-number-one-for-soft-power., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[242] Ozan, L. (2017). *Germany's and Turkey's Communicated Soft Power Presence in Kosovo: A Comparative Analysis of Two Foreign Policies.* Master's Thesis, Bilkent University Department of International Relations, Ankara, 89.
[243] Matkarimova, K. (2018). *Germany's Soft Power Strategy in Kazakhstan: Educational and Cultural Aspects,* Nazabayev University, 30.
[244] Federal Foreign Office. (2017). Germany's foreign and European policy principles. https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/-/229790., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[245] Matkarimova, *ibid.*, 2018: 30.
[246] Holtmann, E. (2008). *Führen Regierungen tatsächlich? Die Richtlinienkompetenz des Bundeskanzlers— kein Phantom? Zur Praxis gouvernementalen Handelns,* Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 74-75.

policy as effectively as the state institutions in the application of soft power through the foundations they operate close to.[247] As in many countries, the actors of the German foreign policy vary, but the institutions that have a great influence on the society and the public, while using their resources, come to the fore and these institutions create the main idea of this title especially in the framework of the soft power of their work with a feature worth mentioning. Therefore, the soft power approach of Germany will be explained through these institutions.

Today, Germany makes a name for itself most often not only economically, but also the works that it conducts internationally. Germany, a member of the European Union, Group of Eight (G8), Group of Twenty (G20), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Economic Co-operation and Development, and a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council with the latest developments, serves quite effectively outside of the country with its 227 international institutions.[248] 153 of them are embassies, 54 of them are consulates-general, 7 of them are consulates and 12 of them are permanent missions and there is also one other mission.[249] Although these institutions create the perception of the institution that carries out more official services, they have multifaceted functions due to the characteristics of German foreign policy. For instance, in a meeting, Heiko Maas, the German minister, has instructed the ambassadors not only to meet with government representatives, but also instructed them to establish deeper ties with the community and to win allies.[250] This clearly shows that the German foreign policy understanding is based on soft power.

German foreign policies, soft power policies in this context, are carried out by a governemnet agency, Federal Foreign Office, responsible for foreign relations as in many countries. The Foreign Federal Office's obligations are as follows:

- Collecting information,
- Reporting on issues which are of relevance to the various authorities of the Federation and the Länder,
- Helping German citizens in emergencies, carrying out crisis protection measures, and assisting Germans living abroad with regard to certificates and legal documents,

[247] Holtmann, *ibid.*, 2008: 74-75.
[248] Federal Foreign Office. The German Missions Abroad. https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aamt/auslandsvertretungen., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[249] Federal Foreign Office. The German Missions Abroad. *ibid.*
[250] DW. Alman Dış Politikasında Yeni Dönem. https://www.dw.com/tr/alman-dış-politikasında-yeni-dönem/a-45246141., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.

- Issuing visas for travel to Germany,
- Assisting German companies with their activities in the host country and generally enhancing mutual trade,
- Promoting cultural exchange,
- Educating the host country's public about our foreign policy and also about Germany, its society and culture in general,
- Preparing and escorting high-level visits from Germany.[251]

However, since German foreign policy indicates a multidimensional feature, one of the most improtant tasks of the Federal Foreign Office in this context is that it works in coordination with other government agencies and especially with the NGOs.

Looking at these institutions more closely, the first of these is BMZ, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, which works in coodination with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.[252] Their role is basically to coordinate developmental activities. Around 120 BMZ employees are currently working in this capacity either in German foreign missions or at international organisations.[253] Besides employing secondeds in many countries; the BMZ also has representatives in the permanent German missions at the following international institutions: *the United Nations (Geneva and New York), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (Paris), the European Union (Brus-sels), the Food and Agriculture Organization (Rome), the World Food Programme (Rome), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (Rome).* The BMZ also has staff on the boards of the World Bank and the African, Asian, Inter-American and Caribbean Development Banks.[254] As it is seen, BMZ is one of the leading institutions in Germany in terms of development assistance. In order to better understand the BMZ, it is neccessary to take a closer look at the underlying causes of its establishment:

> Today, our lives are much more interconnected with those of people living on other continents than ever before. We have many advantages because of that. However, it also means that we have greater responsibility than previous generations, because the international community is facing challenges for which it needs to find global solutions. Radical changes need to be made – at global level and as soon as possible. " In this context "The German government is actively engaged, in close cooperation with the international

[251] The German Missions Abroad, *ibid.*
[252] BMZ. Ministry. http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/index.html., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[253] Federal ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Structure and Organization. http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/structure/index.html., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[254] Ministry. Structure and Organization, *ibid.*

> community, in combating poverty, securing food, establishing peace, freedom, democracy and human rights, shaping globalisation in a socially equitable manner, and preserving the environment and natural resources.Development cooperation is one of the most important instruments for achieving these goals. The German government regards it as an imperative of humanity and of reason. Development cooperation guarantees a future for people in developing countries – and thus for everyone else, too.[255]

Another point that draws attention here is that this international purpose of the BMZ overlaps with Nye's soft power understanding, because development aids have a very important role in a country's soft power policies.[256] In this case, one of the most noticable projects of BMZ is the Marshall Plan, a new partnership for development, peace and a better future, which is carried out simultaneously the Europen Union.[257] However, this plan will be discussed in more detail under the title of "The Connection of Humanitarian Diplomacy with Public Diplomacy" and only general information about the plan will be given here. The Project that is planned while Germany conducting the term presidency of G20, basically predicates on the following idea:[258]

> If the hopelessness in Africa is too great, young people seek to establish a new life elsewhere in the world. But if we work together to help African countries, we can also build more security for ourselves, so that we can prevent people from taking advantage of other's fate.

Another institution is GIZ, The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, in other words German International Co-operation Institution. While the work of the BMZ in the framework of development assistance is varied, one of the most effective is to appoint GIZ and work with it in a coordinated manner.[259] The institution, formerly known as the German Techical Cooperation Agency (GTZ), the organization has been continuing its activities as GIZ as of January 1, 2011 with the merger of the German Development Services Agency (DED) and the German International Advanced Training and Development (InWent).[260] Just like BMZ, GIZ is already a federal agency operating in more than 120 countries and strives to shape a future worht living in all parts of the world in teh area of international cooperation for sustainable

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[255] BMZ. Why Do We Need Development Policy. http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/principles/principles-of-development-policy/index.html., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[256] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b: 55-73.
[257] Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). (2017). Africa and Europe – A New Partnership For Development, Peace and A Better Future. http://www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/information_flyer/information_brochures/Materialie270_africa_marshallplan.pdf., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[258] Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. A Marshall Plan with Africa. http://www.bmz.de/en/countries_regions/marshall_plan_with_africa/index.html., Date of Access: 01.04.2019.
[259] Almanya'nın Türkiye'deki Dış Temsilcilikler. GIZ- Alman Uluslararası İşbirliği Kurumu. https://tuerkei.diplo.de/tr-tr/themen/wirtschaft/-/1808222., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[260] Almanya'nın Türkiye'deki Dış Temsilcilikler, *ibid.*

development.[261] Its fields of work are directly related to working areas of BMZ, but are specifically:

- Management services
- Rural development
- Sustainable infrastructure
- Security, reconstruction and peace
- Social development
- Governance and democracy
- Environment and climate change
- Economic development and employment.[262]

As it is seen; GIZ, rather than BMZ, is an institution that provides services in various specific areas and carries out projects that can be solved in a shorter time compared to BMZ. For instance, the number of projects carried out by GIZ is 1549 so far, and 506 of them were realized within the scope of regional projects.[263] These projects are carried out in 35 areas, ranging from water supply to basic education, from forestry to agriculture.[264] In addition, because they have a lot of experience in these matters, they operate primarily on behalf of BMZ, but are also commissioned by other government departments including the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, the Federal Ministry of Defence and the Federal Ministry of Economics and Energy.[265] In this case, GIZ come out this way as one of the leading institutions in Germany in the field of international cooperation services, which are multi-faceted and more specific towards solution-oriented projects in the short term.

After mentioning these two institutions that have a significant place on the state basis in the development of Germany's soft power, it is necessary to mention about the various organizations which are civil society centered and working in coordination with the federal government. However, before this, it is useful to briefly speak of the civil society structure in Germany. In

[261] Almanya'nın Türkiye'deki Dış Temsilcilikler, *ibid.*
[262] GIZ. Products and Expertise. https://www.GIZ.de/en/ourservices/range_of_services.html., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[263] GIZ. Project Data. https://www.GIZ.de/projektdaten/index.action?request_locale=en_GB., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[264] GIZ. Project Data, *ibid.*
[265] GIZ. German Government. https://www.GIZ.de/en/workingwithGIZ/german_government.html., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

contrast to many countries, it can be said that civil society organizations in Germany have much important roles in the context of state policies.

> The strengths of NGOs can be seen in their close contacts to civil society in partner countries, even in countries in which government-level cooperation is difficult or impossible for political reasons. Due to their many years of involvement in partner countries they have often put in place structures and networks that foster development in the long term. For some years now, there has been an in-depth exchange of experience and views between the German government and NGOs for this reason. Along with the churches, political foundations and other private development bodies, NGOs are regularly involved in the elaboration of the BMZ's development-policy strategies for individual countries and regions. [266]

The first institutions to be mentioned in this context are the foundations that work with the political parties in a coordinated manner. Foreign policy in Germany is more internally oriented and parties have an important role in determining this internal policy. These parties carry out their activities in the field of development through the foundations they are related to. Although these foundations have different ideologies, they are financed by the federal government.[267] A few words about the activities of Germany's six unique party political foundations: no other country has such dynamic and global acting political foundations tied to domestic political parties. There are Friedrich Ebert Foundation (close to the Social Democratic Party), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (close to the Christian Democratic Party), Heinrich Boell Foundation (close to the Green Party/Union 90), Friedrich Naumann Foundation (close to the Free Liberal Party), Hans Seidel Foundation (close to the Christian Social Union), and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (close to the Left Party).[268] They receive their financing not from parties, but mostly from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, sometimes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The most funding thus goes to the two foundations associated with the two biggest political parties: Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Konrad Adenauer Foundation.[269] Therefore, the first and the oldest of these foundations to be mentioned is the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, connected to the Social Democratic Party, founded in 1925.[270] The foundation aims to provide opportunities for all citizens to participate in political, economic,

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[266] Federal Ministry and Economic Cooperation and Development. Non-Governmental Organisations. http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/approaches/bilateral_development_cooperation/players/ngos/index.html., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

[267] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.

[268] Maria, U. (2016). Is Smart Power the New Soft Power: German and Russian Examples. https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Soft_Smart_Power_RUS_GER_translation_FIN.pdf., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.

[269] Maria, *ibid.*, 2016.

[270] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. About Us. https://www.fesdc.org/about/friedrich-ebert-stiftung/., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.

social and cultural levels, together with better service and economic growth, as well as providing protection against the challenges of life.[271] In this context, it forms fields of activity in order to achieve its goals, in particular by strengthening social democracy. These areas of activity range from political education to democracy-enhancing strategies, from providing scholarships to gifted students to support socio-political and historical researches.[272] The most conspicuous activity of the foundation is undoubtedly international cooperation when it is considered in the context of soft power. With their international network of offices in more than 100 countries, they support a policy for peaceful cooperation and human rights, promote the establishment and consolidation of democratic, social and constitutional structures and are pioneers for free trade unions and a strong civil society. [273] They are actively involved in promoting a social, democratic and competitive Europe in the European integration process.[274]

The second one of the foundations coordinated with the political parties is Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which is known for its closeness to CDU that is the largest party in Germany since June 2008 in terms of membership, and which provides the most financing from the federal government in this context.[275] This foundation, based on freedom, justice, solidarity as the guiding principles, takes its name from Konrad Adenauer, Germany's first Federal Chancellor.[276] In 1962, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer decided to channel funds reserved for foreign assistance to German political foundations with the objective of promoting democratic values and spreading German political culture.[277] This decision was the first step toward the creation of an instrument of soft power that will serve as a foundation for the parallel diplomacy.[278] Considering the period Konrad Adenauer lived in, the foundation, which was based on Germany's restructing in the years when it was founded, is making efforts to ensure that people are free to live with their dignity and live their lives in Europe and internationally. They are contributing to values so that Germany can overcome its increasing responsibility in the world today.[279] In this context, with more than 80 representative offices and projects in more than 120 countries, they contribute to the promotion of democracy, law and social market

[271] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Our Vision. http://fes-tuerkei.org/pages/english/about-us.php., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[272] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Our Vision. *ibid.*
[273] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, About Us, *ibid.*
[274] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, About Us, *ibid.*
[275] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[276] KAS, About US. https://www.kas.de/web/guest/about-us., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[277] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[278] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[279] KAS, About Us, *ibid.*

economy, besides to ensure peace and freedom, they support uninterrupted dialogue with foreign and internal security policies, and exchange of information between cultures and religions.[280] In this framework, the most striking activity of the foundation is undoubtedly to help implemention the principles of social market economy. In this context, the foundation aims to provide better conditions for small and medium-sized enterprises and strengthens the relations of Germany with the countries where these enterprises are located. Considering that it is one the most financed foundations by the government, it can be said that the foundation plays an important role in increasing the popularity of the country especially by using the economic resources that country has.

To sum up, it is possible to say these about the mentioned two foundations: The roots of these foundations are based on encoraging academic and research-related activities in political parties in the Weimar Republic[281] and they have played an important role in the determination of foreign policy by expanding the fields of activity over time. Today, they are one of the influential soft-power actors of Germany, with the policy of serving as a subsidiary of official parties in many different areas of the world by utilizing the funds of the federal government.

In contemporary German soft power policies, language and education are considered a key means of introduction to the wider culture. For example in India, it is estimated that some one million pupils will now read German thanks to a major investment of fund in language teaching: "we want to get young people interested in the German language and thus to open doors for them to Germany's scientific, economic and cultural scene."[282] The Goethe Institute, another foundation worth mentioning in this context, is one of most remarkable organizations in Germany due to its activities. The Institute was originally founded in 1951 to help foreign teachers in Germany learn the language, it has grown over the past 66 years into its special role as a kind of cultural calling card for the new Germany: smart, fiercely democratic and historically hyper-aware.[283] It has started to operate as a powerful and significant soft power tool for Germany since the late 1960s.[284] Today, it could be said that it is gaining a reputation as an

[280] KAS, About Us, *ibid.*
[281] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[282] Auswertiges Amt (German Federal Foreign Office). (2011). *Cultural Relations and Education Policy in an Age of Globalization: Gaining Partners, Spreading Values*, Representing Interests. Berlin: Auswertiges Amt, 4-6.
[283] Schmid, C. (2017). The Goethe-Institut's Soft Power. https://www.handelsblatt.com/today/politics/cultural-diplomacy-the-goethe-instituts-soft-power/23567358.html?ticket=ST-2932502-Lg4SueeECJoYbUSG1bkX-ap4., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[284] Schmid, *ibid.*, 2017.

important exporter of the German language and culture. In fact, it has a different place than others in the name of German foreign policy, especially in the framework of soft power, because it conducts its activities through language and culture while others focus specifically on development assistance, which these items are in the first place when are classified as soft power assets by Joseph Nye.[285]

The Institute promotes the learning of German abroad. It sets internationally recognised standards in the teaching and learning of German as a foreign language and runs language courses, compiles teaching materials, trains teachers, contributes to scientific research and participates in politicolanguage initiatives.[286] In addition, it also contributes to international cultural cooperation. In this context, it monitors trends in Germany and encourages cultural collaboration across the globe by organising programmes of events and making contributions to various festivals and exhibitions in the fields of film, dance, music, theatre, literature and translation.[287] Libraries and information centres, forums for discussion, diverse print-, audio- and video-publications and our visitors' service aim to paint a contemporary portrait of Germany, promoting international discourse on the key concerns of what is becoming an increasingly global society.[288] In other words, it contributes to the intercultural dialogue with the policies it conducts, thus enabling the establishment of cultural partnerships, which is undoubtedly important fo a mobility that could occur all over the world. To look at closely its works, according to the data of 2015, the number of people learning German has reached 15.4 million and the majority of these people are high school students.[289] In this framework, according to a statement by Jonannes Ebert, the secretary of the Goethe-Institut, in the current globalized labor market, more and more young people see learning German as an opportunity to study or work in Germany,[290] which is provided by Goethe Institut. For instance, according to a recent study, Germany is expected to include 146,000 people in the German labor market every year,[291] which is a very hign figure considering today's conditions. In this framework, it is

[285] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:109.
[286] Goethe Institute. Responsibilities. https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/auf.html., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[287] Goethe Institute, Responsibilities, *ibid.*
[288] Goethe Institute, Responsibilities, *ibid.*
[289] Goethe Institute. German As a Foreign Language Worldwide. https://www.goethe.de/en/spr/eng/dlz.html., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[290] DW. Who in the world wants to learn German? https://www.dw.com/en/who-in-the-world-wants-to-learn-german/a-18398745., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[291] Euractic. (2019). Germany needs a quarter of a million migrant workers a year. https://www.euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/news/germany-needs-a-quarter-of-a-million-migrant-workers-a-year/., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

possible to say that Germany is ssen as an attractive country for living in the global word due to its economic volume, the resources it has and the potential of the labor force it provides.

In the light of this information and the considerations that globalization has brought, the Goethe Institute may be said that it will be more involved in the foreign policy context, which also means that its share will be increased in the soft power policies of Germany. As a result, it can be said that this institute is the most important cultural institute of Germany operating all over the world due to the more successful policies of it compared to the institutions that perform similiar qualifications. In addition to these, the Goethe Institute works on trengthening the expansion of its German schools and their pedagogical and academic influence in other countries in a way that coordinates with DAAD, German Academic Exchange Service.[292] Exchange Service has more than sixty offices around the world for the coordination of its activities. There are an estimated 1,000 German schools in the world, all with public financing from the German government and possessing great academic prestige and excellent infrastructure.[293] In this framework, Germany is trying to influence countries with the pedagogical and academic effects of a large number of German schools throughout the world, giving great importance to education. In addition, German foundations, especially in Latin American countries, support the development of education and democracy, and cooperate with political elites, business worlds, media, churches, associations, academic institutions and schools.[294] In this context, it might be claimed that cultural movements and schools are emphasizing the soft power of Germany.

In conclusion; today, Germany has a strong influence on the world stage with its ideas and policies about establishing understanding, connecting civil societies, promotion of peaceful and humane world, and new global order, despite the relatively small size of it.[295] This country, who has a successful economy and a significantly higher GDP, is a serious leader in the field of automobile manufacturing, heavy machinery, pharmaceutical industry and transportation systems[296] and it conducts its foreign policy in a multidimensional way, using all the advantages of its leadership in these areas. As it is mentioned before, as well as instiutions, political foundations and other non-governemental organizations act as main actors in the conduction of this multi-dimensional policy. All of these actors focus on education, science, culture, economic

[292] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[293] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[294] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.
[295] Matkarimova, *ibid.*, 2018:
[296] Holguin, *ibid.*, 2013:8.

relations and international development with support from federal and regional budgets. Soft power actors prioritize the German language and culture, promoting democracy, developing scientific and economic relations, and positioning German goods, services and educational facilities.[297] In this context, it is possible to claim that Germany has developed a sui generis soft power system. That's why Germany generally ranks at top levels in this area in many international researches and reports. Finally, it would not be wrong to argue that the Germans, who played important roles in political economic and cultural terms in world history, were one of the few peoples who had a great influence on the development of the world with the foreign policy they established under the umbrella of the states they established as a continuation of the national state and the Second World Wars after the establishment of the German Union in 1871.[298]

2.5. Soft Power Approach of Turkey

This section, after drawing the USA and Germany's soft power images, , with a top title in the resources they have and policies they apply, focuses on Turkey's soft power approach. In this context, the section, specifically giving way to Turkey's historical and cultural values, will try to reveal Turkey's soft power potential in the regional and global sense. It will also try to draw an overall framework with its two subheadings, about the approach of Turkey's soft power from post-Cold War to 2002, and then a specific framework for the period from coming of the JDP to the power in 2002 up today (2019).

Turkey's soft power capacity comes from its history, culture and geography.[299] During the Cold War era and in the 1990s as well, Turkey was considered mostly as a "hard power" because of the high influence of its military in politics and deficiencies in its democracy and human rights.[300] In addition to this, due to its political and economical unrest during the 70s, 80s and

[297] Lanshina, T. (2014). Germany's Soft Power: Culture, Education, Science. *International Organisations Research Journal*, 9, 28-58.
[298] İnat, K. (2009). Birleşme Sonrasında Almanya'nın Dış Politikası: "Normalleşme"nin Son Adımları. *Bilgi Dergisi*, (18), 33.
[299] Kalın, İ. (2011). Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey. *Perceptions Journal of International Affairs*, 16(3), 5.
[300] Öner, S. (nd.). Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy: New Instruments and Challenges. http://www.gce.unisg.ch/~/media/internet/content/dateien/instituteundcenters/gce/euxeinos/oener_euxeinos%2010_2013.pdf., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.

90s, and with it's internal and external threats until 1999, Turkey did not give priority - or did not prefer- to use it's soft power, rather than the hard power itself.

As being the most developed country among the Turkic states in Central Asia and as being one of the secular and democratic state between Islamic states in Middle East, Turkey plays a key and an important role not only for the states itself, but also for their communities as well. As a gateway to the West for the East and also to the East for the West, Turkey holds a special position in IR. Republic of Turkey, with its power coming from it's history, holds various of cultural, political and social ties with the states in the Balkans, the Middle East, some former Soviet Republics in Central Asia and nowadays some states in the African and Southeast Asian region.

> Most analyses of Turkey's soft power in the Middle East commit this fallacy, i.e. they take Turkey's soft power as granted and move on to an analysis of its consequences. A number of factors contributing to the attractiveness of Turkey are brought up, but there is no systematic study of these factors. One argument involves Turkey's shared historical experiences and cultural (including religious) affinity with the nations in the Middle East (and the Balkans), which in turn involves implicit references to the legacy of the Ottoman Empire. It should be remembered however that the same historical connection to the Ottoman's cultural and political legacy used to be a source of tension between Turkey and its Arab neighbors for the entire 20th century.[301]

Turkey's use of soft power differentiates from other states both in its form and content. Turkey's soft power potential, which extends from the Balkans and the Middle East to inner parts of Central Asia, emerges from the cultural and historical experience it has inherited.[302] The values Turkey represents, as well as its history and cultural depth, have mobilized regional dynamics and provided opportunities for the creation of new spheres of influence.[303] In the larger Euro-Asian landmass, the common denominator for Turks, Kurds, Bosnians, Albanians, Circassians, Abkhazians, Arabs, Azeris, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Uzbeks, Turkmens and other ethnic groups, as well as Armenian, Greek, Jewish and Assyrian communities is the Ottoman experience they have shared and built together.[304]

> The rapid transformation of Turkey's internal and external dynamics manifests itself in a wide range of fields and presents new risks and opportunities. Reconnecting with its history and geography, Turkey ascribes strategic value to time and place in a globalized world, and is leaving behind the one-dimensional and reductionist perspectives of the Cold War era. From foreign policy, economy and public policy to education, media, arts and sciences,

[301] Demiryol, T. (2014). Poverty of Soft Power: Evidence From Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East. *International Association of Social Science Research, IASSR, European Journal of Research on Education, Special Issue: International Relations,* 6.
[302] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:10.
[303] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:10.
[304] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:10.

> Turkey's newly emerging actors position themselves as active players demanding the global transformation of centre-periphery relations in order to create a more democratic and fair world system.[305]

In the first decade of the 21st century several internal and external developments have positively contributed to Turkey's "soft power": as a secular, democratic state with a predominantly Muslim population Turkey has rising influence in the region after 9/11. [306] Rather than seeing them as obstacles or burdens, new Turkish public diplomacy is building on Turkey's expanding soft power in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus . [307]

As Turkey engages new regions and emerging actors as well as continues relations with its old allies, it develops new capacities for the various elements of soft power and strategic communication in regional and global contexts.[308] As Turkey overcomes its old fears and builds a new identity for itself, the process of change transforming the country will have a deep impact on Turkish domestic and foreign policy.[309] Turkish cultural exports such as soap operas and sports are very high in demand in places like Egypt, Iran and Syria. Turkey's rising image in the Middle East is also indirectly observed by the surging numbers of Arab tourists visiting Turkey over the past decade.[310]

During the second term of the JDP government there have been attempts to construct Turkey as a "center". Turkey has become more active in international organizations such as the G-20, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), while it also became a temporary member of the UN Security Council for the 2009-2010 period. Due to its growing economy and proactive foreign policy in various parts of the world, Turkey is sometimes referred to as a "model country" for other countries in the Islamic world.[311] Especially after the Arab uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, it has been widely discussed whether the Turkish model can be a source of emulation for these countries, thereby further strengthening the soft power of Turkey.[312]

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[305] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:5.
[306] Öner, *ibid.,* 7.
[307] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:5
[308] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:5
[309] Kalın, *ibid.,* 2011:5
[310] Altinay, H. (2008). Turkey's Soft Power: An Unpolished Gem or an Elusive Mirage?, *Insight Turkey,* 10, 9.
[311] Keyman, F. & Sazak, O. (nd.). Turkey as a Humanitarian State. http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/31364/1/keyman-turkey-as-a-humanitarian-state.pdf., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[312] Keyman & Sazak, *ibid.,* nd:7.

Similarly, Turkey too is competing with other regional players in the Middle East who are using soft power resources to establish a sphere of attraction.[313] Debates regarding Turkey's growing popularity in the Middle East however rarely engage in comparative analyses, which would involve measuring and evaluating Turkey's soft power vis-à-vis its regional rivals like Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Egypt.[314]

Ahmet Davutoğlu, the previous PM of Turkey, has been influential in constructing a new approach in Turkish foreign policy which is based on the "Strategic Depth" doctrine. The main discourse of this new vision in Turkish foreign policy is the "zero problem policy" (komşularla sıfir problem politikası) with its neighbours, which reflects Turkey's expectations with regard to its relations with neighbouring countries. According to one Turkish diplomat, Turkey's historical and cultural background, its democracy, the dynamism of its economy, its young population, its lacking colonial history, its "zero problem policy" which is in accordance with the "peace at home peace in the world" approach of Ataturk, are the main pillars of Turkey's soft power.[315] This principle indicates the importance of peace in the world and at the same time shows the way to achieve the goal. So for peace in the world, firstly peace and prosperity must be provided inside the country and then the system that consists from nations who live in peace and prosperity will be in the same way. In other words, this principle forms the basis of the Turkish Foreign Policy. Atatürk, who sets out this principle "Once again, we want to express to the whole world that we are a civilized society who wants to live in harmony with international law and institutions. War must be the last option; unless the life of a nation is under threat, war is a crime against humanity." clearly reveals the perspectives for peace mentality and taken over by the Republic of Turkey.[316]

Turkey, which has an important strategic position both politically and geographically, and also has the potential to become a regional power, is a country in attracting attention in such an environment due to hosting many civilizations and empires throughout its history. The history of Turkish Republic is based on the civilization Great Hun, BC 220. 16 Turkish Empires have

[313] Demiryol, *ibid.*, 2014:9.
[314] Demiryol, *ibid.*, 2014:9.
[315] Keyman & Sazak, *ibid.*, nd:7.
[316] Çavuş, T. (2012). *Dış Politikada Yumuşak Güç Kavramı ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Kullanımı.* http://iibfdergisi.ksu.edu.tr/download/article-file/107654., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

been established throughout history, and the last of them, the Ottoman State, ruled a wide geography ranging from the Middle East to Asia, the Balkans to Africa and Europe.

The soft power capacity of Turkey is differentiated from the other countries both in aspect of its style and its content. The soft power potential of Turkey, starting from the Balkans lying towards the Central Asia, has its source from the history and culture it inherited rather than supremacy of military or technology.[317] Having been the lands of countless civilizations; Turkey is one of the rare countries that has an enormous potential with its culture from the history, art, aesthetics, architecture, governmental organizations and many more. Especially the reforms that were made in the first years of the republic are the best examples of this. Compared with the countries of that period, Turkey developed itself in many aspects in a relatively short time despite the facilities at hand and aimed to reach the level of contemporary civilizations.

A deep-rooted culture and history, the values it possesses, the geopolitical position, the economic capacity, the military power as the attracting element, the most generous country caption and the institutions working to deserve this caption are soft power sources of this country. However, no doubt culture is at the head of these elements. Culture emerges as a result of the accumulation of hundreds or thousands of years in the life of societies.[318] Anatolia's geography that Turkey was founded on, is one of the oldest centers of civilization so, Turkish culture is a work of thousands od years of accumulation. Turkish culture arises from the mix of the cultures of the Turkish states and the Islamic culture acquainted later and it creates all these cases within the integrating identity and this identity also includes a provision for Turkey's soft power potential and capacity.

It is not possible for the culture to be lost in a moment if it is formed within centuries or even millenia and if it is inherited to next generations. Naturally, it is inevitable to carry the traces of the all civilizations and empires which hosted by the territory of the Republic of Turkey. That is, even if they disappear in these lands, they leave their traces just as the sea of the ocean evaporates and leaves its salt. The most important of these traces belonged to the Ottoman State, who showed up on the world stage for 524 years, because this state created a tradition known to

[317] Kalın, İ. (2010). *Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi.* İçinde: Yükselen Değer Türkiye. İstanbul: MÜSİAD, Mavi Ofset, 49-66. http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/makaleler/makaleler/100-tuerk-d-politikas-ve-kamu-diplomasisi., Date of Access: 23.01.2019.

[318] Yuvalı, A. (1996). Mozaik Kültür Kavramının Türk Kültür Tarihi Bakımından Değerlendirilmesi. *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi,* 7,211- 217.

the whole world by blending many different cultures of religion and ethnicity, and its durableness continues until today. This culture has been influenced by the Persians and Islamic Cultures while it had cultures of the previous civilizations and khanetes, it has also been fused with the culture of the indigenous people in Anatolia, especially the Jewish, Greek and Armenians. Thus, a rich Ottoman culture has emerged. Undoubtedly, the policies of the Ottoman State in the conquered regions and the tolerance towards the people living there is quite important in the formation of such a culture; mutual cultural interaction has been realized in this way. Turkish culture today is the blend of such a rich inheritance and composes the most important element in the application of the country's soft power. Although different political experiences were lived in the last century, existence of the common cultural values are still in progress between Turkey, which is located in the center of the former Ottoman, the Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East countries.

A culture consists of many elements such as language, race, ethnicity, meal, music, outfit, perception of the world. Turkish cuisine has a significant place in the formation of Turkish culture. In this regard, it is seen that it continues to exist with the name of many Turkish dishes in Greece and Bulgaria. In addition to this, the Turks who migrated out of the country continue their existence mostly with Turkish cuisine sector in the countries they live. Therefore, today Turkish cuisine has become an important diaspora in the geography from America to Australia. However, this Turkish cultural influence that exist in Balkans first and later in various parts of the world is not limited to food. This effect makes itself in many areas such as music, language, literature, art and architecture. A similar situation in the Balkans is observed in the former Ottoman territory, North Africa. For instance, today stands as a fairly remote region of North Africa to Turkey in fields ranging from architecture language in Tunisia who are confronted with traces of Turkish culture.[319] Futhermore, Karagöz Shadow play, even almost into oblivion holding in Turkey, is known to play until the end of the year during Ramadan in Tunisia.[320] The Caucasus region, another geography where the traces of Turkish culture is seen strongly, is distinguished from the places it is mentioned in the context of the lack of Ottoman territory as a whole. However, the fact that part of the region is within the borders of the Ottoman State and many other elements in the region such as the Azerbaijanis are Turkish and / or Muslim and the

[319] Güler, İ. (2009). *Türk Kültürünün Tunus'ta Yaşayan İzleri*. 6. Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 3, 751-768.
[320] Özhan, M. (2009). *Karagöz'ün Dünya Tiyatrolarına Etkisi.* 6. Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, II, 1901-1910.

Turks who migrate from Central Asia to Anatolia are among the transition routes of the Turks somehow continues.[321]

Another elements of this culture is language. Today, in the geography that extends from the Caucasus to the North of the Black Sea and the Middle Asia, the nations with the same ethnic origin, 200 million people, speak Turkish and its dialects and this is an important an advantage of the existing society, who speak same language and this enables Turkey to convert this to a soft power tool.

In addition, Turkey due to outstanding performance in the humanitarian situation has had the world's most generous caption and this has undoubtedly made a positive impact on its image in the international arena. Turkey has surpassed many countries in terms of humanitarian aid distributed across the world, taking sides with destitute people regardless of their language, religion, race or sect.[322] Moreover, Muslim Diaspora in Europe in addition to Turkey and the Middle East Muslims defend that can provide the support to create good relationships with various organizations.

In brief, Turkey who has regional potential, is located in the center of the cultural heritage where in a region extending from the Caucasus to the Balkans and this culture has maintained itself for centuries in many areas, and today certainly it makes a significant contribution to Turkey's soft power policy. Besides, the Armenians continued to live in Turkey, Greeks, when taken together with other factors such as the Arabs and their in Turkey, beyond the borders alongside cultural interaction with geography shows that there exists a more direct connection. Turkey needs to build relationships with their citizens with the help of relatives outside these groups is much easier and more credible policies were followed. This ethnic diversity is said to contribute to the great cause of Turkey's soft power potential.[323] From foreign policy, economy and public policy to education, media, arts and sciences; Turkey's newly emerging actors position themselves as active players demanding the global transformation of centre-periphery relations to create a more democratic and fair world- system.[324]

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[321] İsmayıl, Y. (2009). *Kafkaslarda Türk Kültürel Varlığı*. 6. Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri. Ankara: Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2, 1763-1768.

[322] Anadolu Agency. Turkey Outpaces US In Humanitarian Aid Across World, https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/turkey-outpaces-us-in-humanitarian-aid-across-world-2070794., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

[323] Demir, V. (2012). *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Yumuşak Güç*. İstanbul: Beta Yayıncılık.

[324] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2011:5.

Based on these facts, in the related part of the thesis, this part will be gone through deeply and how does Turkey use its capacity of power will be examined by having a look at two terms that point to Turkey's near term; the Turkish Foreign Policy in the post-Cold War period and the Justice And Development Party period.

2.5.1. Post Cold War Term

Under this title, as mentioned above, the soft power approach of Turkey in the process from post-Cold War, which is important for both in terms of the world and Turkey, to the 2002, coming of the JDP to the power, will be evaluated. This title, which is laying emphasis on Turkey due to the lack of the Soviet Union in the region with the end of the Cold War, has a more general perspective than JDP title in the context of Turkey's soft power.

The Cold War that emerged with the change of balances in the world after the Second World War was the last big event of the 20th century. Despite the increasing influence of the USSR in the post-war period, especially in the Middle East and Southeastern Europe, the US has also started to show its strength especially in Western Europe with its strategies such as Marshall Plan. In this context it can be said that Communist Regimes that established in Eastern Europe have accelerated the Cold War process, because even the establishment of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) were not able to end this situation.[325] Consequently, the blocks became more evident and some conflicts occured, including Korea and Vietnam. This process was followed by the Berlin crisis but never a collective war was consulted. Then with the U2 Plane Event and the Cuban Crisis, the Cold War reached its peak point, because in the process following the U2 event, the decision of the USSR to place ballistic missiles in Cuba led to a stern response by the US.[326] However after this point, the world witnessed a period of softening in an interesting way between two blocks and no doubt a more complex structure emerged. This complex structure brought together two blocks, but the confusion in Asia and Africa ended this softening process and in the early 80s the Cold War was the most important event that affected the world again but this did not take too long, because the ice has begun to melt between the two blocks with the arrival of Gorbachev to the head of Communist Party.[327] In the following

[325] Armaoğlu, F. (2012). *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi.*18. Edition. İstanbul:Alkım Yayınevi, 545.
[326] Özgür, S. (2006). *Soğuk Savaş ve Sonrası Dönemde Kitle İmha Silahları ve Silahsızlanma Çabaları.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Isparta, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü,105-106.
[327] Armaoğlu, *ibid.*, 2012:1096-1098.

process, the Berlin Wall, the bad symbol of this war, was demolished on November 9, 1989 and this event accelerated the process leading to collapse of the USSR.[328]

In this way, the world's bi-polar system was demolished and a new period which is called as the post-Cold War era began. During this period the US was left alone with the collapse of the Eastern Block and finally found the opportunity to become a superpower. The post-war period was a period in which regional developments began to emerge instead of inter-polar global competition. The dissolution of the bipolar static structure of the Cold War and the search for new equilibrium brought various options to the agenda, in this sense a new movement in foreign policy was experienced.[329] Even though the shape of the world system was largely clear towards the end of the 1990s, after the Cold War the stones have not still been fitted fully. As the important developments are taking place in our immediate environment, the moving period continues. These developments after the Cold War have influenced Turkish foreign policy and Turkish foreign policy literature.[330]

The collapse of the USSR undoubtedly eliminated the security threats on Turkey largely because Turkey who maintained its neutrality during the Second World War, felt Soviet oppression considerably and tried to get away from the neutrality policy that it had followed since the foundation of the Republic to protect its territorial integrity by taking part in the Western Block.[331] Turkey's membership in the UN and NATO can be given as an example in this case. Firstly, it can be said that the disintegration of the USSR has reduced the security threat on Turkey on a large scale and consequently many states in Central Asia and the Caucasus affected by Turks declared their independence such as Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan[332] So in this case it can be expressed that this situation provided the opportunity to pursue a foreign policy more flexible on reducing the threat of Turkey, has also led to the formation of an environment in which to develop their trade relations. As a result of that trade relations between Turkey-Russia, the trade volume reached to $ 35 billion from $ 1.7 billion in

[328] Armaoğlu, *ibid.*, 2012:1130-1133.
[329] Özcan, M. (2004). 1945 Sonrası Türk Dış Politikası ile İlgili Çalışmalar / Turkish Foreign Policy Literature In The Post-1945 Era. *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi,* 2, 341-342.
[330] Özcan, *ibid.*, 2004.
[331] Duran, B. (2008). *Türk Dış Politikası Ortadoğululaşıyor mu?*, (Edt: İnat, K., Ataman, M. ve Duran, B.). İçinde: *Ortadoğu Yıllığı,* İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 385-403.
[332] Bilge, S. (1995). *Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu ve Türkiye.* Avrasya Etüdleri, Türkiye İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Ajansı, 4, 93-100.

1991. Consequently, this period can be pointed as one of the important points for Turkish foreign policy.[333]

During this period, although the phenomenon of soft power remained in the background of the security problem, it can be said that the Atatürk-based foreign policy is being tried to be continued. So this period is intended to eliminate the uncertainty in Turkey's foreign policy rather than the importance of soft power.[334] However, as it is mentioned earlier, with the removing of security threats, this situation has led to an opportunity to focus on strategies that will give more lasting results in foreign policy for Turkey. One of the most significant examples is that Turkey largely correct its relations with the countries that didn't have a good relationship with Turkey because of the some cyclical reasons during the Cold War, which is not surprising because Turkey has a deep history and cultural heritage with the countries in these regions.[335]

When the balances were in this case, it can be deduced that the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 undoubtedly dragged the world into an uncertainty. This can be explained as follows, new types of war, such as low-intensity warfare, star wars, cyber warfare and influence-oriented warfare, where terrorist organizations, mafia, secret services and special forces have emerged with the political, economic and social cost of wars reaching unacceptable levels in the post-Cold War period. These types of war have led to the re-reading of concepts such as security and power, which are often associated with the classical realism approach.[336] In this context it is possible to say that the US's foreign policy started to shift from the soft power to the smart power that it can use at anytime with military power. In such a period, Turkey who has a strategic importance, was the focus of the White House and Pentagon crops because it was seen that the US would need Turkey's help for the invasion of Iraq.[337] This has undoubtedly been influential on the future of Turkish-American relations.

As as result, it can be said that for this period, with the end of the Cold War, the emerging power gaps in the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East has increased Turkey's

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[333] T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı. Türkiye İle Ticaret. Türkiye-Rusya Dış Ticaret Değerleri (milyon $). https://www.ticaret.gov.tr/yurtdisi-teskilati/avrupa/rusya-federasyonu/ulke-profili/ekonomik-gorunum/turkiye-ile-ticaret., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.

[334] Seydi, S. & Göktepe, C. (2015). *Soğuk Savaş Başlangıcında Türk Dış Politikası*, 72, 214-217.

[335] Çavuş, *ibid.*, 2012:29-30.

[336] Sandıklı, A. (2013). *Yumuşak Güç Savaşları Konulu Sunum.* Kocaeli Üniversitesi Uluslararası Güvenlik Kongresi, Kocaeli.

[337] Korkmaz, G. (2016). ABD'nin Afganistan ve Irak Müdahaleleri Sırasında Türkiye'nin Tutumunun ABD Medyasında Ele Alınışı. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi,* 34, 25-52.

geopolitical importance and its activity. So, Turkey had the opportunity to get closer to the countries where there were cultural ties in the Caucasus and Central Asia to the Balkans. It has taken concrete steps to provide the necessary support for the independence processes of these countries. Turkey's geography is thought to become active in the specified power of institutionalized possible with soft power tools, supported by a stable foreign policy.[338] In addition, in the ongoing relations with the West, significant developments have occured in the state and community structure following the constitutional and legislative reforms made by being a candidate for EU in 1999. In this case it is possible to say it increases the attractiveness of Turkey.

As a result of the elections held in 2002, the Justice and Development Party which is mostly based on spirituality values took over the management. It is possible to examine this period by dividing the foreign policy of this party into two periods in terms of the events that are affected by certain lines. The period of zero problem policy is applied in the period from the first period of power until the disruption of the balances in the Syrian civil war, and the other one is the second period in which foreign policy problems do not end, even though this discourse continues. Undoubtedly, reforms within the EU have continued in the first period and important steps have been taken in the fields of freedom, human rights, democracy, rule of law and free market economy and these steps are seen to draw a more successful soft power policy model compared to the second period.

2.5.2. JDP (Justice and Development Party) Term

Justice and Development Party (JDP), came into power in 2002, has criticized about the foreign policy understanding by defining itself "conservative democrats" and conceptualizing "paradigm shift" and "Neo-Ottomans". The basis of these criticisms lies in the fact that the face of Turkey turns back to the East instead of the West, making a change in foreign policy preferences and increasingly interesting thoughts towards the old Ottoman geography. According to Öniş:

> It would be wrong to equate foreign policy activism exclusively with the JDP government. Elements of an active foreign policy approach in Turkey could be discerned throughout the post-Cold War era starting with Turgut Özal's Presidency in the Early part of the 1990s. The Foreign Minister of the Coalition Government of 1999-2002, İsmail Cem, also favored

[338] Şöhret, M. (2011). Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Avrasya'nın Değişen Jeopolitiği ve Türkiye İçin Önemi. *Dünya Jeopolitiğinde Türkiye*, 3-6.

> a multi-dimensional, proactive foreign policy, yet with a firm Western axis. The early foreign policy of the JDP clearly represented a continuation of the pattern… Indeed, relations with the Middle East had already started to improve from 1999 onwards and important initiatives designed to build economic and diplomatic links with Russia and the Post-Soviet world can be traced to the early 1990s.[339]

Along with the JDP, for the first time in Turkish politics, there has been a power that has defined itself with an alternative identity that does not come from within the system, and this is also reflected in foreign policy. According to Davutoglu, Turkey has more than one regional identity and has the ability to monitor an integrated foreign policy that melts in the same pot, ranging from the peace process in the Middle East to the stabilization of the Caucasus. In this new period, Turkey has begun to present its identity to the Western system as well as its geographical position and strategic importance; the fact that there is a power in Turkey that has been the subject of identity in a period when identity politics is being adopted at the global level and which starts to use identity in the field of foreign policy has emerged as the main innovation of the JDP period Turkish foreign policy.[340]

Ahmet Davutoğlu became Foreign Minister in 2009, and is credited with the shift in Turkish foreign policy from an insular, Western-learning focus to the "zero problems with neighbours approach" that sees Turkey supporting various former Ottoman countries and becoming actively involving regional peacekeeping efforts.[341] He was also deemed an "intellectual of statecraft" who plays a significant role in shaping new foreign policy on a theoretical as well as practical level.[342] His doctrine of strategic depth is an intent on seeing Turkey create a new sphere of influence for itself in the region.[343] In addition, the JDP's public support and creation of economic and social stability domestically has enabled it to become more involved in NATO, more forward on European Union membership negotiations, and become more involved in the surrounding region than previous administrations.[344] Çandar in 2009 succinctly identified the explanation as fivefold: the decline of American influence in the region, the ineffectiveness of EU policy, the destruction of Sunni dominance following the Iraq war, Turkey's growing

[339] Oniş, *ibid.*, 2010: 4-5.
[340] Uzgel, İ. (2010). *Türkiye'de Dış Politika da Değişiyor*, Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası, Ed. Habibe Özdal, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, Mehmet Yeğin, Vol 2, Ankara, USAK Yayınlar, 293-294.
[341] Yalvaç, F. (2010). Strategic Depth or Hegemonic Depth? A Critical Realist Analysis of Turkey's Position in the World System. *International Relations*, 26, 165.
[342] Yalvaç, *ibid., 165.*
[343] Davutoğlu, A. (2010). Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy Magazine. https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/., Date of Access: 30.03.2019.
[344] Davutoğlu, *ibid.*

economic power and Turkey's political modernization, making it a role model for Muslim countries.[345]

As previously mentioned, it is possible to examine Justice and Development Party's foreign policy in two parts. The first part includes the term when the JDP came to power, following the Arab Spring to the Syrian civil war erupted. This period undoubtedly is import for the JDP period because during this period, the zero-problem policy with the neighbors had a significant success, but as a result of the rise of the unrest, it can be said that the Arab civil war broke out and the Syrian civil war erupted, and with the disruption of the balances with this war, the policy of zero-problem has turned into a problem-free problem with neighbors.

After the end of the Cold War, when the JDP government took power, it is clear that the Turkish Foreign Policy has changed. This change is a result of both the changing balance in the international system and Turkey so that foreign policy has inevitably changed as the foreign policy of each country due to the current conditions.[346] It is observed that the JDP came to power in 2002 and focused on a multi-dimensional policy because the economy of the country was no longer weak as in the Cold War and subsequent years.[347] In this period, increases in imports and exports have been observed, also trade potential has expanded and entrepreneurs have begun to trade in a more reliable way.[348] In addition to the economic developments, various developments has experienced advances in science, technology and communication as well as all over the world and these developments have also affected both directly as well as indirectly from other areas. As a result of this, it is possible to say that parallel to the developments in areas such as education, tourism, trade cultural exchange in Turkey has experienced growth in many areas.[349]

Another aspect of this multidimensionality is the policies towards the environment and other countries within the framework of neighborhood policy. As a matter of fact, with the end of the cold war, the Eastern bloc was broken and the countries that won their independence were freed

[345] Çandar, C. (2009). *Turkey's Soft Power Strategy: A New Vision for a Multi- Polar World.*Ankara: SETA Policy Brief, 9-10.
[346] Mensur, A., Gündoğar, S.S., Levack, J. & Perçinoğlu, G. (2010-Şubat). *Ortadoğu'da Türkiye Algısı 2010.* İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları, 9-22.
[347] Çavuş, *ibid.*, 2012:29-30.
[348] Sungur, O. (2015). 2000 Sonrası Türkiye Ekonomisi: Büyüme, Enflasyon, İşsizlik, Borçlanma ve Dış Ticarette Gelişmeler. *Toplum ve Demokrasi*, 9 (19-20), 244.
[349] Yılmaz, B. & Dalkıran, Ö. (2012). The Approach to the Institution of Library in Turkey's Science and Technology Policies. *Bilgi Dünyası,* 13(1), 57-81.

from Soviet pressure and became free in their foreign policies.[350] Just after this, Turkey also demonstrated efforts to solve problems in its relations with all its neighbors initially the Caucasus and Central Asia, including the Balkan countries or to reduce as much as possible and has focused on increasing trade and the possibility of cooperation in the economic sphere in connection therewith. [351]Outside these regions, a part of the western bloc during the Cold War, which Turkey has aimed to conduct balanced relations with the West in this period. Even if the desired result is not reached even today, the start of Turkey's European Union full membership negotiations in 2005,[352] has been an important step in terms of relations.

In addition to this, in the great battle framework launched by the US against the terror, although Americans were disappointed with rejected in plenary on March 1 permit also been appreciated these policies by some Muslim countries, which has increased in the confidence in Turkey. This situation should be evaluated by taking into account international policy instruments because if the international system is an anarchic structure, then it is necessary to make good profit-loss costs between the policies pursued to reach the medium targets and the small but determined policies.

With all these developments, Turkey's contributions to regional and global peace and stability in one of the important contribution of this period. Also particularly successful efforts made in the areas of humanitarian diplomacy has undoubtedly increase the effectiveness of Turkey's soft power and as a medium-sized state foreign policy in the first period with the JDP began to give more attention to soft power.[353] Starting from this, it can be said that Turkish Foreign Policy has become more active. The efforts to improve relations with neighbors have led to closer relations with the peoples in these regions, also to handle problems and to increase the use of important resources of soft power such as common culture and values in solving these problems.

Surely, these developments in the field of soft power are not only related to the increase in economic potential or the improvement of relations with other countries. Turkish series and movies of the period have also aroused great interest in the nearby region and, of course, this

[350] Sunar, B. (2013). *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin Dış Politika Söyleminde Temalar: Türkiye Bülteni Üzerine Bir İnceleme. Suleyman Demirel University, The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 18, 441.
[351] Sandıklı, A. (2015-Haziran). *Türkiye'nin Jeopolitiği, Yumuşak Güç Savaşları ve Terörizm*. Bilgesam Yayınları, 91-117.
[352] Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı. Türkiye-AB İlişkilerinin Tarihçesi. https://www.ab.gov.tr/turkiye-ab-iliskilerinin-tarihcesi_111.html., Date of Access: 04.05.2019.
[353] Tosunoğlu, Ş. (2015). Türkiye'nin Resmi Kalkınma Yardımları Politikası: Eğilimler ve Hedefler. *HAK-İŞ Uluslararası Emek ve Toplum Dergisi,* 3(4), 10-15.

effect still continues today.[354] This has brought an international audience to the Turkish cinema and series sector and has created an alternative for those who are bored of American made TV shows and movies. Since 2001, 65 Turkish series have been sold abroad, which has brought more than $ 50 million to the Turkish TV sector.[355] So it can be said that, the Turkish TV series and the cinema industry have created an important opportunity for Turkey both in the commercial sense but also in terms of soft power in terms of reflecting the Turkish culture to other countries. In recent years, the number of movies shown in the country is seen as providing an intensive flow of tourists to Turkey. Tourism is one of Turkey's soft power instruments for sure. Turkey, which has hosted many civilizations and empires in consideration of its strategic location, welcomes many tourists every year.[356] Natural and cultural beauty that Turkey has also created reasons to visit this country of many people. In addition, due to its geographical location, it has suitable climate and necessary conditions for both summer and winter holidays. Moreover, the hot springs of the country which, world wide got attention, form the basis of health tourism. Shortly, Turkish tourism, which contribute to Turkey's soft power and also carries the distinction of being a tool that affected it. Hospitality of the Turkish people, helpfulness, smiling hypocrisy, sincere and friendly attitude in human relations due to Turkey's tourism makes a major contribution to Turkey's soft power. Such moral values of the Turkish people serve Turkey's interests seriously by leaving a lasting impact on the tourists coming to Turkey.[357]

In addition to these, the successes achieved in this period is also very important in terms of soft power. In 2003, Sertab Erener won the first place in the Eurovision Song contest and this took a significant place in the media, especially in Europe.[358] In 2006, Orhan Pamuk's Nobel Prize for literature was also very important in terms of a Turk has received this award for the first time.[359] Furthermore, particularly including Nuri Bilge Ceylan's movies, receiving of Turkish movie at various festivals and entering of them to the top list of worldwide famous movie database have helped to increase the popularity of Turkey. Moreover, although not using religion references directly in Turkey's Foreign Policy, especially with the JDP period, the Notion of religion is prioritized. During this period, more references were made to the names of those who have

[354]Sancak, K. (2016). *Yumuşak Güç Kaynağı Olarak Kültür ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Gücünde Kültür Faktörü*, 02, 23-24.
[355] T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı. http://www.kultur.gov.tr., Date of Access: 04.05.2019.
[356] Akbaş, Z. & Tuna, H. (2016). Yumuşak Güç Olgusu ve Turizm İlişkisi: Medikal Turizm Kapsamında Ortadoğu'dan Gelen Turistler Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Birey ve Toplum*, 6, 74-100.
[357] Akbaş, & Tuna, *ibid.*, 2016:88.
[358] Akın, A. (2010). Eurovision Şarkı Yarışması Üzerine Monografik Bir İnceleme. *İletişim Araştırmaları,* 8(2), 129.
[359] Sancak, *ibid.*, 2016:23.

contributed to Islam as an important part of Turkish identity such as Mevlana, Hacı Bektas Veli and Yunus Emre.[360] Indeed, the year of 2007 was accepted as the Mevlana year by UNESCO with the proposal of the Ministry of Tourism.[361] Furthermore, Institute of Yunus Emre, which aims to introduce Turkish language and culture abroad, has a very important place in this field.

Turkey's soft power instruments are not limited with these sources. Turkey has begun to create global brands for the first time in its history recently. Turkish Airlines, which is one of the best airlines in the world, has grown and developed from its establishment in 1933 to the present day.[362] According to Brand Finance's research, with 2,42 billion USD worth, Turkish Airlines (THY) became the most valuable brand of Turkey.[363] Especially since the beginning of the 21st century, it is seen that THY has been drawing a successful chart. In addition, THY is keeping the Turkish flag flying in the world proudly with its sponsorships, especially in the big sports clubs, advertising films and also its high quality service worldwide. Furthermore, many companies in the field of technology and clothing contribute both Turkey's economy and soft power directly by exporting many of its products, particularly in regions close to Turkey. Turkey apply the application of soft power in foreign policy sometimes through media and sometimes also engages in various institutions.[364] TRT Arab established in April 2010, and it is one of the most important initiatives put into practice especially in the Arab world and Turkey has taken an important step for us to communicate with this step agentless the region.[365]

In addition to these, one of Turkey's most important soft power elements are undoubtedly humanitarian aid. Since 2004, Turkey's development activities for needy countries have led to an increase the country's image in the field of humanitarian diplomacy.[366] Especially in 2009, Turkey has provided approximately $800 million foreign aid to poor African countries mainly and Caucasus, Middle East and Balkan countries. Aid is a good factor to be a global or regional

[360] Tanyıldızı, N. (2011). Türk Kültürünün Gençlere Tanıtımında Medyanın Rolü: Hacı Bektaş Velî, Mevlana ve Yunus Emre Üzerine Bir Araştırma. *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, 59, 101-118.
[361] T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[362] Turkish Airlines. Türk Hava Yolları, Kuruluş Tarihçesi. http://investor.turkishairlines.com/tr/thy-anonim-ortakligi/tarihce., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[363] Hürriyet. (2018a). İşte Türkiye'nin En Değerli Markaları. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/iste-turkiyenin-en-degerli-markalari-40858105., Date of Access: 05.06.2019.
[364] Dinçer, O.B. & Kutlay, M. (2012). *Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu'daki Güç Kapasitesi, Mümkünün Sınırları, Ampirik Bir İnceleme*, USAK Ortadoğu ve Afrika Araştırmaları Merkezi, Rapor No. 12(3), 31-32.
[365] Dinçer & Kutlay, *ibid.*, 2012:31-32.
[366] Kalaycıoğlu, S. (2011). Türkiye'nin Yumuşak ve Sertleşen Gücü. http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/4106/turkiyenin_yumusak_ve_sertlesen_gucu., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.

power, but even if the annual income per capita is around $10,000, it is important that the desire to impart from the gain to those who need it became a social norm.[367]

Another element used as a soft power tool is the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities which, started its operations in 2010.[368] The priority of the agency are Turkish citizens living outside Turkey. Activities are carried out to identify the problems of Turks living abroad and to produce permanent solutions for them. Another field of activity of the Agency is the consanguineous and related communities. The earning power of the ties of the past with these community partners to increase the impact of national feeling and place of Turkey in these communities was carried out before the bilateral relations and activities in order to further consolidation.[369] Perhaps the most important field of activity for the institution is international students. In order to ensure that these students complete their education in the best way, the institution that performs various activities makes investments in the future. After graduation, students are supposed to take on active duty and contribute to Turkey's image while launching strong ties. The last activity of the institution is overseas NGOs. The strengthening of these institutions, which have an important place in the social policies of the countries, is equivalent to the social strengthening of the citizens and citizens living in that country. For this reason, all kinds of problems related to NGOs, which are the last link of the chain, are discussed with the competent authorities of the countries where they are located and tried to be solved by the institution. All of these activities on the basis of the citizens living outside Turkey to reach a better quality of life and standard of kin and community strengthening Turkey's image is located on the occasion.[370]

As Ahmet Davutoğlu also stated that Turkey has a soft power perspective that may be the focus of regional attraction with its traditional heritage, modern accumulation and democratic experience. At this point, until the recent past of establishing an ideal regime that can combine modernity and democracy with Turkey's Muslim identity to be very successful, but recently

[367] Kalaycıoğlu, *ibid.*, 2011.
[368] Yıldırım, K.E. & Yıldırım, A. (2017). *Türkiye'nin yumuşak Güç Sembollerinden Türk İşbirliği Koordinasyon Ajansı ve Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığına Genel Bakış*, 33, 203.
[369] Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı. Başkanlığımız. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/kurumsal/baskanligimiz-2., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[370] Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı. Başkanlığımız, *ibid.*

because it addressed an authoritarian regime reached making a turn from this model can be said that weakening of this model. [371]

During this period when JDP has such a foreign policy, Ahmet Davutoğlu who was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2009 to 2014, played a significant role. As a politician with an academic background, Davutoğlu declared that Turkish Foreign Policy, which was accepted as an architect after being brought to the position of chief advisor, was based on 5 basic principles.[372] These are expressed as freedom-security balance, zero problems with neighboring countries, multidimensional and multi-lingual foreign policy, a new diplomatic style and rhythmic diplomacy.[373] It is surely beyond doubt that the most important of these are strategic depth and zero problem policies.

Ahmet Davutoğlu in his study of Strategic Depth and some other studies, he advocated that Turkish Foreign Policy would change greatly if the heritage is used wisely noting that Turkey's Foreign Policy needs a new identity. [374] Thus, he argued that Turkey could create a new perception of foreign policy in the sense of identity and strategic mindset. Academics and politicians argue that Ahmet Davutoğlu's foreign policy vision, based on his articles in Yeni Şafak and the book Strategic Depth, is based on a new Ottomanism policy based on close relations with the Ottoman State.[375] The principle of zero problem with neighbors has been Ahmet Davutoğlu's most talked about policy after becoming foreign minister. According to officially stated on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "In a word, Zero Problem Principle was clearly an ideal model – but it also represented a significant change in mentality in Turkish Foreign Policy." It is no longer dominated by chronic disputes with its neighbors to consume energy in regional and international relations to Turkey's Foreign Policy agenda.[376] No doubt that this target was move of Turkey, which was a role model for the Arab Spring with its social fabric and democratization process.[377] However, it is clear that this move is now completely bankrupt and has become more of a problem with neighbors. Briefly stated that

[371] Davutoğlu, A. (2008). *Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007,* Insight Turkey, 10: 80.
[372] Davutoğlu, *ibid*., 2008:79-82.
[373] Çavuş, *ibid.*, 2012:29-30.
[374] Davutoğlu, *ibid*., 2008:88-90.
[375] Daloğlu, T. (2013). Davutoglu Invokes Ottomanism as New Mideast Order. https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/turkey-davutologu-ottoman-new-order-mideast.html., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[376] Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Zero Problems in New Era. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/zero-problems-in-a-new-era.en.mfa., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[377] Oğuzlu, T. (2012). Komşularla Sıfır Sorun Politikası ve Arap Baharı: Tıkanmışlık Durumunun Bir Analizi. *Ortadoğu Analiz,* 4, 48-51.

Ahmet Davutoğlu period is very important in terms of the JDP Foreign Policy because he has set new targets in the foreign policy field and supported them with theoretical concepts.[378] This policy during that period is also envisaged to be successful, but policy implementation in chaos emerging from the start the period in which erupted in the Arab Spring, and of course Israel and Iran's efforts to cut the pace of change in Turkey unfortunately has created many problems towards the practical implementation of this policy.

Based on all these, it can be said that the JDP has implemented successful policies both in theory and in practice during this period because foreign policy in this period has maintained both its western centrism and at the same time it has been shaped to increase the influence in the geography of Asia and Africa, which turning our faces for a long time and having these regions relative to weaker conditions in Turkey has played an important role in increasing the prestige of Turkey in these regions.[379] Consequently, it can be deducted that this situation contributed both to the Turkish economy and to the positive development of its image. However, both the problems in the foreign policy and the situation in the country have undoubtedly changed these balances and these balances also affected the country's soft power implementation.[380] Certainly the period when the JDP came to power, until the chaos experienced by the Arab Spring, Turkey's soft power efforts to practice effectively in foreign policy and to be the center of attraction have started giving results gradually, but today is not possible to speak of those results. This process, which began with the Arab Spring and continuing Syrian Civil War in the region, is undoubtedly leads to melting of Turkey's soft power policy in the region and these deteriorations in foreign policy are in parallel with the deteriorations in domestic policy because the JDP, who has drawn a moderate policy from the moment when they come to power, shifts from this understanding line as it increases its voting rate and shifts towards a more strict orientation. This in fact causes it to act without thinking in foreign policy by taking power from its domestic politics and the problems in foreign policy have emerged precisely at this point, because during the Syrian Civil War that will enter its 8th year, the attitude of Erdoğan's follow up-against all the solutions that Assad had existed was rather a person-oriented attitude rather than a system-oriented one and as a result of this, Turkey suffered significant losses. In addition

[378] Ulu, C. (2014). *Ahmet Davutoğlu Döneminde Suriye İlişkileri.* Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Aydın, 80-83.
[379] Orakçı, S. (2011). *Afrika'da Küresel Rekabet ve Türkiye,* T.C. Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon İdaresi Başkanlığı. *Avrasya Etüdleri,* 40(2), 90-96.
[380] Buzkıran, D. & Kutbay, H. (2013). Arap Baharı'nın Türkiye'ye Olan Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etkileri. *Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi, 5*, 159-160.

to this, in the context of followed policies, the Nahda movement was supported in Tunisia but El Nahda has decided to resign in 2013.[381] In Egypt, the Ikhwan Movement was supported, but as a result the Islamic movements by Muslim Brothers in Egypt did not open up to a revolution.[382] In addition, there is no remarkable development in the EU process we have been waiting to become a member for 58 years. Moreover, serious problems in relations with the USA recently came to the fore and these were seen in many areas from the visa purchase to the depreciation of the Turkish Lira against the Dollar. Shortly it can be said that the good image created in the region was deformed at many points. This of course affects the potential to become a regional power of Turkey, but doesn't change the truth because this country, which has a deep-rooted heritage and an important strategic position, will have the opportunity to recover its shaken image in the region by following the right policies. Indeed, one of the areas that will help it is Turkey's works are made in the framework of Humanitarian Diplomacy, because despite glitches in domestic and foreign policy,[383] Turkey's view of human events has always been humane as it has throughout history and will be a country, which is ready to always help other countries. Therefore, Turkey with its well-known features such as hospitality, generosity, and helpfulness helps out each country in need without having imperial purposes. Thus, it is no big surprise that an annual report by Global Humanitarian Assistance concerned in 2014[384] Turkey ranked third in the world in terms of the nominal values with respect to humanitarian aid distributed to Syria and other countries hit by crises or natural disasters. However, as mentioned beforehand, it must be noted that Turkey ranked first in the world in terms of the gross national product and became the most generous country and surpassed the US regarding the humanitarian aid beyond the world. However, The public diplomacy aspect of humanitarian aid has both good and bad sides. The bad side of it is that humanitarian aid can be regarded as a way for branding though it is an example of moral behavior. The good side of it is that it encourages other countries to provide humanitarian aid for the countries in need. In recent years, Turkey is a country which has become a world brand in emergency and humanitarian aid. For this reason, the United Nations decided that the World Humanitarian Summit will be held in Istanbul in 2016. This study explains Turkey's practice of soft power on emergency and humanitarian aid which has

[381] Erdem, R.G. (2014). *Tunus'ta İslamcı Hareketlerin Yükselişi: El Nahda Örneği.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 91-95.
[382] Koç, B. (2000). *Ortadoğu'da Modernleşme ve İslami Hareketler.* İstanbul: Yöneliş Yayınları, 343.
[383] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye'nin Girişimci ve İnsani Dış Politikası. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/dis-politika-genel.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[384] TİKA. (2017). Dünyanın En Cömert Ülkesi Yine Türkiye. http://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/haber/dunyanin_en_comert_ulkesi_yine_turkiye-36217., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.

been given to a lot of countries such as Syria, Myanmar, the Philippines and those African countries suffering from Ebola in last five years. It is hoped that this study raises the awareness of other countries with regard to humanitarian aid.[385]

In conclusion, in parallel with the growing importance of soft power, Turkey is better determine an approach more robust, facing the outside world and based on the values of the Republic of Turkey, by revising its policies in all areas of Turkey. A modern synthesis, which can unite national values and global trends together in the same perspective, will be able to provide a better position to Turkey in the new world order. The way to this is to move away from the tendencies of authoritarianism and to pursue a more peaceful and pro-stability policy inside within the more reformist and libertarian policy outside.[386] A number of political tools are needed for this and Public Diplomacy comes foremost among these because it is the most effective and most comprehensive way to tell the story of a country.

[385] Tüney, S. (2016). *The Effect of Soft Power In The New Public Diplomacy: Humanitarian Aid And Turkey's Practice Worldwide*, March 31.

[386] Örmeci, O. (2014). *Türkiye'nin Yuymuşak Gücü, Uluslararası Politika Akademisi.* http://politikaakademisi.org/2014/01/16/turkiyenin-yumusak-gucu/., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.

CHAPTER 3

SOFT POWER TODAY: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

3.1. Soft Power, Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

This Chapter focuses on the fact that public diplomacy, which is an important tool of soft power, has become a significant sub-field of diplomacy over time. In this context, after mentioning the difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy, its evolution in the process will be evaluated. Although this process is such as to involve much older, it covers the period from 1965, defining the concept of Gullion, to today. In addition, in this title, propaganda term will be explained due to confusion with public diplomacy. After that, a consideration about the USA and Germany, who are the countries evaluated in the framework of soft power in the previous section, will be carried out.

As it is well known, there is no single definition of diplomacy. It has many changing explanations whether defined by politicians or diplomats and academicians. We can define diplomacy as the content of the foreign policy or the implementation of the foreign policy by negotiations. On the other hand, diplomacy can be defined as the art or talent of the diplomats.[387] İskit also defines diplomacy as " foreign policy implementation activities of network of diplomats who are protected by private legal rules and are permanently residing in foreign or international institutions's centers".[388]

In a similar vein, we can define diplomacy in macro and micro terms. In macro terms, diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy for all the actors in the international system in order to achieve their goals. Diplomacy can be used here solely as an instrument (pure diplomacy) or together with other political instruments (mixed diplomacy). In micro terms, diplomacy is a communication process in the center of the operation of the international system. The ultimate goal is to resolve conflicts through dialogue and negotiation, to ensure order in the international

[387] Hüner, T. (2006). *Küresel Diplomasi.* (1. Edition). Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 15.
[388] İskit, T. (2007). *Diplomasi: Tarihi, Teorisi, Kurumları ve Uygulaması.* (1. Edition), İstanbul:İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 9.

system, and to prevent the return of conflicts to war.[389] In this context diplomacy includes both conflict and resolution process.

Brian White has seperated the diplomacy according to periods and emphasized that there is a "new diplomacy" after World War I, in the Baylis and Smiths' Globalization of World Politics book. Transparency is the new element for the new diplomacy which ensures the participation of international organizations to the diplomatic practices and it formulates a organizational diplomacy.[390] Today, however, even this new diplomacy has become an old form of diplomacy. In today's world, a new public diplomacy is mentioned, which means that apart from the state and international organizations, civil society, traditional media and social media, different actors like the individual are included in the process of producing or influencing foreign policy.

Despite the close cooperation between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy, There are differences in terms of the causes of both processes and their application methods. As Erzen points out, the trappings of traditional diplomacy to governments and official institutions, which an individual country might develop with another country, are inversely related to the communication process that public diplomacy tries to develop with civilian organizations. The public diplomacy aims to win the public, not directly governments, at the point of reaching long-term strategic goals of the countries, thus creating influence and pressure on the governments.[391]

Cull defines diplomacy as "the non-war mechanisms that an international actor uses to manage the international environment." According to him this actor can be a state, a multinational corporation, a non-governmental organization (NGO), an international organization, a terrorist organization / paramilitary organization without state or another actor on the world stage on these days. Traditional diplomacy is an attempt to govern the international environment through an international actor's relationship with another actor. On the other hand, public diplomacy is an attempt by an international actor to manage the international environment through a relationship established with a foreign public.[392]

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[389] White, B. (2001). *Diplomacy*, Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, Ed.: John Baylis, Steve Smith, Oxford University Press, 2. Edition, 317-318.
[390] White, *ibid.*, 2001:321-322.
[391] Erzen, M.Ü. (2012). *Kamu Diplomasisi*. İstanbul:Derin Yayınları, 103.
[392] Cull, N.J. (2007). *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past.* A report for the Public Diplomacy Group of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 21-22.

However, until the 15th century, diplomacy was unilateral and not continuous. With the establishment of permanent representations as a turning point in international relations in the 15th century, diplomacy began to take a modern form. And then, with the 20th century globalization movement,[393] some paradigms began to change and they were replaced by new ideologies. In other words, due to necessity of necessity, other diplomacy types have emerged besides traditional diplomacy. One of them is unoubtedly public diplomacy, which is an important foreign policy tool today.

Every academic discipline has its certainties, and in the small field of public diplomacy studies it is a truth universally acknowledged that the term "public diplomacy" was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a distinguished retired foreign service officer, when he established an Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy.[394] An early Murrow Center brochure provided a convenient summary of Gullion's concept: "Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications."[395] Even as Nicholas J. Cull claims; the earliest use of the phrase "public diplomacy" to surface is actually not American at all but in a leader piece from the *London Times* in January 1856.[396] It is used merely as a synonym for civility in a piece criticizing the posturing of President Franklin Pierce. "The statesmen of America must recollect," the *Times* opined, "that, if they have to make, as they conceive, a certain impression upon us, they have also to set an example for their own people, and there are few examples so catching as those of public diplomacy."[397] Based on these, although the concept is used before, it can be said that Gullion was the first person to use it in modern sense, but it obvious that the concept is based on much earlier.

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[393] Richard, L.C. (2011). *Diplomacy in the Twenty-First century: Change and Evolution*. Major Research Paper, University of Ottowa, 32-37.
[394] Cull, N.J. (2006). *Public Diplomacy, Before Gullion: The Evolution of A Phrase*, http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog-public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[395] Cull, *ibid.*, 2006.
[396] Cull, *ibid.*, 2006.
[397] Cull, *ibid.*, 2006.

Melissen notes that public diplomacy can be regarded as a metaphor for the democratization of diplomacy, in the sense that the diplomacy area, once open to a very limited number of players, is transformed into an area in which a large number of actors play a role.[12] Today, the field of public diplomacy has expanded as much as possible. On the one hand, the actors of public diplomacy are increasing and diversified, while on the other many different areas of lower public diplomacy have emerged. Today there are many different sub-diplomatic branches such as music diplomacy, sport diplomacy, faith diplomacy, food diplomacy, citizen diplomacy. Public diplomacy points to a broader framework covering all these lower branches; is used as an umbrella term.[398]

First public diplomacy efforts can be taken until the 17th century.[399] As mentioned earlier in matter of soft power, important examples of soft power-centered public diplomacy at that time were found in France. France, introducing its culture to the whole of Europe and making French the language of diplomacy and then spreading the concepts that make up the order of the world to the world thanks to the revolution made by its people, is certainly one of the first countries where public diplomacy is seen. Surely, examples are not limited to France. Italy, Germany and some other countries have also established a number of organizations to promote their culture to overseas countries.[400] In addition to this, the policies of the Ottoman State where it has conquered, especially in its establishment and aftermath, were the first examples of public diplomacy. In other words, it is tempting to see public diplomacy as old wine in new bottles.[401]

In the 20th century, wars affecting the world also changed the fate of public diplomacy, the important tool of soft power. As the world had witnessed one of the bloodiest wars in the history of the world, and countries other than Germany and Japan were not in favor of witnessing it once again. However, Germany, who was subjected to very harsh conditions with the Treaty of Versailles; and Japan, who wanted to be recognized as a great power in the geopolitical planet and to extend its influence on China, were already ready for the Second World War, which was the most bloody war in the world mentality. Wilson Principles, created as a result of the acceleration of soft power work, and the establishment of the League of Nations did not give the

[398] Kurtuluş, B. (2014). *21. Yüzyılda Değişen Kamu Diplomasisi Anlayışının Türk Dış Politikasına Yansıması.* Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 88.
[399] Waller, M. (2008). *The Public Diplomacy Reader*. Washington:The Institute of World Politics Press, 241.
[400] Nye, *ibid.*, 2005:101.
[401] Melissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations.* UK: Pallgrave, McMillan, 6.

desired result, and world history once again witnessed a war that was more violent and bloody than the first one. At this point, it is necessary to mention the "propaganda" term that even today most academicians do not distinguish it from public diplomacy, caused the most bloody war to be this war, and Germany used it as a tool of racism and hostility by deflecting this term. Propaganda is a set of pre-planned messages aimed at influencing the thoughts and behaviors of many people and undoubtedly it is similar to public diplomacy with the aim of influencing people.[402] However, contrary to public diplomacy, the word of propaganda, which provides information that will affect its own mass, rather than providing impartial information, has a strong negative meaning.

Propaganda is nearly as old as diplomacy itself. Propaganda is a method that has been used for a long time. The term itself comes from the Sacra Contegregatio Christiano Nomini (the Roman Catholic Sacred Assembly) for the dissemination of catholic faith and the belief in the papal order for the organization of church works in non-catholic countries.[403] In fact the original of the word does not contain a degrading or misleading meaning. However, the term was used as a provocative weapon in Nazi Germany and used by two blocks to blacken each other during the Cold War period, hence; it has a bad reputation today, but it is also one of the most important tools of psychological warfare and it has a very bad meaning by stripping from its original meaning. Two key features of propaganda are its historical baggage and the popular understanding of it as manipulation and deceit of foreign publics.[404] According to Welch, propaganda is "deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and values for specific purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of propagandists and their political masters, either directly or indirectly".[405] In this respect, many people and even many acdemicians associate the term public diplomacy with the term of propaganda, which is an important strategic communication tool. Students of propaganda see public diplomacy as an outgrowth of propaganda, a phenomenon with common historical roots and roughly similar characteristics, and therefore generally agreed that it can be submerged into the pre-existing concept of propaganda.[406] However this is nothing less than to reduce the value of public diplomacy and facilitate the term because even though propaganda has a more radical

[402] Misyuk, I. (2013). *Propaganda and Public Diplomacy: the Problem of Differentiation.* Humanities & Social Sciences, Ukraine, 76-77.
[403] Online Etymology Dictionary. Propaganda. https://www.etymonline.com/word/propaganda., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[404] Melissen, *ibid.*, 2005:17.
[405] Welch, D. (1999-August). *Powers of Persuasion, History Today*, 49, 24.
[406] Melissen, *ibid.*, 2005:16.

history than public diplomacy, public diplomacy is fundamentally seperated from propaganda in terms of its objectives and means, and it is not right to dissolve such a term in a negative term.

For sure the concept had to be seperated from propaganda because the US did not want to call its practices as propaganda and the struggle against communism should be shaped not only by weapon or economy, but by a concept that the whole world could accept. For all these reasons, it was needed a concept that best sells the image of a state in the 60s by giving confidence to the counterparts beyond the propaganda. USIA, which was the center of American diplomacy until the end of the Cold War, expressed this need in 1963 with the director of USIA, Edward R. Murrow; "American traditions and the American ethnic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst; to be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that."[407] Thus, the concept began to be used to describe the US's government international knowledge, cultural and publication activities. In the years after academic pronunciation, the many institions that have benefited from the United States in particular have developed applications and theoretical developments within the framework of the field and title.

As in the concept of soft power, it is not possible to think of public diplomacy independently from the USA. The concept has been introduced to the international literature by an American professor as already mentioned, and from that day to the present, undoubtedly the USA has been one of the most successful countries that has applied public diplomacy despite the various failures and certain leaders in the US history have played an important role in the development of this concept. One of them is Ronald Reagon, who assumed the presidency of the US during the Cold War period. The Ronald Reagan period is very important with reagard to the preparation of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the system of public diplomacy because the expenditures made for public diplomacy increased during this period[408] and the use of this concept expanded. Reagan expressed his importance for public diplomacy at the conference organized by the Advisory Commission on 15-16 September 1987 as follows: "In this information age, in the era of mass communication and microchip, telecommunication satellites and underground fiber optic cables are not sufficient for this new age alone. The United States should be able to address not only foreign governments, but also their peoples, by

[407] Public Diplomacy Alumni Associatian. About PDAA. https://pdaa.publicdiplomacy.org/?page_id=2., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[408] Lord, C. (1998). The Past and Future of Public Diplomacy. *Winter*, 54-55.

addressing all the skills and resources and public diplomacy we can collect. I believe that our public diplomacy represents a powerful force, perhaps the most powerful force at our disposal, for shaping the history of the world."[409] No doubt, the conclusion of the Cold War in favor of Washington has given Reagan the title of "The leader who deployed the USSR" and according to many politicians, Reagan helped to Gorbachev to end the USSR. Reagan's policies have brought a new breath to the right policies in world history, while at the same time leading to important developments in the field of public diplomacy.

The wars of thought during the Cold War period were effective in public diplomacy gaining importance in international politics because thoughts are durable, they can not be destroyed by weapons or bombs. They cross international borders and oceans. They can be dealt with by producing better thoughts.[410] Thus, the term began to be used overseas as from the 90s. In Britain, for example, the Blair government established a Public Diplomacy Strategy Board.[411] Besides, the French Institute and Cultural Centers in France, the Goethe Institute in Germany and other institutions funded and financed by governemnets in many countries around the world began to work more intensively in the field of public diplomacy. As the concept become more international, there has been a growing interest in understanding and as a result different definitions of the concept emerged.

Apart from this, it is necessary to look at the definition of public diplomacy of USIA, which has carried out important works in the field of public diplomacy until the concept has been terminated in order to understand the concept better. USIA which was in the business of public diplomacy for more than forty years, defined public diplomacy as follows: "Public diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest and the national security of the United States through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad."[412] As it can be seen, although the concept is getting more internationalized, it is not possible for the concept to get out of the US monopoly, and even the specific definitions indicate that the concept is clearly US-centric.

> However, despite all these developments, a chaotic order emerged as a result of the terrorist attack in the USA on September 11, and this was undoubtedly one of the turning points in

[409] Ronald Reagon Presidental Library & Museum. Remarks at the 40th Anniversary Conference of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/091687a., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[410] Bailey, T.A. (1968). *The Art of Diplomacy: The American Experience*. New York:Appleton-Century- Crofts, 71.
[411] Cull, *ibid.*, 2007:21-22.
[412] Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, *ibid.*

> the history of public diplomacy. Obviously, the US govenment's works under the name of public diplomacy had a negative effect on many states, especially various terrorist organizations. In this context, one could argue that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have challenged – even provoked – the US's identity as a superpower. Many Americans were shocked to be confronted with such a violent hatred against their country and everything it stands for: its foreign policies as well as its values. Could anyone dislike the land that offers Harvard and Hollywood, McDonald's and Microsoft? 'Why do people hate us so much?' soon became a key question, not only for ordinary Americans, but for policy-makers in Washington as well.[413]

In addition to this, After 11 September 2001, which triggered a global debate on public diplomacy, the definition of public diplomacy has become an issue in foreign ministries from all countries, ranging from Canada to New Zealand and from Argentina to Mongolia.[414] By reason of the public diplomacy, which is the most important means of soft power and almost identifies with it, has been failed. This situation increased interest in smart power blended with hard power, while at the same time, other states, especially the US, showed that they would not give up their public diplomacy, which in the long run would yield more lasting results with less cost. Thus, it was observed that the international environment shifted from a unipolar system to a multi-polar system, and that traditional ideology was gradually replaced by a pluralist approach slowly. New media actors such as media public opinion human rights organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are added to the main actors of the Cold War era, as well as nation-states and regional blocs, and it is imperative that this global system becomes more dynamic, multidimensional and less controllable.[415]

Based on all these, it can be said for public diplomacy, taking into consideration the past ties of it, that is the attempt by a government to influence the people and intellectuals of another nation in order to return the policies of this nation to its advantage.[416] Promoting positive images of one's country is not new, but the conditions for projecting soft power have transformed dramatically in recent years.[417] For one thing, nearly half the countries in the world are now democracies; the competitive cold war model has become less relevant as a guide for public diplomacy.[418] While there is still a need to provide accurate information to populations in countries like Burma or Syria, where the government controls information, there is a new need

[413] Ham, P.V. (2005). Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana. *Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, 47-66.
[414] Melissen, *ibid.*, 2005:8.
[415] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[416] Potter, E. (2002). Canada and the New Public Diplomacy. *International Journal*, 58(1), 43-64.
[417] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:99.
[418] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:99.

to garner favorable public opinion in countries like Mexico and Turkey, where parliaments can now affect decision making.[419]

Public diplomacy is now one of the most significant elements of soft power, where international politics is in a pragmatic shift from hard power to soft power, it is also the promotion and dissemination of soft power. Public diplomacy is considered to be a means of increasing the capacity of soft power rather than the purpose. In addition to traditional state-state diplomacy, it is conducted from the state to the people and people. Actors of public diplomacy outside the traditional state actors, civil society, business people, famous people, etc. summed up. In this sense, public diplomacy goes beyond the communication activities that take place between the diplomats and the foreign public, which are in the original sense of the concept.[420]

In his interview with L'Express (a French weekly news magazine) in April 2003, French sociologist Dominique Wolton said: "Globalization took place in three stages: the first stage was the end of the Cold War and the new world order with the foundation of the UN, the second stage was the opening of borders and the establishment of free marketing and the third stage which is still in progress was the information and culture age."[421] At this point, it can be said from the word of Dominique Wolton, one of the essential elements of the transformation of diplomacy into public diplomacy is the easy access to and globalization of information. The increase in the public's knowledge and the importance of public opinion which increased the importance of the public opinion in terms of adminisrations has been one of the cornerstones of the evolution and formation of public diplomacy. Furthermore, information is power, and today a much larger part of the world's population has access to that power.[422] In other words, it has become easier to carry out public diplomacy together with the technology brought by the 21st century which is the information age, because the easy access of people to each other increased intercultural exchange, this enabled public diplomacy based on the idea of influencing the opposite side to be carried out by two people from two different cultures in the traditional diplomats.

Public diplomacy activities are carried out in two main frameworks: "state-to-public" and "public-to-public" communication. The activities in the state-people axis are the state's public

[419] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:99.
[420] Melissen, *ibid.*, 2005:19.
[421] Wolton, D. (April 2003). *Le monde n''est pas un village,* L'Express, 69.
[422] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:99.

policies, activities and expansions to the public by using official tools and channels. It is essential to use non-state civilian instruments such as NGOs, research centers, public opinion research companies, press, opinion leaders, universities, exchange programs, associations and foundations in public-to-public direct communication activities.[423] In addition, public diplomacy should not be perceived as one-way. Gifford Malone emphasizes the importance of the bidirectional structuring of this process as follows: "If we want to explain our own society and policies, we must first learn the culture, history, psychology and especially the language of the people we want to communicate with."[424]

As a result, in today's international relations, the defense of national interests is now far ahead of classical diplomacy methods such as papers, diplomatic initiative and diplomatic memorandum. States have now entered a period in which they have to develop policies targeting not only other governments or international organizations, but also foreign public opinion. In today's world, knowledge, culture and communication have become key words in diplomacy. In the international system, which was restructured by communication and information revolutions, public diplomacy became one of the indispensable elements of foreign policy with the ability to influence the public and the agenda. Today, many states are conducting active public diplomacy to create a positive image in the eyes of foreign public opinion [425] Public Diplomacy that is totally seperated from the traditional diplomacy, has a multidimensional nature and includes many groups and more diverse interests.[426] So, public diplomacy is a tool of diplomacy that transcends both ambassadors and clasical diplomacy and at the same time it is undobtedly one of the most important spreading tool of soft power, one of today's most important foreign policy goals. Moreover, The effectiveness of public diplomacy is meaured by minds changed (as shown in interviews or polls), not dollars spent or slick production packages.[427]

3.2. The Role of Public Diplomacy in International Relations

Beyond any doubt, one of the most popular concept of the 21st century, soft power, provided an alternative to the classical power policies by revitalizing the literature of international relations.

[423] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[424] Malone, G. (1988). *Political Advocacy and Cultural Communications: Organising the Nation's Public Diplomacy*. Lanheim, University of America, 12.
[425] Akçadağ,. *ibid.*, 2010b.
[426] Leonard, M. & Small, A. (2003). *Norwegian Public Diplomacy.* London: The Foreign Center, 16.
[427] Nye, *ibid.*, 2008:101.

Public Diplomacy which is one of the most important tools of soft power and which is the most necessary soft power policy for the application in the international arena has attracted the participation of international disciplines from different disciplines by adding new methods to the actors of inetnational relations, by introducing new methods such as appeal and encouragement outside the known diplomatic pathways, instead of war and force based methods. After mentioning the relationship between soft power and public diplomacy in a top title, in this part, it will be discussed that the role of public diplomacy and states use and utilize these instruments in the context of public diplomacy. Then, the public diplomacy approach of the USA, who brings the concept to life, will be mentioned and also public diplomacy approach of China, which is among the best examples of globalization today, will be touched on. In addition to these, the North Atlantic Pact, which is one of the international organizations that broke the state monopoly on the implementation of public diplomacy today and which has made important studies in the field of public diplomacy, will be mentioned briefly.

In world politics, both world wars form important break points. Especially with the end of Cold War, the process of globalization, in which the relationship and interdependence between states gained momentum, increased the popularity of the concept of soft power, a concept that guided world politics and immediately after this, the concept of public diplomacy has begun to stand out in international communication and relations in world politics. Thus, the public diplomacy activities, which had developed due to the fact that the states that have suffered great losses after the Second World War no longer want to fight, entered the world stage with all their weight and influence.[428] So it can be said that public diplomacy is an attempt by a government to open up explicit information that is structured to achieve national objectives and interests and also to create foreign public opinion.[429] So in public diplomacy, the source of the information is clear and its accuracy is certain. In this aspect, public diplomacy is seperated the concept of propaganda, which has been confused many times and is not even distinguished by many people or some academicians. The aim of public diplomacy is to build a strategic communication language based on objective date and facts, not to propaganda.[430] In other words, public diplomacy is the way in which countries carry out lobbying activities in other countries because public diplomacy is intended to advance the national interests of a state in all spheres in the international arena, and then states operate in the eye of peoples of foreign countries. Although

[428] Poyraz, E. & Dinçer, M. (2016). *Küreselleşen Dünyada Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetleri*, 3(1), 4.
[429] Riggins, J. (1998). *A Strategic Assessment of Public Diplomacy, USAF*, 4.
[430] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.

the targets to be achieved through public diplomacy are determined by states, the new vision created by globalization in practice and the non-state actors play a vital role in this field. Thus, a country that implements public diplomacy successfully with all its actors gives a legitimacy to its foreign policies by creating a "country brand".

So it is possible to say these if the role of public diplomacy in the context of international relations should be discussed in more detail; firstly, the main purpose of public diplomacy is to build deep-rooted relations. The main objective of public diplomacy is to understand the needs, cultures and people of other countries, share their perspectives, correct misperceptions and find common denominators.[431] Starting from this point of view, it can be said that with the acceleration of globalization, the point reached in science and technology today has undobtedly reduced the longest distance between two people of the world as much as possible, and thus increased intercultural communication which led to the breaking state monopoly directly in public diplomacy activities. Consequently, on the contrary of traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy involves the non-governmental interaction of the private institutions of a country with the institutions of otrher countries and the impact of the whole international process on policy development and external relations.[432] Public diplomacy affects the foreign peoples in a positive direction if it is implemented correctly because it directs public opinion, provides international circulation of ideas and thought. It also creates an interaction between private groups.[433] In this case, it undoubtedly provides a country to promote its interests for the public in a foreign country. Just because, essentially public diplomacy is the communication policy and process of a government that aims to explain the ideas and ideals of its nation, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies to foreign peoples. The image of a state that successfully monitors this process is positively shaped and this allows the country to become a major decision-maker in the direction of foreign policy by allowing it to become more influential on other countries. So public diplomacy is the art of managing perceptions aand directing foreign public sectors in accordance with countries' goals.[434]

After claryfying what gains a country can achieve from public diplomacy, it is also necessary to mention the tools by which it can obtain these gains. Without any doubt, public diplomacy shows

[431] Leonard, M. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*, London, Foreign Policy Center, 8-9.
[432] Tuch, *ibid.*, 1990:8.
[433] Huyghe, F.B. (2016). Diplomatie Publique. http://www.huyghe.fr/actu_296.htm., Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[434] Manheim, J. (2001). *Talking Points for Meeting with Staff of Senate Foreign Relations Committee;* Christopher, R. (2002)."Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," The Washington Quarterly, *Spring*, 75.

parallelism with soft power in terms of the tools it uses in practice. Although the monopoly of traditional method-oriented states is broken in public diplomacy by the developments in communication technology, the state phenomenon is still one of the most important tools of public diplomacy. At this point, the state policies and activities designed to influence foreign peoples are very important in terms of the world's public and if a government wants to succeed in this field, the policies it follows should be rational, convincing and defensible. This is because it is not possible to defend a policy that violates universal law rules, is based on unofficial methods such as threat, tyranny and invasion, and does not have similar connotations, nor can it be explained to the world public.[435] By all means, states that do not respect human rights, intend to violate them in a systematic way, or act in this direction, or oppose the existence of the opposite state in the international arena, are unlikely to counduct a successful public diplomacy. The best example of this is that the USA has suffered from a bad image and some negative reactions in the rest of the world, especially in the Middle East with the invansion of Afghanistan and Iraq during the Bush period. The more recent with the Crimea Crisis in 2014, Russia's annexation of Crimea to Ukraine has also been cpnsidered a violation of international law and has caused various reactions in the world public opinion.[436] In connection with this, it can be said that it is essential to know to listen the foreign public opinion in public diplomacy. Under favour of the public opinion, which has a central role in the determination of national and global policies, the national and international policy processes are closely monitored and announced to the world public through the press. It is not possible to establish and implement a policy on the economy, foreign policy, energy or environment without receiving any specific support from the public.[437]

The impact of public diplomacy in the world has increased with the developments in communication technologies. It is inevitable that public diplomacy would become increasingly effective in such as system where distances become insignificant and people could reach each other at any time because through this the circulation of ideas and access to information have become easier. This situation has some disadvantage as well as the advantage for a state because it led to the formation of different actors in this area which would make it difficult for states to

[435] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[436] Marxsen, *C.* (2014). *The Crimea Crisis*, An International Law Perspective. *ZaöRV,* 74, 389.
[437] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.

control the flow of infomation, and this, without any question, led to the breaking of state monopoly in the field of public diplomacy.

It is possible to examine the non-state actors of public diplomacy by seperating different groups. The first of these is non-governmental organizations. As in traditional diplomacy, the main actor of new public diplomacy is the state. However, the existence of many non-governmental organizations and their activities in areas where the state can not penetrate the ground for the emergence of NGOs as important actor besides states.[438] Today the citizens to participate in the decision-making process as a result of participatory democracy clearly increased the activity of NGOs both inside and outside country. The NGOs, which serve as a bridge between the individuals and the state by reaching the areas not reached by the state, have become important partners of states as well as an integral part of public diplomacy. The most important role of the NGOs is to draw attention to the social and economic problems of the country in the national sphere, to solve these problems and to make efforts to democratize the country in accordance with different ideas; in the international arena, to deep relations with international and supranational institutions and to contribute to the promotion and positive image of the country.[439] And this coincides with the core of public diplomacy. In this way, NGOs, which exhibit more transparent activity than state policies, have become a more reliable communication tool than some governments as Joseph Nye stated. This is,of course, the main reason for NGOs to come to the fore in public diplomacy. This is because people are more sincere in the activities of NGOs to convey their values and vision of the culture of the country where they are subject to informing the foreign policy.[440]

Another tool is colleges and schools. Although universities are more effective in terms of cultural diplomacy practices, schools generally provide the transfer of cultural values to the citizens of their countries.[441] Especially the universities established in foreign countries or the various programs carried out in connection with these universities have a very important role in the transmission of public diplomacy messages. Today, when many students, who study in different countries with student exchange programs, return to their countries and share it with others,

[438] Sak, E. (2014). Kamu Diplomasisi ve Çin. *Barış Araştırmaları ve Çatışma Çözümleri Dergisi*, 2(1), 9-25. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/28102195., Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[439] Akçadağ, E. (2010a). *Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetlerinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü*, 12.
[440] Akçadağ, *ibid.*, 2010a: 12.
[441] Sancar, G.A. (2012). *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkiler*, 1. Edition. İstanbul: Beta Yayınları, 92.

undoubtedly contribute to the public diplomacy mechanism more than a government policy on the perception that the country wants to create. Although this is of course a risk that can create a negative image; despite all these risks, today it serves as an important public diplomacy tool. In addition to this, the language and culture centers which have been active for centruies in the spread of languages and culture should also be mentioned. Some countries operate for the spread of their language and culture have national agency networks. The French Institute and Cultural Centers or the British Council funded by their governments are examples of these agencies. Apart from these official institutions, there are institutes serving the same purpose established by civil society: Alliance Française with branches in 130 countries and the Goethe Institute in 120.[442] Except this, other countries moving towards becoming regional and global powers such as Japan, Italy, Russia, Iran carry their language and culture beyond the borders of their countries with similar practices. Thus, the language and culture duo, which has become the most important tool in telling the stories of people an deven countries, provide significant advantages to states in the public diplomacy activities in order to teach and spread the languages of states and also introduce their cultures.

However; these instruments for foreign policy are not sufficient for public diplomacy. It is an important actor in accomplishing a mission such as ensuring the international stability and transferring to the world before the success outside.[443] The approach of a state to its internal target audience is important in the perception of the message sent to outside target.[444] This is because the attitude of a state to its citizens of their attitude towards their rights or the movements of democracy in domestic politics play an important role through citizen diplomacy about the messages to be delivered to the shower of concrete.

Apart from those, in other words apart from the tools that can provide a better image or more language, culture, human rights, it should be said that the other pillar of public diplomacy is undoubtedly is economy. Having globally recognized brand and multinational companies providing employment in foreign countries facilitates effective public diplomacy jobs because countries that want to have a country's level of prosperity and opportunities will definitely take advantage of the policies of that country and follow it. Thus, consumption goods and services exceeding national borders have a positive effect on public diplomacy. World-renowned brands

[442] Sirois, G. (2007). *Cultural Elements In Public Diplomacy: The Challenges of Globalization*, Canadian Cultural Observatory, 5.
[443] Sancar, 2012:96.
[444] Kunczik, M. (1997). *Images of Nations and International Public Relations Lawrence Erlbaum.* New Jersey, 98.

are associated with the countries in which they are born and have a positive impact on the image and promotion of their countries abroad.

At this point, except for state policies, private sector and global enterprises, which are called institutional public diplomacy, appear as public diplomacy actors. These non-state actors have the opportunity to describe the country of origin of the institution on the basis of their relationship with their customers. The same opportunity obtains to the foreign labor force of businesses outside the country, because people working in their own country, but in businesses belonging to another country will not refrain from advocating or applying the values of the country in which it belongs. Briefly stated, private sector and global enterprises play an important role as a non-state actor by reducing state spending on the conducting public diplomacy activities.

As it is seen, today the tools that enable public diplomacy activities are quite diverse. In addition to these, international broadcasting radios, supra-state organizations, pressure groups and opinion leaders also play a very important role in these activities.

Since each country has different international recognations, roles, goals and policies in the international arena, each state does not benefit from the same means of public diplomacy and does not use public diplomacy for the same purpose. The main distinction is that the countries are large-scale or medium-sized and small-scale.[445] Besides, the language and tools used by each country differ significantly. These differences are closely related to the historical and cultural accumulation as well as the policies followed by the countries.[446] Today, in terms of both the emergence of the concept and the activities carried out, the US appears as the most effective country in implementing public diplomacy. In addition, the US policy in the field of public diplomacy undobtedly plays an important role in the formation of a conceptual framework. However, as a natural consequence of globalization, it can be seen that this concept has spread to Europe firstly and then to almost every region of the world, especially in the Middle East and Asia.

Is it possible to discuss public diplomacy without giving central importance to US public diplomacy and the debates on public diplomacy in the anglophone world.[447] The answer to this issue is probably not possible because the US has the widest range of opportunities in the field

[445] Akçadağ, *ibid.*, 2010a :7.
[446] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[447] Melissen, *ibid.*, 2005:6.

of public diplomacy, and is, doubtlessly, the country that uses these opportunities in a best way. The US has a much longer history in terms of public diplomacy, although it was late compared to other countries in using knowledge and culture for diplomatic purposes. Although these public diplomacy activities vary according to the periods in which they are experienced, (for example, as it evolves into recent strategic communication in the propaganda activities during the Cold War period) the soft power of the USA facilitated it in public diplomacy activities. According to 2017 data, the gross national product of the US is by almost a third higher than its closest rival China's gross national product and this makes it undoubtedly the number one economic power.[448] At the same time, it has the most well-known and most turnover companies in teh world. Besides, universalized American culture, the most important of this culture that is Hollywood, world-reowned American athletes and artists, exchange programs, again worl-reowned american universities and press organizations are the most significant elements that strengthen the hand of the US in public diplomacy studies.

According to 2008 data, it is estimated that direct public diplomacy activities were allocated a total of 1.6 billion dollars in the 2008 US budget. Considering that the gross national product of the year was 14,22 trillion dollars, the US spent about 9% of the total revenue for public diplomacy and this rate has continued to increase until today. [449]

The USA conducts activities under the title of public diplomacy through five institutions. These are all non-military broadcasting activities such as the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the White House, USAID (the US's technical aid organization) and the Defense Ministry. There is no unit that provides coordination between these institutions. However, activities are carried out in a certain cooperation both in the planning and implementation stages. [450]

However, despite all these institutions and the world's largest economy, this culture-selling job may not always work, which is the most important indicator is 9/11. With the 9/11 attack, the USA experienced a major image problem and the solution to this problem goes through public diplomacy-oriented policies, as many politicians and academicians have noted. Thereis no doubt

[448] World Bank. GDP. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=EU-US-CN., Date of Access: 08.05.2019.
[449] Nakamura, K. H. & Weed, M.C. (2009). *U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues.* Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 26-27.
[450]Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.

that the US has tried to implement this as much as possible during the Obama period, but it is possible to say that the Trump period is slowly shifting along this line.

3.3. Turkey's Approach to Public Diplomacy

Under this title, firstly, the relationship between classical Turkish Foreign Policy and public diplomacy, which has gained importance in Turkey, in the 21st century, will be evaluated. In connection with this, then, reasons why Turkey did not attach importance to this concept for many years. After that, the change of Turkey's perception in time and in this context, the tools used in the practice of public diplomacy will ve mentioned. Finally, six institutions, which created the soft power potential of Turkey will be examined specifically.

The phenomenon of globalization that emerged in the late 20th century creates one of the most important paradigm shifts in the world today. With this process, there have been radical changes in many areas of political, social and economic, new ways and methods have been discovered, old methods have been rebuilt; after all, the world faced a whole new understanding.[451] The most sginificant of these methods today is public diplomacy which is one of the most important tools of soft power and which is at the head of the foreign policy targets of many states. Public diplomacy has become a concept which is much discussed and more understood in the new international system, where the strategic value of communication has increased, the phenomenon of public opinion has come to the forefront, and the correct information and has gained importance.[452] So it can be said that the people of the 20th century left their propaganda-based understanding that ignores the public opinion to the understanding that emphasizes the public opinion and cares about the interaction, communication and persuasion in the 21st century.[453] And with this process, the foreign policy has become that not only reflected the will of the state representatives but also the will of many different political and cultural strata.

In the gaining importance of public diplomacy, the point where the world is coming today is very important. In other words, public diplomacy has begun to take shape within a structure caused by globalization and has become a premise in the international area gradually. Today, public diplomacy is seen as the most effective and convincing method in international relations

[451] Özkan, A. (2015). *21. Yüzyılın Stratejik Vizyonu Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi İmkânları*, TASAM, Stratejik Rapor No: 70: 3.
[452] Özkan, *21. ibid.*, 2015:4.
[453] Özkan, *21.* ibid., 2015:5.

because the process of competition, which began with the colonial movement and reached its peak with the end of the Cold War, has now reached a different dimension. The world has now become a world that has witnessed rapid changes, open to all kinds of developments and is not likely to be predicted; so it is not possible anymore to exist, to stay afloat, to continue as a strong country in this world with the former powers of resources. This is because in such a world, guaranteeing the future of the countries will be realized through the best marketing of their stories rather than selling lots of products. Just because the conditions can change at any moment, the necessity of convincing the public to become a dominant actor in the new world order is becoming important for countries. At this point, the subject of "branding" of countries becomes a phenomenon that differentiates between countries in the competition that distinguishes them from the others, in communication and technological inovations, and in the production of value.[454]

Public diplomacy focuses on values in the country brand construction, and attaches importance to the process of establishing individual and institutional relations and dialogue.[455] Besides, in this way, countries have the opportunity to develop the relationship between their own citizens and foreign citizens, which is important for public diplomacy aiming to influence foreign public opinion and to spread the country's values to other countries by rebuking prejudices about that country. Thus, countries would not be indifferent to such a phenomenon, which developed in such an infrastructure and became the most effective tool in the implementation of soft power. Altough the concept was born in the USA, it has spread all over the world in a short time and Turkey, which is a country on the road to becoming a regional power, could not have ignored the concept like other countries.

Public Diplomacy would undoubtedly be of vital importance for Turkey, who is aiming to become a powerhouse in its region and following a proactive foreign policy for this purpose. However, public diplomacy is a relatively new concept in the foreign policy thinking of Turkey.[456] It can be said like that in order to clarify this; classical Turkish foreign policy has adopted the nationalism of Atatürk taking into account the Turkey's geopolitical position in international affairs and seated on a realist perspective that fed his pragmatism. [457] Beyond any

[454] Özkan, *ibid.*, 2015:5.
[455] Bolin, G. & Stahlberg, P. (2002). *Between Community and Commodity: Nationalism and Nation Branding.* (Ed.) Anna Roosvall and Inka Salovaara, Communication the Nation, Sweden, 82.
[456] Özkan, B. (2013b). *Public Diplomacy of Turkey.* Faculty of European Studies, Riga Stradins University, 1.
[457] Akgün, B. (2009). Türk Dış Politikası ve Uluslararası Örgütler. *Akademik Ortadoğu*, 3, 4.

doubt, this policy, which is based on "peace at home peace in the world", pursued by Turkey since the proclamation of the republic, enabled Turkey to take successful steps considering the terms of the period. And during the Cold War, Turkey; turning its face to West to break the Soviet threat, pursued a Westernist foreign policy. Thus Turkey, which reduced the threat of communism to the minimum, had found the opportunity to pursue foreign policy to other areas outside security. Besides, the rapid global changes in the world by the end of the Cold War, Turkey has also begun to adapt and tried to follow a multi-dimensional foreign policy strategy in this context. However, Turkey's initiatives in this period remained at a limited level when they are compared to the US and European countries'. On the other hand, starting from this year, and especially in parallel with Turkey's foreign policy objectives in the 2000s began to focus on policies to develop cultural relations.[458] Furthermore, to accelerate Turkey's accession process to the European Union since the early 2000s, it has made significant contributions to the resolution of the problems experienced in democratization. The legal arrangements made to meet the Copenhagen Criterias have opened the door to Turkey, a country that cares freedoms, more respectful to the human rights and more democratic.[459] However, these efforts remained insufficient and more broadly public diplomacy works have started to gain pace in the years of 2010s in Turkey. In this context, it won't be wrong to say that Turkey understood the importance of public diplomacy too late and, by all means, today Turkey is giving way to deal with problems caused for many years to not give importance to public diplomacy. However, before mentioning these problems, it is necessary to have a look at Turkey's public diplomacy perception varying over time and in this context its tools used in the practice of public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy, which is one of the ways to transfer the potential of countries to the most effective and efficient way, is a multidimensional communication process[460] and countries use various instruments to transfer public diplomacy, ie the cultural elements, intellectual values or their knowledge; to other countries. Elements by researchers advantageous to Turkey's soft power are evaluated differently. In general, researchers see Turkey's soft power potential of the most important resources as culture, it is seen that values consensus over the political system and foreign policy practices. These soft power elements, especially in the Middle East and Turkey makes many regional and global power and soft power of Turkey privileged in public

[458] Bozkuş, B. (2002). The Borders of Intercultural Communication in Turkey: International. Art Exhibitions and Turkish Festivals, *The Journal of Academic Social Science*, 79.
[459] Özkan, A. (2013a). *Ülke Markası İnşasında Kamu Diplomasisinin Rolü ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi İmkanları*, Avrupa Sosyal Bilimler Araştırma Konferansı Bildirisi, İstanbul, 9.
[460] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.

diplomacy activities for North Africa; The Muslim nation defines it as a secular state, democratic governance and a free market economy.[461]

Turkey is a significant country in the world today due to the heir of deep-rooted values and with its natural and cultural resources, important geostrategic location. In the interior of the vast geography extending from the Balkans to the Middle East and Asia, the values represented by the accumulation of historical and cultural depth of the dynamics of Turkey simulates the dynamics of the region on one side and enables the creation of new interaction areas on the other side.[462] In that case, certainly that has deep-rooted history and culture shaped in consequence of Turkey's is one of the most significant public diplomacy tools. Turkey's need to accumulate experience both the ancient culture of political modernization process which stems from the most fundemental and intricate elements have a versatile historical heritage. [463]

Turkey has passed the public diplomacy in the modern sense as a government policy with the JDP came to power in 2002, because important steps in the field of public diplomacy in this period have been taken. At the beginning of these steps comes first institutionalization activities. If we look at the back of these activities, in 2002, when the JDP came to power alone, one-party stability, which means political stability at the same time, was ensured. Thus, the opportunity of tending to the areas such as economic and social areas was founded. This situation has naturally affected the activities of public diplomacy positively, because in the vision of public diplomacy the implementation of internal policies as well as the foreign policies of the countries is very important and both policies need to be coordinated together. In the international platfrom, it has already begun to witness the policies of countries that have already understood the value of this concept. Although Turkey started later to the race, by using the time effectively, it managed to make the process advantageous and when compared with the others, it made intense afforts to close the gap between other countries with its rapid institutionalization activities. In this context, the Office of Public Diplomacy, Yunus Emre Institute and Overseas Turks and Relative Communities Presidency have been established. Also the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, which is the first soft power institution of Turkey that opened in 1990s, has been restructured to comply with the terms of public diplomacy in this period.

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[461] Berdibek, M. (2012). *Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu'ya Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetleri Ve Etkileri: 2002-2012.* T.C. Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı Uzmanlık Tezi, Ankara, 35.
[462] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[463] Davutoğlu, A. (2004). *Stratejik Derinlik*, İstanbul:Küre Yayınları, 93.

As a matter of fact, Turkey's process initiated as a result of efforts to have a voice in the international arena began with the establishment of TIKA in 1992, continued with the Yunus Emre Institution, which is established in 2007, the activities of TIKA that worked with the Coordination of Public Diplomacy have been advanced. In addition to these, with the humanitarian aid of AFAD and the Turkish Red Crescent, Turkey has shown that it signed several important achievements in the field of public diplomacy by taking the title of "the most generous country" by Global Humanitarian Aid Report 2018[464]. So that, these institutions that have an important place in the field of public diplomacy have started to tell the story of Turkey with the activities they perform in the various areas within the context of foreign policy. These institutions will be mentioned in more detail in the sub-headings. In addition to this, it is necessary to say that Turkey's importance in the context of the concept of soft power and public diplomacy where the potential detection, coincided with a period in which the mobilization of global and regional fault lines.

These afforts were also included in all other institutions as well as the restructured and established institutions in the field of public diplomacy. For instance, TRT (Turkish Institution of Radio and television) has increased its Works by operationalizing worldwide TV and radio channels in different languages in this context and THY (Turkish Airlines) who has flights to 309 destinations throughout the world[465] has given acceleration to public diplomacy with its global brand by offering a service of above standards. Today, all of these institutions continue to work and constitute the cornerstone of public diplomacy activities. Also, the number of nearly 200 universities in Turkey today has a strategic potential for public diplomacy. This academic institutions should be mobilized and it should be benefited from them at the point of examining them with the scientific aspects of the subject and the creation of Turkey's road map to follow.[466] Another element that can be said in this context is NGOs. Especially with the recent democratization steps, civil society has gained importance and thus, they have become one of the important actors in the international platform. Turkey could not be unconcerned to this situation and has also increased the number of civil society organizations and over time began to gain importance but civil society is still a new phenomenon in Turkey. The concept began to be discussed in parallel with the impact of globalization in the 80s and international

[464] Kızılay. (2018a). Dünyanın En Cömert Ülkesi Türkiye. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberArsiviDetay/4254., Date of Access: 08.05.2019.
[465] Turkish Airlines. Uçuş Ağı. https://turkishairlines.ssl.cdn.sdlmedia.com/636816207640480848EQ.pdf., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[466] Özkan, *ibid.*, 2013a:9.

developments. Following the military coup in 1980, the development of non-governmental organizations, which came to a halt, accelerated in the post-1985 period. The number of non-governmental organizations increased from 6000 to 26,000 in the 1990s. The number of associations increased 235 percent in Turkey, 60 thousand 931 in the 1990-2000 year, an increase of 47 per cent between 2000-2011, 89 thousand 578 output.[467] And associations that were established earlier for the purpose of helping, began to open up in many areas such human rights, art, education, development etc. This is undoubtedly important in terms of public diplomacy in the context of the level of development of the country, because today one of the most important tools of public diplomacy is NGOs because, even though they are independent, NGOs with a public diplomacy perspective coordinate with the State Policies to disseminate a country's soft power. Certainly these developments seen in Turkey are also very important in terms of public diplomacy, but there are still many shortcomings in Turkey like in many countries. When institutionalization issues either in the field of creating a common language or forming strong relations with the government and the other institutions abroad; it is obvious that NGOs will draw a more effective framework for public diplomacy activities.

> Turkish public diplomacy strategies are also employed in Western Europe and other EU member states. Considering the diaspora of over 5 million Turks living in Europe and Turkey's EU aspirations, facilitating cultural dialogue; exchange is important to the promotion of Turkey's new narrative. The majority of public diplomacy activities in Europe are related to Turkish cultural promotion so as to convey a positive image of Turkish culture. The EU is also home to a number of Turkish schools and centers aimed at reinforcing relations with the Turkish diaspora.[468]

This situtation is very important in the case of creation of Turkish lobby outside the Turkish borders. Turkish people, especially in Europe and other parts of the world play a significant role in spreading Turkish culture, including Turkish cuisine.

Another element is the Turkish business companies outside the country and Turkish businessmen who has significant success abroad as well. In recent years Turkey has achieved significant expansion in the economic field; to the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia and Russia by constituting business relationships which contributes to the development of the country seriously. Turkey who had an average growth of 6.3% growth in 2010-2016 period, growth was realized in the first half of 2017 to 5.1%. 3.9% of the economy in the first half of

[467] Aydoğdu, C. (2012). *Gelişmiş Ülkeler ve Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Örgütlenmesi*.
[468] Huijgh, E. & Warlick, J. (nd.). *The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers: The Case of Turkey, Rising Soft Powers,* USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 8.

2017 comes from investments and exports.[469] As a matter of fact, this rate was 11.1% in the third quarter. Thus, the growth in the first nine months reached to an amount of 7.4%. As of the first three quarters of 2017, the country ranked first among the OECD, European Union and G20 countries in terms of growth rate. Growth rate is expected to be 6.5 - 7% in 2017.[470] Turkey, aims a growth of 5.5% for the years 2018-2020 according to the goals of the Medium-Term Program (MTP) for three years. And according to OECD estimates, Turkey during the period 2015-2025 'hood will be one of the fastest growing economies with an average annual growth rate 4.9 % among OECD member countries.[471] The economic factor is undoubtedly effective in the field of public diplomacy as it is in every field, because the quality of life of the citizens increases in a country who has a developing economy and this situation is reflected in domestic policies and the developments in domestic politics undoubtedly affect foreign policies. Hence, it is easier for a country to tell its story, that is, to spread its soft power capacity.

It is also important that a country carries out its activities in the international arena as well as correctly distrinuting them in the first hand. In this context, mass media have a key role in the field of public diplomacy. In this context, TRT, which was established in 1964 and today broadcasting to the Turkey as well as the world with its 14 TV channels, 14 radio channels, websites prepared in 41 languages and 5 printed journals, is quite important.[472] It has been contributing directly to public diplomacy with its projects realized recently. In addition to the mass media, institutions that are active in the promotion of cultural values are also important. Within this context, Yunus Emre Institute which was established in 2007 and the Coordination of Public Diplomacy in 2010 and continues to work under the Directorate of Communications, carries out the necessary studies to introduce Turkish values and to increase the Turkish image in foreign public opinion.

Another factor that should be mentioned in this area is the humanitarian aid provided by Turkey, which constitutes the backbone of this thesis, will be discussed in more detail in the sect of humanitarian diplomacy. However, it is necessary to say that in the context of public diplomacy, Turkey's efforts to deliver humanitarian aid quickly without considering any race, religion,

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469 OECD. (2018). Turkey Economic Snapshot. http://www.oecd.org/economy/turkey-economic-forecast-summary.htm., Date of Access: 08.05.2019.

470 Hürriyet Daily News. (2018). Turkish economy grows 7.4 percent in 2017. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-economy-grew-7-4-percent-in-2017-129474., Date of Access: 09.05.2019.

471 T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türk Ekonomisinin Genel Görünümü. (2017). http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turk-ekonomisindeki-son-gelismeler.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 09.052019.

472 TRT. Tarihçe. http://www.trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/tarihce.aspx., Date of Access: 09.05.2019.

gender, language; and its supports for internation efforts are quite important. Turkey's humanitarian aid, which started in the middle of the 1980's as food aid to some countries, has gained considrebale momentum in recent yeras and has spread to many regions of the world and has also diversified in quantity and quality and has also covered many areas other than food.[473] This situation is appreciated at both regional and global scale.

Another factor is the advantage of the geographical location of Turkey. This geography that has a deep-rooted history has always been the host of major trade routes. Today, due to the geography of Turkey, which is located as a bridge lying between and linking the Asia and Europe, its influence in the region has been increased by being the country of transmission lines of Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline Route. Thus, Turkey has become a critical intercontinental transport and trade centers.

Furthermore, Turkey has begun to emerge from its Western pro-politics since the Second World War and has changed it by turning its face to direction of the East. However, it is not possible for Turkey to turn its back to the West completely due to its location and relations. Therefore, relations between different geographies are being kept in blance even though they are not considered successful. In this context, Turkey plays an active role in many regional and global platforms such as from the UN Security Council to the G-20, from the Organization of Islamic Conference to the European Council, from NATO to the OSCE. [474]

An active foreign policy based on the historical background of Turkey, Turkey is one of the basic elements of a new conception. The fact that Turkey is a country which inherited the Ottoman experience. It provides naturally an active role in regional policies in the wide geography extending from the Balkans to the Middle East. The steadily decrease of emotional and political distance between Turkey and the Arab world is very significant in respect of the normalization of the relations after a long time again. If the 20th century considered that the regional Arab nationalism is still active despite the defeat suffered by Turkey's Arab to become a country that is closely watched by the public and it is a noteworthy development. This feature

[473] Kızılay Afet Yönetim Müdürlüğü, (2011-14 Kasım). *Kurumsal İletişim Bölümü, Suriye Krizi İnsani Yardım Operasyonu-Genel Faaliyet Raporu*, 11.
[474]Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.

of Turkey, is being monitored closely not only by the Arabs, Europeans, Russians, Americans, Africans, but also by the Japanese and other Asians.[475]

Despite all these advantages and efforts by Turkey it has shown that, especially since 2002, today the Turkish public diplomacy is faced with various problems. These problems are manifested in various shortcomings based on both domestic and foreign policies. Primarily, when a nation is seen as economically successful and politically stable, its power increases regionally and globally.[476] Certainly today one of the biggest problems of Turkey takes place in the fields of domestic policies. As it is mentioned before, the policies of the JDP until the outbreak of the Syrian crisis in the first period have provided positive effects, but later, when the attitudes towards the events in the country with the position in the international arena has brought to light negative reactions in both domestic and foreign policy. Although Republic of Turkey has 96 years of history, it is still coping with issues caused by failure to recognize itself well in domestic policy. Therefore, it should recognize itself rather than introducing itself and manage its perception and reputation well. Otherwise, as Simon Anhalt, an expert on national branding, says by starting from example of Turkey, "if a country does not manage its own perception and credibility, its dignity proceeds with its own natural rhythm and becomes governed by others."[477]

One of the best examples on this context is Turkey's EU membership process. This process started on July, 31, 1959 with the application for partnership with the EEC and has become an unresolved case. Although Turkey's candidacy at the Helsinki Summit in 1999 officially confirmed[478], since then, the EU prefers to extend of the process. It is stated that Turkey does not have adequate implementations including areas such as human rights, the basic rights and freedoms, democracy, the rule of law, freedom of expression and in this context titles opened in this context can not be closed. This situation is also combined with the perception and attitudes are inherited from the Middle Ages despite Turkey has two-centuries-old experience of modernization, new communication possibilitiesa and the presence of Turks nearly five million people in Europe. Of course when it is considered in terms of the EU policies, it won't be easy to accept Turkey such a country who has a significant potential, but also when considered in the

[475] Kalın, *ibid.*, 2010.
[476] Huijgh & Warlick, *ibid.*, 3.
[477] Sabah-Sanberk, Ö. & Altınay, H. (2008). *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Yumuşak Güç*. http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/01/08/haber,A9BC3A84BEF146B2BF13D4F0ED804C08.html, Date of Access: 10.05.2018.
[478] T.C. Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı. Türkiye-AB İlişkilerinin Tarihçesi, *ibid.*

context in which the events have, it is seen that Turkey does not have the desired criteria literally. At this point, it is necessary to talk about the perceptions of foreign policy in detail. Perhaps the most significant destruction of the war against terrorism, launched after the September 11 attacks and triggered a spiral of violence throughout the world, was the identification of Muslim image with terrorism through a conscious propaganda activity.[479] Thus, a bad image that Muslims are equal with terrorists has emerged in the mind of Western societies. Certainly this situation effects also Turkey, which is a Muslim country, also faces a number pf disadvantages in the international platform and this is seen as one of Turkey's most fundamental problem facing public diplomacy activities. In that case, although Turkey progresses in matters such as freedom, democracy, human rights, the perception in the external world, especially in the Western world, is not proportional to its progress. The result is that; Turkey's attempts, to some extend, fails to introduce itself effectively, permanently and adequately in order to correct the adverse and negative perceptions.

Another problem arising from domestic situations is that NGOs are not sufficiently effective and developed according to the needs of the modern globalized world. As it is mentioned before, despite NGOs have made an important progress recently in Turkey, the professional approach in the West have not yet been caught fully in Turkey. Although the NGOs became a public sector in developed countries, it never went beyond the general approach and activities in Turkey. So it has an uninterrupted and valve structure. This situation was created by both government policies and the perception of citizens, because in the West, there is a certain share in public budgets for civil society establishments. The organizations, established by the initiatives of their citizens are completely self- financed. But in Turkey, mostly because the education level of the members or individual economic difficulties the associations prefer to operate with a very few people most of whom has political worries and this is a handicap to create a fertile working atmosphere and an harmonious team. Besides, they are usually expected to show sensitivity to the public sector which might lead to political reservations due to fear of supression or being tagged. Unfortunately these fears or worries make the civil society organizations have a hoarse voice which is among the reasons for their failure to be effective and successful at the expected level. Therewithal, as foreseen in the European Foundation report from the perspective of Turkey, NGOs can not ensure cooperation for the absence of a legal framework governing the

[479] Özkır, Y. (2018). 11 Eylül, Kurgular, Yalanlar ve Müslüman İmajı. https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz-haber/11-eylul-kurgular-yalanlar-ve-musluman-imaji/1252060., Date of Access: 10.05.2019.

public cooperation, this situation may cause not be seen as a stakeholder by easily exclusion of the public or organizations from NGOs in policy-making process.[480] It is not sill possible fort he NGOs to be seen as primary actors in Turkey. In this context, it would not be completely wrong to claim that NGOs which is one of of the most important tools of soft power as well as public diplomacy, are not in the perfect position yet.

Another problem is the problems that arise from the promotion. Turkey's efforts since 2002 and the activities as a result of these efforts did not create the desired effect in the international arena. One of the most important reasons for this is the inedequacy of advertising activities in the context of public diplomacy. For instance, although TRT is an important mass media in this context, its pro-goverment perception is created by it is perceived as being far from transparency by a number of masses of protesting activities, which limits its effectiveness both domestically and internationally.

Moreover, another problem comes out as an economic source. Although Turkey's economy also grows with a large volume, the JDP government faces a growing national deficit and tightening credit, and despite the creation of new jobs, unemployment has mostly remained at or above 10% for years.[481] Furthermore, certain public institutions, such as education, have lagged behind the nation's economic growth.

As a result, while Turkey has long been an important nation given its geographical location, its status as an emerging power is equally the result of the nation's domestic developments.[482] It is certainly clear that Turkey has an important public diplomacy potential. However, if it can utilize its historical accumulation and civilization values effectively, it will be possible to achive maximum benefit from public diplomacy. Turkey should first determine a national public diplomacy policy with the participation of all segments of society to mobilize the potential of public diplomacy and this policy must be applied as a roadmap in the public diplomacy policies of Turkey. It is not enough to establish only institutions to implement public diplomacy. The important thing is to create the human resources that will be able to implement this diplomacy and make it reach to the maximum level. Public diplomacy is undoubtedly carried out through the realization of public diplomacy beyond the foundations. In this context, there is a long way

[480] Bulut, Y., Akın, S. & Kahraman, Ö.F. (2017). Kamu Politikalarının Oluşturulmasında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Etkisi. *Strategic Public Management Journal*, 3(6), 32.
[481] TUİK. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1007., Date of Access:10.05.2019.
[482] Huijgh & Warlick, *ibid.*, 3.

in front of Turkey to go and there are many steps including the borders and beyond of the country to create a country brand.

3.3.1. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)

Turkey has a strategic potential for public diplomacy with its deep-rooted culture and history that it has as a result of geography where it. However, it is obvious that it understood the importance of this concept relatively late -discounting the period of Ataturk-, because public diplomacy has been implemented as a state policy in the modern sense by institutionalizing it for the first time in the 2000s with JDP and in this context. As mentioned before, as part of these institutionalization activities, Office of Public Diplomacy, Yunus Emre Institute and Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities were established and Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, which was established in 1990, was restructured in order to re-adopt it according to needs of public diplomacy. Undoubtedly, TIKA could be handled as the first soft power institution of Turkey. TIKA can be examined in two periods: the period from 1992 to 2002 can be characterized as the period when TIKA gained experience.[483] The period beginning with 2002, JDP period, is the period when TIKA's area of influence has expanded and its activities have accelerated. The year when TIKA was first established coincides to the period when the USSR collapsed. Considering the desire of Turkey on Central Asia during that period, it is easier to understand the targets of the instituaion better. Turkic States, after gaining independence, were under close scope of Turkey who wanted to establish mutual relations with them as having the same roots of history, culture and language. Hence, it would be essential to go through the first period under the lights of this information.

It can be said that the need for TIKA based on many sources and especially TIKA came to exist with the end of Cold War, because the vacuum created especially in the central Asia by the USSR, has turned into an opportunity for many countries especially in a cultural sense which has important ties with this region, such as Turkey to fill this gap in their favor. Central Asia has always been a hinterland that allows the states and empires established on Russian territories to land in the South at any time and thus Russia has seen these lands as a backyard that should always be kept under control and the struggle it initiated with this awareness is clearly seen from the 16th century to the 19th or even to the present day. Although the actors change from time to

[483] Kardaş, T. & Erdağ, R. (2012). *Bir Dış Politika Aracı Olarak TİKA*. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 7(1), 171.

time in this struggle, i.e. from Britain to China, who aims to advance North through India against the Russia or who wants to advance from the North steppes to the South; Russia has always been the most active part of the "Big Game" in this region. Russia's active role in this region began with the revolution of Bolshevism.

While Sovietization policies rejected nationalism after this period, a new type of nationalism had to be launched. Therefore, Stalin preferred to control ethnic identities through administrative structuring and incorporated nationalism into Soviet sovereignty. In this way, it is prevented that societies produce common values that will help them to show common resistance.[484] Besides, it was no longer possible to talk about a cultural or heritage unity in the region that originated from the history of the region, because the policies pursued by the USSR and the Russian-speaking ethnic groups, which Moscow defined as a reliable, were being tried to be increased in the general population. Furthermore, forced migration to the region has also yielded results, and these states then became surrounded by the idea of communism attached to the USSR. However, as would every period, this period would not last forever. The effects of the globalization were inevitable for any state on the earth.

In 1989, the pressures of the Soviet Union were replaced by Gorbachev's Glastnost (openness) and Perestroika (reconstruction) policies. The aim of Gorbachev was to revive and expand into the free market system of the degenerating economy.[485] At the same time, the emphasis on democratization led to the re-emergence of ethnic and national identities that have been under pressure for more than sixty years. While the national elites and scientists were infused with nationalism, the USSR began to give signs of disintegration.[486] So the USSR, one of the superpowers of the world, was seperated in 1991 by being beaten in the super power battle with the US. With the collapse of the USSR, the neighboring countries began to interfere with the international system and to adopt to the new world order by declaring their independence. However, getting rid of the influence of the USSR was not as easy as it was thought because they had made a significant blow to the facts of identity and belonging that make up a society

[484] Kurubaş, E. (2006). SSCB Sonrası Türk Cumhuriyetleri'nde Yeni Uluslaşma Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika,* 2, 120.

[485] Özgürlük Dünyası. Gorbaçov Demokratizminden Demokratik Darbe"ye Rusya. https://www.ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/406-sayi-061/1719-gorbacov-demokratizminden-qdemokratik-darbeqye-rusya., Date of Access:03.02.2019.

[486] Turan, A. (nd.). Orta Asya'da Dönüşüm. http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/1059/-orta-asya'da-donusum/#.XEWL2qfBLPA., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.

and hold it together. Now there was a gap in the region that could turn into an opportunity for other states who want to have a voice in the international arena.

Considering all of the connections and interactions coming from the very past, one of the countries that can fill this gap in the best way was Turkey without any doubt. In this new period, with the emergence of new opportunities, Turkey's possible role in the region began to be spoken loudly. Turkey that finds itself in the center of the region expanding from the Balkans to central Asia and to the Caucasus, has taken foreign policy steps towards the goal of providing support to strengthen the independence of the Turkic States and it started to follow an active foreign policy in the new era as the first country to recognize the Turkish Republics in the world.[487] And within this context, a lot of social, economic and cultural studies have been conducted for Turkish compatriots living in newly established countries in Central Asia. The aid that was given in the beginning, as time turned into long-term projects and cooperation based on development.[488] The need of an organization that can practice and coordinate the operations to be carried out in this area and for foreign policy priorities arose, and finally came up with the establishment of TIKA in 1992.[489] By this way, Turkey started to accelerate the attempts to use TIKA as an instrument of foreign policy in the region.

TIKA's aims in those years is the procreation of the own social structure of the Turkic Republics, their construction of an identity in a sustainable way, and the remedy of deficiencies of their technical infrastructures.[490] Although it has been established for a regional purpose, today it can not be said that TIKA's activities are ethnic-centered, because today TIKA is one of the most important institutions actively working from Chile to Turkmenistan, from Somalia to Moldova. However, during its establishment period, the enthusiasm of embracing with the lost brothers and the role of the model country, which was reaped from outside, made this kind of formation necessary[491] and this is undeniable fact about the establishment of TIKA.

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[487] Bal, İ. (2006). *Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Türk Dış Politikası İçin Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Önemi*, İçinde 21. Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikası, Ed. İdris Bal, Ankara AGAM, 401.

[488] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. About Us. http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/about_us-14650., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.

[489] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. About Us. ., *ibid.*

[490] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. About Us. ., *ibid.*

[491] Kabasakal, Ö. (2002). Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Ekonomik Kalkınmalarında TİKA'nın Rolü. *DTM Dergisi*, DTM Yayınları, 12-18.

In that case, in the period from the establishment of TIKA until 1999, it has been involved in aid activities for countries that declare independence from the Soviet Union.[492] This period was a period that TIKA gained experience but bring no return in terms of economic or commercial terms to Turkey for making regular planning. In other words, in the first period in which the establishment was far from TIKA's activities showed growth strategy in the form of financial aid to the states with historic ties with Turkey.[493]

The activities of TIKA at that time were of course important for the states in the region, but the activities did not achieve the desired level of return to the country and this pointed to a new structuring process. Thus within this framework, TIKA was established with the Statutory Decree Law No: 480 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1999 it was entrusted to the Prime Ministry with a Presidential Order.[494] This process of course, was correlated with Turkey's changing foreign policy axis, equally important factors in the process were the developments in the economy. Thus, TIKA expanded its scope by taking a more active role in the context of its foreign policy. Turkey, especially during the Cold War had been forced to reduce the interest because of the threat of Soviet in Balkans But then, it began to stimulate effort to be together again and deal effectively with this new process.

In this context, the quality of TIKA's works has changed over time and has accelerated educational activities especially on the homeland, and technical assistance has been provided to universities by building schools, libraries and laboratories. Thus, in the 2000s, TIKA's projects turned into institutional capacity building projects. Understanding of foreign policy since the 2000s as an extension of Turkey's efforts to become an important actor in the region and in the world it has undergone significant changes. In line with this change, TIKA expanded its operational geography and the number of TIKA's program coordination offices reached to 12 in the year 2002.[495] Its budget also has increased significantly. The budget, which was 2,1 million Turkish Lira in 1999, reached 27 million TL in 2014.[496] As a result of this, TIKA's field of activity has expanded further and it has become a key element in multifaceted foreign policy of Turkey.

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[492] Kardaş & Erdağ, *ibid.*, 2012: 17.
[493] Keskin, H. (2017). *Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığının Türk Dış Politikasındaki Rolü*, Bilecik, 17.
[494] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. History of TİKA. http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/history_of_tika-8526., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.
[495] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. About Us., *ibid.*
[496] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. History of TİKA., *ibid.*

> In 2011, as a result of Turkey's dynamic foreign policy initiatives and the driving force of the major global and regional shifts, in order to increase the effectiveness of the development cooperation process, the organizational structure of Turkish Cooperation and Development Administration Directorate was reviewed and TIKA was restructured and with the Statutory Decree Law No. 656 dated October 24, 2011, the body of rules and the name of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) were updated and its flexible new structure that enabled much quicker decision-making helped its activities to continue in a more robust manner. Besides, in accordance with this change, TIKA enlarged its activity area - it increased the number of Programme Coordination Offices from 12 in the year 2002 to 25 in 2011, and to 33 in 2012. Today, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency is engaged in various development cooperation activities in 150 countries through its 61 Programme Coordination Offices located in 59 countries across 5 continents and within the Article 521 titled "Establishment and Organization" of the Section 37 titled "Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency" in the "Presidential Decree Law on the Organization of Institutions and Organizations Under, Affiliated with, Linked to the Ministries, and Other Institutions and Organizations" published in the Official Gazette dated 15.07.2018, and numbered 30479, TIKA was described as having a public legal entity and a private budget and it carries out its activities under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.[497]

The duties of TIKA in connection with the purpose of establishment are to provide all kinds of assistance in various fields with the countries where the Turkish language is spoken, suc as economic, financial, commercial, education, social and culture, cooperating and contributing to their development. Besides, the Decree Law No. 656 is also assigned the duty to implement the social, cultural studies aimed at protecting the common historical, cultural and social heritage and values that existed abroad, the elimination of inter-communal prejudices and the strengthening of dialogue between civilizations.[498] In this context, many works have been restored especially in the Balkans and have been opened to service, and the feasibility studies fort he design of nearly 30 works have been completed.[499] The Cooperation also aims to provide technical support and development assistance to developing countries in order to disseminate the use of Turkish.[500]

As in the Turkish communities and in the Turkic states, TIKA carries out its activities in many countries that need humanitarian assistance, especially in some African countries. Economic and socio-cultural activities of organizing and carrying out especially to have a say in the Turkish republics of future management is a very important mission of TIKA in the training of bureaucracy and institutions as an important bridge between the state and communities with

[497] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. About Us., *ibid.*

[498] Yılmaz, N. & Kılıçoğlu, G. (2015). Kafkaslardaki Türk Dili Ve Kültürünün Etkisi; Yumuşak Güç Ve Kamu Diplomasisi Açısından Bölgedeki Siyasi Projeksiyonlar. *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi*, 71, 195.

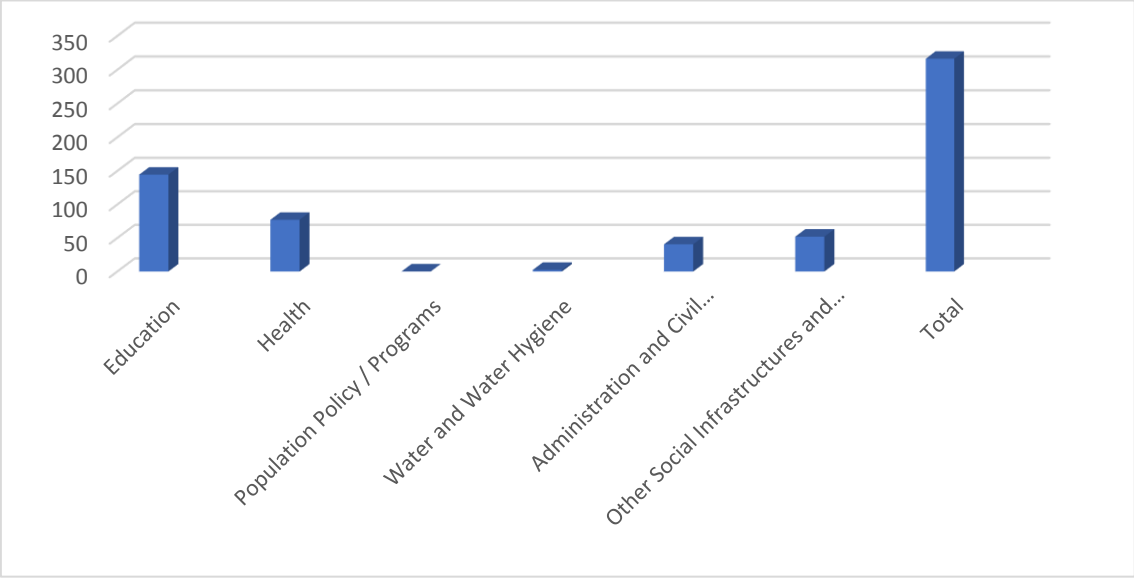
[499] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. The Annual Report 2015. http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2017/YAYINLAR/AnnualReport2015/FR%202015%20İNGİLİZCE+.pdf., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.

[500] Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, *ibid*., 2015.

Turkey.[501] In this context, it can be said that TIKA conducts its work in regional, national and private projects. Coordination and cooperation play an important role in project production and their implementation stages. Demands from the countries or communities aiming to cooperate are submitted to the opinion of the institutions and organizations and NGOs and the project is prepared by taking into consideration the contributions from them.[502]

When all of these objectives and activities are taken into consideration, it is possible to claim that today TIKA is one of Turkey's most important foreign policy instruments that can be used at the global level. As OECD states, TIKA is an autonomous institution attached to the prime minister's office.[503] However, today TIKA is more than this as an institution implementing Turkish foreign policies abroad.

At this juncture, it is necessary to evaluate the TIKA's figures of aid with the data received from its own website:[504]



Graphic 1. *Sub-sectoral Distribution of Social Infrastructures and Services [2017; Million Dollar]*

[501] Nair, G. (2008). *Bilgi Toplumu ve Türkiye.* İstanbul: Gündoğan Yayınları, 293.
[502] Erdağ, R. (2015). *Türkiye'nin Kalkınma Yardımları ve TİKA,* İçinde Mehmet Şahin ve B. Senem Çevik (der), Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi, Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 248.
[503] OECD. (2017). Profiles of Other Development Co-operation Providers. Development Co-operation Report 2017. https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/development-co-operation-report-2017/profiles-of-other-development-co-operation-providers_dcr-2017-43-en#page11., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[504] TİKA. Sosyal Altyapılar ve Hizmetler Yardımlarının Alt Sektörel Dağılımı. https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Kalkınma%20Yardımları%20Raporu/Kalkinma2017Web.pdf., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.

Based on these data, it would not be wrong to say that the field of education is one of the priority areas within the scope of TIKA's activities. Right at this juncture it could be beneficial to look at TIKA's educational projects:

> The inauguration of Gostivar Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Primary School that had been renovated and equipped via the cooperation between TİKA and the Union of Municipalities of Turkey was made by Deputy Prime Minister Hakan Çavuşoğlu before December 21, the Turkish Language Education Day. Macedonian and Albanian children receive education together with a majority of Turkish students in the school delivering education in Macedonian and Albanian as well as in Turkish. Besides, as a result of the cooperation established with the Ministry of Education and Scientific Researches, institution responsible for the management and administration of the primary and secondary schools in Romania, 10 schools were repaired and equipped by TİKA in 2015 within the scope of the project called "Turkish Language Classroom in Each School in Romania". In 2017, the project was continued by means of undertaking the repair and equipment of 23 dedicated Turkish classrooms and the room of the inspector.[505]

These projects all serve for the spread of the Turkish culture all around the region. Although today people of this region are seen as part of the Europe in many ways, they still share many common points and values with Turkish people. So it is an undeniable facet that such projects, especially in the field of education, will play a key role in the continuation of the links with the region in the future.

Beside this, TIKA has begun to engage in relations with Africa through the restructuring process and the increase in its activity area. Just like in the Balkans, activities in the field of education in this region are also very important. In this context, with the establishment of Turkish Vocational Education Centre Textile Workshop in Sudan, center is intended to transfrom into an international structure.[506] In addition to this, Boarding School and Friendship Park in Nigeria is also one of the important projects in this field.

> In line with the instructions of our Honourable President, one school was built on an area of 4 hectares, with a capacity of 1.260 students and 42 classrooms, one dormitory building with the capacity of 648 students and one sports complex where the students may engage in leisure activities were constructed by TİKA and the process is ongoing for the provision of equipment in these buildings. Moreover, afforestation works, construction of a well and water tanks, fountain and 1 mini football field were finalized within the scope of renovation works for Turkey-Niger Friendship Forest in an area of 10 hectares.[507]

[505] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017. http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Faaliyet%20Raporu/AR_2017%20web.pdf., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.
[506] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[507] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*

TIKA's works in the field of education are not limited with neighboring countries or neighboring regions, it also carried out the modification of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk College in Chile where is located quite far geographically from Turkey.

Health is another field that TIKA operates most after the education field, because it is necessary to minimize or even completely eliminate the health problems of individuals in order to ensure sustainable development. Within this frame, TIKA helps many countries in the health field who needs the knowledge and wants to learn the experience of Turkey in this field. With the projects carried out in this field, it is aimed to establish basic health infrastructures in the relevant countries, to provide access to health services and to improve human health in general, especially in disadvantaged groups such as mother-child health and women and the elderly people.[508] One of the most important projects in this context is the Chemotherapy Unit in Bangladesh.

> With its modern design and state of the art equipment, the Turkish-Bangladeshi Chemotherapy Unit, which attracted a lot of attention and was already cited as a model in the country raised its services to a higher level with the support of TİKA in the field of health. This unit is expected to contribute to the attainment of a substantial progress in the treatment of cancer in Shaheed Suhrawardy Hospital serving as a training hospital and across the entire country in the long term as regards the services provided to patients and the training delivered to the health staff. On the other hand, it is planned to deliver training to the staff of the hospital in th field of oncology in early 2018 in Turkey. The chemotherapy centre in Shaheed Suhrawardy Faculty of Medicine and Research Hospital with 65 beds, which was constructed and equipped by TİKA in Bangladesh, was inaugurated by the President of TİKA. Furthermore, in 2017, Africa, as a result of the activities carried out in different countries within the scope of Protective Health, Therapeutic Health and Training Services, more than 30.000 treatments were provided and more than 3.000 operations were performed. In the hospitals where the operations were performed, local doctors were allowed to take part in the operations, the new technology was demonstrated, gynaecology and midwifery training was delivered by using a mannequin mother in district primary healthcare centres, hygiene training and circumcision training were also given.[509]

A similar study like this was also conducted in the Philippines. TIKA's activities in this field are not limited to this and it has realized many projects in the surrounding countries that have been particularly lacking in the field of health after the USSR. Repair and equipment of Batumi Infection Hospital in Georgia, implemention of Maternal-Infant Health Promotion Program in Kazakhstan, Medical Device Procurement to the Oncology Dispensary and Republic Urology Centre in Uzbekistan and Repair and Equipment of Kishinev Maternal and Infant Health Protection Institute's Rehabilitation Centre in Moldova[510] are some of these projects.

[508] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[509] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[510] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*

Undoubtedly, TIKA has shown high performance with the projects it run. TIKA has carried out various projects to ensure the accessibility and sustainability of water and sanitary conditions for everyone. For example, 73 water wells in various parts of Nigeria were repaired and maintained and access to clean water was provided. The renewal of the drinking water system in Ak-Car village, which has a population of 2.350 in the town of Kara-Buura in the city of Talas in Kyrgyzstan, has been provided. Also, it provided water to the village of Sinnar, El İncifav Village, and water supply to the village by water pipeline. 15 water wells have been built in various villages in the Kampong Cham province of Cambodia. Furthermore, the delegation of the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources of the Federal Republic of Somalia, which consists of 8 engineers, has been trained on the management and technologies of water and wastewater. Moreover, an irrigation system has been installed by opening a water well for the an ''Community Garden'' project, which is planned to be established in Mahahe Village of the Eastern Kavango Region of Namibia. Lastly, a total of 1250 meters of clean water pipes have been laid in order to transport water to the regions where no water is available in the village of Krasnoychka in Kuk province of Kyrgyzstan. In addition, a small village fountain was built in the village.[511]

In addition to these, TIKA also helps many countries to improve the quality of public services offered by central and local governemnts with the state tradition that Turkes has due to Turkey's many states and empires to host. The targets here are determined as follows; "to ensure continuous, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and good work for all, reduce all inequalities within and across countries, ensuring inclusive, safe, durable and sustainable cities and human settlements, supporting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, ensuring access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all level and strengthen implementation tools and stimulate global partnership for sustainable development."[512] In this context, the following projects were realized; vehicle and equipment were provided in Tunisia, military training and facilities were built in Somalia and 50 buses were sent to Guinea to facilitate transportation.[513]

Moreover, as mentioned erarlier, TIKA has accelerated its restoration activities in 2018 with the passing of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In this regard, restoration of Ketchaoua

[511] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[512] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[513] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*

Mosque in Algeria and Pristina Yaşar Pasha Mosque and Landscaping in Kosova were realized. Various tombs were opened to visitors in the Balkans and Ethiopia such as Necashi Tomb, Gul Baba Tomb. Besides, the working areas of the General Directorate of Passport in Bucharest was organized. Furthermore, various amendments and arrangements were made in foreign minitries in Montenegro, Ukraine and Palestine.[514] Reconstruction of the historical Mostar Bridge in Bosnia which ruined during the civil war was another outstanding jobs of TİKA. In addition, ensuring gender equality and strengthening the position of women and girls and reducing all inequalities within and across countries are among the most important elements of sustaining a life worht of human dignity. In this context, TIKA completed Faryab Province, Andhoy Buzkashi and Multipurpose Sports Complex in Afghanistan. Also, the school transport was provided to 70 children with visually impaired children living in Ghazipur, Bangladesh. In Kenya, 200 female students who had to walk for miles to go to school were given bicycles in order to facilitate their education. Artek International Children's Center located in Kiev, Ukraine The dormitory building was renovated and provided with hardware support. Renovations of Dragan Filipovic - JUSA Children's Home in Belgrade, Serbia.[515]

In addition to all these fields, TIKA has carried out several projects in the fields of economic infrastructures and services in order to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, durable and sustainable by taking all dimensions of development. For instance, construction of concrete road, bridge and access road in Mynmar, installation of solar energy panels in Palestine, Street design of the Brand Refugee Camp in Jordan etc. Moreover, TIKA has been active in many other areas such as in the field of communication for the purpose of strengthening the means of implementation, in the field of energey generation, distribution and effeiciency in order to ensure that everyone has access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy and in the field of business and other sectors in order to ensure continuous, inclusive and sustainable economic growth for everyone.

At this point, it is necessary to say that the work of TIKA in the field of humanitarian aid, which is the main subject of this thesis, is also very important and noteworthy. However, this subject will be evaluated deeply under the title of "Turkey's Approach to Humanitarian Diplomacy" in order not to disrupt the integrity and to detail the works.

[514] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[515] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*

When all these activities are evaluated objectively, it is possible to reach this conclusion; it can be said that Turkey started learning to use of public diplomacy, which has the potential to change the course of the world, as well as classical diplomacy in foreign policy. In this context, as a product of this new foreign policy understanding, TIKA could be counted as one of the most important instruments of foreign policy. In parallel with the foreign policy initiatives, the aid provided by TIKA reaches to all around the world and TIKA today is without a doubt one of Turkey's most strategic soft power institutions. It has played an important role in the implementation of public diplomacy during and after its establishment. It has been active in 150 countries in the world, mainly in the Central Asia, the Balkans, Africa, East Asia, Latin American countries with the expansion of the field of activity as a result of the structuring processes and helps the developement of these countries by providing grants to projects in many fields. While performing them, it contributes positively to Turkey's image in the international arena in many ways. However, it should not be considered that recycling of each aid will be positive. The activities of TIKA, especially after the JDP came to power, are in long-term manner considering the characteristics of the soft power. For example, it doubtlessly contributes to bring out children who symphatize to Turkey in the future. It also expands the Turkish values in that region and as a result of the establishment of a Turkish lobby outside the Turkish borders. Surely it is obvious that such works will result in a way but it is not certain that these results will be positive or will allow Turkey many opportunities. As it is seen in every period, the possibility of a lack of an effective and genuine Turkish lobby is an important risk and problem under rapidly changing foreign policy atmospheres. In addition to this, in international politics, especially the opposition groups and some politicians are accusing TIKA of wasting the resource of our own. According to the 2017 Annual Report, TIKA is allocated an initial allwance of TL 295,481,000 and this amount reached TL 378,855,308 at the end of the year and TIKA spent TL 304,106,759 from this budget.[516] So, TIKA has increased its budget of around 319 thousand TL in the year 1999 to 11.1 times in 20 years.[517] It is quite normal for such an institution to increase its budget so much in the globalizing world, according to the requirements of the time ;but the main question is whether TIKA is transparent in its activities and whether the Project costs are represented by the same figures both on paper and in practice. And the most important question: are the outcomes that Turkey receive worth these cost? However, this subject might possibly be

[516] Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). Annual Report 2017., *ibid.*
[517] TİKA. Bir Gurur Tablosu, https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/oldpublication/bir-gurur-tablosu.pdf., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.

the subject of another thesis, but here the matter in hand is the projects carried out by TIKA in the framework of public diplomacy and their reflections in the international arena and the concrete outcomes in the national arena.

3.3.2. Turkish Red Crescent

Under this title, Turkish Red Crescent, which is one of Turkey's important public diplomacy organizations and prominent with its humanitarin assistance provided, will be examined. Then, it will be evaluated that this institution, whose roots are based on the Ottoman State, is still serving in coordination with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and its role since its foundation. After that, in the light of information received from its website, its vision and mission, seven important principles and various activities carried out so far will be indicated. Lastly, its place in the context of public diplomacy in Turkey and in this context its own advantages and disadvantages will be discussed.

One of the main problems of the world today is the economic and social differences between developed and underdeveloped countries, and it has become the duty of almost all humanity to minimize these differences and to ensure justice among different people in different parts of the world. The state policies in the context of soft power concept popularized in the 21st century have not been indifferent to this situation, and foreign aids, which is an important tool of public diplomacy, have gained a significant volume at the present time. The foreign aid, which is intended to assist in the development ot the difficult situation of another country, will undoubtedly pave the way for long-term relations with that country. It is also important for regional and global actors who want to come a more effective position in the international arena, because the image of the country that has implemented it correctly in time is affected positively and that country becomes a center of attraction. In this case, it will increase the countries which trust and benefit from cooperating with that country and ultimately the country's reputation in the region as well as in the international platform increases in direct proportion. Besides, it should not be considered only on the basis of the state, these aids also contribute to cooperation and rapprochement between countries' societies.

As stated before, it is possible to examine foreign aid in two categories. The first of these is development aids that generally include long-term goals and try to find out solutions to systematic problems and the second one is humanitarian aids that include short-term goals to

save lives urgently. Foreign aid is generally carried out by a country, by its affiliated organizations, or by international independent organizations, namely non-governmental organizations. State-owned organizations naturally have the public diplomacy perspective due to the requirements of the context of foreign aid. Within this frame, it would not be wrong to say that TIKA, which has an important place in the field of foreign aid, is a government agency that focuses more on development aids by supporting humanitarian aid. In addition, another way to achieve foreign aid is by the activities of NGOs, which are independent organizations. NGOs are non-profit organizations that are generally outside the official voluntary bodies. However in the context of soft power, NGOs should also be given a public perspective and a formation should be provided that best represents a country.

Today, in the context of public diplomacy in Turkey, especially acting as non-governmental organizations in the humanitarian field is the Turkish Red Crescent. The Turkish Red Crescent, whose roots are based on the Ottomans has achieved siginificant success in the field of humanitarian and since the day that it was founded. It is an international organization and active not only within the borders of the country but also outside the borders of the country. This organization works within the framework of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The movement carries three different institutional entities; national associations in almost every country in the world, a federation that provides the coordination of these associations (IFRC) and an international committee focused on protecting human life and dignity in armed conflicts (ICRC).[518] At this point, it is necessary to identify the International Committee of the Red Cross, which is the oldest and most recognized organization in the field.

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is a global humanitarian network of 80 million people that helps those facing disaster, conflict and health and social problems.[519] It consists of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the 191 National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.[520] As well seen, the ICRC is an important part of this movement and one of the world's oldest and most recognized organizations in the field of humanitarian aid. Today, The ICRC is an independent, neutral organization ensuring humanitarian protection and assistance for victims

[518] ICRC. (2011). Handbook of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-0962.pdf., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.
[519] ICRC. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. https://www.icrc.org/en/who-we-are/movement., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.
[520] ICRC. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. *ibid.*

of armed conflict and other situations of violence.[521] A Swiss writer, Jean Henry dunant, defended after the Battle of Solferino that people who suffered disaster must be helped without any distinction. Dunant witnessed the situation of the wounded people and was very touched because he was not an institution to provide health care. The local civilian population organized the wounded soldiers to help, regardless of which side they were military. Despite all efforts, 22,000 Austrian and 17,000 French soldiers lost tehir lives because they did not receive simple assistance.[522] This situation had undoubtedly affected Dunant in a humanitarian sense and as a result of this event he took up the idea that would lay the doundation of the Red Crescent Movement in his book "A Memory of Solferino". The main idea of this book can be explained simply as; the establishment of international voluntary associations to help those injured in the battlefield and to provide medical assistance to them, regardless of which nation they are from.[523] These ideas of Dunant gathered big supporters especially in Europe, because many countries thought that individual aid was not enough. In 1863, Dunant and his friends established the committee which was called Assistance Committee for International Casualties to make actual these ideas (This committee was renamed the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1875). As a result of this, Turkish Red Crescent International Committee of the Red Cross, the first component of the Movement, held its first meeting in Geneva in 1863, and Geneva Convention was signed on 28 August 1864 with the participation of several European countries.[524] The signatory countries to the Geneva Conventions –which included that wounded soldiers in battles and officials responsible for looking after them would be considered impartial by the battling parties, a common symbol would be accepted to enable the recognition of the sanitary staff in the armies, and the region where this symbol was raised as a flag would be considered impartial– committed to establish a Red Cross Society in their countries.[525] Following this, the first associations were established in the Kingdom of Württemberg, the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, Belgium and Prussia within a few months after the conference in 1863; they had followed associations in Denmark, Italy, France, Dukes of Mecklenburg-

[521] ICRC. The ICRC's Mandate and Mission, https://www.icrc.org/en/mandate-and-mission., Date of Access: 11.05.2019.
[522] Karacaoğlu, E. (1994). Uluslararası İnsani Hukuk ve Uluslararası Kızılhaç-Kızılay Hareketi. *İnsan Hakları Yıllığı*, 16, 51-73.
[523] Dunant, H. (1986). *A Memory of Solferino*. Geneva: ICRC Publishes, American Red Cross.
[524] Ada, H. (2004). *The First Ottoman Civil Society Organization In The Service Of The Ottoman State: The Case Of The Ottoman Red Crescent.* Sabancı University, 6-17.
[525] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Plan. https://kizilay.org.tr/Upload/Editor/files/Türk%20Kızılayı%20Stratejik%20Planı%20(2016-2020)%20ENG.pdf., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

Schwerin, Spain, Hamburg and Hesse.[526] Thus, the committee has begun to carry out its activities in connection with the association established and it took an active part in the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878, the Serb-Bulgarian War in 1885-1886 and the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913. The activity area of the committee expanded with the First World War because World War I had the need to work in cooperation with the national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies. Henry Davison, chairman of the American Red Cross War Committee after the war, suggested that national associations should unite under a federation.[527] Thus, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies was established in Paris, in 1919, under the name of the Association of Red Cross Associations. In this context, "Protecting human dignity," constituting the fundamental philosophy of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, turned into a collective structure with the establishment of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in 1919; having commenced its activities under the leadership of 5 founder national societies, the organization today continues its humanitarian aid activities in the world in a totally neutral platform with National Societies, with a history of almost a century.[528]

"Today, established in 1863, the ICRC is at the origin of the Geneva Conventions and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It directs and coordinates the international activities conducted by the Movement in armed conflicts and other situations of violence."[529] They have 16,800 staff in over 80 countries, helping people affected by armed conflict and violence.[530] The comit tee's work has been awarded three times the Nobel Peace Prize and the comittee received observer status in the UN in 1990. The ICRC also endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles.[531] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) is the union responsible for the coordination of 188 Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Founded in 1919, the federation is based in Geneva. The federation, an independent non-governmental organization, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1963 with the ICRC. 100 million members are supported by volunteers.[532]

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[526] ICRC. (2004). From the Battle of Solferino to the Eve of the First World War. https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/misc/57jnvp.htm., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[527] IFRC. History. http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/history/., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[528] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, *ibid.*
[529] ICRC. The ICRC's Mandate and Mission, *ibid.*
[530] ICRC. The ICRC Worldwide. https://www.icrc.org/en/where-we-work., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[531] ICRC. The ICRC's Mandate and Mission, *ibid.*
[532] ICRC. Amblemler. http://www.icrc.org/eng/home/languages/turkish/files/insanligin-amblemleri-emblems-humanity.pdf., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

Today, all States are bound by the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 which, in times of armed conflict, protect the wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of the armed forces, prisoners of war and civilians.[533] According to this, within the framework of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, associations acting as federations are the most basic units of this movement. The Red Turkisch Crescent, which has achieved many successes in this field with its humanitarian and history, is undoubtedly one of the most important of these units. As it is mentioned before, the roots of the Red Turkish Crescent extend to the Ottoman State. Ottoman State became a party to the Geneva Convention on 5 July 1865 and established "Society in Aid and Wounded Ottoman Soldiers" on 11 June 1868.[534] Although there was the idea that this society would not benefit in the Ottoman State, the delegates were sent and the efforts of a group of idealist doctors started to work in the field of the Society in Aid and Wounded Ottoman Soldiers.[535]

Turkish Red Crescent Association which was founded on 11 June 1868 with the name "Society for Aiding the Wounded and Ailing Ottoman Soldiers", later took on the names "Ottoman Red Crescent Society" in 1877, "Turkey's Red Crescent Community" in 1923, "Turkish Red Crescent Community" in 1935 and "Turkish Red Crescent Society" in 1947. It was the great leader Ataturk who lent the name "KIZILAY" (Red Crescent) to the institution.[536]

> From the Ottoman-Russian war in 1876 to the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974, Turkish Red Crescent Society provided medical response to ten thousands of Turkish and enemy soldiers in all battlefields in which Turkey was present, through mobile and fixed hospitals, patient transportation services, hospital vessels, trained nurses and volunteering care givers; provided humanitarian care to war slaves regardless of their nationality; brought care and protection to all civilians affected by war; provided healthcare, shelter and nutrition of the disaster victims in all natural disasters in the country dating back to the great cholera epidemic in Istanbul following the declaration of the 1st Reformation Period; participated in international relief and response activities; led initiatives in nurse training, first aid and blood services and provided social aid and services to all Turkish citizens in need of such aid.[537]

Today we can describe the Turkish Red Crescent as follows: it is a voluntary social service organization with a legal personality, subject to the provisions of private law, not for profit, whose benefits and services are free and work fort he public good[538] and it, which was

[533] ICRC. The ICRC's Mandate and Mission, *ibid.*
[534] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, *ibid.*
[535] Efendi, A.M. (1879). *Hilal-i Ahmer-i Cemiyeti İnsaniyenin Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kırık Anbar Matbaası, 55-56.
[536] Kızılay. History. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Kurumsal/history., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[537] Kızılay. History, *ibid.*
[538] Kızılay. Tarihçemiz. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/kurumsal/tarihcemiz., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

established as a national association in the course of time, expanded its field of activity and became an international organization in the field of humanitarian aid. The aim of the Turkish Red Crescent is to try to prevent or prevent the suffering of human beings without any discrimination, to protect human life and health, to respect his personality and to try to bring mutual understanding, friendship, respect, cooperation and continuous peace between people. The Red Crescent is the symbol of solidarity, needlessness, impartiality and peace at the moment of the most angry moment of war.[539]

Working in coordination with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, Turkish Red Crescent has adopted the seven principles of the federation as its principles and it works according to these principles. These principles are; Humanity, Impartiality, Neutrality, Independence, Voluntary Service, Unity and Universality. It is possible to explain these principles according to the data received from the Turkish Red Crescent website:

> Humanity: The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, born of a desire to bring assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield, endeavors, in its international and national capacity, to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found. Its purpose is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship, cooperation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.
>
> Impartiality: It makes no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions. It endeavors to relieve the suffering of individuals, being guided solely by their needs, and to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress.
>
> Neutrality: In order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all, the Movement may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.
>
> Independence: The Red Crescent Movement is independent. The Turkish Red Crescent Society, while an auxiliary in the humanitarian services of its government and subject to the laws of Republic of Turkey, always maintains its autonomy so that it is able at all times to act in accordance with the principles of the International Federation of Red Crescent-Red Cross Movement.
>
> Voluntary Service: It is a voluntary relief movement not prompted in any manner by desire for gain.
>
> Unity: There can be only one Red Crescent Society in Turkey. It must be open to all. It must carry on its humanitarian work throughout the territory of Turkey.
>
> Universality: The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, in which all Societies have equal status and share equal responsibilities and duties in helping each other, is worldwide.[540]

[539] Kızılay. Tarihçemiz, *ibid.*

[540] Kızılay. Fundamental Principles. https://kizilay.org.tr/Kurumsal/fundamental-principles., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

These principles undoubtedly guide the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and explain the principles they adopt best. It is also seen that the principles reflect the basic characteristics that a non-governmental organization should have.

Considering the date of Turkish Red Crescent's establishment, it is of course natural for its working areas to be limited to the battlefields, but over time the activities of the Red Crescent have been diversified. Undoubtedly the most important factor in this case is the transformation of wars with developing technology. In other words, these are transformed into technological wars rather than total wars. For example, the bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were carried out in such a way that no American soldiers died, and that only these cities were destroyed. These developments, especially after the Second World War, led to the diversification of the fields of work of all organizations working in the field of humanitarian aid. Besides, after the world's most devastating wars in the world, the changing perception of the world in the field of humanitarian aid has allowed the activities of these institutions to spread internationally. As a result of this, The Turkish Red Crescent has also become an organization that is affected by these processes and servs in many fields. Today, the Turkish Red Crescent basically operates in two key fields. First of them is meeting the need for blood in the health sector, and the second of them is helping people who need by taking an active role in national and international disasters. The Turkish Red Crescent aims to meet all the blood needs of Turkey from safe and continuous donators with its Regional Blood Centers, Blood Donation Centers and mobile blood donation vehichels.[541] This is undoubtedly one of the most important activities of the Red Crescent so far. When it is considered that the only source of blood is human, the importance of this concept is better understood. 82% of blood needs are met by the Red Crescent in Turkey but despite blood donation rate is 2% of the total population.[542] Moreover, as known, the majority of this rate is met by soldiers, within the farmework of the establishment purpose of the Red Crescent. The main reasons for this are the insensitivity of the society and the prejudices about the subject. As it is seen, blood donation is a very serious matter and it reflects the mindset of a society while saving lives.

Another important activity is taking active role in national and international disasters and meeting the basic needs of people in distress. Natural disasters are natural events that can occur

[541] Kızılay. Blood Services. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/what-we-do/blood-services., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[542] Kızılay. Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Kan Bankacılığı. http://www.kanver.org/sayfa/e-kutuphane/dunyada-ve-turkiye-de-kan-bankaciligi/43., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

largely outside of human control and can cause serious loss of property and life. These events usually occur in a very short period of time, and it is not possible to be prevented by people after they start. Besides, as a result of these events people can lose many things, including their lives. Therefore, helping survivors after these events is vital. The Turkish Red Crescent is certainly one of the most significant organizations active in both national and international fields. If we look at the activities of the Red Crescent in the national sphere, the most important of all is undoubtedly the effort of transforming the traditional disaster response approach into a risk management approach. In the context of changing conditions, disaster risk in the world and consequently the rate of damage is increasing and it has been seen that traditional disaster response approaches are insufficient.

However, disaster management has shown a holistic approach; the activities covered by the management stages are not independent and unrelated. In that case, efficient struggle against disaster is possible with the development and application of an approach model covering risk mitigation, preparation, response and improvement processes to eliminate the risk of loss of life and property completely or reduce it for long term before, during and after the disaster. [543] However, this model can not be implemented by the Red Crescent alone or by the overlapping state institutions in this area. It is very important to create disaster awareness in reducimg disaster risks because the society is idenfied with the state or civil society policies. This consciousness should be adopted in all levels of society and all segments of society should be educated through realistic exercises. In this context, in its disaster management approach, Turkish Red Crescent aims to increase its institutional disaster response capacity to prevent possible occurrences or damages in consequence of a disaster, to enhance its quality of service as the core responsible for Turkish Disaster Response Plan, to be quick and effective and disaster response, and to realize programs taken as a model to ensure return to normal life as soon as possible after disaster.[544] In such cases of disaster, the logistic system of the organization is also very important because it is not possible to detect many of the natural event beforehand and to control them after they start to occur. To be able to create disaster awareness is of great importance in terms of minimizing the loss of life and property after the event, but after the incident, the existence of

[543] Kızılay. National Disaster Management. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/what-we-do/national-disaster-management., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[544] Kızılay. National Disaster Management, *ibid.*

a logistic system that can meet every need and intervene immediately to the scene is also very important.

Within this context, the Turkish Red Crescent works are as follows: The Turkish Red Crescent gives urgent nourishment services to the disaster victims after the natural disasters occuring in the country and assists the government institutions regarding providing urgent shelters. With this web of disaster response and disaster logistics system extending nation wide, the Turkish Red Crescent has one of the best organizations of the world in this field and it reaches the disaster areas in the shortest time by means of its 8 Regional and 23 Local Disaster Response and Logistics Centers.[545] According to needs after disaster in the region, by setting tents and distributing blankets, sleeping bags, heating stoves, catalytic and kitchen equipments, the Turkish Red Crescent meets the needs of the disaster victims in the field of nourishment with its Mobile Bakery Oven, Mobile Kitchen and Mobile Catering Vehicles providing good quality and fast service. The Turkish Red Crescent actualizes the production of high quality disaster tents that can be used in all seasons as shelters that are water proof and non-flammeable.[546] The Red Crescent also works to increase its capacity under the plan to be at the forefronf of interoperability AFAD cordination in Turkey Scope of Disaster Response Plan. According to 2016 data, the Turkish Red Crescent has reached the capacity to provide emergency nutrition services to 318 thousand people.[547] This capacity is increasing day by day with investements in human resources and technology.

Since its establishment, operating in the area of humanitarian aid of the Turkish Red Crescent is not limited to the borders of Turkey. Today, the Red Crescent is an important organization that brings aid to people in need from Africa to Asia from the Balkans to the Middle East and it can be seen that it has an important role in the world with these aids without any discrimination. The Turkish Red Crescent had disaster operations in 78 different countries in natural and human related disasters in the last 10 years and has met shelter, nourishment and basic needs of needers in 137 countries to the present. The Turkish Red Crescent, besides providing humanitarian aid in countries like Palestine, Sudan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Kirghizia, Kosovo, Somali, Pakistan,

[545] Kızılay. Ulusal Afet Yönetimi. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/neler-yapiyoruz/ulusal-afet-yonetimi., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[546] Kızılay. National Disaster Management, *ibid.*
[547] Kızılay. Uluslararası Yardımlar. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/neler-yapiyoruz/uluslararasi-yardimlar., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

put its signature under important successes in its permanent projects for welfare.[548] It has concentrated its activities on projects related to construction of houses, schools, community centers, house of prayers, public facilities and providing and supporting means of living and in the fields of health, education, social aids, agriculture and irrigation in the countries needing help.[549] Undoubtedly foreign aids, humanitarian diplomacy, international humanitarian law and intergovernmental bodies and non-governemnetal organizations working in this context have a great importance in the international arena. All these institutions will be provided with the standardization and development in the field of humanitarian diplomacy and the needs of those in difficult situations in crisis and disaster periods will be eliminated as necessary. Furthermore, humanitarian diplomacy is very important within the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations in the international scene and strategic partnerships that may arise in this context and today, it is one of the most important tools of public diplomacy. Every aid of the Red Crescent out of the country borders without any discrimination and every activity in which it actively participates are very important in handling Turkey's soft power to take a step further.

The activities of the Red Crescent are not limited to these two fields, it is also active in social services that is an important part of humanitarian aid. Social services are the systematic and programmatic services aimed at eliminating the material, spiritual and social deprivations arising out of or under the control of individuals and families, meeting the needs, preventing and solving social problems and improving and improving the living standards.[550] In this context, it is aimed to improve the capacity of people to cope with problems, to improve living standards and to develop social policies as a natural consequence of this. In addition, social services are carried out in many areas such as disability, old age, youth, health, poverty, migration, especially family and children. The Turkish Red Crescent aims to provide services to the society through projects and activities that will increase social resistance and solidarity by bringing together the people who do not reach anybody.[551] The works of the Red Crescent in this field can be listed as follows:

Campaign for the feast of Sacrifice, Zakat, Sevgi Bohçası, Special Education Classes Project, cooperates with big shopping chains, food packages prepared with donations of charitable donors and branches throughout the year. Branches, which are active throughout the country,

[548] Kızılay. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[549] Kızılay. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[550] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, *ibid.*
[551] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Pla., *ibid.*

produce solutions for the needs of the victims with its 13 soup kitchen, 3 nursing homes, 8 student dormitories, 5 clothing aid centers and shelter for the homeless.[552]

Apart from these, the Turkish Red Crescent carries out various activities on migration, which has become an important element in almost all geographies. According to the Turkish Language Society, immigration is defined as "the mobility of individuals and communities from one country to another, from one settlement to another", but undoubtedly immigration is much more than this description. The need tol ive in better conditions, where the struggle for survival from the beginning of human history has been transformed, has led to displacement of people. Especially the circulation, which started with the migration of tribes, has led to important results in terms of social and cultural formation. Turkey, who is an important country on the transition route with its geographical position become more of an issue in this context. This geography has been home to various states throughout the history and has witnessed significant increases in population mobility over time; therefore, it is very important for such a country to establish effective policies on migration and to ensure their implemention. One of the NGOs that carry out effective activities on migration services is, with no doubt, Turkish Red Crescent. It does not help the victims only at natural disasters, but also helps individuals and communities who are victims of mass movements.

For this purpose, to design the migration service model that will increase the capacity to respond to population movements and to make cross-border assistance and awareness-raising activities towards the countries with intensive asylum seekers in order to prevent immigration on the spot, aims to provide nutrition services in an impartial and minimum humanitarian standard.[553] In this context, as a result of various events in the near geography and especially during the Syrian Civil War, the Turkish Red Crescent has done great things. In addition, the Red Crescent trains volunteers who will provide all these activities within the scope of the Young Red Crescent Project. In this context, reaching a total of 12.620.554 people, the Red Crescent is working to ensure that the principles of ICRC are spread among the young people of the world and country.[554]

[552] Kızılay. Sosyal Hizmetler. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/neler-yapiyoruz/sosyal-hizmetler., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[553] Kızılay. Turkish Red Crescent 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, *ibid.*
[554] Genç Kızılay. http://genckizilay.org.tr., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

At this point, it is necessary to mention about the Turkish Red Crescent's inyternational aids in order to explain that it is an significant soft power tool of Turkey. For example; the hurricane that took place in the near future, as well as the 15,000 Yemenis who live under the shadow of conflicts, have been provided with enough supplies for a few weeks.[555] Again in a country of the Middle East, Iraq, a flood disaster caused by heavy rainfall in 2018 was distributed to 200 families in 3 villages at the strategic location.[556] The Turkish Red crescent, which is not only limited to natural disasters, has started its cataract surgery Project in Sudan and has provided the opportunity to see a total of 650 people in need.[557] Furthermore the activities of the Red Crescent are not limited to these. It carries out persistent projects with its permanent representations as well as the health and disaster operations it conducts. In this context, it has increased the number its representative offices to 12 countries worlwide with the representation it opened in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina and it has carried out significant activities in 138 different countries in the last 10 years.[558]

All of these efforts of the Turkish Red Crescent are very important for Turkey, who has the title of "the World's Most Generous Country" as stated beforehand. But despite all these efforts, the Turkish Red Crescent is faced with various problems in domestic policy and the perception that is created as a result of these problems damage its image in international platform and this also impacts on Turkey's image directly. Firstly, humanitarian diplomacy is carried out in the form of governmental and non-state actors as well as non-governmental organizations such as inter-governmental and international Red Crescent / Red Cross organizations, economic, political, ideological and religious interest groups, media and other members of civil society. But humanitarian diplomacy has to maintain its civil status under all circumstances. Compared to the channels that carry out official diplomacy, individuals or institutions engaged in humanitarian diplomacy have a great deal of operational flexibility and autonomy, especially at the point of contact with informal parties.[559] However, the situations experienced in domestic

[555] Kızılay. (2019b). Yemen'de 15.000 Kişiye Daha Gıda Yardımı. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/4533., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[556] Kızılay. (2018b). Irak'taki Selzedelere Kızılay Yardımı. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/4399., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[557] Kızılay. (2019c). Sudan'a Katarakt Ameliyatı Desteği Devam Ediyor. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/4520., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[558] Kızılay. (2019a). Kızılay'ın 12. Delegasyonu Bosna Hersek'te Hizmete Girdi. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/4512., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[559] TASAM. (2016). İnsani Diplomasi. http://www.tasam.org/Files/Etkinlik/File/VizyonBelgesi/SGPK_INSD_InsaniVizyon_TR_pdf_6088a98d-77d7-439e-af50-865a8271be38.pdf., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.

politics led it to be perceived as a governemnet institution rather than an independent institution. This situation leads to seperation of its seven basic principles and causes its operations to be questioned by people. Of course, non-governmental organizations should work in coordination with the state institutions, but this should not overshadow the independence and transparency of NGOs, because they are non-profit and organizations that donate their income through donations or membership payments. In this context, people's trust in that organization should not be shaken and it should not be forgotten that the voluntary contribution of the people is the main source of standing up that institution. This is particularly important in humanitarian aid and needs to be more transparent. However, in recent times, allegations of corruption and nepotism related to the Turkish Red Crescent came to the agenda and as a result of this, it closed 319 braches in 2017 and Ankara 9th Criminal Court of First Instance appointed a new trustee to take it to the extraordinary general assembly.[560] Another problem faced by the Red Crescent is that although it works really hard to help people at almost every region in the world; it is inevitable to be questioned from time to time if the same success is showed within the country. Especially in 1999, Golcuk Eartquake has become a turning point in this issue and the Turkish Red Crescent has tried to maintain its work in a way that is more modernized than that date. However, a similar failure occured during the Van Eartquake in 2011. Although a better logistics is provided, according to data it is concluded that the eartquake victims did not think that enough help was provided.[561]

Participants in the research think that they do not provide enough assistance to different institutions, organizations and people. Although there are various levels, there is no institution or person outside Kızılay, other people living in other cities. Moreover, the common blood in this direction is over 50 per cent for every institution and person named in the research. 82 percent of the respondents in the other city, 81 percent, 81 percent of neighbors, 74.2 percent of international organizations, 72.4 percent of other municipalities, 69.8 percent of non-governmental organizations, 54 percent doesn't think the Red Crescent ever helped.[562]

Of course, preparation for natural disasters is a whole. In this whole, the institutions, systems and organizations, the building system, the charities and of course the public should also work

[560] Bloomberg. Kızılay'a Kayyum Atandı. (12.12.2018) https://www.bloomberght.com/haberler/haber/2180446-kizilay-a-kayyum-atandi., Date of Access: 12.05.2019.
[561] Bianet. Van Depremi Araştırması. (16.04.2012) https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/137631-depremzedeler-yeterince-yardim-edilmedi., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[562] Bianet. Van Depremi Araştırması. *ibid.*

in a coordinated manner and fulfill the task that falls on them. However, an organization, which has a 151-year-old history with a total income of 3.150.233.697 TL according to data of 2017,[563] is expected to be more transparent and more efficent. Because, certainly the way in which domestic politics deal with the problems affects the activities of such an international organization in the international arena. No matter how successful you are in domestic politics, which is an indisputable fact of public diplomacy, it will be much easier to carry out the same studies in foreign policy, because it is much easier to carry out the same work as you cannot adopt something that your society does not adopt. This is certainly true for humanitarian diplomacy which is one of the important tools of public diplomacy. If the activities you show in your country provide a good image in domestic politics, this will undoubtedly increase the confidence in foreign policy. In this sense, it will make it more transparent and accountable in domestic politics and the effort it makes for the society it belongs to will make it more effective by moving it to a different position in the international platform. In addition, non-governmental organizations' understanding of being effective without profit is also very important in this case because it is necessary for the civil society to be effective and strong in order for democracy to function well. And of course, its activities must be accountable for those who support it. Otherwise, the policies that face the problem of trust in domestic politics first lose their effectiveness in domestic politics and then in foreign policy. Organized society is a candidate to be a stronger society. The higher the level of active participation of non-governmental organizations in a country, the stronger the democracy of that country. In this context, it is an undeniable fact that in terms of the Turkish Red Crescent policies of carried out since its establishment and operations in various regions to have an important place and that is an organization, which will carry Turkey to great significance in the field of Humanitarian Diplomacy and also in the field of public diplomacy with more transparent and effective policies.

3.3.3. Institute of Yunus Emre

Under this title, first of all, in conjuction with the title, the importance of language and culture in the context of soft power and then the place of the Turkish language in the world will be mentioned. After that, one of the most important institutions established within this framework will emphasized as the Yunus Emre Institute. Within this context, information on the

[563] Kızılay. Mali Bilgiler. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Upload/Editor/files/2017%20GELİR%20GİDER.pdf., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

establishment of the institution, its vision and mission, and the projects relaized by it will be presented. Finally, although the institution is a significant institution in the framework of public diplomacy, it will be mentioned that it has some deficiencies and then these deficiencies will be tried to explain.

Before going through this title, it would be useful first to look at the concept of language and its important within the framework of public diplomacy. Language is a communication tool that provides compromise between people with the simplest expression.[564] However, language is much more simplified than this definition, it would be wrong to think of it as a mere means of communication. According to Turkish linguist Muharrem Ergin, "The language is a natural means of agreement between people, a living entity with its own laws that can improve only under these laws, a system of clandestine treaties of which the foundations were laid at unknown times and a conventional institute entwisted by the sounds."[565] In addition, language maintains a Notion that nourishes national consciousness by ensuring its existence and continutiy, and transforms people with this consciousness into a unit that creates unity amaong them. Consequently, language is much more than means of communication, a very important element that even a nation can be possible with its existence, because of a nation's cultural values, literature, art, science and technique, world view, moral values, music is transferred from past to present through language. In this respect, language is a significant part of culture, while on the one hand language nourishes culture and on the other hand it is fed by culture and undoubtedly, it has an important role in the formation and transmission of cultural values.Then the concept of culture, which is also an important element of language, connects the members of a nation and surely seperates them from the rest of the world. Therefore, language, which is an effective part of it culturally, has the ability to make a country unique in a world where the best story is tried to tell today.

According to Joseph Nye, it is possible to speak of three potential soft power sources. The first of these sources is culture. While areas such as literature, art, and education are more important in influencing the target actor's elites, popular culture focusing on mase entertainment can be considered important in directing large populations.[566] However at this point, it is necessary to look at it which Nye sees as a tool of soft power this way; Nye undoubtedly identifies the concept

[564] Eyüp, B. (2013). Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Konuşma Becerilerini Kullanmaya Yönelik Tutumları. *Milli Eğitim,* 197, 95-113.
[565] Ergin, M. (2013). *Türk Dil Bilgisi,* Bayrak Yayın, İstanbul, 3-5.
[566] Nye, *ibid.*, 2004b: 11.

of culture with the state, which is fair because the roots of a state based on the culture is being fed from the past. However, the relationship between state and culture dependent on time and place, which the concept of the "deterritorialisation of culture" also draws attention to this issue. At this point, it might not be wrong to claim that the culture, which Nye sees it as a soft source, has various deficiencies in the sense of soft power perception. Neverteless, one of the most important elements of soft power is culture, because even if deterritorialization of culture happens, there will be a source country of the most adopted culture, and that country will undoubtedly be the country that best tells its story in the international arena. It is possible to give examples in terms of language. It is even possible to come across these examples in the periods before public diplomacy or soft power were named with these names. For instance, especially since the Austrian Throne War, which ended with the Aix-la Chapelle Treaty in 1748, the French has become a diplomatic language.[567] Today, many of the words used in diplomacy are of French origin, and it is still among the basic languages used in important organizations. Moreover, French works written in many fields from day to day are also of great importance worlwide. So it will not be wrong to say that France has reached an intercontinental use until today and this is a significant opportunity for countries that want to impose their culture on other countries in the framework of soft power. Undoubtedly France has succeeded this in the past and the effects of this success have continued until today. However, in time, this language has lost its validaty in some areas, and these gaps begin to fill with English. Today, English is the language, which both has become a language of diplomacy and provides communication between different people in different regions today. This is of course an important achievement of the USA in which the concept of soft power is born but at this point, the efforts of the UK, which makes English, the mother tongue of many countries today, because of its relations with its colonies which cannot be inconsidered.

Today, most of the world's population are able to speak English, and as a result, it has become the main language of both formal relations and popular culture. So, English has become a lingua franca and this situation has a very important place in the implementation of the public diplomacy which is a soft power tool on the basis of other countries. So even if culture is degenerated, then the culture, which is different from all others, will become dominant with all its features.

[567] Opsommer, R. (2014). Ypres And The Franco-Belgian Border (17TH-18TH Century), 300th Anniversary of the Peace Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. *Journal*, 62.

The official language of the Republic of Turkey is Turkish, which is located in the Urals branch of the Ural-Altai language family and from the West to the East, it is spoken in the Balkans, the Aegean Islands, Anatolia, Cyprus and the Middel East with writing language and various dialects. Certainly, Turkish, which has an important place among world languages, becomes more of an issue on the public diplomacy policies of Turkey. In this sense, the institutions created to protect the Turkish cultural heritage, namely the Turkish culture and language, and to introduce it to the world are very significant for public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy which is an important part of it.

Today, one of the most active institutions is Institute of Yunus Emre, whose name is given by Yunus Emre, a famous figure who has substantial works in terms of Turkish language. With the foundation of Institute of Yunus Emre in 2007, the cultural diplomacy process of Turkey became more concrete. Institute of Yunus Emre, whose mission is to increase the reliability and reputation, cultural diplomacy activities of the language, culture, arts and science academy engages through three main pillars,[568] is given the mission of contributing Turkey's recognition in the international arena. The institute also provides support to local and foreign organizations working in the field of Institute of Yunus Emre opened abroad, universities with Turkology chairs, as well as media and internet.[569] Thus, Turkey has planned an initiative in the form of an institute such as Goethe Institut, British Council, Cervantes, French and Italian Cultural Centers. Western cultural institutes, and now China's Confucius Institutes fulfill the task of cultural interaction in some way in the world and bring people closer together, just in the same way is expected Institute of Yunus Emre to be.

> Institute of Yunus Emre is a public foundation, which was established by the law dated 05.05.2007 and numbered 5653, in order to promote Turkey, Turkish language, its history, culture and art, to make such information and documents available to all interested persons around the world, to provide services abroad to those who want to learn Turkish language, culture and art, improve friendship and increase cultural exchange between Turkey and other countries.[570]

At this point, it would be useful to look at the law no. 5653. This law sets out the principles and procedures for the establishment of the Institute of Yunus Emre and the activities of it have been

[568] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/kurumsal/yunus-emre-enstitusu., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[569] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı. https://www.yee.org.tr/sites/default/files/yayin/2017-2018_staratejik_plan_21.12.2017.pdf., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[570] Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Turkish Cultural Centers, Turkish Language and Literature Departments and Turkish Education Centers. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turk-kultur-merkezleri-turkce-egitim-merkezleri_en.en.mfa., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

carried out on the basis of this law since its publication in the official newspaper. This law also includes objectives and exemptions and other provisions for the purposes of the bodies.[571] In this context, the foundation first established the Institute of Yunus Emre in 2009, two years after its establishment. As an institution affiliated to the Foundation and in line with the purposes of the aforementioned Law, Institute of Yunus Emre is teaching Turkish to foreigners in Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers abroad as well as conducting cultural and art activities and supporting scientific researches.[572] This effort undoubtedly important in terms of Turkish languages with wide use in the region. And today this Institute has 56 Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers in 45 countries.[573]

According to the data from the Institute's strategic plan, its vision is; "to increase the number of people who forge bonds with, and are friendly to, Turkey all around the world, mission is as follows; to enhance Turkey's recognition, credibility and prestige in the international arena."[574] Within this framework, as mentioned before, the purposes of the Foundation are as follows: "to promote Turkey, Turkish language, its history and culture and art, make such related information and documents available for use in the world, provide services abroad to people who want to have education in the fields of Turkish language, culture and art, to improve the friendship between Turkey and other countries and increase the cultural exchange."[575] In order to achieve these goals, the Institute of Yunus Emre supports both the promotion of country, which is a part of public diplomacy, and the Turkish studies with its centers established in various regions. It also carries out scientific studies supporting cultural and artistic activities, and works to represent Turkey in the best way in national and in international events. From this aspect, the Institute is an international organization and its target group is all people living in the world.

In addition to centers that the Insitute has, there is a Turcology Project applied to 79 universities in 44 countries.[576] Thus, along with the language training, it aims to open the departments of Turcology by reaching an agreement with educational institution in different regions. With this

[571] Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Turkish Cultural Centers, Turkish Language and Literature Departments and Turkish Education Centers, *ibid.*
[572] Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Turkish Cultural Centers, Turkish Language and Literature Departments and Turkish Education Centers, *ibid.*
[573] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Başkanın Mesajı. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/kurumsal/baskanin-mesaji., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[574] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Vision-Mission. https://www.yee.org.tr/en/corporate/vision-mission., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[575] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. https://www.yee.org.tr/en/corporate/yunus-emre-institute., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[576] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

context, the Institute is one of the major organizations representing Turkey and also its culture values in consideration of the projects and the activities of the Institute since the establishment of it. Besides, since its inception, millions of people have been reached through culture and arts activities and about 100 thousand people have been taught Turkish. In addition, countless visitors were received and hosted in Turkish Cultural Centers, especially academia, diplomacy, press-media members and students.[577] Certainly Turkey's effective public diplomacy at an institution that has made significant achievements in the field of public policy to expand the scope to continue its work in the coming period is foreseen. In this context, in the period ahead in North and South America, Africa and Central Asia, especially in a manner consistent with Turkey's foreign policy opening up new overseas YEE is expected to reach 100 goals in the year 2023.[578]

Before going through the structure of the Institute, it is necessary to mention where its name came from and the reasons underlying this choice. As stated above, Yunus Emre was a folk poet who was the pioneer of Turkish poetry in Anatolia who lived in the 13th and 14th centuries.[579] Yunus Emre has re-emerged the tekke poetry tradition in Anatolia with a unique style and has created a specific style in the field of mysticism. However, the reason why he is still known today and even his name is given to an important institution is that he is a symbol of human values, human love and social peace.[580] He is known not only in this geography but all over the world with this feature of him and thus it is quite significant to give his name to an Institution that is supposed to implement the policies of public diplomacy based on these norms.

> So, it is not a coincidence to choose the name of Yunus Emre for this Institute, which acts with a people-oriented approach. This great person not only contributed to the development of Turkish with his poems, but also gave universal messages to the people to live together in peace with common values of humanity without making any discrimination of religion, language and race. His philosophy is fully built on universal human values. It is an objective set by Institute of Yunus Emre to maintain this basic philosophy in all its activities.[581]

In this context, after giving place to the naming history; it is necessary to have a look at its objectives, vision and mission in order. The first thing to handle is the units under the coordination of the Institute. The institute has 12 units including "Information Technology, Human Resources, Corporate Communications, Culture and Arts, Cultural Centers

[577] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[578] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. YEE 2023 Vizyonu. https://www.yee.org.tr/sites/default/files/2023_vizyonu.pdf., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[579] Özçelik, M., *Bizim Yunus*, Ankara, 2010: 9.
[580] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Why Yunus Emre., Date of Access: https://www.yee.org.tr/en/corporate/why-yunus-emre., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[581] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Why Yunus Emre, *ibid.*

Coordinatorship, Financial Affairs, Private Secretary, Purchasing, Strategy Development, Turkish Education, Test Centre Department and Turkology."[582] However, in connection with public diplomacy, 3 of them are very important. First of them is Turkish Education Directorate. This unit continues and supports teaching Turkish language as a foreign language operations in Turkish Cultural Centres and other institutions which offer services in different regions of the world.[583] Considering the foundation objectives, this is the directorate of the Institute that should work in the most active and most beficial way, and it has proved it with the activities it has done so far. As mentioned before, this directorate has played a very active role in teaching Turkish to 100 thousand people since its foundation.

> Within this framework, including Turkish as a foreign language in curricula of public schools in related countries abroad and making collaborations with institutions and organizations operating in the field of teaching Turkish to foreigners, are primary responsibilities of the unit. Each year, Turkish Summer Schools are organized with the aim of improving Turkish language skills of a large number of foreign students invited from different countries and providing them with the opportunity to get to know Turkish culture better.[584]

The second unit is Directorate of Culture and the Arts that is working with the aim to represent Turkey both nationally and in international events in a best way.

> It focuses on cultural interaction and sharing, and works to bring rarest examples of our culture and art to anywhere around the world by means of cultural centres that operate abroad. It works to represent rich cultural heritage of Turkey in modern and classical Turkish handicrafts, theater, cinema, photography, literature, Turkish cuisine and in many more fields; and to ensure that Yunus Emre Enstitüsü is represented with exhibitions, festivals and similar organizations at national and international levels not only in the countries where cultural centres are located but also in many countries of the world through organizing concerts, exhibitions, workshops, stage performances, movie screening, scientific meetings, meetings of intellectuals and art courses which introduce this heritage to the entire world in the most competent way.[585]

In this context, international short film festivals, short film competitions, concerts summarizing the colors of Turkey, and other concerts including the most recent in Paris are the most important activities undertaken by the directorate. Besides, the department plays a guiding role in "creating annual activity calendars of the cultural centres; makes recommendations during determination

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[582] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Birimler. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/birim/bilgi-islem-mudurlugu., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[583] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Turkish Education.https://www.yee.org.tr/en/content/turkish-education., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[584] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Turkish Education, *ibid.*
[585] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Kültür Sanat ve Projeler Müdürlüğü. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/birim/kultur-sanat-ve-projeler-mudurlugu., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

of its activities by considering cultural dynamism in many countries, primarily in the countries where cultural centres are located; and provides support for the cultural centres for diversification and enrichment of the determined activities as well as bringing them to the target audience in the best manner."[586] Working areas of the Department of Culture and Art in organization of cultural and artistic activities include: "contacting the concerned representatives of the institution in Turkey and abroad, organizing meetings and discussions, and cooperating with similar organizations which perform activities in the world."[587] Moreover, this department also works with the Turkey National Commission of UNESCO, which is a special unit operating in this part of the UN's culture, education and scientific and plays an important role especially in commemoration programs.

The third unit is Turkology Directorate. At this point, it is necessary to mention about Turkology firstly. Turkology is a branch of science which deals with the Turks.[588] In the broadest sense it is interested in any fact which is connected with the Turks, but in a narrower sense it deals with their language, history, literature and other cultural activities.[589] As it is understood from the definition, Turkology is related to Turkish culture and literature, but especially to Turkish people and Turkish language and its dialects. It collects and explores the cultural values of Turkish culture in a systematic way and the acquisition of this systematic, Turkology works in Turkey have also seen the importance of both the Ottoman and Republican periods and various studies have been carried out in this context. In particular, the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society were established with the request of Atatürk himself.[590] In addition, in this period the Turkish Institute was established attached to Istanbul University[591], and various dictionary studies were carried out in this context. After 2000s, it was attached importance to the studies of training in universities and institutions that are carried out in Turkology studies have begun to be formed. Today, the most important of these institutes is the Institute of Yunus Emre. In this context, Turkology Directorate of Yunus Emre Institute collaborates with universities to

[586] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Kültür Sanat ve Projeler Müdürlüğü, *ibid.*
[587] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Kültür Sanat ve Projeler Müdürlüğü, *ibid.*
[588] Tas, A.R. (1991). *An Introduction to Turkology*. 9.
[589] Tas, *ibid.*, 1991:9.
[590] Türk Dil Kurumu. http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=77., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[591] Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü. Tarihçe. http://turkiyat.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/content/enstitumuz/tarihce., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

provide the demanded services abroad to all willing to promote Turkish language, literature, culture and arts and to receive education in this subject.

> In this context, a 'Turkology Project Cooperation Protocol' is signed with universities and existing departments are supported and opening new departments is encouraged. As part of the protocol, Turkish faculty members are assigned to Turkology/ Turkish Language and Literature departments, curriculum and material support is offered, and efforts are made towards providing a higher quality and continuing education-training.[592]

Within this framework, it can be seen that Institute concentrates more on four areas, specifically as follow; Turkish education, culture and art, cultural diplomacy, science and academia. In the field of Turkish Education, the Institute conducts efforts to provide the people of other countries direct and accurate recognition of Turkey through teaching Turkish. These studies have adopted the Turkish language as a foreign language to spread the Turkish language in order to improve the Turkish learning infrastructure and to measure Turkish proficiency on an international scale.[593] In this context, cultural centers of Institute of Yunus Emre organize Turkish courses in their region. Thus, different age groups in various parts of the world would learn Turkish at various levels. According to the data of Institute, 1under favour of these courses, 100 thousand people have been taught Turkish since 2011. [594] Again in this context, various studies are carried out on the introduction of Turkish into official curricula as elective foreign language. The preparation of the curriculum programs is divided into two main headings: the preparation of Turkish textbooks as foreign languages for the first and second levels of basic education. For the first time in this subject, the need for a program and course material emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

> Following the completion of the curriculum and equipment development process, it was started to be taught in secondary schools as a compulsory foreign language course in Amman, Constanza, Mostar, Sarajevo, Tbilisi, Batumi, Tokyo and Warsaw.[595] Besides, within the context of "Elective Turkish Courses" project, major festivity and festivals are organized that bring together thousands of students as well as various activities aimed at students and teachers. Institute Yunus Emre provides material and stationery support to students, offers various trainings particularly to contribute to professional development of teachers and organize cultural seminar programs.[596] Furthermore, within the Project of Turkish teaching portal; it is aimed to teach language by using internet technology. Moreover, Turkish Summer School program is carried out with participation of visiting students who learn Turkish at Yunus Emre centres abroad and in Turcology departments in

[592] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Turkology. https://www.yee.org.tr/en/content/turkology., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[593] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[594] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. YEE 40 Ülkede 16 Bin Kişiye Türkçe Öğretti. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/haber/yee-40-ulkede-16-bin-kisiye-turkce-ogretti., Date of Access: 3.05.2019.
[595] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Tercihim Türkçe. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/birim/tercihim-turkce., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[596] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Tercihim Türkçe, *ibid.*

> numerous countries of the world. In this major organization where only Turkish is used as the language of communication, students get the chance to learn Turkish as well as the culture of the region on-site by visiting the outstanding historical and tourist sites of the cities they visit.[597]

The second area is Culture and Art. By Institute of Yunus Emre, the ability to create cultural interaction through art and culture in the world and efforts are being made in various fields to provide a boost in Turkey's recognition.[598] Undoubtedly, the field of culture and art is one of the areas in which the Institute is active. The Institute tries to increase cultural interaction between Turkey and other countries with cultural and art activities and to serve Turkey's soft power in this context. The main topic of cultural and art activities, although accumulation of Turkey's culture and arts, as in other countries to ensure the cultural interaction in culture and arts products is subject to promotional activities of Institute of Yunus Emre.[599] In addition, the axis of cultural interactions also have been identified in this field, thus in addition to the tangible studies, it has aimed to contribute to the cultural integration of persons belonging to different cultures living within the borders of Turkey, mainly of asylum seekers.

The third area is cultural diplomacy. The studies carried out in this field are undoubtedly conducted in coordination with the studies in the field of culture and art. However, being different from the field of culture and art, it is aimed to apply the practice of cultural diplomacy, and on this purpose, a cultural diplomacy Academy was established to carry out theoretical studies. The Institute aims to emphasize the richness of the culture, language, thought life and lifestyle of the Turkish nation by using the tools of cultural diplomacy, thus directing its convictions by influencing other societies, and conducting works for this target in various axes with a very wide duty definition throughout the world.[600]

The fourth area is science and academia. The Institution carries out projects to support and promote scientific and academic studies of Turkey at a global scale. It also aims to promote scientific and academic savings of Turkey and to support Turkology / Turkic studies worldwide in the direction of scientific and academic interaction.[601] In other words, Institute of Yunus Emre

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[597] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. Türkçe Yaz Okulu. https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/birim/turkce-yaz-okulu., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[598] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[599] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[600] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[601] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

carries out various activities to introduce rich intellectual accumulation and scientific and academic capacity, and to support scientific and academic studies about Turkey.

In addition to these, there is also corporate development area that works with the head Office for the realization of all these studies and for the development of environmental institutes. Undoubtedly, the Institute must strengthen the institutional structure of these environmental institutes in order to make their work more effective and efficient. In this sense, the Institute defines the management organization model as the goals under the corporate development axis, developing the human resources capacity, increasing the assets effectively, spreading the works of the Institute of Yunus Emres abroad, strengthening the communication of the Institute with the target audience / beneficiaries and stakeholders and establishing institutional cooperations.[602]

Besides, it is necessary to mention that the Institute works in coordination with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Culture and Tourism Ministry, the Ministry of Education, the Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency, Prime Minister's Foreign Turks and Related Communities Presidency, the Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordination Unit, Prime Minister's Press and Information General Directorate of Higher Education Board, Turkey Chambers and Stock Exchanges Union , Turkey Radio and Television Corporation, Anadolu Agency, Ataturk Culture, Language and History High Agency of Turkey Ministry of Education Foundation, Local Authorities, National Library and other libraries, Museums and Special Collections owners, UNESCO Turkey National Committee, Cultural Institutes, Universities, Civil Society Organizations, Science, Arts and Idea People to protect and spread Turkish values.[603]

As clearly understood, the Institute of Yunus Emre is an official institution that serves for Turkish Foreign Policy in the context of Turkish public diplomacy policies, works in coordination with any institution, which can contribute in the field of language and culture, including official institutions, and carries out its activities mainly abroad or aimed at people living outside the borders of Turkey. It has strong strengths due to its contact points worldwide, organizational capacity and experiance abroad, and most importantly, long history of Turkey and Turkish. However, despite all these, the Institute incorporates some weaknesses and threats.

[602] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[603] Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. 2017-2018 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

First of all, as a result of lately understanding the importance of some concepts such as soft power or public diplomacy, cultural values were pushed into the background, so the Institute is at the beginning of the process of institutionalization. In this context, various deficiencies come to existence. The purpose of such an institute should not be only to protect values or teach languages. The main purpose, of course, should be in this direction, put a better public diplomacy perspective. In other words, activities that attract attention of the other side should be increased and they should be practiced in accordance with the procedure. Another problem is the indequacy of public awareness and visibility of the Institute stemming from domestic politics. In this context, trying to disseminate an institution that is not even aware of its own peope, outside the borders of the country will not bring successful results. As the awareness of such institutions and their activities increased, their success will be also increased in direct proportion. Another problem is that the Institution's income sources are limited as though it is a state unit. But the budgetary issue is the main source of mobility and activeness. In the period when the religious institution receives an additional budget, the cuts of the institutions such as the Ministry of National Education and Institute of Yunus Emre reveals the situation better.[604]

Another problem is the chairs of Turkology. This field, which was formed as a result of the effort of introducing the East to the West, is not a field established by the Turks. As well as in this point, a situation, which people other than Turks know Turkish better than Turks, is revealed. For example, Wilhelm Radloff who is Russian Orientalist and Turkologist, has made important contributions in solving of Orkhon Inscriptions and he is considered as one of the leading names in the science of Turkology.[605] Also, when it is looked at the list of the most important Turkologists of the world, it is seen that the rate of Turks is quite low. In this way, this situation causes Turks to be left behind compared to other countries to be able to understand and develop their own culture and to more effort though having adequate resources. Besides, another problem that arises in the context of technology is the lack of people with foreign language proficiency in academia and the art world. This problem is undoubtedly one of the most important problems of today as it was in the past. If someone, whose mother tounge is not Turkish, puts more academic outputs in the field of Turkish; it would be seriously taken into consideration by the Turkish pioneers of the field, especially by the Institute whose claim is to disseminate works on Turkish. This problem is an important problem arising in the context of language shortage. In

[604] T.C. Hazine ve Maliye Bakanlığı. Orta Vadeli Mali Plan. http://www.bumko.gov.tr/Eklenti/11280,2019-2021-donemi-orta-vadeli-mali-planpdf.pdf?0., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[605] Temir, A. (1991). *Türkoloji Tarihinden Wilhelm Radloff Devri*. Ankara:Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

addition to these, there are some problems that can be considered as esoteric. For instance, an independent branch of science has been developed for the learning of foreigners in the European languages, which are the most important foreign languages of the world, because, technically, you cannot transfer the same content to a person who wants to learn Turkish as a foreign language with the same methodology. To overcome this problem and manage to teach the language to the target people effectively, appropraite techniques should be developed and written, audio and visual materials should be developed according to needs.

In the developing world, the policies created by a country with a valuable focus are the most important tools of public diplomacy. These countries should be able to implement these policies in the best way to increase their effectiveness in the international arena. The existence of country institutions or NGOS that will act in coordination with environmental units in the implementation of these policies is very important. These units should be equipped with a perspective of public diplomacy perception of the modern world and all kinds of support should be provided by the state for their institutional development. At this point, Institute of Yunus Emre is very important. Despite all the shortcomings and threats, the Institute of Yunus Emre has a potential to take significant steps for Turkey in the field of public diplomacy due to its human resources, its goals, its flexible mobility and its importance as a major cultural diplomacy.

3.3.4. Turkish Maarif Foundation

Under this title, first of all, the concept of cultural diplomacy which has an effective place in the context of public diplomacy and then, in connection with this, the main subject of the title, Turkish Maarif Foundation, will be mentioned. After that, the organization will be evaluated in terms of reasons of establishment, aims, vision, mission, fields of activity, budget and revenues, and finally it will be tried to explain how the reasons of its establishment turned into disadvantages and how these affect its public diplomacy works.

Today, culture and art are one of the important elements of public diplomacy, and the cultural diplomacy, which is the representative of these areas in the international platfrom is a concept that has been populated in the last century as a field that works in a way that coordinates with it, just like public diplomacy. It has become one of the foreign policy instruments of the states who want to improve their images and increase their prestige in the international arena.[606] In this

[606] Purtaş, F. (2013). Türk Dış Politikasının Yükselen Değeri: Kültürel Diplomasi, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi,* 17, 2.

context, cultural diplomacy with its most general meaning can be defined as influencing the respondents by sharing ideas, lifestyles, aesthetics and tastes.[607] Within this framework, it ensures that relations with foreign countries are carried out eithin the framework of cultural and art education and thus cultural interaction. However, cultural diplomacy is not only a means of mutual interaction, it also provides social transformation, which, in turn, increases the dignity of a country and its image in a positive way. In addition, it realizes the country with the most important purpose of the country's soft power in the most economical way compared to other ways, which makes it an effective voice in the international platform, which contributes significantly to the country's development by increasing the country returns.

Recently, public diplomacy in general and culture and art diplomacy in particular have become more effective in the field of international relations.[608] This is certainly due to the change of power perception, but the main reason is the change in the concept of democracy, because with participatory democracy, large masses of people participate in the administration and as a result, the public opinion has been taken into consideration both in domestic policy and in the foreign policy processes. As a result of these, as a means of new approaches in the country's policies, the concept of cultural diplomacy has turned into an effective understanding in every aspect of life. This, for sure, allows for cultural interaction both within and outside the country. In this context, education is one of the important areas that can contribute positively to the image of the country as a result of this cultural interaction. This is valid in all areas of education, ranging from raising cultural values outside the country to educating qualitatively or creating quality schools within the country, from exchanging of cultural values to student exchange programs, or to a degree as a second elective language that comes after the mother tongue. Especially in this context, the aim of international education is to improve the communication between countries, especially through increasing intercultural interaction in the field of higher education. The relationship between higher education institutions constitutes the most progressive part of cultural relations and it is very important in this context. As a result, international education in terms of new public diplomacy provides an important movement area.[609] In other words, education is one of the important components of public diplomacy today and it is aimed that the students, who are invited to go abroad and who are invited from abroad to receive a world-class

[607] Stratejik Vizyon Belgesi, Kültür ve Sanat Diplomasisi, Sektörel Diplomasi İnşası, TASAM, http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/39045/kultur_ve_sanat_diplomasisi_calistayi_sonuc_raporu., Date of Access: 01.02.2019.
[608] Stratejik Vizyon Belgesi, Kültür ve Sanat Diplomasisi, Sektörel Diplomasi İnşası, TASAM, *ibid.*
[609] Bound, K., Briggs, R., Holden, J. & Jones, S. (2007). *Cultural Diplomacy*, London: Demo, 24.

education by means of the education policies developed as a result of cultural diplomacy, and to transfer the cultural and scientific accumulation among the countries and make important contributions to the inter-state relations in this context.

Since the establishment of Republic, noticeable revisions have been done in the field of education, specifically in the higher education system in Turkey. In this context, the number of universities opened in the country has reached to a number 203.[610] As a result of the large student program initiated in the 90s, a scholarship program was established with 57 state communities.[611] By this means scholars from various countries came to Turkey and thus they have contributed to development of relations between the countries. In addition, education activities outside the borders of Turkey in the context of public diplomacy have accelerated. Strategy of higher education, focusing on growth, quality and internationalization in recent years, provides important opportunities for public diplomacy. Turkey's higher education system is an important potential for becoming a regional center of attraction, the strategy in line with the priorities of Turkish foreign policy's potential for use as a public diplomacy tool and programs are developed.[612]

Today one of the most important institutions who acts in the field of education actively with the perspective of public diplomacy in Turkey, is the Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMF). Together with the Ministry of National Education, TMF; which was established by the enacted law on June 17th 2016 by the Turkish Parliament, is announced to be the sole entity authorized to provide educational services abroad. [613] As a non-profit public educational foundation, TMF is entitled to run institutions from pre-school to higher education.[614] From this aspect, Turkish Maarif Foundation serves as a "gateway to international educational arena of Turkey that will contribute to enhancing cultural and civilizational interaction and paving the way for achieving the common wellbeing."[615] At this point, it is necessary to mention about Law No. 6721. This law was adopted on 17 June 2016 and was put into practice after its publication in the official

[610] Yükseköğretim Kurulu. Üniversiteler. https://www.yok.gov.tr/universiteler/universitelerimiz., Date of Access:13.05.2019.
[611] Kalkınma Bakanlığı, (2015). *Yükseköğretimin Uluslararasılaşması Çerçevesinde Türk Üniversitelerinin Uluslararası Öğrenciler İçin Çekim Merkezi Haline Getirilmesi Araştırma Projesi Raporu*, Ankara: T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, Kalkınma Araştırmaları Merkezi.
[612] Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2017: 141.
[613] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Purpose of Establishment. https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/524-turkiye-maarif-vakfi-12., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[614] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Purpose of Establishment, *ibid.*
[615] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Purpose of Establishment, *ibid.*

newspaper on 28 June. According to the Law, the purposes of the foundation are as follows: give scholarships in all education processes from preschool to university education in order to provide and develop formal and non-formal education services based on the common knowledge and values of humanity abroad, to open facilities such as schools, educational institutions and dormitories, and to take part in these institutions including domestic train the trainers, scientific research and research and development work to do, publications making and methods and to develop the legislation of the countries where it operates to execute the appropriate other educational activities center in Istanbul which is to determine the procedures and principles regarding the establishment and functioning of Turkey Maarif Foundation.[616]

In this context, the vision of the Foundation is to become a pioneering educational institution nurturing pure-minded people who use knowledge for the peace and welfare of humanity, and the mission of it is to carry out comprehensive educational activities throughout the world based on the common values of humanity and Anatolian traditionof wisdom.[617] In addition, the world "maarif "comes from Arabic language and it means "information, culture, education and training system". [618] Thus, it completes the mission and vision of the Foundation. The aim of the Foundation is bearing Anatolia's old values, making these values turn to qualified educational institutions blended with universal human values and making Turkey`a worldwide known brand in the field of education.[619]

The Maarif Foundation acts in especially four areas: education, educational support, publication, scholarship and housing.[620] In the field of education, it opens and manages pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education institutions, i.e., schools and universities, dormitories and other types of educational infrastructures around the world, establishes facilities such as courses for informal education, study centers and cultural centers.[621] This is undoubtedly the most important area to act in the perspective of public diplomacy, because increasing number of such facilities will surely contribute positively both to improve the effectiveness of the foundation and more importantly, directly to Turkey's image. In the field of educational support, the Foundation

[616] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Türkiye Maarif Vakfi Kanunu. https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/12-tmv-kanunu-11., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[617] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Kuruluş Amacı, *ibid.*
[618] Türk Dil Kurumu. http://sozluk.gov.tr. 13.05.2019.
[619] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Mütevelli Heyeti Başkanı Mesajı. https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/527-mutevelli-heyeti-5., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[620] Türkye Maarif Vakfı. Faaliyet Alanları. https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/53-faaliyet-alanlari-10., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[621] Türkye Maarif Vakfı. Faaliyet Alanları, *ibid.*

establishes libraries, laboratories, arts and sports facilities as complementary elements of the education and training periods; besides, it supports career planning of graduates through its Career Follow-up and Guidance System.[622] In the field of publication, it establishes publishing bodies for educational purposes; developes, produces and publishes educational programs and contents and supports R&D activities through scientific researches on educational methods, practices, contents and curriculums. Furthermore, it supports high quality fundamental and applied research in social and natural sciences and publishes periodical and indefinite publications, organizes symposiums, conferences and workshops, to cooperate with institutions and organizations operating in the field of education.[623]

In the field of scholarship and housing, "it offers scholarship for all levels of education in national, regional and global scale and provides educational grants, cash supports and in-kind supports with educational materials such as books, clothes, computers and software support to the students in all levels of education from pre-school education to the university; apart from establishing facilities such as dormitories and lodging that will meet the needs of the people who provide educational services and study in educational institutions."[624] This is also one of the most important fields of activity because today's students, especially grades of undergraduate, graduate and doctoral programs, are very much interested in foreign exchange and scholarship programs to gain different perspectives. Thus, the studies carried out in this area contribute to the cultural interaction at the community level and the relations at the state level.

In this context, in the field of education, 3 in Georgia, 3 in Georgia, 1 in Guinea, 9 in Guinea, 2 in Kazakhstan, 3 in the Republic of Congo, 8 in Niger, 6 in Kosovo, 6 in Somalia 5, in Sudan 6, in Syria 1 school has been taken over by TMF and education has started.[625] A total of 6 713 students are studying in 48 schools and 6 dormitories in 11 countries which are taken over in the first place. It is aimed to take over the other schools and educational institutions operating all over the world until 2023.[626] Besides, since the establishment of TMF, the number of countries where education has started today is only 20: 4 in Afghanistan, 3 in Afghanistan, 4 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1 in Djibouti, 6 in Chad, 2 in Gambia, 10 in Guinea, 4 in Georgia, 3 in Georgia, 3 in Mali, 18 in Kosovo, 10 in Niger, 8 in Mauritania, 7 in Senegal, 10 in Sao Tome and Principe,

[622] Türkye Maarif Vakfı. Faaliyet Alanları, *ibid.*
[623] Türkye Maarif Vakfı. Faaliyet Alanlar, *ibid.*
[624] Türkye Maarif Vakfı. Faaliyet Alanları, *ibid.*
[625] Cafarov, S. (2018). *Türkiye Dış Politikasında Maarif Vakfı'nın Rolü ve Önemi,* Bakü, 40.
[626] Cafarov, *ibid.*, 2018: 40.

2 in Sierra Leone, 6 in Somalia, 6 in Sudan, 1 in Tanzania, 2 schools in Tunisia are now operating.[627] As it is seen, Turkey in the context of becoming a regional power in nearby countries where the same geography, especially in the Balkans, tries to take important steps in the field of public diplomacy by performing educational activities. The work of the Maarif Foundation is appreciated especially in Africa. For instance, Education Minister Serigne Mbaye Thiam of Senegal declared as, "We believe it will improve the quality of education in Senegal, the TMF school. We are pleased that the Foundation in Senegal." While Turkey stated that it supports the continuation of the training activities in Senegal.[628] Besides, TMF has allocated 395.7 million dollars in 2015 to official development assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa Region. While 4380 scholarships were granted to African students before 2013, this figure was 1080 in 2014-2015, 1239 in 2015-2016, and both undergraduate and postgraduate and doctoral fellowships were granted. This number reached to 1312 in the education term of 2016-2017.[629] For 2017-2018, 1040 African students benefited from the Af Charge of Scholarships. Turkey organized by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1992 until today "for the International Young Diplomats Training Program" has joined the 213 young diplomats from Africa.[630] This has helped to improve the diplomatic capacity and human resources development of African countries.

At this point, it is also necessary to mention about the incomes and the budget of the Foundation. By the general budget decisions of Ministry of Finance dated on June 20, 2017 and 5504 numbered article of Ministers on July 3, 2017 and the Presidential Decision on transferring resources from public institutions and organizations (Number: 2017/10547) the budget of TMF was adopted. The decision was published in the Official Gazette on 17 August 2017 and TL 241 million was transferred from the Ministry of Education's budget to the Turkish Maarif Foundation.[631]

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[627] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Dünya'da Maarif Vakfı. https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/42-dunyada-tmv-16., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

[628] Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Türkiye Maarif Vakfının Senegal'de Olmasından Memnunuz. https://turkiyemaarif.org/post/7-turkiye-maarif-vakfinin-senegalde-olmasindan-memnunuz-590., Date of Access: 14.05.2019.

[629] Cafarov, *ibid.*, 2018: 40.

[630] Cafarov, *ibid.*, 2018: 40.

[631] Offical Newspaper, (2017). http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2017/08/20170817-14.pdf Date of Access: 13.12.2018.

Since the JDP came to the power, 6 different ministers administered the Ministry of National Education.[632] This precludes the pursuit of stable policies in the education system because every minister has chosen to pursue new policies instead of maintaining the policies of his successor. This situation causes a total confusion in the field of education. Even today it is not possible to talk about a stable education system in Turkey. Thus, it is not possible for a country, who cannot successfully carry out education policies within the borders of the country, to establish and maintain a systematic education system abroad. As mentioned earlier, this foundation is the only institution that has the authority to open an educational institution directly in other countries. In such an important area of education, giving such wide powers to an institution that has just started work is not one of the methods that should be followed in state policies. Another problem arising from domestic politics is the question of how a country that cannot improve the quality of education in its country and having the problem of lack of teachers within its own territories, especially in the East; can send experienced teachers to countries that are in other instability in Africa and in the world or to countries with hunger and war.

Based on all these, it can be said that this foundation confronts many shortcomings which it needs to eliminate. The foundation of such an institution shows that Turkey well understands the value of public diplomacy as this new foundation is expected a possible significant role in the cultural diplomacy moves of Turkey. However, inadequate policies in this area might cause worse problems than before while wasting the national budget and human sources. It is, of course, possible to overcome these shortcomings with new perspectives that is also fitted both to the prior needs of the mother-country and to the needs of the globalized world. It is possible to foresee that if the shortcomings are eliminated and more transparent and liberal policies are determined and implemented; the foundation would take more successful steps.

3.3.5. Office of Public Diplomacy

When it is looked at the history of Turkish public diplomacy, it can be seen that when JDP came to power, it developed a framework aimed at reaching the desired results in its foreign policy and world politics by directing societies close to their values. In this context, public diplomacy policies have been given importance and it had been used as an effective foreign policy instrument after 2002. As a result of this, in order to implement public diplomacy actively and

[632] MEB. Önceki Bakanlar. http://www.meb.gov.tr/meb/., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.

to carry out various projects, many public diplomacy organizations have been established. One of the most important of these institutions is the Office of Public Diplomacy (OPD), which works under the Directorate of Communications that is bound to the Presidency today.

However, before mentioning the Office of Public Diplomacy, it is important to note that the data of former OPD is not included in the sources of Directorate of Communications, which carries on its activities today. For this reason, theses and articles written during the term of the OPD's duty in this section have been used as the main source within the scope of the formal data of the OPD.

Based on the new developments in the perception and understanding of the public diplomacy, OPD was founded on January 30, 2010; adopting the saying of "Turkey has a word to say and a story to tell" and thus, public diplomacy activities in Turkey has been institutionalized.[633] In addition, in the said circular, the statements of the Prime Minister of that period, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on the public diplomacy and immediately after the OPD were as follows:

> Nowadays, as a result of globalization, international relations have become more complex and, besides official diplomacy between states, "Public Diplomacy" has gained a special importance as a means of influencing and guiding the international community. In international platforms, the international community needs to be informed in the right direction by means of public diplomacy methods and tools in order to prove our rightfulness in the face of long-term accusations and problems.
>
> …it is deemed appropriate to establish a Public Diplomacy Coordination Unit under the responsibility of a Prime Minister, in order to ensure cooperation and coordination between public institutions and non-governmental organizations in the fields of public diplomacy and strategic communication and promotion activities.[634]

After the publication of the circular in the official newspaper, the OPD started its works. The establishment of the OPD has been one of the most important developments in the field of public dipmocay in the Turkey. In other words, it is an important step fo Turkey's positive image policy at a time when criticism of Turkey's axis shift debate.[635]

Based on the establishment circular, it can be said that public diplomacy, which is one of the most important tools of soft power and which is the new concept among states that influence other societies, as well as the first one in the foreign policies of all the states in the world, has

[633] Turan, Y. & Karafil, A. (2017). *Türk Dış Politikasında Yumuşak Güç Unsuru ve T.C. Başbakanlık Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü Örneği,* 3(1), 23.
[634] Resmi Gazete. Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü. http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2010/01/20100130-19.htm., Date of Access: 13.05.2019.
[635] Erhan, Ç. (2010). *Türk Dış Politikasının Güncel Sorunları*, Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi, 21-22.

gained importance and Turkey has also established the Office of Public Diplomacy as a soft power tool to enhance the soft power towards becoming a regional power keeping pace with these developments. It is also stated that this Office were expected to ensure the cooperation and coordination between both public institutions and non-governmental organizations in order to carry out public diplomacy practices effectively. Thus, this institution, which carries out national and international promotion and information activities, has represented Turkish foreign policy in the institutional sense.

President and the founder of the Office of Public Diplomacy of the period, İbrahim Kalın; has stated the new situation as follows: "Turkey's soft power capacity comes from its history, culture and geography. Rather than seeing them as obstacles or burdens, the Turks are now turning them into strategic assets in both domestic and foreign policy. The new Turkish public diplomacy is building on Turkey's expanding soft power in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus. … The task of the new Turkish public diplomacy is to tell the story of the new Turkey to a wide ranging audience across the globe. As Turkey overcomes its old fears and builds a new identity for itself, the process of change transforming the country will have a deep impact on Turkish domestic and foreign policy."[636]

Keeping the definition of "deep impact on Turkish domestic and foreign policy" by Kalın in mind, it is necessary to mention about the mission and vision of the Office of Public Diplomacy. The mission of the OPD is being the coordinator in the international community for the recognition of Turkey's long-term strategic aims. In Turkey's promotion; diplomacy, foreign aid, science and technology, economics, higher education, tourism, culture, art and media, which may attract the attention of different segments of the international arena, public diplomacy activities can be effective. In addition, the vision of the OPD in Turkey's policy is that the legitimacy and effectiveness are important factors. Effectively pass on the rise in Turkey's public diplomacy, national interests, can not be ignored is seen as an element of regional and global activities of the task. The Office, clearly aims to tell the new story effectively to others[637] by putting the growing influence of Turkey on the table.

Established in order to carry out public diplomacy practices, OPD carried out publicity and information activities aimed at international axis, as well as local. The Office of Public

[636] Kalın, *ibid.*,2011.
[637] Turan & Karafil, *ibid.*,2017: 24.

Diplomacy consideres public diplomacy as a multidemensional, strategic communication tool. Accordingly, public diplomacy, which established a bi-directional communication language, is defined as the sum of the activities of understanding, informing and influencing the public.[638] So it is possible to examine the public diplomacy activities of the Office of Public Diplomacy in two areas; the activity area that is from state-to-public and the area that is public-to-public. Firstly, in state-to-public communication activities, the policy alternatives developed by the state can be effectively explained to the international public through official bodies.[639] The second is public-to-public communication activities and in this area, the OPD has been active especially in the context of universities, political communication activities and media promotion activities. The most important reason for this is that, unlike traditional diplomacy, without any doubt, public diplomacy operates in wider areas to wider masses.

At this point, it would be beneficial to have a look at these areas specifically to better understand the aims of the Office. The first of these areas are universities which play an important element of public diplomacy in the context of cultural diplomacy. In this context, it was aimed to bring together the institutions and decision makers who are influential in determing the course of the foreign policy of academicians and university students in different universities by the Office of Public Diplomacy.[640] For this purpose, various meetings and panels were organized during the course of the Office and Turkish foreign policy, public diplomacy and soft power issues were discussed. In addition, various policies were taken into consideration considering the opinions of different diplomatic representatives and academicians who participated in these meetings and panels. Again, as a similar activity, the Office invited especially the students of the department of Political Science and International Relations to Ankara as a group and organized visits to different ministries and presidencies. On the nature of this, students had the opportunity to have broad knowledge about Turkish foreign policy in the axis of the theory-practice.[641] This situation undoubtedly has increased the interest in Turkish foreign policy centered public diplomacy efforts and has provided the Office to work with academicians and experts from different places in a more coordinated way.

[638] Turan & Karafil, *ibid.*,2017: 24.
[639] Turan & Karafil, *ibid.*,2017: 24.
[640] Turan & Karafil, *ibid.*,2017: 25.
[641] Anaz, N. & Özşahin, C. (2015). *Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü: Türk Dış Politikasında Kamu Diplomasinin Rolü ve İşlevi*. (Edt: Şahin, M. ve Çevik, B.S.). İçinde: Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 506.

The other area of the Office was political communication activities. Political communication is an interactive process involving the transfer of knowledge through the media between politicians and voters. In this interactivity, information is transmitted from politicians to downward voters and from politicians to politicians.[642] However, the political communication activities carried out by the OPD have been realized as activities towards foreign affairs due to the fact that public diplomacy is something international. Consultations were held on the relations between the countries in the meetings and panels organized under the roof of various political and think-tanks, researchers and experts were invited within country and abroad. [643] In addition, the views of Turkey on global and regional issues at such meetings were transferred and then counterparts of Turkey in the international arena has been informed in the context of Turkey's policies. Such intellectual and high level diplomatic meetings have constructed a bridghead platform functionally in describing the views of Turkey on important issues to counterparts of Turkey.[644]

Finally, the Office has carried out various activities in the fields of media promotion activities which is an important element of the information age. In this field of activity, the delegation of foreign journalists and members of the press were informed directly by hosting them in Turkey.[645] This, of course, has contributed directly to the vision and mission of Turkey on the way of establishing a more organized public diplomacy view. Additionally, in this framework, the Office invited groups such as media groups from various countries and visits to public institutions were realized with the participation of these people. Thus, Turkey's public diplomacy work has been tried to be developed by non-formal methods out of bilateral diplomatic relations. Furthermore, the work of the Office was not limited to these, in the framework of the culture and publicity activities of the Office; various exhibitions, concerts etc have been organized[646] due to fulfill the duties falling within the framework of public diplomacy.

There are many institutions working in this field in the world and developing the policies of the countries, because it is important to make them public as well as to publicize them to the international society. Thus, the work of such institutions is very important for the best completion of public diplomacy policies.

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[642] Özkır, Y. & Çağlar, İ. (2015). *Türkiye'de Siyasal İletişim 2007-2015*. SETA: Ankara, 7.
[643] Turan & Karafil, *ibid.*,2017:26.
[644] Ana & Özşahin, *ibid.*, 499-519.
[645] Ana & Özşahin, *ibid.*, 499-519.
[646] Aydemir, E. (2016). *Dış Politikada Yumuşak Güç ve Medya.* İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık, Birinci Basım, 337-338.

Although the Office of Public Diplomacy was one of the major institutional embodiments in the field of public diplomacy, it has encountered various problems originating from the past to the present. The first of these is the question whether such institutions should carry out their work autonomously or under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which should be the main institution for public diplomacy, or civil society, media, other non-governmental institutions, rather than official institutions instead of top political bodies. Because, the danger of politization is always a threat when such institutions are directly bound to the top political bodies. Since the establishment of the Office, it has started to work under the body of the Prime Ministry, hence interagency between the institutions has not been achieved properly. However, together with the new world order, such activities have also launched out of the monopoly of traditional bureaucracy and have become civil society-based activities. Even today, such an institution like this works under the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey which brings the questions into minds whether this situation restricts the activities of the Office or not. It is, unfortunately, the dilemma of most developing countries today. When each and every policy is carried out directly by the hands of the top political body, the outputs of the public diplomacy works are much less as it is approached with suspicion by other countries and their people. Whereas; public diplomacy activities are long term and their outputs shoul directly be linked to the country itself, not to the political bodies.

Another problem is that the domestic society still does not fully agree on the policy tools of public diplomacy in every area. Though, foreign policies are much more successful when they overlap the internal ones. But if the authorities miss the factor of convincing the domestic society, public diplomacy studies will no succeed in foreign policy. Therefore, raising awareness of society in such foreign policy activities should be one of the important points and such institutions should have domestic branches to complete this part.

Despite these lacks of the Office of Public Diplomacy, it has taken important steps in order to use Turkey's soft power more organized and more active in national and international platforms and it has carried out significant work in the short term. Today, the institution continues its work under the name of Directorate of Communications (DoC), founded and began to serve as per Presidential Decree no:14 published on the Official Gazette dated 24 July 2018 and no: 30488.[647] The main purpose of the institution with its updated policies and objectives is explained as

[647] Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications. About DoC. https://OPD.gov.tr/english/kurum-hakkinda., Date of Access: 15.05.2019.

follows: "setting off with an aim to 'empower the Turkey brand', Directorate of Communications maintains coordinated efforts of communication with all agencies of the state adopting a holistic communication strategy, and works in cooperation with other agencies and organizations that add value to our country."[648]

> One of the DoC's main fields of activity is to make efforts for perception, narration and adding meaning and value at national and international platforms, with an awareness to maintain communication, which is at the heart of existence, on a realistic, sustainable and sound basis. In this context its vision is to establish profound and multilateral relations with the national and international public opinions, decision makers and media; to ensure a qualified representation of Turkey in all fields applying all communication tools and methods, and to 'empower the Turkey brand' accordingly. The mission is to develop a holistic communication strategy at national and international level comprising all state institutions based on a concept of common language; and to carry out its functions on this basis. To share Turkey's policies, practices and approaches with public opinions and counterparts in a planned, continuous and effective manner, and to raise awareness. To monitor closely and evaluate media and think tanks, and to inform relevant authorities and public opinions in this context. To manage/improve relations with the press; to take steps to facilitate the professional activities of press members and to contribute to the development of the press. To arrange and conduct necessary activities and regulations for the effective management of the communication between the nation and state.[649]

Directorate of Communications, which is a new institution although its foundations are based on past, will help Turkey to tell its story in the most effective manner and to carry out more active policy in the context of public diplomacy in international arena as a result of working in coordination with other institutions and taking the support of the society by following more transparent policies and adhering to the principles of its mission and vision.

3.3.6. Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

Today one of the institutions carrying out public diplomacy in Turkey is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). In this section, the studies of YTB in the field of public diplomacy will be analyzed and the related examples will be given. However, before going into details about YTB, it is necessary to mention the concept of diaspora, which is associate with the structure of the instution. Diaspora has become an important component in today's foreign policy and the diaspora diplomacy, which many countries have started to use with foundationd it has created and formed, has gained importance as a sub-branch of public

[648] Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications. About DoC, *ibid.*
[649] Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications. Vission, Mission, *ibid.*

diplomacy.[650] Diaspora may be a thesis topic in its own right, but it will be explained in order to better explain the activities of the institution. Diaspora, which is an old concept, can be stated with its modern meaning in this way, it is a transnational group of people who migrated from place to a place and their children.[651] While the old and some new diaspora conceptions require diaspora members to return home, the diaspora concept, as is often used currently, emphasizes the transnational networks that migrant and immigrant origin have come from in other countries with diasporas.[652] Thus, when the concept is mentioned, it is understood that it is not a minority living in a state but rather a formation which has more than that, which is new and which has a close relationship with both countries. Especially in the post-1990 period, countries have tended to tend to accept all foreign communities living outside of their borders and all structures established by them as diaspora and to form a strategy for this. It is no coincidence that ministries working in this field or national offices have been operational in many countries in the same period.[653] In this context, many states have begun to develop diaspora-based policies. Another effect of this process is that the communities living abroad may have more dialogue with their homeland as a diaspora member. In order to be able to be active in their homeland and to attract attention in the international public, these communities have turned to define themselves as diaspora society.[654] Within this framework, it can be said that diaspora consciousness gained momentum. Turkey has also commenced to work on instutional activities by recognizing the importance of this concept in international relations. One of the most important results of this whole understanding is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities which was established in 2010 by the law no. 5978 under the Prime Ministry.[655]

Today, countries are trying to influence other countries and societies with their soft power elements and especially developed countries can offer many resources at the same time can be said to be more advantageous in this regard. It can be stated that this understanding, which influences the post-Cold War period, has gained new foreign political implications in the field of public diplomacy. One of the areas where this new acceleration is seen is the strategies formed

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[650] Yılmaz, A.N. & Kılıçoğlu, G. (2017/20 – 22 Nisan). *Bir Diaspora Diplomasisi Kurumu Olarak Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Toplulukları Başkanlığı ve Balkanlar.* International Social Research Congress, İstanbul, 42-52.

[651] Tölölyan, K. (2007). *The Nation–State and its Others,* Sociology of Diaspora: A Reader (S. 21–7), Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 7.

[652] Clifford, J. *(*1994*).* Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3), 302–38.

[653] Koç, A. (2012). *Yurtdışında Yaşayan Türk Diasporasının Lobicilik Potansiyeli: Avustralya Örneği*. Uzmanlık Tezi, T.C. Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluğu Başkanlığı, Ankara, 17-18.

[654] Koç, *ibid.*, 2012: 17-18.

[655] Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı. YTB Faaliyet Raporu 2012. https://ytbweb1.blob.core.windows.net/files/Files/2012-faaliyet-raporu.pdf., Date of Access: 18.05.2019.

within the framework of the concept of diaspora, which is closely related to the concept of public diplomacy.[656] In connection with the explanation of the concept of diaspora in the previous paragraph, services related to citizens abroad are actually provided within the consulates abroad. However, in establishing policies for these services, there is a structure in the country that consists of public institutions and organizations connected to different ministries.[657] This structure is mainly based on meeting the needs of the citizens outside the borders of the country and solving their problems.[658] One of these principles-based organizations working in Turkey today is Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities. Law no. 5978, 24.03.2010, explains the establishment of YTB and its activity fields as follows:

- To work on citizens living abroad and to find solutions to their problems,
- Conduct activities for these communities with the aim of developing social, cultural and economic relations with the kinship and related communities,
- To ensure the coordination between the relevant institutions by identifying every kind of basis for the successful completion of the education processes of the students in the country within the framework of international agreements.[659]

With the efforts of the Presidency, the relations with Turkish citizens living abroad and also with the sister communities are strengthened and closer economic, social and cultural relations are established. Also Turkey Scholarship holders and alumni are supposed to become volunteer ambassadors all over the world.[660]

The number of Turkish citizens living abroad today reaches 6.5 million.[661] Surely, the needs and priorities of this diaspora have changed over time. Considering that approximately 5.5 million of Turkish citizens live in the Western European countries,[662] it is possible to state that the diaspora priorities are generally determined via these citizens. According to the information obtained from the sources of YTB, since the aim of the people going in the 1960s was to return,

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[656] Tölölyan, *ibid.*, 2007:21–7.
[657] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Kamu Kurum ve Kuruluşlarının Yurtdışı Teşkilatı Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/BAKANLIK/189-sayili-KHK.pdf., Date of Access: 18.05.2019.
[658] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Kamu Kurum ve Kuruluşlarının Yurtdışı Teşkilatı Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, *ibid.*
[659] Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun. https://ytbweb1.blob.core.windows.net/files/resimler/mevzuat-pdf/5978.pdf., Date of Access: 17.02.2019.
[660] YTB. Our Institution. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/corporate/institution., Date of Access: 17.02.2019.
[661] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Yurtdışında Yaşayan Türk Vatandaşlar. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/yurtdisinda-yasayan-turkler_.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 27.02.2019.
[662] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Yurtdışında Yaşayan Türk Vatandaşlar, *ibid.*

the areas of need were manifested in the form of sheltering, worship and institutionalization primarily. In the 1970s, the people started to adopt the idea of permanently settling down in order to build families and homes in these countries. They, who also took host country citizenships, gradually joined the integration process.[663] During the 1980s and 1990s, the process of institutionalization of the diaspora in Europe showed a great improvement, in this period civil society's activities began to gain momentum, however, racist attacks against Turkish citizens also started.[664] In the 2000s, new needs have emerged from many directions, the diaspora in Europe faced educational and employment hardships, institutionalized racism and discrimination, Islamophobia and citizenship rights issues. It was these issues that came to the fore front and caused Turkey's diaspora policy to focus on producing solutions for these problems.[665] These changing needs and priorities set the basis of Turkish diaspora policy, which is one of the field of studies of YTB. Regarding all these needs, Turkey's diaspora policy has been based on implementing three objectives:

- Maintaining ties of Turkish citizens living abroad with the homeland,
- Preserving the native language, culture and identity of Turkish citizens living abroad,
- Strengthening social status of Turkish citizens living abroad.

Today, YTB carries out activities in various fields towards the Turks living abroad for these purposes. These activities are manifested in various areas related from the protection of social cultural values to family structure and from Turkish and education to mobility programs.[666]

To look at these activities more closely, the first of these activities is carried out in the field of Turkish and education.As it is mentioned before, Turkish citizens, who went to Western Europe with the work migration started in the 1960s, constitute the fourth generation. Considering the process, learning the mother tongue and the language of that country is always on the agenda of these people. Particularly, programs intended for young members of YTB's diaspora hold significant importance, because this situation will contribute to various areas such as raising awareness, courses, training activities, material development studies, conferences, surveys, researches, reports, scientific studies etc.[667] Another area of activity is cultural mobility, which

[663] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/abroad-citizens/general-information-2., Date of Access: 27.02.2019.
[664] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad, *ibid.*
[665] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad, *ibid.*
[666] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad, *ibid.*
[667] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad, *ibid*

is linked to the first one. This area covers all citizens, especially the young diaspora. The culture, identity and behavior patterns of young people change and transform rapidly. In addition, it is very important for young people to recognize and assimilate their national, spiritual, historical and cultural values and to pass them on to future generations.[668] This issue matters a particular importance because identity and belonging-centered problems can lead to identity confusion in a personal sense, as well a many socially-related problems. In this context, YTB carries out activities in order to ensure that young people are self-sonfident, have a sense of social and historical belonging, are at peace with the society in which they are successful, effective and responsible.[669] Some of the projects specifically conducted in this area as follows:

- To increase the participation of young people who continue their higher education in the Human Rights Advocacy and Civil Societies activities with the Human Rights Education Program,
- To strengthen and protect the ties of college-age young people who are living and studying abroad with Turkey and Turkish,
- To ensure they are informed about the functioning of Turkish Institutions with Turkey Internship,
- With the Young Leaders Program, to contribute to the young Turkish people through acadenic programs such as educational programs, seminars, excursions, workshops, vision talks and cultural art programs,
- To strengthen social and cultural ties of young Turkish people living out of the country with Youth Bridge Program[670].

In addition to these, the another area of activity is the avtivities carried out under the vision of sister communities. It can be said that the idea of developing relations with the communities with common values in other parts of the world is effective in the creation of such an activity area especially in the post-cold war period. In this context, as well as the Turkish diaspora, a human-centered approach to comrade-based fraternalized societies living in the same geographies in different periods and sharing common values with the Turks constitutes the center of the field

[668] YTB. Kültürel Hareketlilik. Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/yurtdisi-vatandaslar/kulturel-hareketlilik., Date of Access: 27.02.2019.
[669] YTB. Kültürel Hareketlilik. Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar, *ibid.*
[670] YTB. Kültürel Hareketlilik. Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar, *ibid.*

of activity of YTB.[671] Concordantly, protection and development of intellectual, literary, philosophical, scientific and cultural assets which represent the common historical and cultural heritage of our country and sister communities, transfer of common identity awareness and cultural values to younger generations, support of social and cultural studies of sister communities, intensification of Turkish language and culture, and the support of academic researches on these regions and communities are being conducted.[672] In this field, it aims to protect and develop common history and cultural heritage, to transfer this to future generations, and to support cultural studies of the communities. In addition, research on Turkish and Turkish culture are also supported. To mention these studies on project basis, some of the important completed projects are as follows: the Crimean region constitutes one of the significant works of the presidency.[673] Two projects have been realized on the region so far. The first of these works is the Crimean-Tatar Turkish Architectural Heirloom, is a prestigious work and an important historical documentary resulted from a long and hard work. By a project led by Assoc. Dr. Hakan Kırımlı and Nicole Kançal-Ferrari with a group of writers who are specialized in the field, The Turkish and Islamic artifacts found in the Crimea were examined, recorded and the architectural features were extracted and transferred into the book.[674] Another important work on the Crimea is "1944 Crimean Tatar Exile Oral History Study", which was conducted in order to record the suffering of the Crimean Tatars in 1944. Nearly 250 Crimean Tatars living in exile have been interviewed and recorded to transfer of their sufferings to future generations, to create a base for scientific studies and a documentary.[675] Another branch of the projects carried out in this context is cultural archival projects. One of the most substantial of these projects is Kutadgu Bilig Research History. In this context, within the scope of the project carried out in August 2016-January 2017, a 1-hour 17-minute documentary entitled "Ukrainian Gagauz: History, Culture and Traditions", which reflects the social life of 45 thousand Gogoguz Turks living in 6 villages of Odessa region of Ukraine, has been published in local channels. The film was also translated into Russian, outside of Gogoguz Turkish.[676] Another important work in this field is

[671] YTB. General Infromation. Citizens Abroad. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/abroad-citizens/general-information-2., Date of Access: 27.02.2019.
[672] YTB. Programs. Related Communities. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/sister-communities/programs., Date of Access: 27.02.2019.
[673] YTB. Kırım Çalışmaları. Kardeş Topluluklar. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/kardes-topluluklar/kirim-calismalari., Date of Access: 28.02.2019.
[674] YTB. Kırım Çalışmaları. Kardeş Topluluklar, *ibid.*
[675] YTB. Kırım Çalışmaları. Kardeş Topluluklar, *ibid.*
[676] YTB. Kültürel Arşiv Projeleri. Kardeş Topluluklar. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/kardes-topluluklar/kulturel-arsiv-projeleri., Date of Access: 28.02.2019.

the documentary of the Ottoman Georgians. Within this context, 13-episode documentary has been prepared by the Georgia Friendship Association with the support of the Presidency, captured in 14 cities from Georgia and Turkey, retells the diligence of the Ottoman Georgians, their achievements, heroism and patriotism. It also mentions the Georgians who provided great contributions to the Ottoman-Turkish civilization and traces their living relatives.[677] The projects carried out in this area are as follows: A documentary about Ukranian Gogoguzes, Ukrainian Gagauzs: History, Culture and Traditions, An Udi in Rumeli: Rasim Salih Documentary, Earlier Unknown Saz Works.[678]

In addition to these works based on cultural heritage, the Presidency also provides information about voting. The presidency has conducted various information activities on voter registers and voting issues due to the first-time voting of citizens living abroad during the presidental elections in 2014.[679] In this regard, the presidency has preapared informative films, special video, posters, brochures and info-graphics, and these have been delivered to the citizens who are out of the country.[680] But of course, although very much important, the concept of diaspora will not only be developed by allowing voting and icreasing awareness in and for the elections. In a report of Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the problems of Turkish citizens living abroad, it is stated that these people do not have enough place in higher education level and still have language problems.[681] This is directly related to the unemployment problem because the level of education and the language barrier are reflected in the work life in a negative way. For instance, in 2018, while unemployement in Germany is 9% among Germans, it is 20% among Turks living in Germany, and 23% among Turks live in Belgium while it is 8.4% among Belgians, and 10% among French people while it is %26 among Turks live in France.[682] But YTB seems to have no policy offers regarding to this issues neither in the presence of domestic decision makers nor in the presence of related contries' authorities.other.

As it is seen, the institution provides services in various fields from the protection of cultural heritage values to the studies of voters, from diaspora studies to Turkish language studies.

[677] YTB. Kültürel Arşiv Projeleri. Kardeş Topluluklar, *ibid.*
[678] YTB. Kültürel Arşiv Projeleri. Kardeş Topluluklar, *ibid.*
[679] YTB. Türkiye'deki Seçimlere Katılım, Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/yurtdisi-vatandaslar/turkiyedeki-secimlere-katilim., Date of Access: 28.02.2019.
[680] YTB. Türkiye'deki Seçimlere Katılım, Yurtdışı Vatandaşlar, *ibid.*
[681] TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu. Yurt Dışında Yaşayan Türk Vatandaşı Olan Ve Vatandaşlıktan İzinle Çıkmış Kadınların Ve Ailelerin Sorunları Ve Çözüm Önerileri Konulu Alt Komisyon Raporu, 2018, https://komisyon.tbmm.gov.tr/dosyalar/yurtdisi_altkom_baski_4.05.pdf., Date of Access: 02.03.2019.
[682]TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu, *ibid.*

However, where the institution works most effectively is the area of scholarships given to foreign students. According to Joseph Nye, there are three dimensions of public diplomacy. Daily informations, strategic communication and besides all these, third dimension; establishing long-term relations with people who can take an important role in the future of their country through scholarships, exchange programs, internships.[683] Nowadays, international student mobility is one of the most sginificant events brought about by the globalizing world. In this sense, these students, by means of various national and international scholarships and exchange programs implemented by countries, serve to the cultural and political spread of the host country, as well as the raising of people on their side from the sending country of the host country. [684] Thus they form one of the tools of public diplomacy today as an important part of intercultural interaction. Student programs implemented within the scope of public diplomacy require two-way international student mobility. With the scholarship applications, the political, historical, cultural and social backgrounds of the country are transferred to the students coming from different countries, while the citizens of the country are sent to different countries within the scope of the program and the values of the countries are introduced. Many countries that have successfully implemented public diplomacy in the world have implemented two-way student exchange program practices.[685]

However, when we look at the figures, Turkey's one-way rather than two-way student mobility is seen as a greater emphasis on student mobility. For instance, in the field of graduate study, the number of foreign students in Turkey with Turkey scholarships is around 25,000, while the number of students who sent by Turkey is around 4,500.[686] It is possible to conclude that each side has a different importance when this mobility is considered as a whole, because while international students are carrying modern ideas and technologies from developed countries to developing countries, they lead to globalization by moving information and scientific developments from countries where they are produced.[687] In this context, student exchange mobility produces successful results, when it is applied as double-sided and equal or close to each other.

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[683] Nye, *ibid.,* 2004b:108.
[684] Gürüz, K. (2011). *Higher Education and Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy,* New York:State University of New York, 175.
[685] Budak, M. (2012). *Kamu Diplomasisi Aracı Olarak Öğrenci Değişim Programları ve Türkiye Uygulamaları,* Uzmanlık Tezi, T.C. Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, 90.
[686] T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. 76 Ülkeye Bin 224 Burslu Öğrenci Gönderilecek. (2018). http://www.meb.gov.tr/76-ulkeye-bin-224-burslu-ogrenci-gonderilecek/haber/16922/tr., Date of Access: 28.02.2019.
[687] Günaydın, A. (2012). *Niçin Türkiye? Türkiye Burslusu Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Niyet Mektıplarında Türkiye Algısı: Odtü ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Öğrencileri Örneği*, Uzmanlık Tezi, Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, Ankara, 3.

Another issue is the internationalization of the universities. The internationalization of universities increases the popularity of a variety of students from various countries to choose those schools. In general terms, the process of internationalization in tertiary education must have content to cover providing the students with face-to-face or distance-learning activities in a different country through international mobility, international connections, partnerships and projects, internationalized curricula and research initiatives, branch campuses or representative offices; have a content that will cover all initiatives and activities that involve the provision of higher education as a service to international trade[688], because it is only possible in this way that they become a tool of attraction. Whereas it is accomplishable to say that this case becomes a disadvantage in Turkey. For example, there are not any Turkish universities in the Top 500 School List created by The Center for World University Rankings (CWUR) in 2018.[689] Even though METU was 396th in 2014, it is ranked 596th in 2018, decandently 200 places. This situation can be assessed from various perspectives, however, the management of universities from a single center, the Council of Higher Education, in this context can be shown as one of the most important factors in their lack of scientific and financial autonomy.[690] Here; it would be appropriate to ask a question: which is a better tool of public diplomacy; the number of the foreign university degree students in a country or the rank of the universities of that country in the international index? When universities are developed, students abroad will be more attracted and it is very much fitted to the spirit of the public diplomacy; this both serves to the domestic development and to the international reputation -thus public diplomacy. Priorities should be well concerned and policies should be designed accordingly while budgets are being designed. UNESCO reports best describes the situation. Despite the increase of 75% over the last 10 years in the number of students[691] who receive Turkish scholarships, it has not been taking a place among the top countries that international students give priority. Although Turkish scholarships cover nearly all the needs of the students and other top preferred countries do not cover evn the school enrollment cost, Turkey could not enter into the list of "Top 20 Countries for International Students" which is diclosed by UNESCO in 2014.[692]

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[688] Yakupoğlu, M. (2014). *Türkiye'nin Yükseköğretin Uluslararaılaşma Stratejisi, Avustralya ile Karşılaştırılması*, Uzmanlık Tezi, T.C. Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, Ankara, 10.

[689] BBC Türkçe. Türk Üniversiteleri Neden İlk 500 İçerisindeki Yerini Kaybetti? https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-45937704., Date of Access: 01.03.2019.

[690] Budak, *ibid.*, 2012:90.

[691] YTB. Türkiye Bursları, Uluslararası Öğrenciler. https://www.ytb.gov.tr/uluslararasi-ogrenciler/turkiye-burslari., Date of Access: 01.03.2019.

[692] The Guardian. Top 20 Countries for International Students. https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2014/jul/17/top-20-countries-international-students., Date of Access: 01.03.2019.

In conclusion, it is seen that the YTB has an important place in the context of Public Diplomacy. However, it is possible to say that the institution has become an institution which is active in the field of education by moving away from its exact establishment purpose. Even in this case, the institution has not been able to implement sufficiently successful policies in this new era and has not demonstrated the ecpected success. To achieve the desired success, it is also possible to record the progress of this institution by way of coordinating the development of Turkey's domestic politics, as in other institutions. If the right investments for universities give desired result, then the popularity of these schools increases and this means an increase of direct foreign students, which is highly efficient in that Turkey's attractions. Another issue that needs to be addressed is that YTB should be more focused on the Turkish people who live abroad, fitting to the purpose of the establishment. In this context, solution oriented policies should be developed for the problems of Turks living abroad. As mentioned before, Turks living abroad are still brazen with various problems. In addition to the beforementioned research reports, a survey was conducted and most of the people surveyed stated that they identify themselves ninety percent Turkish identity.[693] This is a serious rate and it is important that they still feel part of their country, although they may have various changes in some subjects, as this will significantly affect the Turkish diaspora abroad. Then the problems of these people should be taken into consideration and the policies integrated with the countries in which they are located should be tried to be carried out. It should be ensured that professional and permanent training centers to provide counseling services to parents who have problems in child education. Efforts should be made to strengthen cultural ties and belonging and strengthen inter-generational communication. The program quality of the channels broadcasting specific to Europe should be increased, the content that will cause cultural degeneration should be cleared, the programs aiming to strengthen the ties with the motherland should be published.[694]

At this point, by using its full potential, YTB has the chance to contribute much more to Turkey's public diplomacy efforts. The elimination of the problems and the development of mentioned policies can both increase the effectiveness of the Turkish diaspora and provide foreign student satisfaction and enable Turkish universities to attract more qualified foreign students.

[693] TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu, *ibid.*
[694] TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu, *ibid.*

CHAPTER 4

HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

Under this Chapter, the concept of humanitarian diplomacy which constitutes the 4th part of the thesis and has an important part especially for AFAD'S works will be evaluated. Although its roots are much older than ever, the first comprehensive definition of this concept in 2007 is a significant subfield of public diplomacy in the context of the soft power. In particular, it has become a concept increasingly important in the process that has begun with the traditional diplomacy alone failing in conducting international relations. Within this context, under the title of "History of Humanitarian Diplomacy", which is the first sub-heading of the subject, how the concept is shaped in time and today how it has a place in state politics will be explained. This title also will focus on the relationship between humanitarian diplomacy and traditional diplomacy specifically. Under the second title that is "Actors, Practices and Arguments of Humanitarian Diplomacy", firstly, the various actors of humanitarian diplomacy will be mentioned in connection with the first title, then, two different fields of humanitarian diplomacy, humanitarian aid and humanitarian assistance, will be discussed and finally, in connection with this title, the main features of humanitarian diplomacy will be emphasized in the framework of arguments. Then, a general framework on the basis characteristics of humanitarian diplomacy will be drawn focusing on how it is carried out in the context of arguments. The relationship between the concept of public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy which is an important part of public diplomacy will be mentioned in the third title that is called "The Connection Humanitarian Diplomacy with Public Diplomacy". Under the title of "Turkey's Approach to Humanitarian Diplomacy", which is the latest title of this section, the place of humanitarin diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy will be discussesd. Other humanitarian diplomacy activities within the context of AFAD will be evaluated under the title of "AFAD Case" which constitutes the last part of the thesis.

4.1. History of Humanitarian Diplomacy

Humanitarian diplomacy concept primarily includes humanitarian aid. At this point, the questions that humanitarian assistance and humanitarian aid whether there is any relationship between the concepts and these concepts and that these two concepts can be used interchangeably come to mind. Although there is direct relationship between the concepts of

humanitarian assistance and humanitarian aid, it is not appropriate to use both concepts interchangeably.[695] However, both will be handled under the same heading as they both serve to soft power; however the difference will be highlighted.

Humanitarian diplomacy is a concept that has emerged as a term in recent years. Like most of the concepts in social sciences there is no certain definition about this concept too. Humanitarian diplomacy has emerged to improve the situation of people in the crisis region. There are similarities and differences between the humanitarian diplomacy and classical diplomacy. In humanitarian diplomacy there is a cooperation and harmony between the diplomatic actors and civilian actors in order to achieve the same goals. The ultimate goal in humanitarian diplomacy is not only to prevent the crisis by providing humanitarian aid in crisis region but also to make a attempt to create a broad sense of awareness about that country by organizing regional and international meetings.

There is no consensus on the copcept of humanitarian diplomacy among the international society. Moreover it is an emerging concept for Turkey and it is reinterpretted by the dynamics of Turkish society and diplomacy. Even if there is no consensus about the humanitarian diplomacy the definition of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) are the commonly used by most of the civil societies and this definition has become the reference term.[696] According to IFRC "humanitarian diplomacy is percuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interesets of vulnerable people, end with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles."[697]

According to Minear and Smith, the editor of the first book about the humanitarian diplomacy published in 2007 " Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practioners and Their Craft" humanitarian diplomacy is:

> As an aid to understanding the challenges faced and the experiences recounted, This we understand to encompass the activities carried out by humanitarian organizations to obtain the space from political and military authorities within which to function with integrity. These activities comprise such efforts as arranging for the presence of international humanitarian organizations and personnel in a given country, negotiating access to civilian populations in need of assistance and protection, monitoring assistance programmes,

[695] Köksoy, F. (2017). Uluslararası Kızılhaç Komitesi'nin Faaliyetleri Ekseninde İnsani Diplomasi. *Batman Üniversitesi Yaşam Bilimleri Dergisi,* 7(1), 110.
[696] Alegöz, H. (2013). *Uluslararası İlişkilerde İnsani Diplomasinin Rolü: Türkiye- Somali Örneği.* Master Thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 7.
[697] International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy. http://www.irc.org/Global/Governance/Policies/Humanitarian_Diplomacy_Policy.pdf., Date of Access: 13.02.2019.

> promoting respect for international law and norms, supporting indigenous individuals and institutions, and engaging in advocacy at a variety of levels in support of humanitarian objectives. Humanitarian diplomacy involves activities carried out by humanitarian institutions and personnel, as distinct from diplomacy exercised by traditional diplomats, even in support of humanitarian activities.[698]

However, before going into the details of humanitarian diplomacy and after having a quick look at its recent definitions, it would be good to go through the history of humanitarian diplomacy on the basis of events shaping the world. The basis of the Westphalian Order, which occured in 1648 after the War of 30 Years, was based on the understanding of maximizing their own insterests and accumulating as much power as possible by using all diplomatic means around nation's own interests.[699] This period, which is called classical diplomacy, gave birth to the colonial movements that started with the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century.[700] A solid, realist understanding based on the assumption that slavery, all kinds of exploitation are open, and that all nation states are the wolves of other states and people like each other's wolves, had a command of this period.[701] Later, this period was followed by two great world wars, which have caused seriously the world to lose in every sense. This period was clearly a time when conscience had disappeared and values were crushed under interests. When the damage was seen, the period of famous Wilson was opened, and with Realism, Idealism always walked in conflict with each other after this period.[702] However, since the beginning of the 21st century, global diplomacy activities have expanded and diversified beyond traditional diplomacy activities, and new diplomacy fields have emerged, such as climate change, environment, water, culture, health and access to information.[703] The concept of humanitarian diplomacy is shaped by these developments brought about by globalization, although its roots are very old, and today it has become used with its modern meaning. In addition, it has been raised in the international arena by finding the area of existence, especially with the increase in the number of civil wars.[704] In this framework, it can be said that today, diplomacy has become a humanitarian diplomacy

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[698] Minear, L. & Smith, H. (2007). *Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioner and Their Craft*. (Edt: Minear, L. & Smith, H.). Japan: United Nations University Press, 1-2.
[699] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, (2013). Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu_nun-v_-buyukelciler-konferansinda-yaptigi-konusma_-2-ocak-2013_-ankara.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 03.04.2019.
[700] Uçarol, *ibid.*, 2013: 693-947.
[701] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[702] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[703] Kurnaz, İ. (2015). *Diplomaside Tarihin Geri Dönüşü: Klasik Diplomasinin İnsani Diplomasiye Evrimi.* (Edt: Akıllı, E.). İçinde: Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Dış Yardımlar. Ankara: Nobel Yayınları, 170.
[704] Kurnaz, *ibid.*, 2015:170.

by abandoning its classical meaning in accordance with the its Notion and practice and the post-Westphalia debate that emerged during the globalization period, not only from the activities of states against other states, but also by preserving the communication and interaction aspects.[705]

In the light of all these wrists, it is possible to say that today, humanitarian diplomacy is mostly compared to traditional diplomacy.[706] Even the two concepts, track one and track two diplomacy, were created to separate the two concepts. In this context, track one diplomacy represents tradtional diplomacy, in other words convetional diplomacy, while track two diplomacy represents civil diplomacy, particularly dominated by humanitarian activities.[707]

Track two diplomacy, which represents much more than that, aims to reduce conflict and reduce by trying to improve mutual agreement with communication and dumbing down of hate, fear and tension.[708]

> The most important feature that distinguishes Track One diplomacy from all other forms of diplomacy is its formal application at the state-to-state level. It follows a certain protocol to which every state is a signatory. Track One Diplomacy is usually considered to be the primary peacemaking tool of a state's foreign policy. It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of states and is aimed at influencing the structures of political power.[709]

On the other hand, humanitarian diplomacy, in addition to traditional diplomacy, envisages a chain of activities integrated in political, military and humanitarian fields. Finanly it aims to inform the public and society.[710] In this context, developments in information, informatics and transportation technologies have made humanitarian diplomacy both necessary and faciliated. In other words, track two diplomacy is a non-governmental center of conflict resolution between mutual groups.[711] As it is seen, the two types of diplomacy are differentiated in terms of their purposes and structures. However, in order for track two diplomacy to function more effectively, both diplomacy should work in a coordinate way, since activities that involve, in particular the

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[705] Kurnaz, *ibid.*, 2015:170.
[706] İNSAMER. (2018a). Humanitarian Diplomacy: A Discussion. https://insamer.com/en/humanitarian-diplomacy-a-discussion_1503.html., Date of Access: 03.04.2019.
[707] Boyadjieva, N. & Grozev, K. (2004). *Diplomacy, International Intervention and Post-War Reconstruction: Interactions between States, International Organizations and Local Authorities*, Implementation of the Dayton Accords for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Intercultural Communication and Diplomacy, ed. Hannah Slavik, Diplo Foundation, 333.
[708] Boyadjieva & Grozev, *ibid.*, 2004:333.
[709] Mapendere, J. (2007). *Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks,* Assistant Director Conflict Resolution Program Carter Center. *Culture of Peace Online Journal,* 2(1), 66-81.
[710] TASAM.„ *ibid.*, 2016.
[711] Boyadjieva & Grozev, *ibid.*, 2004:333.

humanitarian aid provided by the state and NGOs together can be included in the negotiation process with other states for the national interests of a state.

After mentioning the differences between the concept of humanitarian diplomacy and traditional diplomacy, the concept also must be examined in its historical development. Humanitarian diplomacy was first raised in 1912 at the annual meeting of American International Law Society as America's Human Diplomacy.[712] The concept discussed here at the state level, rather than in a general approach, was used to justify the intervention of a state in the internal affairs of another state, mainly for humanitarian purposes.[713] However, it is quite difficult to say that this approach is exactly in line with the modern concept of humanitarian diplomacy. Surely, studies on humanitarian diplomacy were not limited to this specific development. It has become an increasingly important issue especially due to the ongoing humanitarian problems and crises in the world. However, any work done before 1990, or any attempt in this field was enough to bring the concept of human diplomacy to today's modern meaning, because just like 1912, every study put forward as limited at the level of states and these were not seen as external intervention[714] but after the collapse of the Soviet Union, this issue has started to go beyond the internal affairs of the individual states and become a current one. As a matter of fact, it is observed that humanitarian diplomacy has replced traditional diplomacy especially in the post-Cold War period.[715] In thic context, it can said that teh ceoncept of human diplomacy expresses a process of development and evolution. To look at the process from a board perspective, diplomacy in all its forms is gradually winning against the use of force, since international conflicts have been declining markedly since 1945.[716] Internal conflicts and disasters, in contrast, have been increasing steadily in number, frequency, and intensity.[717] For instance, in 1997, the number of people who had to leave their homelands due to internal conflicts was around 17-18 million, but in 2004, it has reached 25 million.[718] This situation has undoubtedly increased the need for a more human-centered diplomacy and revealed that the world needs a understanding of

[712] Aktaş, A. (2014). İnsani Diplomasi Kavramına Genel Bir Giriş Denemesi (II). https://insamer.com/tr/insani-diplomasi-kavramina-genel-bir-giris-denemesi-ii_31.html., Date of Access: 04.04.2019.
[713] Aktaş, *ibid*., 2014.
[714] Aksoy, M. (2017). A New Discipline: Humanitarian Diplomacy and Its Principles. https://insamer.com/en/a-new-discipline-humanitarian-diplomacy-and-its-principles_1006.html., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.
[715] Minear, L. (2007). *The Craft of Humanitarian Diplomacy*. (Edt: Minear, L. & Smith, H.). In: Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft. Japan: United Nations University Press, 32.
[716] Re´gnier, P. (2011). The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Identification of A Community of Practice And Prospects For International Recognition. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 93(884), 121.
[717]Re´gnier, P. *ibid.* 121.
[718] UNHCR. Internally Displaced Persons. https://www.unhcr.org/4444afce0.pdf., Date of Access: 04.04.2019.

humanitarian diplomacy in the 21st century more than compared to many periods. Thus, the concept of human diplomacy is shaped by the understanding that the dignity of every human being is equal to the whole humanity as much as in the context of global politics, from the environmental policies that concern the future of all humanity to the energy policies that concern the future of all humanity,[719] and has become one of the new applications that need to be drawn from the conceptual framework by gaining a more inclusive meaning of diplomacy.

As mentioned before, the first book was written on humanitarian diplomacy is Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft, which was edited by Larry Minear and Hazel Smith and published in 2007[720] and they define humanitarian diplomacy as follows:

> The humanitarian diplomacy concept mainly includes activities carried out by humanitarian organizations. The important point here is that these organizations need to obtain the space from political and military authorities within which to function with integrity. These activities comprise such efforts as arranging for the presence of humanitarian organizations in a given country, negotiating access to civilian populations in need of assistance and protection, and monitoring assistance programs. Additionally, they also aim to promote respect for international law and norms, support indigenous people and institutions, and engage in advocacy at a variety of levels in support of humanitarian objectives.[721]

As it is seen, the concept has taken a new dimension with this definition by moving away from its structure that has determined until that day. This dimension has diversified the actors of humanitarian diplomacy and has transformed it into a system in which human organizations are fundamentally. In other words, humanitarian diplomact refers to all policies and practices of national and international institutions working for humanitarian aid.[722] Variety of benefits are created another part ot this new dimension. According to this, the concept of humanitarian diplomacy defines the activities og human organizations in the wars of civil wars and the post-war activities in the reagion, but also it stands out as an important skill in protecting and helping the population wo are under risk.[723] In this context, humanitarian diplomacy serves to protect vulnerable people involved in civil conflict, war and natural disasters and to fulfill their needs.

It can be expressed that this definition is reflected in many institutions serving humanitarian diplomacy, and the expression has since been used with growing frequency by a number of

[719] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[720] Minear & Smith, *ibid.*,2007:1.
[721] Minear & Smith, *ibid.*,2007:1.
[722] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1212-1213.
[723] Alagöz, H. (2013*). Uluslararası İlişkilerde İnsani Diplomasinin Rolü: Türkiye-Somali Örneği.* Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1-7.

humanitarian agencies.[724] One of these is the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, which is keen to emphasize its universality and the auxiliary role of the National Societies to their respective governments.[725] Meanwhile, since 2010 the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) has established a new division in charge of promoting humanitarian diplomacy. However, this definition and subsequent developments were not sufficient to explain the concept fully. Unlike with traditional diplomacy and international negotiation, there is as yet nobody of literature or specific manual dedicated to humanitarian diplomacy.[726] In other words, it can be said that the concept still is an ambiguous concept because it has not provided a complete consensus on the content of the international community yet. For example, in 2010–2011, when the IFRC set out to prepare a strategic concept on humanitarian diplomacy, it found that there were eighty-nine different definitions among the relevant agencies and in the grey and scientific literature.[727] These definitions include points of convergence and differences, which will serve as a basis for delimiting the concept of humanitarian diplomacy.[728] In fact, in some cases it is seen that humanitarian diplomacy is used in two different types as disaster diplomacy and intervention diplomacy. However, although these three concepts are mainly due to the same concerns, they differ in terms of the actors involved in the negotiation process and the results.[729] For instance, disaster diplomacy involves only people who are affected, while humanitarian diplomacy includes people who could be harmed in the long or short term. Furthermore, humanitarian diplomacy can be realized not only by states, but also civil society organizations or even individuals.[730] As a result of these considerations, it would not be wrong to say that humanitarian diplomacy is a multifaceted concept and that different inferences can be deduced from each definition.

In order to clarify the issue, it is useful to include the definition of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, IFRC, which has carried out important works in the field of humanitarian diplomacy. According to the IFRC, "humanitarian diplomacy is

[724] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1212-1213.
[725] International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), (2009-December). *Strategy 2020: Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy*, Nairobi.
[726] İNSAMER. *ibid.*, 2018a.
[727] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217.
[728] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217.
[729] Maciver, C. (2012). *Disaster Diplomacy: A Brief Review*, Strategic Applications International, December 3-4.
[730] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*

persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles."[731]

According to Hazel Smith, the co-author of the Humanitariatarian Diplomacy: Practioner and Their Craft, there are three types of understanding of humanitarian diplomacy. These are oxymoron, common-sense and necessary evil.[732]

On the other hand, although humanitarian diplomacy includes different definitions, it shows characteristics that are accepted by many institutions and people working in this field. Primarily, humanitarian diplomacy includes "advocacy, negotiation, communication, formal agreements and other measures."[733] As expressed before, the decision to engage in humanitarian diplomacy is not a choice, but a responsibility.[734] It is a responsibility that flows from the privileged access enjoyed by National Societies as auxiliaries to the public authorities in the humanitarian field.[735] In addition, it focuses on maximising support for operations and programs, and building the partnerships necessary if humanitarian objectives are to be achieved.[736] It shows direct relationship to public diplomacy which will be mentioned later. In this context, it is used not only by humanitarian organizations but also by national co-operation agencies and ministries (foreign affairs, defence, development, civil protection) comprising humanitarian aid departments to respond to domestic or international emergencies.[737] This section will be discussed in more detail in the next title, "Actors, Arguments, and Practices of Humanitarian Diplomacy." Another feature to be mentioned in this context is related to the field of study of humanitarian diplomacy.

IFRC, one of the leading organizations in the fielf og humanitarian diplomacy, carried out a large-scale survey on humanitarian diplomacy among the Red Cross and Red Crescent National Societies as part of its Strategy 2020, approved at the end of 2009. Twelve priority areas of action for humanitarian diplomacy were identified by National Societies:

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[731] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. *Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy.* https://www.ifrc.org/en/what-we-do/humanitarian-diplomacy/humanitarian-diplomacy-policy/., Date of Access: 04.04.2019.
[732] Minear & Smith, *ibid.*,2007:38.
[733] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy *ibid.*
[734] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy *ibid.*
[735] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy *ibid.*
[736] Lamb, C. (2008). Humanitarian Diplomacy. https://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/opinions-and-positions/speeches/2008/humanitarian-diplomacy/., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.
[737] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217.

- Disaster reduction
- Promoting Red Cross/Red Crescent auxiliary status
- Preventing diseases and other public health challenges
- Volunteer and youth promotion, protection, and recognition
- Legal frameworks for disaster response (e.g. disaster law) and disaster relief and reduction management
- Protecting the humanitarian space of the Red Cross/Red Crescent
- Climate change adaptation
- Food security
- Addressing migration and human trafficking
- Promoting non-violence
- Addressing urbanization and its humanitarian consequences
- Humanitarian sector reforms and cluster co-ordination.[738]

This section is particularly important in terms of clarifying the concepts that are sometimes used in place of humanitarian diplomacy. In this framework, it is possible to say that humanitarian diplomacy is much more than humanitarian aid and disaster diplomacy, and that it even hosts them all. Finally, it is accomplishable to examine humanitarian diplomacy in two ways, in the fields of domestic and foreign diplomacy. The domestic policy section is mostly related to citizens of a country, this dimension is particularly important for disaster diplomacy because the main task of each government, every state, and each foreign ministry is its primary duty, surely, to facilitate the lives of their own poeple.[739] Another point that matters here is the direction of the policies of the state in the field of humanitarian diplomacy in domestic politics that affects its image in its foreign policy. The foreign policy part of this dimension constitutes the attitude of the country within the framework of humanitarian diplomacy which it pursues beyond its own citizens.[740] This attitude is undoubtedly important in terms of public diplomacy, which is one of the main topics of this thesis.

[738] IFRC. 23rd Session of the Governing Board. https://www.ifrc.org/docs/appeals/annual10/maa0001110ar.pdf., Date of Access: 05.04.2019.
[739] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[740] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*

In conclusion, the concept of humanitarian diplomacy is a concept that comes into being when countries come together to meet the urgent needs of the victims of humanitarian crises or disasters and to alleviate their suffering and, it has become a concept that states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations seriously the importance of it and becoming more and more understood. In this context, the concept that is popularized in parallel with the increasing humanitarian problems at the global level is used in a wide area today. However, the fact that there is still no consensus on the concept leads to ambiguous discourses. Therefore, the concept must be redefined and its ambiguities removed, because a multi-dimensional definition that has a wide perspective and covers all actors, will enable the concept to move more actively and successfully within the boundaries by drawing the boundaries of the concept. Thus, this concept, which takes the human center and has a very important place in terms of the performance of tha state policies, can take place it deserves in the international arena, because it can be said that today, no-human centered attempts can not be permanent.

4.2. Actors, Practices and Arguments of Humanitarian Diplomacy

Humanitarian diplomacy, emerged as a concept in the early 2000s, can be defined as "persuading decision makers and leaders to act, at all times and in all circumstances, in the interest of vulnerable people and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles."[741] In this context, states appear as an important actor of humanitarian diplomacy. However, interstate diplomacy is insufficient when carrying out humanitarian diplomacy activities, because in some cases, such as war, natural disasters, where human life appears as a priority, the fact that states act in a coordinated manner with other actors leads to more effective results in a short period of time. For instance, in an event occuring in any part of the world, the protection of civillians, the rescue of the prisoners, the termination of crises and the survival of people in a way that is worthy of human dignity is possible with the involvement of states as well as non-state actors.[742] Within this framework, as stated in the previous chapter, humanitarian diplomacy is differentiated from traditional diplomacy in the context of actors and is increasingly emerging as an important

[741] De Lauri, A. (2018). *Humanitarian Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda*, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, CMI Brief, 4.
[742] Re´gnier, *ibid.*, 2011:1214.

element in providing assistance in various fields. However, despite this, few agencies and political actors reflect on their humanitarian diplomatic practices.[743]

Today, these actors can be listed as here: The first actor of humanitarian diplomacy is the states that are the main actors like in many other diplomacy[744] because states try to create a balance between the rules on the functioning of the international system and their foreign policies. In this context, the duty of states to ensure to solve crises, problems and disputes in a certain order, is very important. Non-state actors are international, national and local mechanisms, according to the IFRC's report on humanitarian diplomacy policy.[745] The bodies operating at international level are a number of major humanitarian diplomacy, particularly the United Nations, the European Union, the Red Crescent, the Red Cross and the Oxfam. At the national level, there are institutions operating in cooperation with states mechanisms and autonomous institutions. Civil society organizations and opinion leaders are among the local mechanisms.[746]

> These institutions usually have the national development aid agencies, which generally comprise a disaster relief division. The major humanitarian organizations also have representative offices at the headquarters of the United Nations, the European Union, and other regional organizations. Some have permanent consultative status with the United Nations and take part in various sector competency clusters concerned with humanitarian affairs. At this level of national and international interaction, the relevant agencies engage in humanitarian diplomacy and second some of their staff on an ad hoc diplomacy.[747]

However, the actors of humanitarian diplomacy are not limited to these actors, it also covers private actors and indivuals. For instance, in countries where the social structure, such as Somalia, is formed by clans, local mechanisms vary in the form of clan leaders, businessmen, religious leaders and local NGOs.[748] Thus, as perviously mentioned, trational diplomacy represents a process involving only formal diplomats, while humanitarian diplomacy features a more civillian one.

However, although the actors of humanitarian diplomacy show a multidimensional nature today, non-state actors, intergovernmental organizations, particularly the UN institutions and agencies, have had few problems being understood as diplomatic actors,[749] because coordinating and

[743] De Lauri, *ibid.*, 2018:4.
[744] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1214.
[745] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy *ibid.*
[746] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217-1218.
[747] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217-1218.
[748] Alegöz, *ibid.*, 2013:11.
[749] Minear & Smith, *ibid.*,2007:38.

managing this field and activities for states and governments has emerged as a necessity with the inclusion of civil society organizations, profit making organizations, interest groups and citizens to the relations carried out between political actors and behind closed doors at the beginning.[750] In other words, development in information and transportation technologies necessitated humanitarian diplomacy[751] thus, the official diplomacy and official diplomats of the countries had to be qualified in these areas, or they needed to cooperate with actors in these areas. Humanitarian diplomacy therefore cannot be appropriated by any one single institutional actor but is multi-functional owing to the fact that it is used by different types of actors, whether official or not.[752]

Such a process ultimately led to the appearance of various non-state actors as key actors beyond the states in such a field like humanitarian diplomacy. In this framework, the roles of these actors were diversified around the claim of being the voice of innocents in a different way than in traditional diplomacy as mentioned in the title of History of Humanitarian Diplomacy. The main tasks of these non-state actors, which carry a more civillian character today and work in coordination with states, can be listed as follows: Their most important endeavor is to ensure respect for the international law that has been formed in the international process. In this framework, the most significant functions are provide the realization of humanitarian agreements between national and international actors, to play a neutral meditor role between the conflicting sides and to ensure that international law is taken into account.[753] In this context, they are in contact with the states at very different points, not only in ensuring peace, but in all humanitarian issues in favor of victims, by operating independently from official institutions, sometimes in diplomatic spheres and by activating relevant networks if necessary.[754] In other words, while states have a more formal task of prevention conflicts and conducting peacekeeping functions, in the context of representing the state and carrying out negotiations, non-state actors have a great deal of flexibility and autonomy at the point of contact with informal sides, as compared to channels conducting official diplomacy.[755] Besides, especially in the context of NGOs, they act in concordance with the humanitarian principles of independence, impartiality, humanity, and neutrality which make them more trustworthy than states from the

[750] Köksoy, *ibid.*, 2017:212.
[751] TASAM.„ *ibid.*, 2016.
[752] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1211-1237.
[753] TASAM.„ *ibid.*, 2016.
[754] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1211-1237.
[755] TASAM.„ *ibid.*, 2016.

perspective of the host country. The credits of humanitarian organizations are also higher than those of states in terms of humanitarian actions in conflict zones. Additionally, NGOs take more risk to reach the people in need than the state actors[756]

Although the most important purpose of humanitarian diplomacy is to save lives and ameliorate suffering,[757] there are different areas that serve this purpose in practice. Humanitarian diplomacy is a discipline which includes humanitarian aid, humanitarian assistance, human rights and humanitarian law.[758] Although these concepts seem similar, they represent different situations and only humanitarian aid and humanitarian assistance concepts will be examined in connectin with soft power studies under this title. Firstly, humanitarian aid includes all kinds of moral and material needs about human, such as food, clothing, heealth, fuel, etc. to local, national and interntional needers in extraordinary times such as disaster, war, terror etc.[759] In other words, with the most general definition, humanitarian aid is intended to cover urgent basic needs during conflicts and natural disasters.[760]

> This aid known as more immediate aid actually is material and logistic assistance to people who need help. It is usually short-term help until the long-term help by government and other institutions replaces it. Among the people in need are the homeless, refugees, and victims of natural disasters, wars and famines. Humanitarian aid is material or logistical assistance provided for humanitarian purposes, typically in response to humanitarian crises including natural disasters and man-made disaster. The primary objective of humanitarian aid is to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity.[761]

AFAD, one of the Turkey's most significant institutions in the field of humanitarian diplomacy, defines this aid as follows: humanitarian aid is helps that will be made independent from political, economic and military objectives due to it is an important factor in the stability of the international communityfor the places that need life safety, hunger, thirst, famine, temporary shelter, epidemic disease and similar reasons carried out as a result of natural disasters, technological disasters, war and social conflicts.[762] As can be seen, the prominent emphasis in this humanitarian aid is similar in most definitions. In this context, the most important feature of

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[756] İNSAMER. *ibid.,* 2018a.
[757] Minear & Smith, *ibid.*,2007:39.
[758] Aksoy, *ibid.,* 2017.
[759] Çevik, S. & Kurtuluş, B. (2015). *Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü: İnsani Yardım Kuruluşları ve İnsani Diplomasi Perspektifi*. (Edt: Şahin, M. ve Çevik, B.S.). İçinde: Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi. Ankara:Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 191.
[760] Aksoy, *ibid.,* 2017.
[761] Development and Cooperation. Why the Nexus is Dangerous, Humanitarian Discourse. https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/expert-warns-against-coupling-humanitarian-aid-other-development-goals., Date of Access: 15.04.2019.
[762] Özkılıç, H. (2014). *Acil ve İnsani Yardım Hibe Programlarının Modellenmesi*. AFAD Uzmanlık Tez.

humanitarian aid is that it is the first emergency aid in events occuring for various reasons anywhere in the world.

Although, the concepts of humanitarian diplomacy and humanitarian aid has similar goals to achieve in technical terms, these two concepts are totally different and the difference should be clearly defined. According to Global Humanitarian Assistance, humanitarian aid is defined as "the aid and action designed to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain and protect human dignity during and in the aftermath of man-made crises and natural disasters, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for the occurrence of such situations."[763]

Humanitarian diplomacy is a process including several steps. Humanitarian aid – which is for a quick response in a need period- and humanitarian asistance-which is permanent and structural aids for a longer term- are the some of the steps of the humanitarian diplomacy.

The humanitarian assistance, which is another area of activity, is intended to support a country in areas from education to health, infrastructure to agriculture within the limits of the natural resources of that country.[764] These aids, more commonly known as development aids, consist of all the aid activities provided by the international, local, civil and state. It is possible to classify these assistances in different categories such as health, education, cultural and consciousness raising aids. These aids include longer-term assistance compared to humanitarian aid and include policies based on a country's development rather than urgent needs. This kind of assistance comes to exist at the point of supporting the world peace and stability in order to contribute to the economic dynamics and global sustainable developments by countries.[765]

As it is seen, the fields of activity that enable the conduct of humanitarian diplomacy vary according to the duration and type of events experienced. In this context, humanitarian aid and humanitarian assistance should not be confused with each other. However, it can be said that humanitarian diplomacy is the roof complementing humanitarian aid and humanitarian assistance. In this case, as previously mentioned, since both fields of activity from humanitarian diplomacy as a wholeand this is carried out directly within the framework of soft power, there

[763] Global Humanitarian Assistance. Defining Humanitarian Assistance. http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/data-guides/defining-humanitarian-aidNovember12., Date of Access: 15.04.2019.
[764] Aksoy, *ibid.*, 2017.
[765] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye'nin Kalkınma İşbirliği: Genel Özellikleri Ve En Az Gelişmiş Ülkelere Yönelik Yaklaşımı. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiyenin-kalkinma-isbirligi.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 14.04.2019.

is no such distinction between the fields of study of this thesis, and both are evaluated within the same framework. As a matter of fact, organizations and persons who intend to start humanitarian diplomacy activities take the first step to ensure lasting peace by organizing regional and international meetings at first to create awareness among the international community about the country in need of the aid, and using the tools they have to make the humanitarian crisis occurring in the conflict area known to the world.[766]

The last subject of this part is the arguments of humanitarian diplomacy. In this context, it will be tried to emphasize the basic characteristics of humanitarian diplomacy focus on how it is carried out. First of all, it is These approaches have four basic arguments that enable actors to take action. These are; morality, religion, legitimacyor legality.[767] These arguments provide humanitarian aid and assistance as well as the ability to sell moral ideas that are shaped on the basis of international humanity, such as the protection of civillians in wars, and to behave in a manner that requires responsible action in the context of international human rights. At this point, a successful humanitarian diplomacy practice requires that humanitarian diplomacy actors analyze the context of the problem or crisis and determine the appropriate approach to context. [768] For instance, one of the early devices employed by WFP in upgrading the skills of its staff has been to seek to develop better historical memory regarding its own experience in humanitarian diplomacy.[769] This is because it facilitates the analysis of situations and helps to produce more impressive solutions to problems. Another thing that stands out in the practice of humanitarian diplomacy is the fact that, due to its nature, its actvities should be conducted in an impartial and civillian manner. In this context, humanitarian diplomacy acts as an impartial mediator and carries out humanitarian negotiations as the voice of victims.[770]

However, it is not always possible to maintain this feature due to the diversity of the actors. First of all, it will be reduced the effectiveness of an actor who has an official connection or who is linked to one of the parties to the conflict will be felt in the field.[771] Secondly, the primary aim of humanitarian diplomacy is to ensure that human rights are respected, not to end the conflict,

[766] Aksoy, *ibid.*, 2017.
[767] Slim, H. (2002). Claiming a Humanitarian Imperative:NGOs and the Cultivation of Humanitarian Duty. *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 21*(3), 113–125.
[768] Slim, *ibid.*, 2002:113-125.
[769] WFP, Food Aid in Conflict Workshop Report, Rome, 2002.
[770] Marion, H.T. (2006). The Humanitarian Diplomacy of the International Committee of the Red Cross. https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/humanitarian-diplomacy-icrc.pdf., Date of Access: 15.04.2019.
[771] TASAM., *ibid.*, 2016.

because peace, like war, is a political phenomenon and interfering in peace efforts damages the civil qualification of humanitarian diplomacy activities. It is important to continue neutral and civil activities in order to prevent the abolition of humanitarian diplomacy activities if formal peace initiatives fail.[772]

In addition, while humanitarian diplomacy is fullfilling its activities, as well as traditional diplomacy, it uses various tools such as ‘‘negotiations, communication, and awareness-raising activities conducted from the headquarters of organizations and/or in the field.’’[773] Furthermore, depending on circumstances, humanitarian diplomacy is either discreet or makes use of the media, is informal or official, and operates from the centre to the periphery, but increasingly also in the field, where communities affected by crises are developing their capacities for information and organization.[774] These communities practise their own form of humanitarian diplomacy by talking to the authorities, opposition groups, and both national and foreign humanitarian actors.[775]

4.3. The Connection of Humanitarian Diplomacy with Public Diplomacy

As previously mentioned, diplomacy, which has become multi-dimensional as a result of the insufficiency of traditional diplomacy in the solution of many problems outside the high political area, has accelerated the emergence of public diplomacy, a civillian method.[776] Especially with the impact of globalization, the field of public diplomacy has expanded as much as possible since the 21st century. In this context, many different sub-areas of public diplomacy have emerged. Today, music diplomacy, sport diplomacy, faith diplomacy, food diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, such as a wide range of lower diplomacy are mentioned.[777] Public diplomacy, on the other hand, points to a broader framework, covering all these sub-branches; it is used as an umbrella term.[778]

Public diplomacy activities are performed within two main ways.as "state to public", and "public to public‘. State to public encompasses the explanation of state policies, activities and

[772] TASAM., *ibid.*, 2016.
[773] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217-1218.
[774] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217-1218.
[775] Re´gnier, *ibid.*,2011:1217-1218.
[776] Doğan, M., & Çatal B. (2018). Yeni Diplomatik Yöntemler: Çevre Diplomasisi. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Endüstri Dergisi*, (40), 16-31.
[777] Kurtuluş, *ibid.*, 2014:88.
[778] Kurtuluş, *ibid.*, 2014:88.

initiatives led by the state to the international public employing directly official means and channells as for the public to public activies, it is essential to use civil agents such as non-governmental organizations, research centres, public opinion research companies, the press, opinion leaders, universities, exchange programs, non-state associations and foundations. In this regard, public diplomacy goes beyond the communicative activities taking place between diplomats and foreign public opinion. As such, public diplomacy entails diplomatic communication.[779] In other words, states develop arguments such as persuading target societies through public diplomacy activities and communicating with and maintaining them, and showing sensitivity to their values and highlighting common points.[780] These activities are carried out from state to state in addition to the traditional activities. Public diplomacy generally has three dimensions; these are political-military, economic and social-cultural dimensions.[781] So, states try to build and maintain public diplomacy activities in these three priority dimensions. In this context, the field of humanitarian diplomacy, which constitutes a significant dimension of public diplomacy, emerges as a social aspect of public diplomacy and also covers the economic aspects of it through the aid it provides.

Undoubtedly, in every period of history, people in various regions of the world must have needed the basic necessities to sustain their lives, such as shelter, food, clothing, due to the various reasons such as natural disaster, internal conflict etc. So, people are often welcomed in a positive way to help other people in difficult situations, and in this context, countries that perform this on a state basis have always been cited as exemplary countries. With the internationalizations of the activities carried out in this context, it is possible to say that the states attach a special importance to the field of humanitarian diplomacy with the effect of soft power. In other words, ignoring the human tragedy in a country and sensitizing to the values of that country has led to a highly valued humanitarian diplomacy that has its roots in a long time, but has recently been coordinated with public diplomacy.[782] So, in this chapter, within the framework of the title of public diplomacy which constitutes one of the main topics of the thesis, various features of humanitarian diplomacy, more focused on the relationship between humanitarian diplomacy and

[779] Kalın, *ibid.*,2011.
[780] Eren, *ibid.*, 2017:42-44.
[781] Eren, *ibid.*, 2017:42-44.
[782] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*

public diplomacy, will be tried to explain and then various examples will be given in the context of countries that were approached under the title of ''Soft Power''.

Firstly, the actors of humanitarian diplomacy vary, just as it is a typical feature of public diplomacy. With the transformation of today's international society, the importance of human factor has increased in the field of humanitarian diplomacy which is a part of public diplomacy with the participation of other actors such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations and individuals with the exception of the state actor of diplomatic relations.[783] However, since this section is mentioned in detail in an upper chapter, it should be emphasized here that only the official diplomacy and diplomats of the countries have to cooperate with the actors in these areas, and that non-governemntal organizations, interest groups and citizens also were involved later to the official relations that were taken place between political actors at the beginning.[784]

However, another feature that needs to be addressed in this context is that although the humanitarian diplomacy, as in public diplomacy, seems more likely to conflict with the traditional diplomacy due to its more civillian feature, both diplomacy, traditional diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy, must be coordinated to ensure that benefits can be more effective and reach to various parts of the world in less time. [785] This is particularly important in the context of soft power in terms of assisting state because it will significantly be increased the effectiveness of the state's action in the region. In order to better understand the importance of this impact, the Marshall Plan, which is being implemented by the BMZ, one of the most important development institutions of Germany, will be examined in more detail.

As mentioned previously, the Marshall Plan is Germany's Project for South Africa in the context of humanitarian assistance carry out by BMZ. The Project serves as a good example of emphasizing the importance of coordinating public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy in terms of its purposes and actors, because the state-run Project has a successful framework since the day it started, including non-state actors in its country and state and non-state actors in the country of application. To look more closely to the Project, BMZ has identified 10 starting points for this project. These points vary in many areas such as from a new pact to the African solutions to Africa's need, from prioritising jobs and opportunities to investment in entrepreneurship, from

[783] Eren, *ibid.*, 2017:42-44.
[784] Köksoy, *ibid.*, 2017:212.
[785] Alegöz, *ibid.*, 2013:11.

value cre ation to development of the environment, from reform partnership to equitable lobal structures and institutions, lastly from works of Official Development Assistance to meeting the needs.[786] In this case, Germany has provided 1.05 billion euros for Conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa, 1.04 billion euros financial support for rehabilitation and development in fragile situations, 2.4 billion euros to address the root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons and support internally displaced person, and 3.35 billion euros for investment in sustainable develop- ment, tackling the root causes of migration, reintegration with the EU.[787] In addition, a compact was created to accelerate the works.

> The initiative has sparked great interest among African countries and eleven countries have joined the Compact. In North Africa: Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia; in East Africa: Ethiopia, Rwanda; and in West Africa: Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Senegal. Togo has joined most recently. Compact Countries have shown strong ownership of the process. In cooperation with IOs and bilateral partners, they have developed tailor-made policy measures to make them more attractive to investors. IOs and bilateral partners have improved coordination and encouraged private sector. As a result, from April 2018 has taken stock of the progress already achieved and has underlined the strong commitment and dedicated efforts of all the partners involved in the initiative. The report covers 101 commitments, reflecting remarkable and collective sense of purpose.[788]

In the light of this information, it is possible to say that Marshall Plan plays an important role for a peaceful and safe Africa and will play a more active role especially in the implementation of the agendas 2063 in the later times. And this, may lead Germany to act more effectively in the politics of South African in a way that it won the hearts of African people.

In this context, it can be said humanitarian diplomacy also has importance in terms of creation of public opinion by governments in foreign countries, the interaction of private institutions with the institutions of other countries and communication between diplomats and the developments of intercultural communication process.[789] In connection with this, humanitarian diplomacy plays an important role in building deep-rooted relations. Just as in public diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy aims to understand the needs of other countries, tos hare the perspectives of people and to find common denominators.[790] In public diplomacy, these goals are achieved through various means, while humanitarian diplomacy achieves these goals

[786] Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Africa and Europe- A New Partnership For Development, Peace and A Better Future, *ibid.*
[787] Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Africa and Europe- A New Partnership For Development, Peace and A Better Future, *ibid.*
[788] G20 Compact with Africa. About the Compact with Africa.- https://www.compactwithafrica.org/content/compactwithafrica/home/about.html., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[789] Cull, *ibid.*, 2007:12.
[790] Leonard, *ibid.*, 2002:8

through humanitarian aid and development assistance. Thus, a state who makes an effort to understand and meet the needs of other countries, will have a significant advantage in terms of explaining its own values, opinions and ideals to the people of other countries and establishing good relations with these people and managing the general perceptions about themselves.[791] In this context, humanitarian diplomacy has an important potential to manage the internation environment, because public diplomacy is an initiative to manage it through an international actor's connection with a foreign public[792] and with a humanitarian or development aid, a country that reaches a nation's people on a much more human basis, has the opportunity to play a more influential role in the international arena both for that country and for its own country's foreign policy.

In conclusion, in the view of such information, it is possible to say that humanitarian diplomacy creates an inseparable part of the public diplomacy today. Countries interact directly with the public through humanitarian diplomacy activities and have the opportunity to create a positive image for their country. Especially, the aid organizations of the powerful countries and the international organizations operate in almost every part of the world with humanitarian activities and create a positive image for them.[793] This is very important for the effective implementation of public diplomacy. However, although humanitarian diplomacy has a very good public side, it may have a negative impact on the way it is seen as a way of branding.[794] However, this advantage may also be an advantage in encouraging other countries to provide humanitarian assistance for countries in need. As a result, humanitarian diplomacy today, which forms a significant part of public diplomacy, both gets into the act in areas such as internal and external conflicts, disaster and unexpected social crises or security of the state in the context of prevention of victimization of women, children, elders and innocent civillians, defense of the rights os missing persons, raising consciousness against weapons of mass destruction and reminding authorities of their responsibilities, and at the global level, it plays an important role in raising the prestige of countries in the context of developing proactive approaches to comprehensive cooperation in the fields of international law and human rights.

[791] Köksoy, *ibid.*, 2017:212.
[792] Cull, *ibid.*, 2007:12.
[793] Doğan, E. (2012). *Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtlar Üzerine, Kamu Diplomasisi* (Edt: Özkan, A. ve Ersoy-Öztürk, T.). İstanbul: Tasam Yayınları, 13.
[794] Tüney, *ibid.*, 2016.

4.4. Turkey's Approach to Humanitarian Diplomacy

Turkey's new role in the fast-flowing history is surely in the field of humanitarian diplomacy, and it is not only a means to help people but also a tool that touches them and can even influence the foreign policy of the country and is much more than a humanitarian aid.[795] In this context, under this title Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy approach will be evaluated primarily in terms of the values it has, then the basics of its policy in this framework will be explained.

> Turkey's land has historically been moulded with humanitarianism and Turkey has a stong tradition of responding to those in need. As early as in the late 15th century, Turks provided a safe harbour to several hundreds of thousands exiled populations fleeing from persecution. Since then, Turks have embraced countless peoples in dire need, regardless of their religious, ethnic or linguistic backgrounds, throughout history. Based on such heritage, modern Turkey has always provided humanitarian assistance to peoples in need, either by hosting them or helping them in their own countries or in third countries, to the extent possible. Built on its own experiences, in recent times, this humanitarianism has been vividly reflected on Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. This diplomacy has a broader meaning than humanitarian assistance which is yet an important tool of it. Humanitarian diplomacy, as Turkey applies, is a human centered and conscience-driven policy with particular attention to human dignity and development, in countries where humanitarian crises of all sorts occur.[796]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs describes the new diplomacy model that Turkey applies as "humanitarian diplomacy". Humanitarian diplomacy puts people at the center instead of the interests of the state. According to this perception, humanitarian diplomacy has three stages in terms of Turkey. The first stage involves diplomatic moves that facilitate the lives of its citizens, as to remove visa application with many countries. The second stage is the attitude of Turkey towards crisis regions in terms of humanitarian aid. The third stage is to take ownership of the citizens in the crisis regions within the UN system and to carry out intense diplomatic traffic to announce their rights in the international arena.[797]

According to Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA);

> new economic dynamics and an increasing sense of responsibility for promoting global peace through contributing to global sustainable development have enabled Turkey to emerge as a new and dynamic player in the international development cooperation architecture. Turkey uses "a wide range of soft power instruments such as assuming a mediator role in regional conflicts" to promote a peace in its surrounding region. Turkey's

[795] Bayezit, F. (2018). *İnsani Diplomasi,* Kamu Diplomasisi: İnsani Diplomasi, Küresel Örnekler ve Türkiye.
[796] Turkish Humanitarian Policy, http://whsturkey.org/turkey-and-the-summit/turkish-humanitarian-policy, Date of Access: 31.03.2019.
[797] Türkiye insani diplomasi politikasını açıklıyor, 21 November 2016, http://turkey.setimes.com/tr/articles/ses articles/features/departments/society/2013/01/10/feature., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

> foreign aid program began in June 1985 with a 10 million USD aid package distributed to Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, Somalia and Sudan. Later in the 1980's Turkey began to focus its attention on newly independent states in Central Asia and the Caucasus. According to the MoFA, an important aspect of Turkey's development policy is its demand-driven nature: Turkey delivers aid based on recipient country requests, often in sectors "such as education, health, water and sanitation, administrative and civil infrastructures which represent basic needs of people.[798]
>
> Humanitarian diplomacy, which constitutes an important dimension of Turkish public diplomacy activities, became a useful term to explain Turkey's engagement with new foreign policy actors, including non-state actors, providing legitimate entry into unstable zones such as Somalia before and Syria later on. In other words, Turkey's discourse on humanitarian diplomacy emerged at a time when its "zeroproblems with neighbors" policy came under severe criticism. The policy was designed before the Arab Spring when the target audience was the regimes in Turkey's neighboring countries. The Arab Spring triggered the emergence of new actors who questioned the legitimacy of these regimes. However, this policy was insufficient to explain Turkey's changing foreign policy and to ensure that its understandable, therefore a more concrete expression was needed in practice. In this context, in order to legitimize this new arrangement, it may be argued that Turkish foreign policy required a new discourse. It could be said that the discourse on humanitarian diplomacy emerged as a result of an ongoing recalibration process. In addition, Turkey also required a new perspective to explain the widening of focus and scale of its foreign policy, which went beyond its immediate borders, such as its engagement with Africa, among other distant regions.[799]

Thus, Turkey has started to conduct a proactive multi-dimensional foreign policy and humanitarian diplomacy is created as one of the most fundamental principles of this process.[800] In this context, firstly it is necessary to mention that how the concept developed in Turkey in the historical process and what place it has in foreign policy.

Although the roots of the concept are based on the Turkish Red Crescent in practice, which is evaluated in the upper chapters, it is necessary to take the Republic Period as base in the context of state politics. In this context, it is possible to examine the history of Turkey's growing humanitarian diplomacy.[801] The first period covers the period from the founding of the Republic to the establishment of TİKA.[802] During this period, under favour of Atatürk, there have been active sample initiatives in terms of foreign aid. However, the period from the time of his death until the 1950s, was quite stable in the context of this subject.[803] During this early period of the Republic, this understanding was mostly attempted to be carried out through external bureacrats

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[798] Republic of Turkey- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2016-22 November). "Turkey's Development Cooperation: General Characteristics and the Least Developed Countries Aspect.

[799] Altunişik, M.B. (2014). *Turkey as an Emerging Donor and the Arab Uprisings*, Mediterranean Politics, 19 (3),333-350.

[800] Bayezit, *ibid.*, 2018.

[801] Akçay, E. (2012). *Bir Dış Politika Enstrümanı Olarak Türk Dış Yardımları.* Ankara: Turgut Özal Üniversitesi Yayınları, 63.

[802] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.

[803] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.

or diplomats in the regions where the Balkans, Central Asia, Africa and Afghanistan were still tied to the Ottoman State. For example, Ambassador to Bucharest Mr. Hamdullah Suphi to be in solidarity and communication with the Gagauz Turks during the 1931-1944 terms of office and the opening schools teaching Turkish where they were thickly populated and providing this to be sent to teachers from Turkey is one of the examples that can be given in this regard. [804] That is to say that the aid realized in this period was mostly carried out with the responsibilities of the ties from the past and in this context, it was a little lacking to underline the concept of modern humanitarian diplomacy. However, as in every period, the activities of the Turkish Red Crescent, which is a civil society in this period, also come to the fore. For example, after a major flood in Iraq and Syria in 1967, it provided medicines and supplies such as blankets to these countries. It laos provided help for the flood disaster happened in Afghanistan in 1972.[805]

However, the first official regulations in the context of state policies were in the post-1980 period. In 1985, a high level of food aid was planned for the famine due to drought disaster in Sub-Saharan Africa.[806] In 1987, with the Decree No. 12154 of the Council of Ministers, such humanitarian aid was given as an official duty to the State Planning Organization.[807] The first aid to be made as a foreign policy instrument within the framework of the Official Development Assistance criteria began only in 1998. [808] It can be said that this is one of the important steps taken in terms of the institutionalization of humanitarian diplomacy. However, the real turning point in this area was realized with Turgut Özal, who started the expansion of the countries left from the USSR after the Cold War, the Balkans and Turkic Republics.[809] Turkey Cooperation and Coordination Agency, TİKA, was established in order to carry out these expansions and related assistance and cooperation.[810] Although the institutionalization of Turkey by TİKA in terms of foreign aid occurred at a later time, compared with the same task organization of the anniversary such as GIZ in Germany in 1975, considering the works evaluated under the title of TİKA, TİKA has shown a very rapid upward trend in terms of its activity and ratio.[811] Today it shares its knowledge and experience with many countries from the Pacific to Central Asia, from the Middle East and Africa to the Balkans, from the Caucasus to Latin America by performing

[804] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.
[805] Kızılay. Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a. http://kizilaytarih.org/yayinlar/2-Hilal-i-ahmerden-kizilaya-ii-prof-drsecil-karal-akgun-mulugt.pdf., Date of Access: 21.04.2019.
[806] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.
[807] T.C. Resmi Gazete. http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/20631.pdf., Date of Access: 22.04.2019.
[808] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.
[809] Örgel, F. (2018). *İnsani Yardım Çalışmaları ve Uluslararası Politikalar*, İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi.
[810] TİKA. Tarihçe. https://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/sayfa/tarihce-222., Date of Access: 22.04.2019.
[811] Akçay, *ibid.*, 2012: 63.

2.7% of the total 8.12 billion dollar help which gives Turkey the title of the most generous country.[812]

One of the other milestones in the field of humanitarian diplomacy has been followed by the great eartquake that took place on August 17, 1999, which more served as the humanitarian aid in the field of humanitarian diplomacy. In this context, after the eartquake as well as Bosnian War, civil society for both the domestic and foreign areas and mobility assistance in both areas have increased in Turkey. This has continued with the increasing number of civil society and charities. Civil society and aid organizations, which have increased both in numerical terms and in scope, have been able to operate both inside and outside the country.[813] However, the developments brought about by this event are not limited to this, Turkey has also begun to lay a foundation for an integrated disaster management system to take necessary measures on behalf of pre-disaster by being convinced that the assistance was not sufficient only during or after a disaster. In addition, in 2003, after the heavy bureaucratic obstacles to the NGO's assistance abroad, the assistance of NGOs to the foreign countries increased significantly. The amount of external humanitarian aid of NGOs, which was 56.7 million dollars in 2005, was 280.23 million dollars in 2013 and 655.17 million dollar in 2016.[814]

As it can be seen, although the roots of concept of humanitarian diplomacy, which has become increasingly important within the framework of the events that took place since the establishment of the Republic, are based on a long time ago in the practical terms, in theoretical sense, it was realized by the speech of the 61st government Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu at the Fifth Ambassador's Conference on Humanitarian Diplomacy in 2013.[815] The main emphasis of Davutoğlu's speech is that radical decisions will be made in Turkish foreign policy. In this context, it is stated that no diplomacy which does not address the conscience of the human, does not touch humanity, will be no longer permanent and also the understanding that will provide this is humanitarian diplomacy.[816] Within this framework, Davutoğlu defined humanitarian diplomacy as follows: Humanitarian diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that acts with the concern of the common future of humanity and expresses that more than humanitarian aid, which is

[812] TİKA. Hakkımızda. https://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/sayfa/hakkimizda-14649., Date of Access: 22.04.2019.
[813] Örgel, *ibid.,* 2018:77-80.
[814] TİKA. TİKA 2016 Faaliyet Raporu. https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2017/03/2016%20IdareFaaliyetRaporu/İdare%20Rapor_2016_WebFormati.pdf., Date of Access: 22.04.2019.
[815] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.,* 2013.
[816] Aktaş, *ibid..*, 2014.

human centered in addition to the traditional diplomacy instruments of the states, by using public institutions, semi-official organizations and non-governemnetal organizations.[817] According to this, humanitarian diplomacy predicates on human rather than states' interests. In this context, humanitarian diplomacy helps a country to gain prestige as a foreign policy instrument with these policies while helping people in difficult situations in another country.[818]

Davutoğlu's framework of humanitarian diplomacy builds on three dimensions as shortly mentioned before.[819] The first of these dimensions is the diplomatic moves that facilitate the lives of the citizens.[820] The first dimension, which is mostly related to domestic policy, is very important in terms of reflecting the success of domestic politics to foreign policy. The details of this dimension will be determined by the comparison of the events to be examined under the title of AFAD Case with their counterparts in domestic politics. The second dimension is constituted by aid policies of Turkey in crisis regions.[821] Within the framework of humanitarian values which Turkey has, this second dimension, which is constituted under the responsibility of assisting thos in distress, developed in the center of activities for the wounding of the wounds in the region as a first move, particularly through state institutions and non-governmental organizations upon the loss of thousands of people as a result of the drought occuring in Somalia in 2011 and the civil war between the Buddhists and Muslims in Myanmar in the same year.[822] In connection with this, the third dimension consists of intensive diplomacy traffic in the UN system in order to publicize the rights of citizens in crisis regions in the international arena.[823] In this context, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu of the time was the first Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit Myanmar after the start of the conflict, and it was very important to ensure that the situation was awakened to a large extent in the world public. [824]

This multidimensional model offers a holistic approach to humanitarian diplomacy, suggesting the importance of mobilization on multiple levels and the promotion of this understanding on multiple platforms[825] and Turkey's understanding of humanitarian diplomacy consisting in line

[817] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.,* 2013.
[818] Akbaba, S. (2016). *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Kimlik Bağlamında İnsani diplomasi; Suriye Örneğ*i. (Edt: Akıllı, E.). İçinde: Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Dış Yardımlar. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 251-253.
[819] Davutoğlu, A. (2013). Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy: Objectives, Challenges, and Prospects. The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 41(6), 865-870.
[820] Davutoğlu, *ibid.,* 2013.
[821] Davutoğlu, *ibid.,* 2013.
[822] Alegöz, *ibid.,* 2013:11.
[823] Davutoğlu, *ibid.,* 2013.
[824] Alegöz, *ibid.,* 2013:11.
[825] Akpınar, *ibid.,* 2013:751.

with this concept shows multifaceted and multichanneled feature.[826] In other words, in the direction of humanity flow, if it is important to have the strongest armies of the world today, it is also important to be in the conscience of humanity and to be ablo to address that conscience, and in this context, while Turkey is trying to find a solution to the crises in its region, it will also deal with whatever is engaged in the mind and conscience of all humanity. [827]

Turkey's works carried out in accordance with this understanding in the field of humanitarian diplomacy, made it one of the influential countries of the world in terms of humanitarian diplomacy. For instance, according to 2013 data, Turkey took its place as the fourth largest country in this area after the USA, the UK and EU, with its humanitarian aid about 1 billion USD.[828] According to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report described a year later, Turkey after the USA and the UK from 20 donor countries took the title of the most generous country. [829] In 2015, it has become the second most humanitarian aid country in the world with the aid of $ 3.2 billion and the the most humanitarian aid country in terms of the ratio of national income.[830] In 2017, with an %119 increase in this area compared with 2016, the total amount of aid made by Turkey reached $6 billion US dollars, which is 0.75 of Turkey's national income.[831] With these statistics, Turkey has realized more than one in five of the total amount of aid given by the international community, while it takes once again the title of the most generous country. Turkey was ranked as the second largest donor after the US according to the statistics given above. In addition, apart from these humanitarian aid, which constitutes an important part of the humanitarian diplomacy concept, Turkey clearly shows that its effort is multi-dimensional by guessing 3 million 605 thousand Syrian refugees in its country. [832]

All these information indicate that Turkey is a country who has strength and conscience to reach the humanitarian crisis zone in any part of the world. This affort carried out by Turkey regardless of race, language, religion, has the potential to bring it to an important position on the international platform.[833] In other words, if the history is flowing rapidly in certain periods, it

[826] Davutoğlu, *ibid.*, nd.
[827] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.,* 2013.
[828] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report (2017). http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/GHA-Report-2017-Full-report.pdf., Date of Access: 04.06.2019.
[829] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report , *ibid.,* 2017.
[830] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report (2015). http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/GHA2015P_Friendly2.pdf., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.
[831] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.,* 2017.
[832] Mülteciler Derneği. (2019). Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Sayısı Nisan 2019. https://multeciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.
[833] Akbaba, *ibid.*, 2016:244-264.

means that a great opportunity and possibility are born fort he countries that are yevaluating these periods.[834] The difference occurs in such periods. You cannot make any difference in the static international conjuncture. In this context, the location is certain, your power is obvious and the places where you can go are limited. But if there is a dynamic conjuncture, a political factor that will determine that dynamic conjuncture, then the difference occurs.[835] It can be said that in this context that this political factor of Turkey is welded from its humanitarian diplomacy shaped by the values it possesses. In this sense, at the discursive level, the Turkish model of humanitarian diplomacy points to an idealized form of diplomacy that exists holistically for the sake of human beings.[836]

> Humanitarian diplomacy, as Turkey applies, is a human centered and conscience-driven policy with particular attention to human dignity and development, in countries where humanitarian crises of all sorts ocur. Turkey's humanitarian vision is, as the goodness center of the world, to assist promptly to victims in need of humanitarian relief and to alleviate the long-lasting impacts of natural and man-made disasters, with a view to also enhancing regional and global peace and welfare, without discrimination.[837]

In practice, with Turkey's policy breakthroughts carried out with the understanding arising from this discourse, it can be said that it created a space to move more comfortably with a wider perspective in its relations with states and other actors in the international arena.[838] However Turkey's model of humanitarian diplomacy indicates that "states may find a balance between conscience and interest while embarking on missions beyond their sovereign borders"; while this model is promising this, it offers a human-centered approach to diplomacy it nevertheless has its limits.[839] Here, one cannot prevent himself asking the epicentrum question: although Turkey exerts more effort and pays much to the fields of humanitarian diplomacy, does it receive the fruits of its labor in return in the international platform? Or should we interrogate all these costs from the very beginning?

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[834] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.,* 2013.
[835] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.,* 2013.
[836] Akpınar, *ibid.,* 2013:751.
[837] Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy. *ibid.*
[838] Dülger, K. (2017). Humanitarian Diplomacy As A New Notion That Has An Improving Effectiveness and Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy Cognizance As An Example In This Scope. *Uluslararası Politik Araştırmalar Dergisi,* 3(2), 11.
[839] Akpınar, *ibid.,* 2013:751.

CHAPTER 5

AFAD CASE

Under this heading, it will primarily be mentioned that how Turkey's disaster management approach and policy eveolved throughout history, and then, in line with the current works of AFAD, which emerged as the most competent institution in disaster management under the Law No. 5902, its vision, mission and purposes will be discussed and a general framework will be drawn about the institution by specifying the strong and weak sides of AFAD. Then, in connection with the Actors, Practices and Arguments of Humanitarian Diplomacy, the work of AFAD is based on humanitarian aid will be explained in the activity areas of humanitarian diplomacy. In this context, the concept of integrated disaster management which is drawn its general frame in a top title, will be discussed in more detail, and within this framework, humanitarian approach of AFAD will be tried to revealed. Then, the role of AFAD in Turkish internal and foreign policy in the context of humanitarian diplomacy will be explained. After that, the activities of AFAD will be evaluated under five specific cases.

5.1. AFAD, Since Its Foundation

> Today, Turkey's humanitarian response is directed to all types of crises ranging from conflict situations to natural disasters and epidemics. The system has institutionally three major pillars operating under the coordination of the government; AFAD, Kızılay and TİKA. The latter focusing on social and ecenomic development through technical cooperation projects, whereas the former two focus more on humanitarian relief. They all operate also in close coordination with relevant civil society organizations as appropriate. Accordingly, specialized Ministries, such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, as well as the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, substantially contribute to the programmes in their areas of expertise. These institutions play roles in distribution of humanitarian aids in kind, fulfilment of development aids and evacuation of injured people.[840]

Here, in this chapter, AFAD will be handled in a more detailed style. As well known, each disaster has a traumatic group of traces on the affected community and the course results. However, some disasters, especially those that affect a large area and cause severe damage, leave wound that are more difficult for others to affect.[841] Due to its geographical location, Turkey has witnessed such disasters many times in its history. For instance, Turkey, in terms of large

[840] Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy. *ibid*

[841] Tierney, K.J., Lindell, M.K. & Perry, R.W. (2001). *Facing The Unexpected: Disaster Preparedness and Response in The United States*, Joseph Henry Press, Washington, D.C., ABD, 2.

eartquakes that occurred from 1900 to the present day, ranks fourth with 77 eartquakes. In addition, about 34,000 citizens lost their lives from the 1950s to the present day due to eartquakes only. [842] According to the statistics of the last 60 years; direct and indirect economic losses caused by disasters are seen as 3% of GNP.[843] This makes it clear that disaster management should have an important role in state politics. In this case, in order to better understand the matter, it is useful to look at the details of legislation created in this context and the history of disaster management in Turkey primarily.

Firstly, the disaster-related legislation in Turkey initially developed in the form of special laws that were enacted in the wake of every natural disaster. Such laws mostly comprised provisions focused on response and reconstruction/improvement measures, and aimed at helping people affected by disasters and alleviating the impacts of the disaster as soon as possible.[844] Thus, a structure has been formed which has been scattered over time and tried to be executed by various organizations. In fact, the roots of this structure are based on a decree issued by the Ottoman Sultan the second Beyazıt after the Istanbul eartquake in 1509.[845] The first official document on disaster management was created in this land after the eartquake of 109 mosques and 1,047 buildings, where over 13,000 people lost their lives.[846] However, in this period, rather than a conscious disaster management, following the increase of urbanization, rules regarding the structuring of the disaster management were formed. For example, one of the most important of these is the Ebniye Nizamnamesi, which was published in 1848.[847] In this context, the issues related to disciplining the urban fabric such as prohibition of dead-end streets, restriction of wooden houses due to fires, illumination of streets, laying of pavement have been determined. As can be seen, the understanding management in the Ottoman State is seen as a limited structure which is tried be carried out more over urbanization. The same understanding continued for a while in the Republic period. In this context, first of all, with the Municipal Law No. 1580 dated 1930, the municipalities were assigned the duty of supervision for settlements and constructions

[842] AFAD. Disaster Management and Natural Disaster Statics in Turkey. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/35429/xfiles/Turkiye_de_Afetler.pdf., Date of Access: 21.04.2019.
[843] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2288/files/afadsp2013-2017.pdf., Date of Access: 21.04.2019.
[844] Erkan, A. (2010). *Afet Yönetiminde Risk Azaltma ve Türkiye'de Yaşanan Sorunlar*. Uzmanlık Tezi, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı.
[845] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[846] Öztürk, N. (2003). *Türkiye'de Afet Yönetimi: Karşılaşılan Sorunlar ve Çözümü Değerlendirilmesi ve* Politika Önerileri, Mülkiye, 23, 149-151.
[847] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

and the task of building housing for those in need.[848] However, the concept of civil defense, which refers to all kinds of unarmed protection and rescue measures and activities to minimize the loss of life and property of the people against enemy attacks and to protect all the vital public and private facilities and organizations and to ensure the continuation of their activities and to support the defense efforts at the highest level by the people and to keep the morale of the people high,[849] was developed after the first World War -when changing the mentality of many countries in this field. Turkey also was no longer indifferent to these developments; it was firstly issued with the "Manual of Air Defence and Protection of Rear Area" put into forse in 1928; and immediately afterwards, in 1938, Passive Protection Law No. 3502 was enacted and mobilization directorates were established in the provinces and civil defense services were initiated.[850] However, the Erzincan Eartquake that took place in 1939 was a turning point in specifically directed towards disasters. More than 30,000 people lost their lives in the eartquake that took place on December 26, 1939, and over 100,000 buildings were heavily damaged or destroyed. After this eartquake, on January 17, 1940, Law No. 3773 naming "Law on helps that will be given to the people living in Erzincan and the places that were affected by the earthquake" was enacted.[851] With this law, the principles regarding the aid after the eartquake have been determined and the first time tax relief and compensation to the civil servants have been arranged. Although this situation is limited in other words it includes only a post-disaster regulation when compared with the present understanding, it can be said that it is one of the important steps in terms of disaster management. However, during this period, the damaging eartquakes continued to occur and Niksar-Erba, Adapazarı-Hendek, Tosya-Ladik and Bolu-Gerede Eartquakes following the Erzincan Eartquake resulted in the death of more than 43,000 people and nearly 75,000 people were injured and about 200,000 buildings heavily damaged or destroyed.[852] These eartquakes that have occurred one after another have gradually revealed the fact that it is not only useful to wrap the wounds after the events and to develop much more effective policies in this field. In this context, on July 18, 1944, Law No. 4623 naming "Law on

[848] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[849] Gaetani, F., Parodi, A., Siccardi, F., Miozzo, D. & Trasforini, E. (2008). *The Structure, Role and Mandate of Civil Protection in Disaster Risk Reduction for South Eastern Europe*. South Eastern Europe Disaster Risk Mitigation and Adaptation Programme (SEEDRMAP), 47-48.
[850] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[851] Aktel, M. (2010). *5902 Sayılı Yasa İle Türkiye'de Afet Yönetiminde Oluşan Değişim*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 170.
[852] Aktel, *ibid.*, 2010:170.

Measures Before and After the Earthquakes" was issued.[853] Thus, the studies on the reduction of the disaster losses in the real sense started with this law.

Under the light of these information, it can be said that the disaster management system created until that time in Turkey has been shaped mostly by eartquakes which are the most frequent natural events. However, this period is period in which many floods are seen in the country. A law encompassing settlements that could ensure life and property, safety before and during disasters, as well as future disasters has enacted. This is also the Law No. 7269 naming "Law on Measures to be taken due to Disasters that Effect the Communal Life and the Helps to be given" issued on 15 May, 1959, which forms the foundation of the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs.[854] Another important regulation in the area of disaster management is the Regulation on Emergency Assistance and Planning Principles for Disasters in 1988. With this regulation, all the power and resources of the state were planned before disasters and the establihment and duties of the aid organizations were regulated in order to ensure the most rapid access to the event area and the most effective emergency aid to the victims in the event of disaster.[855] In the light of this information, it can be expressed that disaster management in Turkey is very centralized and general perception until the end of the 90s is only limited with the help of disaster victims after the disaster.[856]

However, the Marmara Eartquake that took place in 1999 constitutes another milestone for Turkey's disaster management. Since this issue will be discussed in more detail in the framework of Humanitarian Approach of AFAD, here it will be only emphasized that this eartquake revealed again the necessity of passing on disaster management issues in a painful way due to the great loss of life and extansive damage of it. In this context, in 2000, to fill the gaps in coordination, Directorate General of Emergency Management was set up, the building inspection system changed completely, and the insurance has been made compulsory.[857] It can be said that this step is the first step towards taking necessary measures not only after the disaster but also before the disaster. Although, despite the changes in the system, three main institutions involved in disaster management -Directorate General of Emergency Management, Disaster

[853] Aktel, *ibid.*, 2010:170.
[854] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[855] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[856] Işık, A., Gökçe, O. & İlgen, G. (2012). *Türkiye'de Afet Yönetim Sistemine Bir Bskış AİGM'den AFAD'a Değişenler*. 65. Türkiye Jeoloji Kurultayı, 224.
[857] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

Affairs and Civil Defense- were acting under three different ministries continued to create problems, and these problems adversely affected the coordinated work of the institutions in disaster management. Ultimately, in order to eliminate the coordination problems between the institutions involved in the disaster management system, AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Aıuthority) affiliated to the Prime Ministry in the center and Provincial Disaster and Emergency Directorates connected directly to the Governor in the provinces was established.[858] This law, which was adopted in the Turkish Grand National Assembly and published in the official newspaper dated 06.06.2009, and numbered 27261, covers the production and implementation of policies for necessary measures fo the effective realization of services related to disaster, emergency and civil defense services at the country level, and to ensure coordination between the institutions and organizations conducting the improvement activities after the incident and the mitigation, preparation and mitigation before the occurance of events.[859]

This law, which still forms the basis of AFAD's work today, presents AFAD as an institution which has the authority to create working groups that do not have a hierarchical structure under the result oriented Department Heads and can appoint staff from outside the institution according to the needs of the day. [860] Moreover, AFAD is an institution that provides effective coordination and cooperation with universities, public institutions, private sector and non-governemnetal organizations as of its duty area.[861] AFAD, which is affiliated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the No. 4 Presidential Decree issued on 15 July 2018, considers assistance to the countries that are in a difficult situation due to natural disasters, war, poverty and social conflicts as a humanitarian duty and an important element in the stability of the international community.[862] Taking this thought into consideration, it strives to deliver humanitarian aid to the places where it is needed, regardless of race, religion, language and gender, and to the extent that it is possible, and supports and contributes to international efforts for this purpose.

The main aim of AFAD, before, during and after the disaster incident, is to operate the integrated disaster management system most effectively in emergency situations and in this context to

[858] Özmen, B. & Özden, A.T. (2013). Türkiye'nin Afet Yönetim Sistemine İlişkin Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme. *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi,* 49, 17.
[859] Mevzuat. Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı İle İlgili Bazı Düzenlemeler Hakkında Kanun. http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5902.pdf., Date of Access: 22.04.2019.
[860] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[861] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[862] AFAD. AFAD Hakkında. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2211/AFAD-Hakkinda., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.

provide high level national and international coordination, so it conveys its resources on the pre-disaster rather than the crisis management concept that wastes most of the country's resources before and after the disaster.[863] In other words, it works on risk management approach that prioritizes preparation and risk reduction. This understanding, which will be examined in more detail in a sub-chapter of Humanitarian Approach of AFAD, indicates that AFAD is the only authorized institution in terms of disasters and emergencies, and ensures that it acts effectively according to the nature and size of the disaster and emergency with the understanding of an umberella institution. Within this framework, AFAD, as a continuously developing and learning institution, acts with the aim of spreading disaster management standards, initiating education mobilization for disaster preparedness and being a pioneer organization in the international arena.[864]

In light of this information, AFAD's vision could be defined as a guiding and coordinating institution that can be modeled at an international level that provides risk-oriented, effective, active and reliable services based on sustainable development in disaster and emergency situations.[865] In other words, AFAD firstly coordinates all institutions involve effectively and then foresees to be a strong institution in the international arena. In this context, AFAD, which defines its mission as creating a disaster-resistant society, will minimize the devastating effects of eartquakes, floods, landslides, rock falls, droughts, storms, tsunamis and many other disasters on people, environment, economy and the time to stand up of society after the disaster with the motto "We are Preapared to the Unexpected".[866]

The strengths and the weaknesses of AFAD, which are the result of prioritization of the findings determined by the project team constitute the last part of this title. In this context, the strengths of AFAD can be expressed as follows: Firstly, AFAD has a serious disaster memory and important experiences in this context.[867] This strong side is meaningful with the number of people and countries reached by AFAD, especially in this framework, AFAD has reached out to victims and oppressed people in 52 countries in the last 6 years.[868] This is very important in terms of the implementation of more effective projects in the future, and even taking necessary

[863] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[864] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[865] AFAD. Vizyon ve Misyon. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2288/Vizyon-ve-Misyon., Date of Access: 21.04.2019.
[866] AFAD. Vizyon ve Misyon, *ibid.*
[867] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[868] AFAD News. The Most Generous Country in the World, *ibid.*

measures without experiencing these incidents. Another strong side is the staff of AFAD that is mentioned in its own documents.[869] In this context, according to the 2017 performance report, 85% of the 363 employees working at the center in AFAD have graduate degrees, while 52% of the 4878 team working in the provinces have graduate degrees.[870] But a question arouses here that could attract the attentions: Does the education levels of the staff solely enough to represent strength? As well known, an effective use of the staff -employing them appropriately to their profession fields, not wasting human resources in non-needed areas, placing them where they can be most beneficial etc.- cannot just be explained by diplomas. Therefore, while creating strategic documents and noting down the strong and weak sides, it is important to go throughly and base the situation to the researchs.

As mentioned before, AFAD is issued as the unique authority in disaster management based on Law No. 5902.[871] In other words, it has legal authority and is the only governmental authority in the country in this context. It also has a strong financial structure.[872] According to the 2017 performance report, the budget of AFAD was determined as 1.248.151.500 TL in that year, which corresponds to 3.15% of the total gross national product of the country in 2017.[873] But at the end of the year, total disbursement was 3.333.599.451,00 TL[874] with the addition of donation, international contributions and with the use of special budget. Like all other public institutions; AFAD's budget is also audited by Turkish Court of Accounts. But these audits are only procedural reviews, not expediency. This being the case, it is impossible to evaluate if the budget is used appropriately or not. Here, it could be useful to touch upon some indications made by the Court of Accounts on 2017 Budget and Expenses of AFAD. According to the findings stated in the mentioned Report;

- AFAD has not made the accounting of the resources that were received from international institutions or organizations, therefore, financial statements do not generate true knowledge,

[869] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[870] AFAD. 2017 Yılı Performans Raporu. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/15663/xfiles/AFAD_2017_PERFORMANS_PROGRAMI.pdf., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.
[871] Mevzuat. Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı İle İlgili Bazı Düzenlemeler Hakkında Kanun, *ibid.*
[872] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[873] AFAD. 2017 Yılı Performans Raporu, *ibid.*
[874] T.C. Sayıştay Bakanlığı. Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı 2017 Yılı Sayıştay Düzenlilik Denetim Raporu. https://www.sayistay.gov.tr/tr/Upload/62643830/files/raporlar/kid/2017/Genel_Bütçe_Kapsamındaki_%20Kamu_İdareleri/AFET%20VE%20ACİL%20DURUM%20YÖNETİMİ%20BAŞKANLIĞI.pdf., Date of Access: 31.03.2019.

- Movable properties which were donated has not been registered,
- There is no registration and no information of the movable properties in the Temporary Shelters which were launched for the Syrian refugees in Turkey,
- Aid materials are not registered regularly and properly,
- Distribution of the aids are not made systematically,
- Aid materials are kept in the warehouses and they are not tracked by AFAD,
- Provincial authorities do not inform the AFAD Presidency about the in-kind aids made by national or international aid agencies; hence, the real needs cannot be truly determined and the budget is not used effectively,
- "Regulation on Accounting of the Special Accounts" is not applied,
- Operation made from the Special Account of International Emergency Aids have not been accounted properly according to the "Regulation on Accounting of the Special Accounts of Public Administrations",
- Operation made from the Account of Humanitarian Aids have not been accounted properly according to the "Regulation on Accounting of the Special Accounts of Public Administrations.[875]

These fidings are the ones, only related to the humanitarian aid operations of AFAD fort he year 2017. Of course, the active and proper use of the resources are not the main subject of this theses; however, it is well known that if a country pays for strengthening its soft power capacity, it is his right to expect at least at the amount he paid. Because the outputs are measured according to the inputs you introduce, and the expenses are the unique measurable element among these inputs.

As it is made known, AFAD has the ability to help internationally and has access to resources in this context.[876] In addition, with its integrated disaster program, it exhibits a decisive and focused command management and incorporates different disciplines. However, in addition to all these strengths, AFAD still has many aspects to improve.

First of all, although the integrated disaster management program is implemented on the basis of policies, AFAD still needs more dedication in order to disseminate this understanding.[877] For

[875] T.C. Sayıştay Bakanlığı. Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı 2017 Yılı Sayıştay Düzenlilik Denetim Raporu, *ibid.*
[876] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[877] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

example, after the eartquake in 2017 in Adıyaman Samsat, the post-disaster needs were met, but after this process, not enough steps were taken in order to reduce the damages of the eartquakes that might happen again in the future, which is one of the most important requirements of the integrated disaster management system. In the following period, another eartquake occurred in this region in 2018, and as a result of this, it was acquired that 78% of the buildings in the city center and 69.5% of the buildings in the villages were heavily damaged.[878] After this eartquake, the foundation of 403 eartquake houses was laid, but despite one year, these houses have not been completed yet.[879]

Another consideration that is encountered in connection with this situation is to prioritize the role of the society and in particular sivil society in developing a risk management approach, because the individuals exposed to disasters as well as people who are sensetive about disaster management, or self-organized structures that emerged as civillian organizations emerged as an important element in the fight against disasters.[880] For instance, in the USA, Community Emergency Response Team (CERT), is a model for community-based disasters, which is created on the basis of the concepts of solidarity and volunteerism between neighbors relatives and friends in the workplace in disaster preparedness processes, and it functions quite efficiently.[881] In Turkey, the role of the society in the work carried out through state institutions and civil society organizations are being thrown into the background. Besides, necessary space is not created to work in a coordinated manner for these institutions. For example, in Turkey there are too many search and rescue teams and NGOs, however, the criteria of these are not clear enough.[882] In this context, NGOs should be classified, application standards should be established, legal legislation and the volunteering system should be defined within the general administrative structure. In addition, the state should also play a supporting, simulating role in voluntary activities. [883] Because, it can be said that it is not possible to have active power outside only by the state itself, the state due to its structure, determines strategies and it has importance

[878] Adıyaman Valiliği. Samsat'ta Hasar Tespit Çalışmaları Tamamlandı. http://www.adiyaman.gov.tr/samsatta-hasar-tespit-calismalari-tamamlandi., Date of Access: 26.04.2019.
[879] AFAD. Samsat'ta 403 Deprem Konutunun Temeli Atıldı. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/27163/Samsat-ta-403-Deprem-Konutunun-Temeli-Atildi., Date of Access: 26.04.2019.
[880] Kaya, M. (nd.). Afet Yönetiminde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü ve Önemi. http://www.gonuldergisi.com/afet-yonetiminde-sivil-toplum-kuruluslarinin-rolu-ve-onemi-afet-yonetimi-uzmani-mustafa-kaya.html., Date of Access: 26.04.2019.
[881] Ready. Community Emergency Response Team. https://www.ready.gov/community-emergency-response-team., Date of Access: 29.04.2019.
[882] Kaya, *ibid.*, nd.
[883] Kaya, *ibid.*, nd.

especially in providing financial support, but it is expected that the organizations working in coordination with the governement institutions will be more effective especially in the conduct of natural disaster studies. However, when the works of AFAD are examined, it can be seen that the coordinated work with civil society has begun to gain importance especially since 2018.[884] Another condition that may be associated with an international platform, when the last four years of AFAD's works are examined, especially after taking the most generous country title, although these works are of great importance, it is not possible to say that it has received international compensation. For example, in this four-year period, conspicuous and in this context can be considered as a concrete result of the most important development is Turkey took over the Africa-Europe-Middle East Leadership of the INSARAG, International Search and Rescue Advisory Group, which serves more than 90 countries in the world.[885] In addition to these, AFAD is faced with various deficiencies in defining the working areas of the engineers and in this context the nature of the institutional structure and duties.[886]

As it can be seen, under this title, the historical process of the establishment of AFAD and the mission, vision and purposes that it has today, and the advantages and disadvantages that it has in accomlishing these have been mentioned. However, it is necessary to examine the humanitarian diplomacy understanding of the institution in terms of better evaluation and explanation of what will be mentioned in later titles in a more conceptual theory.

5.2. Humanitarian Diplomacy Approach of AFAD

Under this heading, the first thing to emphasize is that, in connection with the Actors, Practices and Arguments of Humanitarian Diplomacy, the work of AFAD is based on humanitarian aid in the activity areas of humanitarian diplomacy. However, AFAD, as mentioned before, since has an integrated system that includes both the post-disaster and pre-disaster concept rather than the emergency intervention concept underlying the humanitarian aid concept, also serves to the area of humanitarian assistance concurrently with humanitarian aid. Because the way to implement an effective disaster management system lies in taking the necessary measures to

[884] AFAD. Arama Kurtarmada STK'larla İşbirliği Genişliyor. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/36172/Arama-Kurtarmada-STK-larla-Is-Birligi-Genisliyor., Date of Access: 26.04.2019.
[885] AFAD. Türkiye, INSARAG'ın Afrika-Avrupa-Ortadoğu Liderliğini Devraldı. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/14159/Turkiye-INSARAG-in-Afrika-Avrupa-Ortadogu-Liderligini-Devraldi., Date of Access: 29.04.2019.
[886] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2288/files/afadsp2013-2017.pdf., Date of Access: 21.04.2019.

prevent the risk from occuring more than creating a strong rescue team. In this context, firstly, the concept of integrated disaster management which is drawn its general frame in a top title, will be discussed in more detail, and within this framework, humanitarian approach of AFAD will be tried to revealed. Then, the role of AFAD in Turkish internal and foreign policy in the context of humanitarian diplomacy will be explained.

The basic objectives of the institutions and organizations in the modern world are to increase the profit and to make their assests sustainable by trying to keep their reputation level against the individuals of the society at maximum level. Therefore, it is important for the reputation of the institutions to be perceived by the society as good and successful. The activities to be carried out in this direction are also important in order to leave a good impression on the society with the positive and lasting reputation of the institutions in the society.[887] Therefore, the institutions can make their work sustainable and they are the desired and preferred among their stakeholders. In short, institutions can pave the way for their work with good reputation they created in the community. [888] From this point of view, it is possible to say that national and international institutions have an important role in the fight against the increasing effects of disasters. In this case, AFAD, which operates both within and outside the country in the context of disaster management, is clearly one of the most important of these institutions. As mentioned earlier, AFAD, whose powers are based on the Law No. 5902, has attained a modern position in today's modern world by witnessing the events of this geography and other geographies in a long period of time and has become one of the most influential institutions acting in the field of humanitarian diplomacy. In this context, it is necessary to take a closer look at this system firstly.

The events so far have proven that the capacities of national and international institutions to cope with the increasing impacts of disasters are insufficient within the framework of traditional disaster management system approaches.[889] In this context, just as in the rest of the world, as a result of natural disasters experienced so far that significant losses and serious damage suffered by country in Turkey, a new model of disaster was put in practice and with this model, priority is given to risk management from crisis management. [890] This model, which is now called Integrated Disaster Management System, aims to prevent the risks and hazard to be prevented

[887] Çalışır, G. & Akyol, H. (2016). AFAD'ın Kurumsal İtibarı Üzerine Bir Çalışma. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi,* 4, 480.
[888] Çalışır & Akyol, *ibid.*, 2016:480.
[889] Özmen & Özden, *ibid.*, 2013:17.
[890] AFAD. AFAD Hakkında. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2211/AFAD-Hakkinda., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.

before the disaster, to take measures to prevent or minimize the risks that may occur before disaster, to ensure effective intervention and coordination and to improve the post-disaster improvements integrity.[891] In other words, this system, which includes the stages of disaster management consisting of damage reduction, preparation, intervention and improvement, more specifically, constitutes a cyclical relationship, not a linear one.[892] In this way, preparedness and harm reduction studies without disastersare effectively impelemented and all necessary measures are taken first and then, after the disaster and disaster recovery works, again, preparedness and harm-taking phases are realized again. This system is a disciplined and multi-stakeholder system and requires specialization and capacity to ensure that all these actors and functions work effectively. [893]

In this context, increasing the capacity at the administrative and technical level at central, regional and local level will also lead to an increase in efficiency at every stage of disaster management. In light of this information, AFAD has built on its integrated disaster management system which is one of the principles of risk management, on the following stages:[894]

In order to mitigate the disaster damages and to prepare for the preparation, response to disasters and disaster recovery activities after the disaster:

- Ensures cooperation between all relevant national and international institutions and organizations in order to plan, direct, support, coordinate and effectively implement the required activities.
- Increases community awareness and culture by conducting research, development and training activities.
- To take preventive and protective measures within the framework of the principle of social state.
- Providing multi-facted, multi actor resources in this field to rational use.[895]

The continuation of disaster risk management with these basic bases and continuing with the administrative and technical studies which should be carried out for implementation and creating sustainable standard processes at all stages will increase the efficiency of disaster management

[891] AFAD. AFAD Hakkında, *ibid.*
[892] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[893] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[894] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[895] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*

studies.[896] Recycling of disaster management efforts, which will start at the national level and will continue with local level practices, will be seen at the local level as structural, social, economic, environmental and cultural, and the reflection on the national level will be with one of the basic inputs of sustainable development.[897] In this context, AFAD's works which are put into practice in coordination with other humanitarian diplomacy-related institutions are of great importance in aspect of Turkish foreign policy.

Within this framework, it is necessary to take a closer look at the international dimension of AFAD's work. AFAD, within the framework of the system and the understanding that it has adopted in the institution, today carries out many successful operations not only on a national scale but also internationally. [898] AFAD, which has been providing humanitarian aid to more than 50 countries in disaster and emergency situations in recent years, has not been indifferent to disasters and emergencies even in the most remote regions of the world and it has extended a hand from Haiti to Japan, Chile to Myanmar with its quality, Professional and expert staff in the field. Besides it has successfully carried out world-renowned evacuation and humanitarian aid operations in social events happened in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria.[899] Five of these operations, the 2013 eartquake in Pakistan, the life-threatening drought in Somalia, the 51-day Palestinian attack on Israel in 2014, the massacre against Arakanese Muslism in 2016, and finally the Syrian Civil War, which started in 2011 as an internal turmoil, and then surpassed its borders and caused thousands of lives to die, will be examined in terms of the work of AFAD. However, at this point, in order to draw a general framework of AFAD's international approach, out of these events, it is necessary to give an example in several events in different regions. For example, due to heavy rainfall in Serbia, especially in the villages of Svilajnac and Jagodina in 2014, a heavy flood occured as a result of the overrun od the Resave river.[900] AFAD, after the needs analysis as a result of this flood disaster, has continued to provide the necessary supplies and refer them to the relevant regions. In this context, it handed over 407 wall dryers to the local authorities and delivered various other supplies to the region in a short time.[901] As a result of this

[896] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[897] AFAD. AFAD 2013-2017 Stratejik Planı, *ibid.*
[898] AFAD News. The Most Generous Country in the World, *ibid.*
[899] AFAD. 2017 Yılı Performans Raporu, *ibid.*
[900] AFAD. AFAD Ekibi Sırbistan'da Yaraları Sarıyor. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/15663/xfiles/AFAD_2017_PERFORMANS_PROGRAMI.pdf., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.
[901] AFAD. AFAD Ekibi Sırbistan'da Yaraları Sarıyor, *ibid.*

incident, the term Serbian Ambassador of Ankara, Danilo Vucetic, expressed his thoughts as follows:[902]

> We are grateful for the assistance AFAD made in the floods in May of last year. In this critical period, AFAD also helped by assisting two people in Belgrade to identify the materials needed. We are grateful again for the assistance and support of AFAD and the Turkish Governemnet in this flood disaster.

Similarly, UNHCR Turkey Representative Carol Batchelor expressed her thoughts about the activities carried out by AFAD in the context of both natural disaster and various other situations between 2010-2015, as follows:[903]

> I have been deeply affected by the fact that AFAD has been doing for five years in eartquakes, floods, in other natural disasters and emergencies and of course as the most important aid team for asylum seekers from Syria.

As can be seen, AFAD is one of the main institutions operating with the framework of humanitarian diplomacy policies in Turkey, including in the humanitarian aid name primarily today. It, with its integrated disaster management system which is one of the main features of the institution, increases its performance in natural disasters and other crisis situations day by day. In this context, under the title of Examination of AFAD Works, five of these works will be evaluated specifically and the points highlighted above will be explained in more detail under the framework of these examples.

5.3. Examination of AFAD Works

Under this title, the activities of AFAD, as mentioned above, will be evaluated under five specific cases. Earthquake in Pakistan is the first of these. Due to its geographical location, this country is frequently exposed to natural disasters and has been dealing with earthquakes and floods that have caused major losses in life and property in recent years. This process, which started with 2005, continued with the flood disaster in 2010 and another earthquake in 2013. These incidents are important in the context of AFAD's aid to the region. Within this context, the activities of AFAD will be examined and a general framework of Turkey's Pakistan Policy will be drawn. In addition, these policies will be examined from a different perspective, especially in the

[902] AFAD. Türkiye'yi Örnek Almak İstiyoruz. https://www.afad.gov.tr/en/1312/Turkiye-yi-Ornek-Almak-Istiyoruz., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.

[903] UNHCR. UNHCR Türkiye Temsilcisi Sn. Carol Batchelor'ın Today's Zaman Röportajı. https://www.unhcr.org/tr/12542-unhcr-turkiye-temsilcisi-sn-carol-batchelorin-todays-zaman-roportaji.html., Date of Access: 25.04.2019.

conclusion part of the implementation of public diplomacy in a way that respects the domestic policy will be important in terms of the results.

In the second title, Somalia, the drought process started in 2011 in Somalia, one of the Africa's poorest countries, will be discussed specifically. Then, Turkey's activities through AFAD in the region and Turkey's Somalia policy will be evaluated. These details contain several different perspectives from Turkey's variable policy to the international reactions. These perspectives are also important in terms of reaching the conclusion that the interagency coordination becomes more of an issue in terms of public diplomacy policies and that the foreign aid is implemented very carefully because it has the potential to cause various problems with other countries.

In the third title, Palestine issue, the city of Jerusalem, which has a special importance for monotheistic religions, will be mentioned as an important problem going on between Palestine and Israel for many years will be evaluated. In particular, the Protective Line Operation carries out in the way of 2014 will be taken into account, because this operation has found a significant close worldwide, causing serious destruction. At this point, the integrity of the thesis in this context, Turkey's approach to the event and assistance carried through AFAD agency will be assessed. Then, these aids will be handled in terms of international relations and a general interest in the subject will be tried to be reached.

Under the title of Myanmar, which is the fourth chapter, the genocide movements against Muslims in the Arakan province of Myanmar, which is a Southeast Asian country, will be discussed. Although the history of these events, which has been going on for a long time and many people have been killed and many people have left their countries, the Rohingya Persecution in 2016 has been one of the most cumbersome. In this epicntrum aspect, what happened so far will be evaluated in Myanmar country. Turkey, as having the role of helping hand of the world, also has not remained unresponsive to this event and it has sent a significant amount of assistance to the region by means of AFAD. Starting here, Turkey's Myanmar policy will be evaluated and this evaluation will be important in that it concludes that public policies are carried out simultaneously with both the government of the country and other decision-makers.

In the last chapter of this title, Syria, the Syrian Crisis that started in 2011 and turned into an international crisis over time, will be gone through. This crisis has quite importance due to the great border between two countries, because Turkey has been facing with a serious refugee

problem from the moment the crisis began up today. In this context, the Syrian policy, which is shaped by the assistance of AFAD, will be evaluated and general framework will be drawn about the subject. The inferences reached within this context are very important in terms of the results to be achieved in the conclusion part.

5.3.1. Pakistan: Earthquake 2013

Under this title, the humanitartian assistance made by AFAD as a result of natural disasters in Pakistan who has a strong bond of friendship with Turkish Republic, will be mentioned primarily. At this point, it should be noted that Pakistan faced many natural disasters in its history because of its georaphical location. However, under this title, especially the eartquake that took place in 2013 which led to the death of many people will be taken, but in order to draw a general framework will be mentioned in other recent natural events will be mentioned shortly. Then the place will be given to developing Pakistan-Turkey relations in this context. Finally, the advantages and disadvantages of such aid will be evaluated especially considering other natural disasters occured within the borders of Turkey.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a country with a long coast in the Arabian Sea in the South Asia.[904] In this context, it has a significant geographical position due to both its proximity to India and its coast to the Indian Ocean. However, the territory of the country, which is located in a very dangerous eartquake zone, often struggles with natural disasters such as eartquakes, flood, typhoon.[905] 17 eartquakes of more than 6 and 6 magnitudes occurred in the region since the early 1990s, and as a result of this aprroximately 140,000 people lost their lives. [906] One of the deadliest of these earthquakes occurred in 2005 Kashmir Region. Aprroximately 80,000 people lost their lives during the eartquake,[907] that occurred in this region between India, China and Pakistan. This earthquake, which was one of the most damaging earthquakes since the beginning of the 21st century, caused the intensification of emergency humanitarian aid in the region. One of the countries who delivered aid to the region, which has a strong tradition of

[904] TASAM. (2007). Pakistan'ın Temel Göstergeleri. http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/746/pakistanin_temel_gostergeleri., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[905] TASAM. *ibid.*, 2007.
[906] National Centers for Environmental Information. The Significant Eartquake Database. https://www.ngdc.noaa.gov/nndc/struts/form?t=101650&s=1&d=1., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[907] Britannica. Kashmir Eartquake of 2005. https://www.britannica.com/event/Kashmir-earthquake-of-2005., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

humanitarian assistance was Turkey.[908] Turkey who has a relationship based on close friendship with Pakistan since Pakistan was founded as an independent state on 14 August 1947,[909] conveyed serious aids to the region. In this context, on October 20, 2005; Turkey proclaimed a relief package of $150 million for the earthquake stricken people of Pakistan.[910] This relief package contained financial assistance of $100 million and relief goods worth $50 million, including one million blankets, 50,000 tons of flour and 25,000 tons of sugar.[911] Turkey also has been a significant share in $6 million assistance provided under internatonal platfrom created by the UN.[912] Pakistan's Ankara Ambassador, Syed Iftikhar Hussein Shah evaluated this situation by indicating that Republic of Turkey helped Pakistan at an amount that no one else can.[913]

Turkey also provided various assistance to the country in the flood disaster that took place in 2010. In the context of humanitarian aid activities initiated by Turkey after the flood disaster in Pakistan, Under the coordination of AFAD Presidency, 35 tons of rice, chichkpeas and rice humantarian aid materials were sent to the region with the cargo aircraft of Turkish Airlines General Directorate.[914] The Ministry of Health also delivered 4 tons of material to the reigon. Thus, with this help, a total of 109 million TL, which is 14,850 tons in weight, 94 million TL in ocular, 109 million TL in cash, has been paid.[915]

Another event that will be evaluated within the scope of natural disasters is the eartquake which occured in 2013, impending Balochistan province as a center. In fact, three eartquakes occured in 2013 affecting Pakistan. The first of these is an eartquake on Mw=78 on April 16, 2013, in an area between Knash and Saravan cities in the Balochistan region of Pakistan on the eastern border of Iran. This eartquake is the biggest of the eartquakes in this region over 40 years.[916]

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[908] Keyman, F. & Sazak, O. (nd.). Turkey as a Humanitarian State. http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/31364/1/keyman-turkey-as-a-humanitarian-state.pdf., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[909] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Pakistan Siyasi İlişkileri. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-pakistan_siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[910] Essay UK. Pakistan-Turkey Relations In A Historical Perspective. https://www.essay.uk.com/free-essays/history/pakistan-turkey-relations.php., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[911] Essay UK. Pakistan-Turkey Relations In A Historical Perspective, *ibid.*
[912] Hürriyet. (2006). Pakistan'a En Büyük Deprem Yardımı Türkiye'den. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/pakistana-en-buyuk-deprem-yardimi-turkiye-den-3971060., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[913] Hürriyet. *ibid.*, 2006.
[914] AFAD. Ülkemizce Pakistan'a 35 Ton Ağırlığında İnsani Yardım Malzemesi Gönderildi. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/3163/Ulkemizce-Pakistana-35-Ton-Agirliginda-Iinsani-Yardim-Malzemesi-Gonderildi., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[915] AFAD. Ülkemizce Pakistan'a 35 Ton Ağırlığında İnsani Yardım Malzemesi Gönderildi, *ibid.*
[916] Ersoy, Ş. (2013). *Afet Raporu 2013: Dünya ve Türkiye.* Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, Doğa Bilimleri Araştırma Merkezi, 20.

However, the size felt on the surface was around four and 34 people died in this eartquake.[917] The second eartquake in the region, known as Sistan and Balochistan earthquake, is an earthquake of 7.8 magnitudes that occured in Balochistan region, 65 km northeast of Pakistan's Avaran settlement. The epicenter of the tremor, which lasted for about 2 minutes, became the Dalbandin region of Balochistan, where 825 people were killed and hundreds of people were injured.[918] However, unfortunately the earthquakes in 2013 were not limited to this, and another eartquake occured in the region on September 28, 2013, 4 days after the previous earthquake.[919] At least 400 people lost their lives in this earthquake.[920] These earthquakes are mentioned as the most severe earthquakes of the last century.[921] However, when compared to the earthquake that occured in 2005, the reason for the low number of deaths in such earthquakes is that the epicenter of the earthquake is quite far from the settlement area.[922] Just after the disaster, AFAD revoked search and rescue teams from Istanbul Provincial AFAD Civil Defense Search and Rescue Association.[923] In addition, 12 tons of food products were delivered to the families in coordination with the Turkish Red Crescent and 2 thousand blankets were provided.[924] Furthermore, the tent city was established with tents supplied from the Turkish Red Crescent stocks.[925]

All the results of these evaluations, it can be concluded that Turkey delivered a serious aid to the country as a result of natural disasters in Pakistan. In addition, Pakistan's effort after the Van earthquake is very important for Turkey at this point.[926] In this context, it can be said that the two countries carry out a policy that supports each other at every opportunity. However, although good and successful relations were established in the fields of cultural, political, humanitarian

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[917] BBC Türkçe. İran'daki Depremde Sınırın Pakistan Tarafında Ölümler. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/04/130417_deprem_pakistan., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[918] Ersoy, *ibid.*, 2013:20.
[919] BBC. Pakistani Quake Area Struck Again. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24314905., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[920] BBC. Pakistani Quake Area Struck Again, *ibid.*
[921] BBC Türkçe. Son 100 Yılın En Büyük Depremleri. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-41336887, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[922] Ersoy, *ibid.*, 2013:20.
[923] AFAD. Pakistan'da 7.8. Büyüklüğünde Deprem Meydan Geldi. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/3009/Pakistan-da-7-8-Buyuklugunde-Deprem-Meydana-Geldi, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[924] Kızılay. (2015). Pakistanlı Depremzedelere Yardımlar Devam Ediyor. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/2393, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[925] Haberler. (2013). Türk Kızılay'ı ve AFAD Filipenler'de Çadır Kent Kuruyor. https://www.haberler.com/turk-kizilayi-ve-afad-filipinler-e-cadir-kent-5431391-haberi/, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[926] AFAD. Pakistan Deprem İmar ve Rehabilitasyon Kurumu Başkanlığımız'da. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2155/Pakistan-Deprem-Imar-ve-Rehabilitasyon-Kurumu-ERRA-Baskanligimiz-da, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

aid and foreign policy, the same success could not be demonstrated in economic relations, during the period that aid was very intensive.[927] For example, after the earthquake in 2005, while the rate of commericial relations between two countries was $ 127,909 to the detriment of Turkey, after the catastrophic flood in 2010, the rate was $ 501,706 to the detriment of Turkey.[928] From this point of view, it can be reached to the conclusion that despite the increasing volume of the trade, current situation increased the disadvantegous economic status of Turkey within bilateral economic relations between two countries.

Another issue to be considered in the context of aid to Pakistan is Turkey's stance on natural disasters seen in its internal borders. In this context, the earthquake that took in the Samsat region of Adıyaman in 2017, will be evaluated specifically. This example is very important in terms of concluding that the integrity of public diplomacy, which will be elaborated in the conclusion part, should be provided first by domestic policy.

On March 2, 2017 at 14.06 am local time, an earthquake of 5.5. magnitudes according to the data of AFAD Turkey Earthquake Data Center Presidency, occured in the area where is 1 km from the center of Samsat district of Adıyaman Province.[929] There was no loss of life in this earthquake, but various damages occured in the district center and in the villages.[930] In the earthquale-related examination, it was determined that 85 houses were severely damaged and 15 houses were mildly damaged in the villages and 145 houses were severely damaged, 20 houses were moderately and 15 houses were slightly damaged in the district center.[931] As it can be seen, serious damage has occured in the houses in the region as a result of the earthquake. Although, AFAD, which worked in coordination with Turkish Red Crescent and other NGOs, delivered urgent needs to the region, it was not possible for local people to stay in their homes.[932] Although it was promised that the wounds caused by the earthquake would be wound up in a short time and houses would be constructed for them, even when it comes to June 2019, it is seen that this promise was still not held. Thereupon, only household with heavy damage were given containers after having tol ive in the tents for nearly one year. Those who could not take

[927] Akbaş, İ. (2013). *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri*. İzmir: Zeus Kitabevi Yayınları.
[928] KUTO. Türkiye-Pakistan Ekonomik İlişkileri Bilgi Notu. https://kuto.org.tr/site/assets/files/1585/turkiye-pakistan_ekonomik_ve_ticari_iliskiler_bilgi_notu.pdf, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[929] TMMOB Jeoloji Mühendisleri Odası. Adıyaman Samsat Depremi. https://www.jmo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=9568&tipi=17&sube=0, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[930] TMMOB Jeoloji Mühendisleri Odası. Adıyaman Samsat Depremi, *ibid.*
[931] Hürriyet. (2018b). Samsat'ta Deprem Ön Hasar Tespit Çalışmaları Tamamlandı. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/samsatta-deprem-on-hasar-tespit-calismalari-ta-40816770. 26.05.2019.
[932] Hürriyet. *ibid.* 2018.

containers often left the city and those who did not have the opportunity remained to stay in the damaged houses, which were dangerous. Those who were staying in the county, have tried to renovate their houses with their own means.[933] It is possible to conclude that the inhabitants of the region are facing a serious crisis. The most concrete step for the region was reached in November 2018, 20 months after the earthquake. Groundbreaking ceremony of 403 earthquake houses to be built in Samsat was realized in November, 2018 by Deputy Prime Minister Recep Akdağ, Parliament Speaker Ahmet Aydın and AFAD President Mehmet Güllüoğlu.[934] However, in this context it should be noted that although there are 740 right owner residences in the region, only 403 of them have been laid.[935] Despite 7 months passed after this ceremony, the construction of these houses is still incomplete. It can be concluded that earthquake survivors still cannot reach a definite conclusion despite 25 months have passed since the earthquake.

As a result, it can be concluded that the Turkish people have a strong tradition of humanitarian aid due to its history and culture.[936] The state policies developed with this understanding are also demonstrated itself especially in terms of foreign policy. What has been done for Pakistan is a consequence of this. In this context, Turkey has made various assistance which was admired by many people, especially managers of Pakistan, while Pakistan were facing several natural disasters. Although these aids are often made without any expectations, considering the state policies, the serious amaount spent and the effort exerted by the institutions should have gainings that will impact the country positively. However, it can be concluded that Turkey's assistance to Pakistan and its effort as a result of what happened in Pakistan, is not seen to have reached these returns especially from an economic point of view. In addition, the way to success in foreign policy is to reach people within the borders with the same approach as those outside the borders of the country -at least! However, with the case of Samsat Earthquake that is evaluated under this title, the humanitarian approach of Turkey seems to fail in aspect of overlap of the inner and outer policies. While picking up the pieces and relieving people in every part of the World just after the disaster and spending billions of dollars, obliging the disaster-victims within your own

[933] Kahta Basın. (2017). Samsat Halkı Verilen Sözlerin Ttulmasını Bekliyor, http://kahtabasin.com/kose-yazisi/168/index.php, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[934] AFAD. Samsat'ta 403 Deprem Konutunun Temeli Atıldı, *ibid.*
[935] AFAD. Samsat'ta 403 Deprem Konutunun Temeli Atıldı, *ibid.*
[936] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Acil İnsani Yardımları. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_nin_-insani-yardimlari.tr.mfa, Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

country tol ive in tents for one year and containers for more years cannot be explained to the public who pays for the international aids from their own per capita income.

5.3.2. Somalia: Drought

Under this title, the process of drought that led to the deaths of many people in 2011, when considered together with internal conflicts, in Somalia, one of the poorest countries in Africa, which has been the highest in the failed states since 1991,[937] will be examined and after this, Turkey's approach to the case will be investigated, including the Turkey-Somalia relations. In this context, the aids provided by the AFAD institution, which is the main subject of the title, will be handled and these aids will be evaluated in terms of Turkish foreign policy. Then, the current situation will be indicated and a general framework will be drawn in this context. Finally, the reflection of this policy in the international arena will be evaluated and a general interest in the subject will be achieved by considering the different opinions.

It is possible to think of the African Horn as a triangle with its eastern side in the Indian Ocean, its northern side running along the shores of the Gulf of Aden, its North-south side is from the Tacura Cove in the North and Tana River in the South and Somalia is located in this region called the Horn of Africa. [938] Somalia, which is located in the main route of sea trade with Europe and the Middle East and the Far East, has a strategic importance that this region provides to it.[939] However, Somalia has been trying to deal with problems such as hunger, migration and armed conflicts as one of the poorest countries in Africa and has been at the top of the failed states since 1991.[940] Especially, when the severe drought arose in 2011 combined with internal conflicts, Somalia suffered serious losses.

In 2011, the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia was experienced the worst famine in history which caused the death and displacement of hundreds thousand people.[941] As a result of this, while about 250 thousand people were losing their lives, about 12.4 million disaster victims were

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[937] Venugopalan, H. (nd.). Somalia: A Failed State? https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/ORF_Issue_Brief_170_Somalia.pdf, Date of Access: 01.05.2019.
[938] Touval, S. (1963). *Somali Nationalism*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 5, 148.
[939] Apak, E.M. (2009). *Uluslararası Hukukta Müdahale Kavramı ve Türkiye'nin Somali ve Afganistan'a Düzenlenen Uluslararası Müdahalelerdeki Yeri,* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ege Üniversitesi, 148.
[940] Bingöl, O. (2013). Turkey's Role in Somalia's Peace and Development Process. *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 7(13), 81.
[941] Abdulle, O.Y. (2019). Turkey's Opening Up Foreign Policy in Somalia. *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 7(87), 456.

in need of humanitarian aid.[942] Besides, 166 thousand people left Somalia and took refuge in neighboring countries. Around 40 thousand of them have migrated to Kenya's Daab refugee camp with a population of 360 thousand.[943] While 62% of people are displaced due to drought, the majority of the remaining 38% have been displaced due to armed conflicts.[944] Although the problem of drought may have an impact on all of East Africa, but it can be said that Somali has been the country most affected when considered its political instability. Following the onset of migration waves, water resources have dried up, agricultural production has also experienceed a great decline and food prices have increased rapidly in city centers, while low purchasing power has not been able to supply food, especially in rural areas. Human deaths have also continued where animal deaths have taken place, and in this context drought effects lasted much longer than expected.[945] While the natural consequences caused by drought were flowing in this way, the country was partially deprived of all kind of assistance that may reduce the effects of drought due to internal conflicts. For instance, the USA reduced the amount of aid compared to the amount of aid it had released in the previous years, claiming that food aids were going to the terrorist group Al-Shabaab.[946] This means that the humanitarian and development aid per capita in Somalia is US $ 100, while it is 3.35 times more in Iraq and 1.83 times more in Afghanistan.[947] Considering all these situations, when the dorught experienced by Somalia due to natural reasons combined with the instability in the country, it is possible to say that the country has witnessed one of the worst disasters of the 21st century.

After vising Somalia in 2011, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan -who was the Prime Minister of that period- started to draw the disappointing Picture in Somalia and and called businessmen investing in that country while supporting the NGOs to go to Africa.[948] Every year after 2011, Somalian young people are brought to Turkey and enrolled to universities with Turkish grants

[942] UNDP. Somalia Drought Impact & Needs Assessment, https://www.undp.org/content/dam/somalia/docs/key-documents/GSURR_Somalia%20DINA%20Report_Volume%20I_180116_Lowres.pdf, Date of Access: 01.05.2019.
[943] UN News. UN declares famine in another three areas of Somalia. https://news.un.org/en/story/2011/08/383442-un-declares-famine-another-three-areas-somalia, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[944] UN News. UN declares famine in another three areas of Somalia, *ibid.*
[945] İnsani Yardım Vakfı. (2017). Somali Krizi Raporu. https://www.ihh.org.tr/public/document/143/somali-krizi-raporu.pdf, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[946] Gartenstein-Ross, D. & Vassefi, T. (2011). Somalia's Drought, America's Dilemma. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/07/somalias-drought-americas-dilemma/241953/, Date of Access: 02.05.2019
[947] UNDP Somalia, (2012). *Somalia Human Development Report 2012: Empowering Youth for Peace and Development*, UNON, Publishing Services Section, Nairobi-Kenya, 35.
[948] Şeker, C.F. (2007). *Küresel ve Körfez Sermayesinin Somali İlgisi: Türkiye ve Katar'ın Konumu*, http://ordaf.org/kuresel-ve-korfez-sermayesinin-somali-ilgisi-turkiye-ve-katarin-konumu/, Date of Access: 03.06.2019.

and the foundations who serve to this purpose were financially supported by the Turkish government and Turkish people.[949]

Turkey also has launched an initiative for Somalia for recovering the experienced hunger crisis similar to the one that occured in summer 2011, in the context of its value that has shaped by its culture. Turkey's move and support have won the hearts and minds of the Somalian people in a short time and it has increased expectations for the establishment of peace and stability. However, it is important to briefly touch on the relations between the two countries in order to better express the issue before the details of this approach, which started with the African opening and has been shaped as a result of the drought. In this context, Turkey's general framework of policy formation and support of Somalia shows partially parallelism with the development of Turkey's policy in Africa.[950] Although Turkey's relations with African countries stayed at the lower level due to policies set out by the World Wars and Turkey's political and economic possibilities such as hand rejected, Turkey has always supported the process of gaining independence of African countries actively and the Republic of Turkey and the construction process of its democratic institutions havve always been taken as a model by these countries.[951] The end of the Cold War, and in this context the making progress of International Relations compared previous years were also reflected in Turkey's foreign policy and in 1998, with the adoption of the Africa Action Plan, Turkey's interest to Africa was increased, in this context, incentives and new measures have been introduced in order to increase the trade volume.[952] It is possible to search the reasons of Turkey's rapprochement to the region in economic characteristics and political conjuncture. Fristly, Turkey wants to increase economic ties with Africa, who consitutes a huge market for many areas, including in particular the construction sector. Indeed, Turkey's trade volume with African countries, which was around 9 billion in 2005, reached to 15.876 billion US dollars in 2009. The share of Sub-Saharan African Countries, in the same way increases. In fact, the trade volume, which was 742 million dollars in 2000, reached to 3 billion in 2005.[953] In this context, the Strategy fo the Development of Economic Relations with African Countries was prepared and the year 2005 was declared as The Year of Africa. [954] This interest in Africa has also affected Turkey's relations with Somalia,

[949] Şeker, *ibid.,* 2007.
[950] Bingöl, *ibid.,* 2013:81.
[951] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afrika-iliskileri.tr.mfa, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[952] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, *ibid.*
[953] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkile, *ibid.*
[954] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, *ibid.*

but it can be said that the process began with drought events constitute a turning point in relations between the two countries.

Actually, Turkey's relations with Somalia dates back to the 16th century.[955] This relationship, which was based on the Ottoman State, developed with the conquest of the Egypt and the Ottoman State always had a special interest in this Muslim country on the Horn of Africa.[956] Nevertheless, the relations of the modern era started with the opening of Somalia Embassy in Ankara in 1979.[957] However, this development did not help the relations to operate in the lower course as expected. Because during the Somalian civil war of 1991-1992 that happened period following the last quarter of the 20th century, the closure of the Mogadishu Embassy in 1991 weakened the political aspect of relations.[958] In this context, although, a small number of Turkish civil society organizations helped the country through of their local partners and in 1993, the Turkish Lieteanant General Cevik appointed to UNOSOM II's command by the UN Somalia Mission and this command won the hearts of the people by providing food aid, health support, small-scale infrastructure repair activities,[959] it is possible to say that Turkey's presence in Somalia was not that big at that time, even it consisted of little traces. However, the process that started with timely action for the 2011 hunger crisis formed the foundations of the Turkish-Somali relations that have extanted to the present day.

To look at this process more closely, firstly, it is said that the emergency humanitarian aid constitutes the first point of Turkey's interest to Somalia. After the reflection of the news in the international media, which many people lost their lives due to drought and famine, the Somalia subject that is not much discussed normally, has entered into a time the country's agenda.[960] In fact, it can be said that the visit of the Turkish delegation to Somalia in order to attract the attention of the international community was very important both for the bilateral relations and also for the abolition of the international isolation of the country. In this context, the prime target of the prime minister and his delegation at that was; it was not a long-term Somalia policy, but to provide the necessary support to people in need of emergency. In addition to the many food

[955] Lewis, I.M. (1999). *A pastoral democracy: a study of pastoralism and politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa.* Germany: LIT Verlag Münster, 26.
[956] Seyid, M.E.M. (1964). *Doğu Afrika'daki Müslüman Devletleri Harar ve Somali,* İslâmi İşlerin Yüksek Konseyi, Ta:4, Kahire, 33.
[957] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, *ibid.*
[958] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri , *ibid.*
[959] Bingöl, *ibid.*, 2013:81
[960] Özkan, M. (2014). *Doğu Afrika Jeopolitiği ve Türkiye'nin Somali Politikası,* SETA Yayınları 40 I.Edition: 84.

and cleaning materials sent from Turkey within this framework, it was made to work to overcome the tragedy in Somalia through various campaigns. Thus, since the beginning of the main arteries of Turkey's Somalia policy it has been as urgent need to eliminate a very important priority. Turkey's fixed policy that prioritizes emergency needs rather than political rhetoric, both in the eyes of the world and Somalian people were greeted with a serious sympathy and support. This case has led to both Turkey's Somalia policy put into practice in the next period, to find legitimacy and also to look with sympathy towards Turkey of the Somalian people.[961]

After drawing a general framework on the subject, it is necessary to examine in detail all kinds of assistance and activities that cause this formation to occur, especially emergency aid. However, in the context of the integrity of the thesis, the activities of AFAD will be taken into consideration as a central institution in emergency aid activities.

Within this framework, it is necessary to look first at the conference, which was conducted specifically for the development of Somalia, before the drought, because this conference is linked to a second conference that held after the drought. Before the drought in 2011, the situation of Somalia in the context of its problems since 199 has attracted the attention of many countries and in this context a conference was held on 21-23 May 2010 under the auspices of the UN. The conference was hosted in Istanbul by Turkish Governement by the attendance of a high number of countries and international organizations including Somalia ICG members. [962] Due to making the conference hosted by Turkey, it has become of an issue in terms of demonstrating that it would continue to do its part to overcome the Somalia crisis and ensure tha country's peace and stability. However, while the results of this conference have not yet shown the desired effect, Somalia has been faced with a drought that has shown its effects especially since the summer of 2011. In this context, as in the many countries, including Turkey's primary objective of this disaster was to ensure that the poeple of Somalia were affected as little as possible and to provide the necessary support to the affected people. Acting in this context, Turkey, has provided various emergency under the name of emergency aid in the first place throug AFAD, which its central humanitarian aid institution. First of all, sending 22.128 tons of humanitarian aid to the region by 8 vessels and 16 aircrafts and bringing 57 wounded to Turkey who could not find treatment in their countries with tehir escorts were made by AFAD via

[961] Özkan, *ibid.*, 2014: 84.
[962] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, *ibid.*

Turkey. [963] The total amount of aid of AFAD in that perios amounted to 67 million TL.[964] In addition, AFAD has been very influential in the collection of approximately 12 million TL cash donations through the iad campaign coordinated by the Turkish Red Crescent, which is an important non-governemental organization.[965] These activities carried out through the AFAD have created the emergency aid department, which is the first leg of aid policy towards Somalia. In the following periods, besides being one of its aid policy towards the restructuring of Turkey's Somalia policy have concluded that the improvements needed.[966] In this context, the Turkish Embassy in Somalia, which was closed in 1991 due to internal conflicts, was opened again in November 2011 after 20 years of break. The embassy has sought to contribute to peace and stability in Somalia.[967] As mentioned before, the visit which took place on 19 August 2011 was very important at this point. This visit to Mogadishu has been the highest level visit in the last 20 years. It, which was carried out in such a period that there was a thought that Somalia was not safe and even the UN agencies did their activities in neighboring countries, hence; received much sympathy among the people of Somalia. Besides, this initiative launched by Turkey in a sense taking a risk was greeted with astonishment by the international community that did not enter Somalia for security reasons and had met nervously for years.[968]

In the following period, a conference in connection with the above-mentioned conference was organized in 31 May – 1 June 2012. In this conference, Turkey has drawn attention its some of the medium and long-terms needs such as education, health, public building, agriculture and fishery while responding to the urgent needs of Somalia and it this context, Turky has tried to open Somalia to the outside world.[969] These activities, although are more suitable to be evaluated in the context of Turkish foreign policy, as stated above, emergency assistance represented the first point of interest of Turkey to Somalia. In this context, in addition to these political developments, humanitarian aid has continued. For example, in 2012, in the process that the effects of drought continued, again humanitarian aid was sent to Somalia by AFAD as a result

[963] AFAD. 2011 Yılı İdare Faaliyet Raporu. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/3934/xfiles/afad2011-yili-idare-faaliyet-raporupdf.pdf, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[964] AFAD. 2011 Yılı İdare Faaliyet Raporu, *ibid.*
[965] Kızılay. (2017). Somali'nin Yeniden İnşası İçin Büyük Katkı. https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Haber/HaberDetay/3482, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[966] SETA. (2014a). From the Conference which is called Turkey's Somalia Policy. https://www.setav.org/etkinlikler/turkiyenin-somali-politikasi/, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[967] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, *ibid.*
[968] Aynte, A. (2012). *Turkey's Increasing Role in Somalia: An Emerging Donor?,* Al Jazeera Centre for Studies Report, 2.
[969] Alegöz, *ibid.*, 2013:11.

of its coordination with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Health, TIKA, General Directorate of Security, Turkish Red Crescent, ASELSAN and Turkish Airlines.[970] On June 26, 2012, the Cargo plane of THY departing from Ankara Esenboğa Airport brought the humanitarian aid to the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu, weighing 59 tons and amounting to approximately 5.2 million TL. The humanitarian aid package, which included food, medicine and medical equipment, clothing materials, drilling equipment and communication equipment, also included 400 computers and 100 printers. Thus, the total amount of aid materials sent to Somalia reached to 22,234 tons and the total sum of money reached 99.3 million.[971]

With these activities carried out by Turkey as a result of drought, it is possible to say that Turkey was no longer limited to small traces in Somalia and its contributions have made a leverage effects for the Turkish diaspora.[972] Thus, this formation has become an important element of Turkey's soft power strategy. It can be reached this result from the speech of Foreign Minister of that period, Ahmet Davutoğlu, at the Ambassadors' Conference: [973]

> I was in a breakfast meeting organized by Finnish NGOs and about 15.000 Somalian diaspora living in Finland. All Somalian authorities there praised Turkey standing up about the Somalian policy of Turkey and the Finnish NGOs there requested us to Show them a way to reach the Somalians in need. World has become so integrated that you become together with the Somalians in Helsinki. Let me express that, we accept our citizens outside Turkey as our natural diaspora, but be sure that if Turkey is in need one day , there is strong Somalian diaspora ready to give a leg up anytime. Now, when someone in the World starts a campaign against us, the only ones who goes out and speaks u pare not only Turks or the Azerbaijanis. This is exactly what I was meaning while saying that 'There is no line of diplomacy, there is surface diplomacy and the surface is the whole world' in the Ambassadors'Conference. We will talk about Somalia in Helsinki.

As can be seen, it would come to a conclusion that Turkey's policy of Somalia, besides being an aid policy, is also developed in a restructuring of the way, and this constitutes one of the most powerful elements of soft power strategy on Turkey's Africa policy.[974] However, despite all these, Turkey's involvement in Somalia has some disadvantages. The issue that how Turkey make meaningful regional and global scale of its growing influence in the continent, comes firstly foremost among them.[975] This issue is directly linked with the idea of many countries that

[970] AFAD. Somali'ye 59 Ton İnsani Yardım Malzemesi Daha Gönderildi. https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/3084/Somaliye-59-Ton-Insani-Yardim-Malzemesi-Daha-Gonderildi, Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[971] AFAD. Somali'ye 59 Ton İnsani Yardım Malzemesi Daha Gönderildi, *ibid.*
[972] Bingöl, *ibid.*, 2013:81
[973] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun V. Büyükelçiler Konferasında Yaptığı Konuşma, 2013, Ankara, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *ibid.*
[974] SETA. *ibid.*, 2014a.
[975] Özkan, *ibid*, 84.

Turkey is in pursuit of prestige in Somalia. So that this situation isolates Turkey in the matter of Somalia and causes that its prestige remains stable in the international arena despite its efforts. In addition, this is not only supported by other countries, but also by various masses in Somalia. For example, according to Al-Shabab, the armed group governing the majority of the country's south by 2011, the Turks are secular agents working in favor of the West, but some say that the Turks are trying to transform Somalia from a Muslim state into a secular state.[976] As a matter of fact, sermons against Turkey are preached in mosques and madrassas by pro-Al Shabab imams. This situation drags Turkey into an another problem in the region, which is that Turkey can be target directly in the region. Several examples have been experienced in this context so far. For instance, after the attack of Al-Shabab on the Mogadishu couthouse on April 15, 2013, they exploded the bomb that has set up on the way to the airport, while Turkish Red Crescent convov crossing.[977] Moreover, as a result of the attack on the Somali-Turkish Embassy, a Turkish speacial operations officer was killed and two Turkish police and Somalian security personnel were wounded. Al-Shabab undertook the attck on the Turkish Embassy and stated they were disturbed by the activites of the Turks.[978] Besides, the group shows Turkey's military camps in the country as a reason for its grounds.[979] It can be stated that Turkey's Somalia policy began with emergency humantarian aid and has continued with policies that will help the development of the country but with the military camp has experienced a shift towards hard power, and this constitutes a strategic presence in the country.[980]

As it is seen, these perceptions create a risk and a negative judgement for Turkey's presence in Somalia. Another case that will be a disadvantage for the presence of Turkey in the region is the claim that Turkey's aid is only limited help to the region Mogadishu.[981] Somalia land and Putland districts, who complained that they did not receive help, expressed their discomfort from time to time.[982] In this context, Turkey who is aware that its influence is limited with Mogadishu,

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[976] Somalia Report. (2012). Turkey's Divine Mission, Somalia Report. http://piracyreport.com/index.php/post/2731/Turkeys_Divine_Mission_, Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[977] Hürriyet. (2013). El Şebab Somali'de İl Kez Türk Konvoyunu Hedef Aldı. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/el-sebab-somali-de-ilk-kez-turk-konvoyunu-hedef-aldi-23045130, Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[978] Asharq Al-Awsat. (2013). Opinion: Who's That Knocking on Turkey's Door in Somalia. https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/s-salha/opinion/opinion-whos-that-knocking-on-turkeys-door-in-somalia, Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[979] DW. Türkiye Somali'de Ne Yapıyor? https://www.dw.com/tr/türkiye-somalide-ne-yapıyor/a-40576613, Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[980] DW. Türkiye Somali'de Ne Yapıyor? , *ibid.*
[981] İNSAMER. (2018b). Somali: Silahların Gölgesinde 26 Yıllık İstikrar Arayışı. https://insamer.com/tr/somali-silahlarin-golgesinde-26-yillik-istikrar-arayisi_1105.html, Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[982] İNSAMER., *ibid.*, 2018b.

has fronted to the North of the country, especially after the start of dialogue talks with Somalia land. However, these works were not as dense as in Mogadishu.[983]

Another important point will be handled in the aspect of soft power goals. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the main purpose of the soft power is to increase the reputation and the prestige of a country in the eyes of the others'. But in Somalia case; it is clearly seen that Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and some Eastern Arab countries are very much disturbed of Turkey's policies. As Somalia has been the center of interest of many international financial groups, Turkey's increasing role turns into a threat for these countries. Here, it should be kept in mind that in non-democratic countries, public diplomacy operations are always risky. When you desire to win the hearts of the people; however, the rulers are disturbed when the people have strong positive thought towards another country. Additionally, as seen in the Somalian case, some other countries might be disturbed of it. Because, according to these rulers in this geography, the community (people) is the structure to be controlled, not to be served. And yet; these risks and disadvantages are not enough to prevent a country from applying its soft power strategies; although they necessiate to handle the situation in a broader perspective to minimize the risks.

As it is seen, even though Turkey's Somalia policy includes some disadvantages and risks, it is possible to say that it is carrying out a successful example of humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia.[984] Turkey has undoubtedly made itself as a major humanitarian actor in Somalia living instability for a long term.[985] In this context, with policies accepted by the international arena and reinforcing its purpose at the beginning, Turkey both may become a more effective actor that could help to the development of the country and it can gain global achievements on moral values in the political sense.

5.3.3. Palestine: Israeli Attack

Under this title, first of all, the Jerusalem City, which is considered to be sacred in terms of monotheistic regions, will be mentioned as being at the center of the political conflict between Israel and Palestinians today, and in the following process, the events between the two countries

[983] İNSAMER., *ibid.*, 2018b.
[984] Alagöz, *ibid.*, 2013:104.
[985] İNSAMER., *ibid.*, 2018b.

will be briefly evaluated in order to better understand the problem. After that, in this context, a general framework will be created for the situation by mentioning the demolitions that started in 2008 and continued with Bordure Protectrice Operation in 2008, especially based on Gaza Strip. Aftermath of this, Turkey's approach to the experienced these events and its performance in this context will be discussed. However, as in the other titles, this will also be based on the studies conducted especially through AFAD. Finally, these works will be evaluated in the framework of international relations and a general inference in the subject will be tried to be reached.

Middle East is a region that has been a scene a number of different event since the birth of human history. [986] One of the important points of this geography is Jerusalem. At the end of the 19th century, a Jewish state extending to Palestine along with the foundations laid down by Zionism in Europe was established.[987] However, this state has experienced conflicts with the Palestinian State in which it shares the same geography, and especially the erusalem issue and still continues to experience problems. In this context, the city of Jerusalem is showed up as an extremely difficult problem to be solved because of the demand of both Israel and Palestine as capital. Thus, it can be said that the most important issue facing the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the issue of sovereignty in Jerusalem.[988] And this problem, which existed during the 20th century, in addition to the lack of solutions, it has not only been a problem concerning Israel and Palestinian lands, but is continuing to be a problem that both the great powers and the neighboring Arab cuntries are indirect / direct parties.

Although the disagreements between the two countries are based on the establishment of the state of Israel, the process that started with 2008 will be taken into consideration due to the increase in the violence of the conflict and in this context, the process which is performed under the name of Bordure Protectrice Operation in 2014 and the most prominent events in the context of international relations will be evaluated.

To date, Israel has provided both national unity and international relations by maing tension politics in the region. In return, it destabilized the region and hampered the development of the

[986] Çetin, H. (2017). İsrail Devleti'nin Kuruluşu ve Kuruluşundan Sonraki İlk 20 Yılındaki Önemli Savaşlar. https://www.academia.edu/36602114/İSRAİL_DEVLETİNİN_KURULUŞU_VE_KURULUŞUNDAN_SONRAKİ_İLK_20_YILINDAKİ_ÖNEMLİ_SAVAŞLAR, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[987] Örücü, S. (nd.). Yahudi Diasporası'nın Filistin'e Göçü Ve İsrail Devleti'nin Kuruluşu. *VAKANÜVİS International Journal of Historical Researches*, 3(2), 203.
[988] Uzer, U. (2017). Kudüs Şehrinin Filistin, İsrail ve BM Açısından Siyasi Önemi. BPS- Bulletin of Palestine Studies. *Jerusalem Special Issue*, 2, 134.

countries in the region, and in this context, it also caused the loss of Palestine's territorial integrity by constantly reducing it.[989] Although this attitude of Israel has not been approved by many countries in the international arena, even the UN has made various decisions in this respect, Israel has not abondoned this approach and [990]even after 2000, it has adopted different methods to increase its power in the Palestinian territories. The most important of these is the creation of space for Jewish citizens in the Palestinian territories and the aggresive and painful attitude of the Israeli army. According to the general census of 1881-1893, the population of Jerusalem was 81 thousand and 54 thousand of the total population was composed of Muslims, 19 thousand by Christiand and 7 thousand by Jews. However, in 1967, the proportion of Jews in the city increased to 70%.[991] Today, around 600 thousand Jews live in the city, while 310 thousand Muslim Palestinians and 16 thousand people belonging to other religions live, which still represents 65% of the total population.[992]

The offensive and painful attitude started especially in 2008. In this context, the city of Gaza in the West of Palestine is presented as a strategic region. This city is located in Gaza Strip, which is surrounded by the land of Israel in the east and the North and Egypt in the southwestern and Mediterranean in the West, and which is not geographically territorially unfied with the West Bank,[993] has been exposed to Israel's attacks many times. In this context, nearly 200 Palestinians have been killed and hundreds injured after the Israeli air force launched dozens of air raids on the Hamas-controlled.[994] In consequence, the great destruction has been experienced in the region. In the following period, Israel, who did not adopt the Hamas government in the region, increased its pressure on the region. It also killed many Palestinians in the attacks it organized on the Gaza Strip on a regular basis and arrested many of them intimidate the Hamas government.[995] As a matter of fact, before the last Gaza attack in 2008, in order to remove Hamas from the administration, Israel started to implement the embargo by sea, land and aid blockade

[989] Şensoy, S. (2007). Kontrollü Bunalım, Filistin ve İslam Dünyası. http://www.tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/5431/kontrollu_bunalim_filistin_ve_islam_dunyasi, Date of Access: 07.05.2019.
[990] Efe, İ. (2015). İsrailli Yerleşimci Terörü. *Ortadoğu Analiz*, 7(70), 66.
[991] Schölch, A. (2000). *Jerusalem in the 19th Century (1831–1917 AD).* (Edt: Asali, K.J.). In: Jerusalem in History. New York: Olive Branch Press, 232.
[992] Choshen, M. & Shahar, N. (2012). Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/population-of-jerusalem-1844-2009, Date of Access: 07.05.2019.
[993] UNIC Ankara. Filistin Meselesi ve Birleşmiş Milletler, http://www.unicankara.org.tr/filistin/6.html., Date of Access: 07.05.2019.
[994] The Guardian. (2008b). Israel launches deadly Gaza attacks. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/27/israelandthepalestinians, Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[995] Topal, A.H. (2008). 27 Aralık 2008 – 18 Ocak 2009 Gazze Saldırısı ve Uluslararası Ceza Hukuku, Gazze Saldırısı ve Uluslararası Hukuk. *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 12, 1-2.

of Gaza Strip. Together with the embargo, the region was prevented from the introduction of food, medicine, fuel and all kinds of aid and limited the freedom of movement of Palestinians. Rocket and mortar attacks on Israel continued during the embargo period, which continued for about eighteen months.[996] Finally, both sides agreed on the ceasefire on June 19, 2008, and Israel agreed to abolish the embargo.[997] As a result of the ceasefire, the attacks also decreased considerably. However, on 4 October 2008, Israel violated the ceasefire by launching an air strike targeting Hamas members.[998] After this incident which six Hamas members lost their lives, the attacks on Palestine began to increase. Upon this, on the 27th of December 2008, the Israeli Operation, Operation Cast Lead, was directed towards the Gaza Strip and Israel continued its attacks until the ceasefire was announced on 18 January 2009.[999] UN Security Council, taking a retarted action, requested Israeli Army to retrait from Gaza Strip with Decision dated 08.01.2009 and numbered 1860.[1000] In spite of this request of the Security Council, in the attacks, which carried out by the air, land and maritime elements of the Israeli Army and continued for three weeks, civilians' houses, schools, humanitarian organizations, police stations and hospitals were targeted and many government buildings, including the Palestinian Parliament Building, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior and Justice buildings, were destroyed. Furthermore, in the examinations took place after the ceasefire, it was seen that thousands of buildings were completely destroyed or severely damaged, and the infrastructure system became unusable.[1001] These attacks while having showed that Israel's attitude towards Palestinian issue has never changed, has changed the way Israel used its excuses as an excuse for the widespread understanding of Palestine's long-standing victimization.[1002] One of the important results of this is the non-member observer status for Palestine in November 2012. Even though there was a general intimidation by the operations before the vote, Palestine won the status of a non-member observer in the UN on 29 November 2012 with 138 yes, 9 rejects and 41 abstention votes. [1003] This is undoubtedly one of the most important reactions to Israel. However, it was not enough

[996] Topal, *ibid.*, 2008:1-2.
[997] New York Times. (2008). Israel Agrees to Truce with Hamas on Gaza. https://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/18/world/middleeast/18mideast.html, Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[998] The Guardian. (2008a). Gaza Truce Broken as Israeli Raid Kills Six Hamas Gunmen. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/05/israelandthepalestinians, Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[999] The Guardian, *ibid.*, 2008a.
[1000] UNSCR. S.C. Res. 1860. http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/1860, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[1001] Topal, *ibid.*, 2008.
[1002] Bölme, S. (2009). *Gazze'de Katliam: Türkiye, Ortadoğu ve Filistin Sorunu*, SETA Analiz, 3, 11.
[1003] The Guardian. (2012b). UN General Assembly Recognises Palestinian State – As It Happened. https://www.theguardian.com/world/middle-east-live/2012/nov/29/egypt-crisis-morsi-constitution-live, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.

to stop Israel. When it comes out July 2014, it was seen that Israel's attacks were still continuing. On July 8, 2014, the Israeli Defense Forces carried out a military operation involving maritime, air and land operations for the Gaza Strip.[1004] This fifty-day war, which is known as the Israeli-Gaza Conflict with another name, was far more devastating than previous conflicts. But it was neither unprecedented nor unpredictable, being, in effect, Israel's twelfth war against Gaza.[1005] As a result of this conflict, in a month, 267.970 Palestinians had to leave their homes and settle in various schools under difficult conditions. [1006] In addition about 200.000 people have sought refuge in different countries. Due to the operation, the damage in Gaza was between 4 and 6 billion dollars since August. [1007] As a result, approximately 500,000 people have become homeless. Furthermore, 2,251 Palestinians were killed and 1,462 of them are civilians and 551 of them are children. On the other hand, Israel's loss since August was 67 people and 3 of them were civilians.[1008]

As can be seen, this conflict, which caused serious destruction, resonated around the world and many countries along with the UN made statements condemning Israel. One can not be indifferent to the situation that the country is Turkey. It can be said that Turkey is part of the process as a historical counterparts of the subject. Turkey's activism on the Palestinian issue is an indicative example of domestic mobilization that pressures the government toward resolving the conflict.[1009] Especially at the end of the 1980s, Turkey has been directly involved in the issue. Turkey undertaken accommodating and mediator role has become one of the countries showing the effort to be permanent peace between the two countries. But by the 2000s nominal, it is observed that Turkey takes a more active role in the Palestinian problem. Especially during the period of the JDP governements, Turkey had a more active movement in Palestine issue. At this point, Turkey has even reached to a point of conflict with Israel. [1010]

[1004] BBC Türkçe. İsrail'den Gazze'ye Kara Harekatı. http://web.archive.org/web/20140825180229/http:/www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2014/07/140717_israil_gazze.shtml, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.

[1005] Filiu, J.P. (2014). The Twelve Wars on Gaza. *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 44(1), 52.

[1006] The Guardian. (2015). Israel Killed More Palestinians In 2014 Than In Any Other Year Since 1967. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/27/israel-kills-more-palestinians-2014-than-any-other-year-since-1967, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.

[1007] OCHA. (2014). Data featured in the Report of the Independent Commision of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict. https://www.ochaopt.org/content/key-figures-2014-hostilities, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.

[1008] OCHA. Data featured in the Report of the Independent Commision of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict, *ibid.*

[1009] Barnett, M. (2008). *Duties Beyond Borders,* In Foreign 18 Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, 189–203. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 193.

[1010] Şenocak, B. (2016). *Filistin Sorunu ve Türkiye'deki Ak Parti Hükümetleri Dönemindeki Filistin Politikası.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 74-81.

In this context, when it is looked at the basic factors of Turkey's Palestine policy, it is seen that these elements come to the fore;

- Israel's withdrawal from all Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, which had been occupied since 1967,
- Palestine becomes an officially recognized state for Israel,
- International guarantee for Jerusalem and Arab and Islamic values.[1011]

In this context, although Turkey's Palestine policy contains humanitarian aids greatly as a result of the conflicts took place, contrary to the Somalia policy, the origin of this policy includes development aids that outweigh the political aspect. Even in this context, official development assistance of Turkey is carried out mainly through the Presidency of TİKA who opened a Program Coordination Office in Ramallah in 2005.[1012] Within this framework, the presence of TİKA in Palestine is of vital importance. However, in terms of the integrity of the thesis, AFAD's works will be based on this point.

Since 2010, AFAD has provided aids to the region in many ways. For example, since May 2010, 22.5 million TL cash assistance and 11 million TL worth of humanitarian aid were sent by 5 aircrafts and 106 trucks. Besides on different dates, 28,500 tons of flour was sent by sea-shipment.[1013] Within the scope of the aid campaign launched in 2009, 105 million TL of donations were collected, this donation was spent in terms of water rehabilitation project, generator grant, water well and sewage pump construction, medicine and and medical equipment purchase, hospital progress payment, university equipment and book grant, maintenance and repair of demolished mosques.[1014] In addition, after the Mavi Marmara incident, 470 volunteers and 9 funerals were brought to Turkey and wounded were treated. In 2011, 6,000 tons of flour was sent, which worthed 3,861,132 US dollars. When it comes to 2012, this amount reached to 12,500 tons with an amount of 6 ;İğ,610,174 USD. In 2013, 10,000 tons of flour with an amount of 6,610,000 was sent to the region.[1015] In 2014, due to the air and naval attacks launched on the Gaza Strip on 8 July 2014, first of all, $1,5 million medical aid was sent to the World Health

[1011] Ertosun, E. (2011). Türkiye'nin Filistin Politikasında ABD ya da AB Çizgisi: Güvenlik Etkeninin Belirleyiciliği. *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika,* 7(28), 71.
[1012] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Filistin Siyasi İlişkileri. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-filistin-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[1013] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar. www.afad.gov.tr, Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[1014] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1015] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*

Organization. In addition, 10,000 food parcels with an amount of 445,300 USD were supplied and 1,000 food parcels of TOBB were sent to ISrael in cooperation with UNRWA to be distributed in Gaza. Furthermore, in this context, 15,000 tons of flour was purchased and sent again in cooperation with UNRWA to be distributed in Gaza. Within this framework, the total cash value of the aids of the presidency has reached to 9,57 million US dollars. [1016] At this point, it is necessary to look at the aids of TİKA and Turkish Red Crescent's that were happened in coordination with AFAD. In this context, TİKA provided 15,00 household food supplies with 30 lorries, as well as pharmaceutical, fuel generators and basic aids. In addition, it distributed a total of 341,600 people 3 meals a day for 20 days.[1017] On the other hand, 20 tons of medicines and medical supplies were delivered to the needy by the Turkish Red Crescent and 2,610 displaced families were given food packages . Furthermore, cash aid was provided to the Palestine Red Crescent for the assistance of 500 families of food packages. At that time, at 10 UN schools, 7 m3 of water was distributed daily. [1018] In addition to these, 119 injured and their 106 companions from Gaza were brought to Turkey for treatment, 45 recovering wounded and their companions were returned to their countries. These aids, which were the first step of the 2014 aid, continued with the aid of 15,000 tons of flour, which was the second part.[1019]

Although these aids were promoted to support terrorism by the Israeli wing, these allegations were rejected in large numbers, and the Turkish government did not refrain from carrying out these aids, and the humanitarian characyer of the aid was constantly revealed by various documents shared with the public. [1020] However, as previously mentioned, the political aspects of the policy pursued by Turkey in this situation outweighs. Davutoğlu explains this situation in a speech he made in Bursa in 2013 as follows:[1021]

> Other countries recommend us not to follow an active policy and not to embark on an adventure in the issue of foreign policy. And we reply that Turkey is and has always been in the history the subject itself, cannot be turned into an object. For example now in the Middle East, can any issue, especially the Palestine issue, be handled without Turkey? We have to deserve our history, we have tos tay as the subject as we have always been.

[1016] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1017] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1018] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1019] AFAD. Uluslararası Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1020] Schanzer, J. (2014). *Türkiye'de Terörizmin Finansmanı: Giderek Artan Bir Endişe*, Washington: FDD PRESS, 19.
[1021] Saraçoğlu, C. (2013). Akp, Milliyetçilik Ve Dış Politika: Bir Milliyetçilik Doktrini Olarak Stratejik Derinlik. *Alternatif Politika*, 5(1), 13.

However, despite this expression, it seems that Turkey is not involved the Palestinian-Israeli relationship issue consistently after the second half of the 2000s. For instance, in February 2006 JDP Government tried to give the minesweeping tenders in the region of South-East to an Israeli firm and the operation was stopped by the decision of the State Council. After 3 years, in the World Economic Forum (WEF) held in Davos, Switzerland on 29 January 2009; Recep Tayyip Erdoğan -as the representative of Turkey- was invited to the panel called "Gaza: Peace Model in the Middle East" with Israeli President Simon Peres and UN Secretary General of the term Ban Ki-Mun. In order to reply to Peres who was blaming the Palestinians, Erdoğan wanted to talk but when he was interrupted by the moderator he shouted and said "One minute! You are the one who knows killing best, I know how you shot and kill the children on the beach."[1022] Then he left the meeting by saying "Davos is over for me now then." After this, he was called as "Davos Fatihi / Conquerer of Davos". Furthermore, after the reaction of President Erdoğan, one minute, response to strained political relations, Turkey-Israel trade volume has continued to increase.[1023] This volume of trade, which was $ 2,603,186 in 2009, reached to an extend of $ 5,608,454 in 2018.[1024] This best proves that concrete policies are not always constructed on discourses.

Just after one year of Davos, a ship called Mavi Marmara departed from Turkey which was carrying humanitarian aid materials to Gaza was shot by the Israeli soldiers and 10 Turkish citizens in the ship were killed.[1025] After this, Erdoğan gave a speech on Al Jazeerah televisions and said "Israeli state committed a kşnd of state terrorism… This event of Mavi Marmara is indeed a cause of war."[1026] Yet, in the year 2016, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, as the President of Turkey, expressed to the authorities of the NGO called IHH -who organized the humanitarian aid operation to Israel via Mavi Marmara- "Have you asked the Prime Minister of the term while organizing such an aid operation? … We are already,as Turkey, organizing aids by the hands of the state."[1027] These differences of political stance are always possible from the viewpoint of

[1022] Sabah. Davos'ta Bir Yüksek Ses. https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2019/01/29/baskan-erdoganin-one-minute-cikisinin-uzerinden-10-yil-gecti., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[1023] T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı. Türkiye ile Ticaret. *Türkiye-İsrail Dış Ticaret Değerleri (Bin ABD Dolar)* https://ticaret.gov.tr/yurtdisi-teskilati/orta-dogu-ve-korfez/israil/ulke-profili/turkiye-ile-ticaret., Date of Access: 06.05.2019.
[1024] T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı. Türkiye ile Ticaret. *Türkiye-İsrail Dış Ticaret Değerleri (Bin ABD Dolar), ibid.*
[1025] İnsani Yardım Vakfı. (2018). Mavi Marmara https://www.ihh.org.tr/mavi-marmara., Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[1026] Al Jazeera. Mavi Marmarayı Batırmak. http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/gorus/mavi-marmarayi-batirmak, Date of Access: 05.05.2019.
[1027] Haber 7. (2016). Erdoğan'dan İHH'ya Mavi Marmara Cevabı. http://www.haber7.com/siyaset/haber/2024776-erdogandan-ihhya-mavi-marmara-cevabi, Date of Access: 05.05.2019.

realism, as the interests of the country is taken into consideration. Here, the matter is indeed different: the necessity of helding the humanitarian aids just by the government itself is emphasized by the top authority. When compared to German case, where humanitarian aids are done by NGOs under strong coordination of the state, it once more comes to existence that systematization of humanitarian aids is urgently needed in Turkey.

5.3.4. Myanmar: Rohingya Persecution 2016

Under this title, the genocide movements against Muslims living in Rakhine region of the Southeast Asian country known as the Burma before, which is named as the Republic of Myanmar later, will be mentioned. Actually, violent acts against Muslims have started long ago, but as of 2012, the general discrimination and racism policy of the military dictatorship against the Rohingian Muslims who have been living in Rakhine since 1962, has come to the agenda of the world public opinion. Within this framework, in order to better understand the issue, firstly the problems that cause these events will be raised and then the current situation will be evaluated based on the event, which took place in 2016 and called Roghinya Persecution which has the most severe effects in the events up to that date. After that, in the context of the integrity of the thesis, the approach of Turkey to the situation and its assistance with AFAD carried through in this context and the impact of this assistance will be assessed in the international arena.

The country, whose former name was Burma and which was renamed as the Republic of Myanmar by the military regime known as Tadmadow in 1989, is today one of the most important states of Southeast Asis with a population of 53 million. Myanmar, which is located between the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal in Southeast Asia, has a great important location strategically and is bordered by Asia's two giant countries such as China and India.[1028] Although there are seven states of the country, one of them is the Rakhine region and this region is known as Rohingya in native orihinal language.[1029] Rakhine Muslims, one of the 135 different ethnic groups in Myanmar and belonging to the Muslim group in the Indo-European language family that is Rohingya people, live in this geography.[1030] The people of Rohingya are the people

[1028] Çakan, V. (2018). The Rohingya Muslims and Arakan Genocide. *Asya Araştırmaları Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 38.
[1029] Ateş, A. (2017). Burma'dan Myanmar'a Arakan'da Rohingya Müslümanları. *Konya Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi İslam San'at, Tarih, Edebiyat ve Musikisi Dergisi*, 15(29), 175.
[1030] World Population Review. Myanmar Population 2019. http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/myanmar-population/., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

who have been the most massacred to the present day as stated by the UN. The Buddhist state tradition of the Burmens, which make up a large part of the country's population, has undoubtedly caused reat harm to the Muslims of Rakhine in history, and these damages are not only based on religion but also ethnically segregated.[1031] In this context, in the country that gained its independence on January 4, 1948, non-participation of ethnic minorities in political decision-making processes and unity within the country have been an important problems for decades. Aung San, who stands out as the founding actor of the cpuntry, can be regarded as a noteworthy development for the period when she emphasized that the foundations of the state should be built on democratic rights rather than on the racial priority. However, because of the policies of the administrations that came to power in the following years, religion and ethnic identity have come to the fore as the most important issue until today.[1032]

One of the biggest genocides over the world today is, undoubtedly, the genocidal acts that Arakani Muslims in Myanmar are being exposed to.[1033] And this genocide has characteristics of systematic which the world turns its back to and the institutions claiming to be the guarantor of international law and the world peace totally ignore. [1034] However, before the details of this genocide, it is useful to look at the history of the country, especially in Rakhine region, in order to better explain the rasons underlying the genocide.

As mentioned earlier, Rakhine that one of the seven states of Myanmar, is called as Rohingya in the native language. This region, which remained in Burma occupation for about fourty years from 1784 onwards, was followed by British rule following British-Burma War. The British occupied Burma in 1885 and added it to the British Rac in India.[1035] In the meantime, the British fueled the conflict between Rakhine Muslims and Burmane through various methods and increased hatred. In 1937, Burma left British Rac with Rakhine and it was granted Burma Autonomy.[1036] After the Second World War, in 1948, the British left the region to Burmese Buddhist administration. With the departure of the British, the Burmese regime began to implement the policies of intimidation and destruction of Muslims. In this context, Rakhine

[1031] Göksoy, İ.H. (2016). *Myanmar*. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet İşleri Başkanlı İslam Ansiklopedisi, 32, 254.
[1032] Balcı, A. & Şanlı-Mart, S. (2013). *Myanmar-Arakan Raporu*. Güney Asya Stratejik Araştırmlar Merkezi, 5-6.
[1033] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan. https://www.uhim.org/Uploads/GenelDosya/somurgeden-soykirima-arakan!-7861-d.pdf., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1034] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1035] Myat, Z. L. (2016). *Heritage in the Myanmar Frontier: Shan State, Haws and Conditions For Public Participation.* Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 7-12.
[1036] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*

Muslims also had to grapple with great atrocities by governments that came after by governemnets that followed military regime for many years. While Burmese murdered Rakhine Muslims with their brutal methods and drove them from their homes and homelands, they argue that these recist policies are not the original element of tha Rakhine Muslims, but that they are Bangladeshi Muslims who have been displaced by the British from Bangladesh and they mislead the international public opinion. [1037] However, in this case, scientists have revealed that Rakhine Muslims have found the existence of structures such as mosques and tombs proving the historical existence of the Muslims in the region, the coins found in the name of the Kingdom of Arakan, and the fact that the Kingdom used Muslims names as prrof that Rakhine Muslims were the original elements of the region.[1038] In spite of all these evidence, the Buddhist Burmese, who believe that they are the real owners of the region, have been operating a systematic state of terrorism against Muslims in the Muslim town, especially in Rakhine, since 1948.[1039]

In this context, the exclusionary and assimilation-oriented policies of the military dictatorship towards Rakhine Muslims led to one of the largest mass migrations of Myanmar history in 1978. As a result of this, approximately 200,000 Rohingian Muslims have fled to Bangladesh in bulk, escaping the massive massacre of rape and torture cases where civillians were directly targeted and where mosques and villages were burned.[1040] While some of the asylum-seekers were interfering with the Bangladeshi community, a large majority were back to their country with the press of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the international public opinionin 1079. However, Myanmar military rule, which takes strong support of big countries such as China, Thailand and India, has not stopped the new human rights violations against Rohingians Muslims. Between 1962 and 2011, the administration of the country under a strict military regime played an important role in the occurrence of these violations.[1041]

> The country came under the rule of the military junta periodically following its indepence in 1948 and completely as of the year of 1962. However, parliamentary elections could be held in 2011 and the military junta lost its influence considerably. Through the elections civil politicians could also enter the parliament. During these elections, Arakani Muslims gained the right to send 46 representatives to the parliament but the junta did not give the

[1037] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1038] Green, P. & MacManus, T. (2015). *Countdown to Annihilation: Genocida in Myanmar*. London: International State Crime Initiative, 28.
[1039] Balcı & Şanlı-Mart, *ibid.*, 2013: 5-6.
[1040] Abrar, C.R. (1994). Repatriation of Rohingya Refugees. http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs/Abrar-repatriation.htm., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1041] Çakan, *ibid.*, 2018:38.

permission for this and admitted only 3 representatives. 43 seats seized were given to the Buddhist representatives.[1042]

As a result of these incidents, systematic terror continued to increase , especially since 2012. In 2012, the genocide against the Muslim minority in Rohingya began with the exacerbation of the slander of the Buddhist monks on 3 Muslim young people.[1043] In this context, the people of Rakhine have been subjected to ethnic cleansing attacks, and in this short period of time 80 Muslims have been killed, about 90,000 Arakani Muslims have been displaced and they took refuge in Bangladesh, the nearest border neigbor. [1044] In the following period, in October 2012, violent genocide movemenet reappeared and the number of displaced Muslims reached 100,000.[1045] Thein Sein, who was the head of the military junta, expressed the following in his statement: [1046]

"The only solution is to expel Rohingya Muslims from the country collectively or to send them to a third country."

Along with the recent events in this context, the number of Muslims who have been seeking asylum in other countries since 1970 has reached 890,000 in Bangladesh, 350,000 in Pakistan, 200,000 in Saudi Arabia, 150,000 in Malaysia, 40,000 in India and 5,000 in Thailand.[1047] As can be seen, the country that received the most immagration was Bangladesh. However, a large number of people in Bangladesh, which is struggling with economic problems, a large number of people live below the hunger limit. Naturally, the country does not have the possibility to meet the needs of the new refugees from abroad. For this reason, Bangladesh government announced that it closed the Arakan border in June 2012 in order to prevent new migrations.[1048] The reason why the Bangladesh administration has this attitude is the following statement:[1049]

[1042] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*

[1043] International Crisis Group. Myanmar Conflict Alert: Preventing communal bloodshed and building better relations. https://www.refworld.org/docid/4fd85cdd2.html., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1044] The Star. (2012). Burma's Ethnic Clashes Leave 90,000 in Need of Food, Says UN. https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2012/06/19/burmas_ethnic_clashes_leave_90000_in_need_of_food_says_un.html., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1045] BBC News. Burma Violence: 20,000 displaced in Rakhine State. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-20114326., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1046] VOA News. Interview With Myanmar President Thein Sein. https://www.voanews.com/east-asia/voa-exclusive-interview-myanmar-president-thein-sein., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1047] Human Rights Watch. World Report 2012: Burma. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2012/country-chapters/burma., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1048] The Guardian. (2012a). Persecuted Burmese Tribe Finds No Welcome in Bangladesh. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/aug/07/bangladesh-persecuted-burmese-tribe-muslim., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

[1049] Balcı & Şanlı-Mart, *ibid.*, 2013: 5-6.

"If we open our doors to the refugees, then there is no one in Arakan area, everyone comes here. This is what the Myanmar administartion wants."

As a result of these events, the conflicts between Buddhists and Muslims have revealed the drama of Arakanese Muslims. Although many international organizations called the world public opinion to take measures by documenting that the political, economic and social rihts of the Rohingian Muslims have been systematically violated by both the regime forces and the Buddhist community, and the main reason behind this is that the Myanmar regime has general discrimination and racism policies against the Rohingian Muslims, genocide in Arakan still cannot be prevented. [1050] On the contrary, the Myanmar government increased the violence of pressure policy towards to Arakanese Muslims. In 2016, the brutality reignited as a result of an incident in a small town on Myanmar's border with Bangladesh. In October 2016, the government forces of Myanmar re-launched large-scale operations against Muslims on the excuse that a group of knife attackers attacking police stations in the town of Raghine and killed 9 police officers.[1051] In the operations launched by the Myanmar administration on 20 November 2016, 440 Rohingians were arrested in less than 2 months, 160 toture reports were made, 1780 houses were burned or unusable, 192 women were raped, 428 people were killed and more than 30 thousand people left their homes.[1052] Given all of the attacks, this was one of the most bloody attacks to which too many people were killed in a very short period of time. These massacres were realized during the last times of 2016, continued throughout 2017 and in this context, while the Buddhist Rakhines, who had received the support of the administration and management of Myanmar, continued their attacks on Rohingya villages, on the other hand, members of Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army continued their actions against police points. After the ARSA attacked 24 police points and an army base synchronously on 25 August 2017, the loss of the lives of 11 security forces led to the re-emergence of law enforcement and Buddhist communities' attacks on Rohingya villages. As a result of the attacks, over a thousand people died, 410 thousand people have fled to the borders of Bangladesh, but some of them died on the

[1050] Mohajan, H. (2018). The Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar are Victim of Genocide, Premier University. *ABC Journal of Advanced Research*, 7(1), 59-72.
[1051] Human Rights Watch. Burma, Events (2016). https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/burma., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1052] BBC Türkçe. Zulümden Kaçamayan Halk: Arakanlı Müslümanlar. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-38077770., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

road in bad conditiona, some of the them saved their lives as injured while some of them drowned in the Naf River were reported by the UN Human Rights Officials.[1053]

As it is seen, while thousand of Rohingya Muslims having lost their lives, nearly hundreds of thousands of people had to leave their homes and take shelter in neighboring countries in the last five years with these operations. In this context, while the number of Muslims living in Arakan in the past years was 3 million, this figure has decreased to 1 million as a result of the massacres systematically. [1054] Those who remain in the country are forced to live under extremely primitive conditions in refugee camps or convicted of basic rights such as marriage, having children, traveling, whose educational opportunities are restricted, are prevented from doing business, are not accepted as citizens and feared to be massacred systematically by Buddhist militias, try to survive as the most lonely people in the most problematic region of the world. [1055] As a result of this, it can be said that,

> …there is not a war and struggle in Arakan like which is reflected by international media but a people that is subjected to genocide and continuously experience it at different levels. Arakani Rohingyas are deprived of the means to defend themselves against merciless policies and massacres; they are also being disregarded by the national and international law and left undefended.[1056]

Besides, the nearest neighbor Bangladesh, which they had at least reached in the past, has not been accepted for a long time and Arakanis -who are considered as Bangladeshi by Myanmar administration and, contrary to this, as Myanmarese by Bangladesh administration- struggle to survive in the strictest sense of the word under the conditions getting worse day by day.[1057]

After talking about the events specifically, it is necessary to look behind the scenes of this drama. These events involve various social and economic reasons. Socially, one of the most important reasons for the genocide of Arakan is the fact that the Rohingyas are not recognized as citizens in the constitution, which the Myanmar government has maintained since the day it was founded and officialized by the Citizenship Law that was adopted in 1982.[1058] However there are also

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[1053] Dalar, M. & Özkan, G. (2018). Myanmar'ın Rohingya Müslümanları Politikası: Tarihsel ve Hukuksal Bir Analiz. *Bingöl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi,* 8(15), 48.
[1054] ANKASAM. Yeni Büyük Oyun'un Kurbanları: Arakan Müslümanları. https://ankasam.org/yeni-buyuk-oyunun-kurbanlari-arakan-muslumanlari/., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1055] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1056] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1057] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1058] Burmese Rohingya Organisation UK. Myanmar's 1982 Citizenship Law and Rohingya. https://burmacampaign.org.uk/media/Myanmar's-1982-Citizenship-Law-and-Rohingya.pdf., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

various economic reasons under the Arakan genocide. It is possible to address these reasons in two different directions. The first one is that the country's economic situation is inadequate and accordingly the country's poverty. The Buddhists, who hold the government, have put pressure on minorities and have deprived them of their income from the country and have taken a more share in income. So, they intended the Arakani people to leave the country by narrowing or burning their living space.[1059] The second reason is the rich underground resources of the country and especially the incestments of China and India to the country. It is also possible to explain the first dimension of this. Arakan province, which is named as the problematic region in the country which has important underground riches in its territory, is rich in emerald, ruby, oil, rice and timber. [1060] Moreover, the fact that the economic value of the natural gas reserves in the Arakan province in the last two years is quite large and that the Myanmar administration does not want the Rohingsians to benefit from these reserves is shown as another important factor in the beginning of the events.[1061] The second dimension stems from the strategic importance of Myanmar's urban location. Myanmar, having a strategical importance in regard to international trade mechanism, is a central point particularly for oil transportation due to the distribution of the lines arriving from the bay and has a vital importance for China.[1062] Actually, Myanmar has preferred to improve relations with the USA instead of China. In Obama period, the USA returned to the Asia Pivot strategy and this has become an opportunity for Myanmar, because in this way, with the exclusion of economic sanctions other than arms sales, foreign aid was increased and American investors were encouraged.[1063] However, this initiative did not work well for Myanmar and its economic activity did not acclerate. According to the World Ban data in 2016, Myanmar was ranked 170th among 190 economies in terms of ease of doing business.[1064] In this context, China, who sees Myanmar as a bridge for the Indian Ocean, has experienced a strategic decline due to the proximity of Myanmar with the USA. With Donald Trump elected as President of the USA, interest in Myanmar has declined, and China has begun to take the place of the USA. So, Trump's uncertainty of Asian policies brings Myanmar closer

[1059] Çakan, *ibid.*, 2018:38.
[1060] Stamp, D. (1923). Some Notes on the Economic Geography of Burma. *The Geographical Teacher*, 177.
[1061] Shwe Gas Movement. (2006). *Natural Gas in Western Burma Set to Entrench Military Rule*. http://burmacampaign.org.uk/media/shwe_gas.pdf. Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1062] UHİM. From Colony to Genocide Arakan, *ibid.*
[1063] ANKASAM. Çin-Myanmar İlişkilerinin Analizi: Yöntemler-Araçlar-Stratejiler. https://ankasam.org/cin-myanmar-iliskilerinin-analizi-yontemler-araclar-stratejiler/., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1064] World Bank. Myanmar's Business Environment Improves. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/10/26/myanmars-business-environment-improves., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.

to China.[1065] In this context, for more than five years, Myanmar has been a major recipient of Chinese weapons[1066] and China's desire to win allies in the region, especially since 1990, supplies military equipment to Myanmar, is very important in terms of diversifying Myanmar's military equipment resources.[1067] In addtion, despite internatonal pressures, China never condemned the miltary junta government. China has also its own problems with minorities such as Myanmar. In this context, it quietly accepts the human rights violations of Myanmar government in order not to create a precedent that could affect its own human rights violations.[1068]

As can be seen, the reasons underlying the Arakan drama are unformed in different dimensions, especially in economic dimensions, as they appear or differentiated, and all these reasons cause Arakanese Muslims to be subjected to legal, economic and social separatism of so called priests, but in realty to the violence of government forces. In this context, it can be enunciable that Arakan crisis is not only a serious humanitarian emergency, but also concerns issues of security, identity and development.[1069] Therefore, it shows up as an important situation not only for the people of Arakan but also for the rest of the world. However, the occasional manifestation of the massacres shows that serious sanctions are not sufficiently implemented by the rest of the world. For instance, even the UN,[1070] known as an important peacekeeper, has not been able to use its power to impose serious santioncs due to China sees it as a problem between the two countries.[1071] Although considerable amounts of humanitarian aid has been sent to the area, as can be reached the conclusion that international law is insufficient in this regard.[1072]

[1065] ANKASAM. Çin-Myanmar İlişkilerinin Analizi: Yöntemler-Araçlar-Stratejiler, *ibid.*
[1066] Asia-Pacific Media. Myanmar's Chinese Connection. http://www.asiapacificms.com/articles/myanmar_chinese_connection/., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1067] Asia-Pacific Media. Myanmar's Chinese Connection, *ibid.*
[1068] ANKASAM. Çin-Myanmar İlişkilerinin Analizi: Yöntemler-Araçlar-Stratejiler, *ibid.*
[1069] The Conversation. (2018). Roghinya Crisis: A Year Since It Shocked the World, What's Changed? https://theconversation.com/rohingya-crisis-a-year-since-it-shocked-the-world-whats-changed-101209., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1070] Duran, H. (2001). Birleşmiş Milletler ve Müdahale. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 6(2), 131-142.
[1071] Euronews. (2018). Çin: Arakan'da Yaşananlar Uluslararası Bir Sorun Olarak Değerlendirilmemeli. https://tr.euronews.com/2018/09/28/cin-arakan-da-yasananlar-uluslararas-bir-sorun-olarak-degerlendirilmemeli., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1072] ANKASAM. Yeni Büyük Oyun'un Kurbanları: Arakan Müslümanları, *ibid.*

Turkey is also the leading among these countries who send significant amount of humanitarian aid to the area. It is possible to understand the approach of Turkey, who made a serious effort in this regard, to the subject based on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's following words:[1073]

> We cannot act by crushing our conscience, our sense of justice, our equality measures, and crushing everything that comes before us for our own interests. For this, we cannot leave the oppressed even those who are persecuted in Arakan as we have opened our heart to our brothers in Syria, Iraq, the Balkans, Caucasus, North Africa.

From this point of view, in the context of AFAD, the following activities were carried out between the years 2012-2017:

In 2012, when the situation was reflected in the international public opinion, 39 tonnes of humanitarian aid was sent from Turkey due to internal disturbances in Arakan Province and 1.250 tonnes of food and 100 thousand US dollars of malaria medicine and mosquito nets were donated with the Turkish Red Crescent personnel. In addition, 69 million TL has been collected as part of the aid campaign initiated. Within this scope, food and non-food aid activities were carried out in cooperation with UNICEF, with the aid of 1,000 tons of rice, food and non-food aid to the Rohingians.[1074] In the following years, in 2013 and 2014, firstly, 418 thosand TL has been sent for food and non-food supplies and then, 1,156,351,99 TL within the scope of the food and non-food material assistance project carried out by TİKA through sources transferred by AFAD and 1,168,695,61 TL has been spent as part of the emergency water, sanitation and hygiene assistance project with UNICEF.[1075] In 2015, again in cooperation UNICEF, the project on the distribution of non-food ais materials was continued and also TİKA's bamboo housing project was supported and 9,55 million TL was spent for these activities. In 2016, in cooperation with TİKA, humanitarian aid consisting of 16,000 bags of rice and 3,000 boxes of liquid oil was distributed in the region.[1076] In 2017, by the crisis still continues, 1.4 million USD was transferred to TIKA accounts for construction projects such as school, health facility, commercial center, road, etc. in the region. In addition, in the context of the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Assistance Project for Children and Families Affected by Conflict, 1 million UD

[1073] Amerika'nın Sesi. Türkiye Myanmar'dan Kaçan Arakanlı Müslümanlara Nasıl Bakıyor. https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/turkiye-myanmardan-kacan-arakanli-muslumanlara-nasil-bakiyor/4009521.html., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1074] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar. https://www.afad.gov.tr., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1075] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*
[1076] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*

was transferred to UNICEF Myanmar Office. In total, TL 8,72 million was spent for these activities.[1077]

Turkey's aid was not limited to just this area where the massacre took place, Turkey also has also made various aid for Arakani Muslims in Bangladesh. In this context; 733,922,51 USD spent the scope of the activities carried out in 2017 on the way to the year 2012 which showed an increase of attacks especially for Arakanese in Bangladesh through AFAD.[1078] In 2018, a field hospital provided by the Ministry of Health to meet the health needs of Arakan people was established in the Kutupalong District. There are 28 local staff working in this hospital and a monthly salary of 9.958 USD. Hospital management by construction, maintenance, pharmaceutical and medical consumables, interior furnishing etc. periodic demands are received and the demands are met by AFAD.[1079] In addition, a sample neighborhood was built in the bamboo house area built by the AFAD Presidency and 750 bamboo houses and 40 toilets and 40 bathrooms were completed. In total, 10060 bathrooms and 100 bathrooms will be built for the 1,060 Bamboo houses planned to be built in the allocated area. A children's park was built using natural materials. 1 deep water well was opened and central water distribution point was created. Furthermore, In the activities for 23 April National Sovereignty and Children's Day, 1,500 toys supplied locally were distributed to Arakanlı and Bangladeshi children. Moreover, 1,000 obtained local food package were distrubted in the camp 5 area.[1080]

In addition to these humanitarian aids, an important diplomatic process has been followed. In this context, for example, previously the Myanmar Embassy in Bangkok is accredited to Turkey, began its activities as a resident of the Turkish Embassy on March 9, 2012.[1081] Turkey has also been closely watching the process in the presence of international platforms such as the UN, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which caused 730,000 Arakani Muslims to seek shelter in neighboring Bangladesh as a result of the events that occured in May/June 2012, the increasing tension after October 9, 2016 and the violence that started on August 25, 2017.[1082] In this context, President Erdoğan who made a speech at the Rohingya Contact Group Meeting of the

[1077] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*
[1078] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*
[1079] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*
[1080] AFAD. AFAD Koordinasyonunda Gerçekleştirilen Operasyonlar, *ibid.*
[1081] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Myanmar Siyasi İlişkileri. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-myanmar-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa., Date of Access: 19.05.2019.
[1082] T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Myanmar Siyasi İlişkileri, *ibid.*

Organization of Islamic Cooperation organized within the framework of the 72nd General Assemby of the United Nations, explained status as follows:[1083]

"It is clear that the problems in Arakan province cannot be solved with violence. The development and stability of the province of Aarakan, the second poorest province of Myanmar, is only possible with respect to basic human rights."

Based on all these, it can be reached the conclusion that Turkey has been maintaining a constructive approach that focuses on the human dimension for the solution of matters in Arakan.[1084] In other words, the letter was sent from Arakan in 1991 to Turgut Özal, the president of that time, which shows that the tragedy in Rohingya today is actually based on the earlier of the history and requesting support of Turkey in this context, has reached its goal with diplomatic offensice launched by Turkey and its aid for Arakan.[1085] However, even though, Turkey has carried out serious humanitarian aid and has made significant efforts to make the issue more resonant in the international arena, it should be noted that Turkey will not be able to solve this problem alone,[1086] because such a problem can only be solved by the total act of the states. In this context, Turkey, as a regional actor, should be brought up the status of Arakenese Muslims in the eyes of international actors, especially the UN, within the framework of its international system-based activity. In other words, a high-level international summit to address the issue of future reconstruction of Arakenese will plan an important role in solving the problem, and Turkey has a power to mobilize political relations between the Muslim Bloc such as Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Western Blocs such as Canada, Germany, France.[1087] So that Turkey can work in a coordinated manner with global powers to solve the issue and the wealthy Gulf countries to take steps to eliminate the misery of Arakenese Muslims.

[1083] T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı. Arakanlı Müslümanlara Yönelik Şiddet Eylemlerine Son Verilmeli. (2017). https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/83547/arakanli-muslumanlara-yonelik-siddet-eylemlerine-son-verilmeli., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.

[1084] T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı. Arakanlı Müslümanlara Yönelik Şiddet Eylemlerine Son Verilmeli, *ibid.*

[1085] Bardakçı, M. (2017). Türkiye Uzaklardakş Vefalı Dostu Arakan'ı Tam Bir Asır Sonra Hatırladı. https://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/murat-bardakci/1634700-turkiye-uzaklardaki-vefali-dostu-arakani-tam-bir-asir-sonra-hatirladi., Date of Access: 20.05.2019.

[1086] SETA. (2014b). Türkiye'nin Yardım Eli Arakan'a da Uzandı. https://www.setav.org/turkiyenin-yardim-eli-arakana-da-uzandi/., Date of Access: 20.05.2019.

[1087] Anadolu Ajansı. Arakan Meselesinin Çözümü İçin Uluslararası Liderliğe İhtiyaç Var. https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz-haber/arakan-meselesinin-cozumu-icin-uluslararasi-liderlige-ihtiyac-var/1127733., Date of Access: 20.05.2019.

5.3.5. Syria: Domestic Violence

In April 2011, the Syrian Army was commissioned to suppress the actions and riots in the country and the soldiers opened fire on demonstrators across the country. In the ensuing process, after military sieges took months, demonstrations turned into armed riots. The opposition forces, mostly deserted soldiers and civillian volunteers, have begun to rebel without a central leadership, and this rebellion has turned into a crisis that concerns the majority of the world today, not only Syria, but especially its border neighbors.[1088] This rebellion, which started in 2011, still continues and unresolved; is one of the most debated issues in the international arena.

Under this heading, first place will be given on the crisis' background and how the crisis developed and then it will be mentioned that the incident to its way to becoming an international crisis and finally Turkey's approach to the situation will be evaluated. The crisis has undoubtedly led to the most serious humanitarian problems and population mobility faced throughout the history of Turkey. Within this context, it differs from the other events examined. Thus, Turkey's policies to end the crisis and during the crisis are varying.. However, the aid provided by AFAD will be taken into consideration for the completeness of the thesis. another thing to be aware of is that this period will be considered in the framework just made humanitarian assistance since AFAD's aid so far has been evaluated within the framework of soft power.

It is possible to term Syrian civil war that began between the Syrian army, Syrian government and internal rebels in Syria firstly, after the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, El Nusr and some Kurds, Turkmen, Druze and Assyrian groups also attended the last period, while external forces such as Russia, Iran, the United States, Turkey, Israel are lmited and regularly involved. In this context, the demonstrations started on March 15, 2011 and spread throughout the country in April 2011. A UN report at the end of 2012 reported that the civil war was an overtly sectarian conflict between the Nusayri Shebbiha militia and Sunni opponents, but both the opposition and the government rejected it.[1089] This assertion includes partly correct when the historical development of the event considered, but certainly this crisis is much more than it seems.

[1088] Syria Defections Hurt Army Morale (2012). http://web.archive.org/web/20160130102521/http://www.iol.co.za/news/world/syria-defections-hurt-army-morale-1.1334774., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.

[1089] Al Jazeera. UN Says Syria Conflict is Overtly Sectarian. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/12/201212201552505136 5.html., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.

People's revolts which started with the Arab Spring in 2010 took the Arab World under the influence of the short time. While people's revolts that spread to Egypt and Libya, which started in Tunisia, were light-weighted in Bahrain, Yemen, Oman, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, some have been effective enough to change the system[1090] The impact of these events in Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East soonbecame evident in Syria, and the demonstrations began in March, however, these demonstarations have had the ability to influence over time.

Although there are different opinions about the reasons that push the people to rebel in the Middle East, two different views are adopted. The first one of them is the idea that the rebellion is the US project and the second one is the idea that is based on the attitude of the leaders who have been in the power for a long time in the Middle East, economic inequality, unemployement and human rights. [1091] In this context, it would be correct to draw a general framework for the background of the crisis as following: The heterogenous structure of the post-independence political environment of Syria has prevented the establishment of a centralized power and caused the authority to change hands continuously. The country has seen fifteen successful military coup between 1946-1970.[1092] In the political atmosphere formed by the end of the United Arab Republic established with Egypt in the 1960s, the Ba'ath Party became the most important actor shaping the political character of the country.[1093] When Hafez Assad took power as a result of his coup in the Ba'ath Party in 1970, he established an authority using his ethnic-religious ties.[1094] It can be said that the established authority emerged as a result of deep structural relations. In this context, Hafez Assad provided his administartive stability from the 1970s to the 2000s with the presence of same ethnic-religious cadres who were loyal to the president n the triangle of military, security forces and the Ba'ath Party. This structure suffered a crisis, albeit briefly, with the death of Hafez al-Assad. However, young Bashar's taking over the administration gave rise to an expectation that the system settled in the country would change.[1095] The optimstic air created led to a group of intellectuals voicng the demand for change. The profile of the new president as an ophtalmologist has been as a source of optimism

[1090] Fielding-Smith, A. (2011). *Thousands Join Syria Facebook Protest Drive*, Financial Times, Beirut. https://www.ft.com/content/0d5c06da-2e2d-11e0-8733-00144feabdc0 Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[1091] Çil, U. (2011). Dr. Detlev Quintern ile Röportaj. *Ortadoğu Analiz*, 3(35).
[1092] Quinlivin, J.T. (1999). *Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East*, International Security, 24(2).
[1093] Seale, P. (1989). *Asad: The Struggle for The Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 9.
[1094] Hinnebusch, R. (2011). *Syria: Revolution from Above*. New York: Routledge. https://www.setav.org/assets/uploads/2018/06/Analiz_236Esed.pdf , Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[1095] Muslu, F. (2018-Haziran). Suriye İç Savaşında Esed'in Rolü, Konumu ve Geleceği. *SETA Analiz*, 236, 10.

for some elites.[1096] In fact, some savings, such as the release of political prisoners from the Mezze Prison in Damascus, have increased their expectations for reform. However, despite all this positive weather, the spring was short. These demands were violently suppressed when the man actors of the regime took a position contrary to the demand for change.[1097] This process, known as the Damascus Spring, has turned to winter soon.[1098]

To take a closer look at the events in this context, these demonstrations, which under these reasons, have adopted over time and such demonstrations have started to increase througout the country.[1099]

During these demonstrations, the people demanded those from the Assad regime:

- The lifting of the state of emergency applied since 1963 in Syria,
- Civilization of various government institutions, including the Minstry of the Interior, redefining the mandates of security units, restructuring of the legislative, executive and judicial bodies and liberalise of jurisdiction,
- Identification of individual rights and establishment of justice in the distribution of income in the country,
- Amendment of the law on political parties and limiting the power of the ruling Ba'ath Party.[1100]

However, given the security-axis applications, which were an output of the state of emergency law in force since 1963, the first demonstrations made it impossible to give a quick result. The people's movement in Syria started in the places where the Sunni Arabs live mostly and where some Kurds live, Nusayris, Druses and Christians dis not participate in the demonstrations in the beginning. Unlike the popular movements in other countries in the demonstrations, the group has been despised by the system for years, directly targetng the Assad regime, has caused it to excessive use of force against demonstrators.[1101] As a result of the increase in the demonstrations, the Assad regime has moved by taking into account that the popular movements

[1096] Muslu, *ibid.*, 2018:10.
[1097] Zisser, E. (2007). *Commanding Syria: Bashal al-Asad and the First Years in Power*.I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., Londra. https://www.setav.org/assets/uploads/2018/06/Analiz_236Esed.pdf , Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[1098] Zisser, *ibid.*, 2007.
[1099] Fares, O. (2015). *The Arab Spring Comes To Syria: Internal Mobilization For Democratic Change, Militarization and Internationalization*. (Edt: Sadiki, L.). Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring, Oxfordshire: Routledge..
[1100] Sandıklı, A. & Semin, A. (2012). Bütün Boyutları İle Suriye Krizi ve Türkiye. *Ortadoğu'da Değişim ve Türkiye*, 52, 193.
[1101] Ayhan, V. (2009). Davutoğlu'nun Bağdat Ziyaretleri Işığında Türkiye-Irak İlişkileri. *Ortadoğu Analiz*, 1(9).

in Syria wll not differ from those in other Arab countries. The Assad regime also thought that a certain part of the people in Syria would be in favor of the administration, and that Israel and the West, which existed in Syria for many years, would prevent an uprising which would have a severe blow to the regime. Thus, Assad started to implement a new strategy after the first demonstrations. On the one hand, while he was trying to keep control of the situation by sending troops to the areas where demonstrations were made, on the other hand he announced that those responsible for the deaths will be punished because of the demonstrations.[1102] In this context, with the increasing number of civillians who lost their lives due to the policies of the Assad regime, the attention of the international community has been directed here. This has caused the Syrian demonstrations to gradually evolve into a problem over Syria.[1103]

In fact, as mentioned above, unlike the countries facing other popular uprisings, there has been a hope that there will be a softer transition in Syria. In this context, on March 30, Assad's speech in the People's Assembly, he first described the demonstrators in Daraa as a small group and then called on Syrians to become a single body and emphasized that a sectarian based division was aimed.[1104] In the following process, Syrian citizenship was given to the Kurds living in the region of Hasaka in the northeast of Syria, workers wages were raised and even the obstacles to the elections in other parties in the future elections were removed and a new structure was created to prevent corruption. These also included the removal of the state of emergency, but this was also not enough to reduce the impact of demonstrations.[1105] As a result of this, the Syrian Army increased its capacity to use violence in order to supress the demonstrations in Daraa and the troops began to enter these regions. The entry of army units into these regions caused uneasiness in the international public opinion but was not taken with sufficient importance. For example, at the request of France, the UN Security Council has concentrated on making a decision for the condemnation of this step by Syria against the civillian population. However, despite the US,

[1102] Koşar, O. (2017). *Suriye İç Savaşı'nda Türkiye'nin Kazanımları ve Kaybedimleri*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 36.

[1103] BBC Türkçe. ABD ve BM'den Suriye'ye Kınama. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2011/06/110611_syria.shtml., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.

[1104] Marsh, K., & Chulov, M. (2011). *Assad Blames Conspirators For Syrian Protests.* The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/30/syrian-protests-assad-blames-conspirators, Date of Access: 28.05.2019.

[1105] Miş, N. (2012). *Suriye 2011.* (Edt: İnat, K. & Ataman, M.). İçinde: Ortadoğu Yıllığı 2011. İstanbul: Açılım Kitap, 229.

UK and France's efforts to issue a resolution at the UN Security Council, this effort has been inconclusive with the opposition of Russia and China.[1106]

No steps were enough and demonstrations increased day by day. During this time, many people lost their lives, however, the efforts of the international arena did not yield any results. For example, the European Union decided to stop buying oil and oil products from Syria. Assad who faced with an economic embargo by the EU, reached an agreement with the Arab League Secretary General Nabil El Arabi to accelerate reforms.[1107] However, on 12 November 2011, the Arab League suspended Syria's membership because the Assad regime did not consider the demands of the demonstrators and maintained its violence against them.[1108]

Even though it was hoped that the crisis would be solved at the end with the 6-pont Annan Plan prepared by Kofi Annan who was the special representative of the UN and Arab League Syria, after the proclamation of the ceasefire, the Assad regime declared that it would comply with the ceasefire, but was not able to set the ceasefire. After an attack on 108 people died in Hule at the end of the May, Annan made another visit to Syria on 28 May and held meeting with Assad. After the meeting, Annan's statement that the all out war is coming was interpreted as a sign that Assad regime woul not abide by the Annan Plan.[1109]

In this cıntext, it can be said that a number of steps were taken and meeting were held in the international arena from the beginning of the problem in order to end the current violence in Syria. One of the most important reasons why the meetings were held under different names and formations was the fact that international actors could not meet at a common point in the UN. In addition, the activities carried out with regional actors have failed due to the changing interests in Syria.

At this point, it is crucial to state that every event of this crisis is of course has particular importance and each is very significant in terms of a thorough evaluation of the subject. However, the issue that should be prioritized under this title is the the policies implemented by

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[1106] Macfarquhar, N. (2012). *U.N. Agrees To Send More Case - Fire Observes To Syria*, The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/22/world/middleeast/battered-city-in-syria-is-quiet-as-un-cease-fire-monitors-visit.html, Date of Access: 28.05.2019.

[1107] Ayhan, V. (2011b). Suriye - Arap Birliği Anlaşması: Taktiksel mi? Stratejik mi? https://www.tuicakademi.org/suriye-arap-birligi-anlasmasi-taktiksel-mi-stratejik-mi/., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.

[1108] Euronews. (2011). Suriye'nin Arap Birliği Üyeliği Askıya Alındı. https://tr.euronews.com/2011/11/12/suriye-nin-arap-birligi-uyeligi-askiya-alindi., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

[1109] BBC Türkçe. Suriye'nin Kabulü Batı'yı ve Muhalifleri Tatmin Etmedi. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2012/03/120328_syria_west.shtml., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

Turkey throughout the crisis and the reflection of these policies in practice. So the events witnessed by this war that turned into a different dimension with diversification of actors after 2014, will not be considered to be specific, just a general framework will be outlined and emphasis will be given to the subject in the context of Turkey.

There is no doubt that Syrians themselves are the biggest losers of this crisis. Millions of Syrians who lost their lives and their homeland and whose future became uncertain has changed so far that they will never return to the situation of pre-2011.[1110] In thhis civil war which has been going on since March 2011 and left eight years behind, the Syrian Human Rights Network stated in its reports on March 11 that the Assad regime has kept at least 127,916 in prisons between 2011-2019. According to the report, also 13,983 people died because of the regime's torture and more than 5.5 millon civillians were reported to have taken refugee in other countries to survive.[1111]

After Syrians who lost their lives, had to leave their country or forced tol ive in harsh conditions, the second row of the crisis, other victims in other words, are neighbo ring countries, including Turkey who has 911 kilometres land border with Syria.[1112] The relationship extends to the family friendship between Turkey and Syria's decison-makers has been replaced by hate speech as a result of the spread of the Arab Spring to Syria. Relations between two country have been moved to a different dimension with Turkey's openin its doors to people who are forced to leave Syria because of the events. Due to its borders and being the closest neighbor to the refugee problem, Turkey was an interesting stakeholder in the issue of Syria for other countries. Turkey wanted to be involved directly into the Syrian issue by perceving it as its internal problem.[1113]

At this point, it will be useful to mention relation between two countries as of the period the crisis started. Although there are very strong social-geographical bonds in the historical background between Turkey and Syria, unfortunately, both countries could not reflect this data into their relations.[1114] This situation continues from the moment the crisis started up to the present day. It is possible to say that Turkey has tried to apply two-stage strategy towards Syria

[1110] Erdoğan, M. (2017). Suriyeliler Barometresi,2. https://mmuraterdogan.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/suriyeliler-barometresi-yc3b6netici-c3b6zeti.pdf., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[1111] Syrian Network for Human Rights. (2019). Statics of 2018. http://sn4hr.org., Date of Access: 25.05.2019.
[1112] Erdoğan, M. Suriyeliler Barometresi, *ibid,* 2.
[1113] Altundeğer, N. & Yılmaz, E. (2016). From Civil War to Instablity: The Impact of Syrian Crises on Turkey. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi,* 21(1), 289.
[1114] Benek, S. (2016). Historical Background Of Turkey-Syria Relations In The Term Of Social Geograpy. *Harran Üniversitesi-Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences,* 15(1), 189.

during the crisis. The first one is the first phase starting in March 2011 and ending in September 2011. In this period, Turkey tried to maintain good relations with the Syrian regime for more reforms in order to end violent conflicts. [1115] For example, in the beginning of the crisis, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who took information about the latest situation in Syria by calling Assad, took the promise that the reforms would be realized as soon as possible. [1116] In the following period, Assad approved the amnesty law in May.[1117] In fact, as a result of the victory of JDP in June 2011 election, Assad congratulated Erdoğan on his call.

However, in the second phase started in September 2011, Turkey tried to mobilize international and regional communities against Syrian government by cutting off relations with Syria.[1118] Erdoğan explained that Turkish government threw bridges because Assad did not stop the massacres against civillians and he did not listen to the calls for reform, and consequently Turkey has made a decision to move together with the US on sanctions against the Damascus regime. [1119] In the following process, due to the increase in the number of asylum seekers coming to Turkey and Syrian security problems in the Turkey-Syria border, Turkey has pursued a policy of intervening casual. In the framework of this principle, Turkey has both supported the opposition to Assad's overthrow and helped their organizations to be more powerful. Within this context, Turkey has found work as a Pioneer in the establishment of the Friends of Syria Group and also allowed this group's executive staff shelter in Turkey.[1120] Due to the continuing violence during the month of Ramadan, Erdoğan who decided to send Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the term, to Damascus on August 9, 2011, stated before this visit:

"We do not see the Syrian issue as an external issue. The Syrian issue is an internal matter, and we have come to the last moments of our patience on Syria."[1121]

However, these words of Erdoğan were reacted by the Damascus administration. Assad's adviser Shaaban Busey reported that it will be a tougher response to Turkey if Davutoğlu brings a harsh message to Damascus and declared that Turkey should not interfere in domestic affairs

[1115] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid*, 194.
[1116] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid*, 198.
[1117] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid*, 198.
[1118] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid*, 203-208.
[1119] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid*, 203-208.
[1120] Sargı, İ. (2014). *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) Döneminde Türkiye'nin Irak, İran ve Suriye ile ilişkileri*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Atılım Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 159.
[1121] TRT Haber. Erdoğan: Suriye Bizim İç Meselemizdir. https://www.trthaber.com/haber_yazdir.php?detayID=4907., Date of Access: 24.05.2019.

of Syria. [1122] Thereupon, Turkey has taken various decisions on sanctions against Syria. Davutoğlu listed the sanctions as follows:

- Suspension of the High Level Co-operation Council mechanism until a legitimate administration in Syria is at peace with its people,
- A ban on travel to some officials in Syria who are members of the basic leadership team and claiming that they have resorted to violence against the public and illegal methods, and the freezing of their assets in our country. Similar measures should be introduced to some businessmen who are strong supporters of the Syrian regime,
- Stopping the sale and supply of all kinds of weapons and military equipment to the Syrian army,
- Turkey's territory, airspace and territorial waters in accordance with international law to prevent the transfer of weapons and military material made from third countries through the use of Syria,
- Freezing relations with the Central Bank of Syria,
- Halt the financial assets of the Syrian government assets in Turkey,
- Stopping credit relations with the Syrian government,
- Discontinuation of transactions with Syria Trade Bank, excluding current transactions,
- Suspension of the Eximbank loan agreement signed for financing infrastructure projects in Syria.[1123]

Due to Turkey to take these sanctions, Syria has suspended the Free Trade Agreement and also the Council of Ministers has taken several sanctions resolutions against Turkey. Besides, Assad regime closed two border doors for crossings.[1124] In following of this process, the Turkey-Syria relations were very strained which already entered into a total impasse by lowering the Turkish aircraft by Syria in June of 2012. The ongoing conflicts have even reached the borders of Turkey from time to time. Even the occasional boundary violations have occured and several shells fell on the territory of Turkey. [1125] Following these developments, Turkey has sought to rules of engagement to respond instantly border with Syria in the framework of atillery. However, no severe hard power was applied during this period. Tension also has not been falling as of the

[1122] Keskin, M. (nd.). *Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye Suriye İlişkileri*, Akademik Perspektif Dergisi.
[1123] T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı. Türkiye İle Ticaret. Türkiye-Rusya Dış Ticaret Değerleri (milyon $), *ibid.*
[1124] Koşar, *ibid.*, 2017:36.
[1125] Sözcü. (2014). Suriye Sınırının Ötesi Cehennem Gibi. https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/genel/suriye-sinirinin-otesi-cehennem-gibi-605822/., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.

beginning of 2016 and it seemed that Turkey has entered a new phase with controversial interventions that were argued in Turkey's domestic political discourse.[1126]

Turkey's Syria policy followed until then, has faced some criticism both in domestic and foreign perspective. Turkey's statements that Assad would leave his mission as soon as possible, has been the most critized point of Turkey. According to some experts, Turkey has taken an early position against Assad and could not get a result of its policies against Assad by not analyzing the process correctly.[1127] In this case, it has been effective that Turkey could not analyze correctly the strength of Assad regime, condition of opponents and the capacity of international actors.[1128] Some experts have also been announced as staying in purgatory Turkey's Syria policy.[1129]

In this context, it can be said that these policies, which had been implemented until that day, did not bring any conclusion to the sides in solving the crisis. However, the milestone of Syrian civil war in terms of other countries but especially Turkey, has began Syrian refugees to arrive in various countries starting from April 2011. This situation is quite significant for the course of the war, the crisis has turned into a concern about the future of refugees outside Syria, rather than the solution of it within the borders of Syria. Turkey, in this case due to the fact that the borders with Syria, has become an important actor. Since the beginning of the crisis, the Turkish government has adopted an approach consistent with the international law and universal principles that open borders for people fleeing from persecution and that will remain until the end, that will also cover basic needs of incoming and that no one will be forced back.[1130] Within this context, the first mass population movements from Syria to Turkey with a group of 252 people took place on 29 April 2011 and then this escape continued to increase in the years following.[1131] Although some restrictioms after 2016, this asylum-friendly policy have increased the number of refugees in Turkey dramtically.[1132] Today, in Turkey who recognize the legal right of residence to 600 thousand foreigners already, the number of refugees has exceed 3

[1126] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.
[1127] Koşar, *ibid.*, 2017:36.
[1128] Ertuğrul, D. (2012). Türk Dış Politikası İçin Bir Test: Suriye Krizi. http://tesev.org.tr/tr/yayin/turkiye-dis-politikasi-icin-bir-test-suriye-krizi/., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[1129] Çemrek, M. (2012). *Türk Dış Politikasına Suriye Dönüşümü: Güvenliğe Geri Dönüş*, SDE Analiz, 62.
[1130] Erdoğan, M. Suriyeliler Barometresi, *ibid*, 2.
[1131] Erdoğan, M. Suriyeliler Barometresi, *ibid*, 2.
[1132] Erdoğan, M. Suriyeliler Barometresi, *ibid*, 2.

million 700 thousand.[1133] Whereas, before the Syrians, in April 2011, the number of foreign applicants for international protection in Turkey was only 58 thousand 18 people. Even when considering only Syrians in November 2017 shows that this number exceeds 4% of Turkey's population.[1134] In addition, not only people coming from Syria, the number of babies born in Turkey is increasing the Syrian population in Turkey day by day. For example, the elapsed time from the beginning of the crisis until November 2017, the number of Syrian babies born in Turkey is over 295 thousand. On the other hand, in 2017, this increase continues with 306 births per day.[1135] In other words, the proportion of babies born in 2017 is equal to 37% of the proportion of babies born in the past five years. This is very serious rate. In this context, it can be said that the position of the Syrian refugees in Turkey has become individuals who need all kinds of requirements such as a Turkish citizen.

At this point, it is necessary to mention the policies pursued for Syrians. Of course, the increase of Syrian population within the Turkish population indicates that specific policies institution, the aid and policies pursued will be explained through AFAD.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify that while Turkey was initially performing cross-border aids at the beginning, Turkey has started to concentrate on Syrians within its borders with the increase of refugees in Turkey. However, it also has not cut the aid beyond the bıorders of Turkey and this is still pending at various intervals. Wthin this context, it is necessary to examine the activites of AFAD in two dimensions, in-bound and beyond. In this context, withn the scope of population movements from Syria to Turkey in April 2011; the Syrians arriving in Turkey began to be welcomed in 21 Temporary Shelter Centers located in 10 provinces near the Syrian border by taking under temporary protection.[1136] All the basic and humantarian needs of Syrians in these areas are met by other aid organizations, especially AFAD. For the Syrians located outside these centers, with the crcular no. 2013/8 issued on September 9, 2013, all governors were sent instructions to receive free health services for all non-Syrians in the country.[1137] With the circular dated 17.12.2013 and numbered 2013/12, all governors were sent instructions to be invited

[1133] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Raporu. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/25337/xfiles/17a-Turkiye_deki_Suriyelilerin_Demografik_Gorunumu_Yasam_Kosullari_ve_Gelecek_Beklentilerine_Yonelik_Saha_Arastirmasi_2017.pdf., Date of Access: 17.05.2019.
[1134] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Raporu, *ibid.*
[1135] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Raporu, *ibid.*
[1136] AFAD. Population Influx From Syria to Turkey: Life in Turkey as a Syrian Guest. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/17933/xfiles/population_influx_1_.pdf., Date of Access: 27.05.2019.
[1137] AFAD. Population Influx From Syria to Turkey: Life in Turkey as a Syrian Guest, *ibid.*

Syrians who were out of the centers to the centers located in 10 provinces.[1138] In addition to these official circulars and housing centers, AFAD has also carried out a variety of assistance in a coordinated manner with various institutions and still continues to. In this regard, the assistance of AFAD that have been made over the years are as follows:

In 2013,

- Organization of a Bread Blanket Aid Campaign,
- Establishment of 4 prefabricated schools with 12 classrooms in Ceylanpınar, Viranşehir and Süleyman Şah Temporary Accommodation Centers with the provisional donation of the Kingdom of Belgium,
- Establishment of 3 Prefabricated Schools with 12 classrooms in Kahramanmaraş, Adıyaman and Osmaniye provinces with conditional donation of New Zealand government,
- Obtain and install Laundry and Dishwashing Containers in Viranşehir Temporary Shelter Center with the conditional donation of the MDR Association of Mercy.
- 14.450 Food Package for the Syrian guests living in Hatay with the provisional donation of Kuveyt Türk Participation Bank,
- Receiving and distributing 33,000 food packages within the scope of Humanitarian Aid at Zero Point,
- Feast of candies for our Syrian guests at Temporary Accommodation Centers.

In 2014,

- Establishment of 10 prefabricated schools with 12 classrooms in temporary accommodation centers with conditional grant of UNICEF,
- With the conditional donation of EVKUR, the Syrian guests in the temporary accommodation centers will be paid 20 TL for the AFAD cards,
- 45,000 food parcels received and distributed within the scope of ası Humanitarian Aid to Zero Point.

In 2015,

[1138] AFAD. Population Influx From Syria to Turkey: Life in Turkey as a Syrian Guest, *ibid.*

- 12 classrooms built 13 prefabricated schools in temporary accommodation centers with UNICEF payments conditional donation, and UNICEF built with grants of education of the child care center 3 mobile payments,
- Payments for landscaping work of schools built out of Temporary Shelter Centers with conditional donation by UNICEF,
- Sanitation units (50 WC, 50 bath containers) received in temporary accommodation centers through Korea's conditional donation,
- 3 pieces commissioned by UNICEF grants of mobile simulator payments in 2016;

In 2016,

- Medication for Syrian refugees (150,000),
- Loading of the donation of the Czech Republic to the AFAD Cards of the Syrian refugees,
- Temporary accommodation center installation,
- Accommodation Center transformation (Osmaniye, Kahramanmaraş, Adana)
- Sending money for the purchase of Arabic education kit for Şanlıurfa Governor's Office,
- Payment of Major Music Mobile Truck Sound System,
- Purchase of toys to be sent to Aleppo,
- Adana Sarıçam greenhouse sheltering center application. [1139]

As it can be seen, AFAD'S assistance with other institutions and other countries from 2013 to 2016 varies widely. Within the scope of the zero point humanitarian aid that has been in progress since August 2012, approximately 2.4 billion TL humanitarian aid has been provided to Syria with the contributions of AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent, as well as domestic and foreign non-governemental organizations.[1140] However, as seen again, these aids were usually centered on meeting basic needs in a short time.

It is also necessary to clarify here that even if hard power is entered into the circuit with the Operation Euphrates Shield in 2016, after this period, humanitarian aid that includes soft power still continued. For example, as a result of the operation carried out, infrastructure and

[1139] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2373/files/Suriyeli_Siginmacilara_Yapilan_Yardimlar+7.pdf., Date of Access: 02.05.2019.
[1140] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*

superstructure in the Euphrates Shield region where is removed from the terrorist activities by Turkey and about 1.1. million people live in, were provided by elements of Turkey.[1141] For example, while the humanitarian aid activities in the region are continuing uninterreuptedly by the AFAD Presidency and the elements of the Turkish Red Crescent, support is provided for bread baking and hot meal provision by. NGOs. In addition, for the purpose of storing humanitarian aid, the Logistics Center was established by AFAD on the Kilis-Çobanbey border.[1142] Since the establishment of this Logistics Center, a total of 4,489 units and approximately 232 million TL humanitarian activities have been realized.[1143] Thus, aid was provided to the needy in the 285 villages around the region. Furthermore, in order to ensure the coordination of humanitarian iad activities, a total of 38 personnel have been assigned by the AFAD Presidency.[1144] Moreover, in the region, educational needs have been determined by the Ministry of National Education and in this context, with the support of AFAD, 247 units general purpose tent, 754 family tents and 50 units of generators were delivered to be used in educational studies in the region.[1145]

Olive Branch Operation following the Operation Euphrates Shield is the last of Turkey's operations against Syria. Although this operation also contains significant amount of hard power, humanitarian aid that was realized through this operation has importance. Under favour of this operation started on March 18, 2018, 274 regions were taken under control by Turkish Armed Forces.[1146] Within the scope of Olive Branch Operation, AFAD provided logistical support for the Turkish Armed Forces and friendly staff in accordance with the demands of Kilis, Hatay and Gaziantep Governorates. In this context, 12 shelter areas in Hatay, 6 sheltering areas in Kilis and 2 Temporary Sehlter Centers in Gaziantep were established. In these areas and centers, ground correction, infrastructure and energy needs of the shelter areas and tents, blankets, containers and other needs were met by Provincial Directorates of AFAD.[1147] In addition, the needs of the military personnel in the shelter centers were also met by the Provincial Directorates of AFAD. In this context, during the operation and after that;

- 3 meals a day for 1.350 people in Kilis,

[1141] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1142] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1143] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1144] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1145] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1146] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1147] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*

- 3 hot meals per day for 7,300 persons in Hatay,
- 3 meals daily for 1,800 people in Gaziantep were provided by AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent, other NGOs under the coordination of AFAD[1148].

As a result, humanitarian assistance activities have been carried out by AFAD, Turkish Red Crescent and various NGOs since January 29, 2018 under the coordination of AFAD Presidency in the context of developments in Afrin. Until today, distribution of humanitarian aid material was conducted at 337 different points by AFAD and throughout its coordinated institutions.[1149]

As mentioned before, although these operations contain hard power, it is important to provide this data for a better examination of the current situation.

At this point, after giving information about the crisis and the assistance of AFAD, it is necessary to evaluate the concrete results of these policies in the context of domestic and and foreign policy. Starting from domestic politics, despite all these assistance and dedication shown in the total, it can be said that the impact of more than 3 million 700 thousand refugees on Turkey have not taken seriously enough, and comprehensive and strategic management of migration have not been implemented. Instead of long-term permanent policies, temporary policies to save the day were adopted aimed at finding solutions as problems arise. This approach is thought to be at risk of creating serious problems. Of course, the extraordinary efforts of Turkish society, public institutions and NGOs since April 2011 are beyond any appreciation. However, despite these efforts, a process based on temporality and naturally adopted short-term policies has been experienced. Despite these efforts are meaningful in the first years of the crisis, but as time goes by, time, resources, labor and generations are lost with these policies. The best example of it is that the Syrian issue was managed under the Presidency of AFAD until the year 2018 -for 7 years namely. AFAD is known as the authority for emergency and could have been true to handle the crisis via AFAD, but how can an issue still be emergency for more than 7 years? In order to find permanent solutions and set up long term persisting policies, this situation had be accepted not as an emergency but as a situation to come over permanently.

If realistic and comprehensive medium and long-term strategies cannot be developed in a short time, it would not be exaggerated to say that the risk of losing peace is very high. Because, in

[1148] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1149] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*

this sense, it is obvious that the risk of avoidance of compliance policies is more than the risk of compliance policies. There is no doubt that the main reason for the policies that the state has to build on the transience is due to the unforeseen processs in the crisis in Syria. However, as mentioned earlier, although these policies were effective in the first years of the crisis, the next process should be structured over the Syrians who do no have the intention to return to their country and more than 3 million 700 thousand people in Turkey.[1150]

Undoubtedly, the first issue to be discussed is the economy in this context. To explain the stiuation better, according to a study done by the University of Cologne, the annual cost of a refugee in Germany was calculated as € 15,000, € 1,250 per month, and € 41 per day. In this case, it is understood that 507 thousand Syrian refugees in Germany cost Germany € 7.6 billion per year. 3.7 million Syrians in Turkey in case of the cost of this year 55.4 billion € in Germany. If an account is made between 2011-2017 in Germany with the assumption that the Syrians in Turkey, then it means that the annual cost of the refugees would be 9.2 billion €.[1151] As can be seen, the cost of Syrians is quite high for Turkey. In this context, it is quite obvious that Turkey needs supports to deal with this situation. It can be said that Turkey has a serious disadvantage in terms of being Syria's neighbor compared to non-bordering countries. In fact, the UN has a plan which is called the Regional Refugee and Resillience Plan that provides support for the countries where asylum seekers go and increase their resilience.[1152] In this context, the agreement took place on March, 2016 between the EU and Turkey also includes the same logic. However, contrary to the real purpose of the plan, the EU aimed to externalize the refugee problem with a partial financial support and was largely successful.[1153] However, it is obvious that the issue could not be regarded as a success for Turkey and other neighborng countries, although it is perceived as success for the EU, because Turkey could receive only 331 million dollars which is 37% of the US 890 million requested.[1154] At this point it can be said that economically developed / wealthy countries have not only strengthened their borders and excluded the issue, but have remained quite distant to provide financial support to countries that are close to Syria and have become the victims of open door policy. [1155]

[1150] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.
[1151] Erdoğan, *ibid.*, 2017:12-13.
[1152] 3RP. Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan. http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org., Date of Access: 26.05.2019.
[1153] Sadık, G. & Zorba, H. (2017). Humanitarian Diplomacy for Syrian Refugees and Turkey-EU Relations. *The Journal of Migration Studies,* 3(2), 29.
[1154] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1155] Sadık & Zorba, *ibid.*, 2017:33-34.

According to the results of the cost analysis study, the humanitarian crisis of Syria has cost more than 30 billion USD to Turkey. Within this amount, public expenditure, security, health, education, municipality, donation campaigns, NGO aid and Syrian zero point humanitarian aid are included. In addition, if the opportunity cost (the amount that is considered to be converted into investment) is added to the total amount, 38 billion USD is reached.[1156] Starting from here, when the money spent by Turkey and incoming foreign aid are compared, it seems that the crisis has serious impact on Turkey's economy. Another problem that arises here is the lack of transparency. This makes the questionable credibility of the cost calculations put forward by Turkey. [1157] However, although the Turkish state does not provide direct financial support for refugees, it can be estimated that the total cost item is even higher. For example, if a calculation is made based on the above calculations and the daily cost of a refugee is calculated as 10 Euro instead of 41 euro in Germany, it is seen that since 2011 the total of Syrian cost for Turkey is at least 50 billion Euro.[1158] However, according to the statement made by government, Turkey spent $ 2.3 billion through AFAD, $ 6 billion as municipal services and $ 1.2 billion through NGOs for Syrian people.[1159] So in this case, the remaining cost is not directly but indirect costs.

There is no doubt that the imbalance in the financial burden sharing is disturbing, but the financial burden is met in some way, but the more important problem is the other risks.[1160] For example, social, economic, political and especially security risks are the most worrisome in mass migration.[1161] Since 2011, further increasing the number of Syrians every update since spread to every part of Turkey have started to establish their new lives. In other words, sociology has bagun to experience its own reality without waiting for politics.[1162] While refugees living in the camps are more of a problem in economic terms, asylum seekers who come to the cities constitute an important problem with the problems experienced in the relations with the local people and the inability to comply with the political, social and social order in the country.[1163] While the integration of Syrian refugees with a good economic situation is relatively easier, the economic situation of the majority of Syrian refugees is poor due to the war. While some of the asylum seekers who settle in the city with their relatives, a significant number of them have to

[1156] Erdoğan, *ibid.*, 2017:13.
[1157] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1158] Erdoğan, *ibid.*, 2017:13.
[1159] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1160] Erdoğan, *ibid.*, 2017:7.
[1161] Erdoğan, *ibid.*, 2017:13.
[1162] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1163] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:11.

live in very bad conditions.[1164] Accordingly, this situation lead to various social problems by complicating their integration into society. For instance, the incidents such as robbery and extortion in the instances of Syrians who are not in good financial condition with the instinct of hunger awaken a great resonance in local people and this situation is frequently reflected in the press.[1165]

At this point, after evaluating the internal dimension of the policies pursued, it is necessary to evaluate the external dimension. Firstly, this crisis hampered the process of economic integration that Turkey began in the region and in this context Turkey's ties with Syria seriously damaged commercial.[1166] Economic relations between Syria-Turkey, which began to recover after 1998 in parallel with the Turkey-Syria relations, have also started to develop after the JDP. An important period began in 2004 when the free trade agreement was signed and this agreement came into force in 2007. The trade volume, which was around 800.000.00 dollars by 2007, exceeded the one billion dollar limit.[1167] During this period, the Turkey-Syria relations in parallel showed great progress politically, there have been significant developments in trade between the two countries. In 2009, together with the establishment of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, the two countries cooperated in economic and commercial fields and the trade volume began to grow rapidly. In 2010, trade volume between Turkey and Syria increased by 30% compared to 2009 and reached the level of 2.5 billion dollars.[1168] However, this situation did not continue for a long time and the conomic and commercial relations between the two countries came to a breakaway point. In addition to this, Syria-Turkey border crossings are the doors that allow Turkey to open to the Arab World and Syria to open to Europe at the same time. However, many logistic companies using these gates are negatively affected by the closure of borders due to the crisis.[1169] They also use foreign logistics firms, especially in the passage of trucks carrying goods transiting Turkey to Syria from Europe provides income to the economy of Turkey. There have also been significant reductions in these revenues after the crisis.[1170]

[1164] Yılmaz, H. (2013). *Türkiye'de Suriyeli Mülteciler: İstanbul Örneği, Tespitler, İhtiyaçlar ve Öneriler,* Mazlumder Raporu, 3.
[1165] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yapılan Yardımlar, *ibid.*
[1166] Sandıklı & Semin, *ibid,* 203.
[1167] Yeşilyurt, N. (2013). *Ortadoğu İle İlişkiler*, Editionn Oran (der.) , Türk Dış Politikası, İletişim, 3, 421.
[1168] Yeşilyurt, *ibid.,* 2013. 421.
[1169] Reçber, K. & Ayhan, V. (2013). Türkiye İle Suriye Arasındaki Krizin Hatay Bölgesi Üzerindeki Etkileri. *Alternatif Politika,* 5, 3.
[1170] Reçber & Ayhan, *ibid.,* 2013:3.

Tos um up, it is possible to say that, at the beginning of the crisis, Turkey formed a policy through diplomacy and communication in order not to damage its own economic investments in Syria and the instability in Syria will not affect itself in terms of security. In implementing this policy, Turkey tried to act as required by the JDP's foreign policy vision. However, Turkey has gone to a policy change by thinking that it cannot remain spectators to the increasing violence of the regime in Syria. This policy changing of Turkey has affected the relations with other various states, primarily its border neigbors.[1171] If we look from this perspective, Turkey's current situation which is trying to make a breakthrough in the foreign policy with the understanding of zero problems, does not seem at all pleasant. On the one hand, it fell into a state of confrontation with ISIS at the very bottom of its border, and on the other hand, it was confronted with a new Kurdish formation, which began to form in the North of Syria and progressed rapidly towards autonomy.[1172] In addition, all these have brought along with a refugee crisis that cannot be carried out with a healthy process. Naturally, Although Turkey perform serious assistance and fairly large budget in this context, it faces many negativities in the shadow of this crisis which remains uncertain if and when it will end.

As a result, the Syrian crisis has shown that the Middle East is a boiling cauldron that continues to boil constantly.[1173] In this context, it will be seen that the solution of the problems that arise in a region very open to the intervention of internal and external actors such as Middle East, will not be easy to look at historically. [1174] Even if it is not possible to see the actual economic cost of this crisis, it can be said that the re-establishment of feeling of trust between the people and damage caused, is not a situation to be caught immediately after the end of the crisis,[1175]and thus, the above-mentioned losses will continue to increase particularly in terms of Turkey. In this context, in order to eliminate negative feedback of Syria policy, Turkey first internationally should take the initiative in order to meet at a common point in cooperation with the actors that on a global scale and countries in the region, and within the borders of the country, it should both facilitate the management of the current crisis and conduct the mobility of the huge scale

[1171] Ayhan, V. (2011a). Suriye Krizinin Ankara Şam İlişkilerine Etkisi. *Dış Politika Analiz, ORSAM,* 1.
[1172] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.
[1173] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.
[1174] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.
[1175] Altundeğer & Yılmaz, *ibid.*, 2016:291.

reached approximately 4.5% of the population in a healthy way by developing cohesion policies with a national line, which it will not frustrate its activities and serious effort to date.[1176]

[1176] AFAD. Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Raporu, *ibid.*

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of power is an explanatory concept that is frequently used in international policy analysis. Since international relations do not have a central authority to support certain legal rules and sanctions, each state seeks security and power to maintain its existence and to take its place in the global system. In this context, a central importance is attached to the concept of power in theoretical approaches. However, these power searches in theory have varied over time in terms of transforming potential power elements into practice in power. The concept of power, associated with the military power and capabilities that the realist approach cares about for a long time has turned into new dimensions in the framework of the needs and events of international politics.

The concept of soft power, which forms the basis of this thesis, constitutes the first of these dimensions. This concept, which was formed by the American political scientist Joseph Nye in the early 1990s, has reached a significant area of influence with the increase in recognition in the international literature from this date, although its foundations have been based on very old times. With this interaction, the importance of the hard power that emerged as the most effective force throughout history, and especially during and after the two world wars which have devastated the world, has been declined due to the multipolar structure of the global system, the increasing influence of international organizations and remaning the military capacity in the background. Thus, the concept of soft power, which provides self-expansion with this way, has started to be seen as a concept that we often encounter in state policies. However, the dissemination of the concept and its increasing awareness in the international arena has not been enough to save the concept from its ambiguous meaning. Although the concept has been frequently identified by other thinkers but especially its creator and has been discussed many times in the international arena, it has not been established a meaning agreed on the concept. Within this framework, the concept is implemented by perceiving in different ways by countries.

However, this concept has also been faced with various struggles over time, as no concept and theory in international relations give the desired results completely in practice. Since the two countries came to the forefront in the context of soft power in terms of the unity of the thesis, and the 9/11 event is of great importance for the United States and other countries within its

sphere of influence. In fact, this event was not only on the basis of the countries, but has also been influential in creating policies that would take effect the international arena. In this way, the concept of smart power, which constitutes another dimension of power, has been formed. This concept, which is basically connected with soft power, is distinguished from it, due to the inclusion of hard power instrumentals with the idea that soft power policies cannot deliver the expected effect. According to this, the investment for global good in the changing world should be completed with more investment in the military and econoic power and turned into a smarter power. However, at this point it should be noted that while the world has not yet established an exact definition of the concept of power, the creation of such a concept in the United States territory is no other than the construction of a framework in which Washington's global challenges will be addressed,[1177] and in the context of this thesis, the focus has been on soft power and its returns, and the elaborate study of smart power is another issue to be handled.

As mentioned above, the concept of soft power which faced various obstacles from time to time and even in 2019 does not have an agreement in terms of international literature has an important place in the state policies despite all these. And this important place is provided by various means of soft power. Although the means of soft power vary from one country to another and from one thinker to another, as in its meaning, there are several tools agreed upon. Public diplomacy, which is outside the traditional diplomacy that builds deep-rooted relations with the institutions it aims to establish, promotes the international interests of a country and provides the circulation of ideas, constitutes one of the most basic of them. This concept, which emerged as an important soft power tool in this context, began to attract the attention of both academia and the media contrary to the emergence of smart power in the light of the policies of soft power especially after the attacks on the World Trade Center in America on September 11, 2011. However, as in the concept of soft power itself, this concept is also a long-standing concept since soft power policies are implemented in the past.

In parallel with the growing importance of soft power, an approach which is more robust, facing the outside world and based on the values of the state, by revising its policies in all areas should be adopted. A modern synthesis, which can unite national values and global trends together in the same perspective, will be able to provide a better position to a state in the new world order. The way to this is to move away from the tendencies of authoritarianism and to pursue a more

[1177]Akıllı Güç (Smart Power), http://uliwiki.org/index.php?title=Akıllı_Güç_(Smart_Power), Date of Access: 05.02.2019.

peaceful and pro-stability policy inside within the more reformist and libertarian policy outside.[1178] A number of political tools are needed for this and Public Diplomacy comes foremost among these because it is the most effective and most comprehensive way to tell the story of a country to the rest of the world.

Despite the close cooperation between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy, there are differences in terms of the causes of both processes and their application methods. As Erzen points out, the trappings of traditional diplomacy to governments and official institutions, which an individual country might develop with another country, are inversely related to the communication process that public diplomacy tries to develop with civilian organizations. The public diplomacy aims to win the public, not directly governments, at the point of reaching long-term strategic goals of the countries, thus creating influence and pressure on the governments.[1179] In today's world, a new public diplomacy is mentioned, which means that apart from the state and international organizations, civil society, traditional media and social media, different actors like the individual are included in the process of producing or influencing foreign policy.

Another point is that public diplomacy is usually confused with propaganda. Contrary to public diplomacy, the word of propaganda, which provides information that will affect its own mass, rather than providing impartial information, has a strong negative meaning. However this is nothing less than to reduce the value of public diplomacy and facilitate the term because even though propaganda has a more radical history than public diplomacy, public diplomacy is fundamentally seperated from propaganda in terms of its objectives and means, and it is not right to dissolve such a term in the same negative way.

Public diplomacy is carried out through various channels and techniques. International publishing, scientific and cultural student exchange programs, scholarships, participation of artists and intellectuals in conferences, festivals or exhibitions, commercial cooperation, establishment of common associations, learning a language, establishment of cultural centers can be counted among public diplomacy initiatives.[1180] Starting from this, it can be concluded that official political relations are closely linked with other actors rather than just national governments. Along with public diplomacy, a change from traditional diplomacy at the state level to diplomacy at the level of people-citizens is observed. However, given that states are still

[1178] Örmeci, *ibid.*, 2014.
[1179] Erzen, *ibid.*, 2012:103.
[1180] Eytan, G. (2006). Public Diplomacy: The Missing Component in Israel's Foreign Policy. *Israel Affairs*, 3, 717.

the most influential international actors, it is not possible to say that public diplomacy works are carried out without the hands of the state. Save that, the success of public diplomacy is measured not by the operational success of the state itself, but by the institutions that the state supports and determines their strategies. These institutions range from the institutions in which the state imposes public diplomacy to those in which the state is connected but left independent. In other words, public diplomacy policies are long-term, but the success of these policies in terms of public diplomacy can be achieved by structures supported by the state but also by autonomous structures, not by the structures where the institutions of state are highlighted. It is possible to reach this result through the soft power institutions of the two countries, which are examined throught the thesis, Germany and the United States. For example, GİZ, one of Germany's independent development agencies, has shown an autonomous poisition in the field of international development co-operation by receiving the state support, or another example that can be given in this context is the institutions that are supported by the political parties that make up the government but still act with their autonomous presence abroad.

One of the most powerful tools of public diplomacy is, beyond any doubt, humanitarian diplomacy, at which Turkey shows great performance. Although, there is still not a consensus on the perfect definition of the term, there are some general acceptances over it and it would not be wrong to say that humanitarian diplomacy is a multifaceted concept and that different inferences can be deduced from each definition. In humanitarian diplomacy there is a cooperation and harmony between the diplomatic actors and civilian actors in order to achieve the same goals. The ultimate goal in humanitarian diplomacy is not only to prevent the crisis by providing humanitarian aid in crisis region but also to make a attempt to create a broad sense of awareness for that country by organizing regional and international meetings. Humanitarian diplomacy serves to protect vulnerable people involved in civil conflict, war and natural disasters and to fulfill their needs. Though, humanitarian aid is a strong resposibility, while made by and in true channels it is also a part of diplomacy.

From the top title "soft power" to the sub-headings "public diplomacy" and "humanitarian diplomacy" the fact which holds its own value is the consistency. When practices are consistent to the goals of the state both in and out of the borders, then it could be said that the soft power policies are to be successful. Launching a system is the keypoint. Only by a system that includes a powerful strategy and a consistent policy it is possible to achive the long term goals. Taking this fact into consideration, a state, first, constitute a national public diplomacy strategy and

policy before trying to create the state's brand internationally. In other words, if a state wants to get the perfect result from the works it has done; it has to see the big picture. For this; the country should consider all factors at the same time, act in an inclusive manner by respecting the superiority of law both in and out of the country. Because, the real soft power is to be a country where rule of law is processed, the needs of the citizens are prioritized, and trusted democracy is instituted. When these requirements are not installed, then all the policies that are held in the name of public diplomacy are condemned to be imperial policies.

Keeping this aside, when we look at the soft power policies, specifically humanitarian diplomacy activities, it is better to draw a general picture firstly. Turkey, geographically and historically been at the very center of the world and has opened its doors to anyyone in need without any consideration of language, nation or religion. As well as being the cradle of civilizations, it has been a safe harbour to countless people fleeing from wars, poverty, natural disasters and difficult situations. Now, modern Turkey, as the inheritor of such civilization, humanely response to any kind of humanitarian crisis at every edge of the World without interrogating the religions, nations, colors, beliefs or ethnic roots of the victims as much as it can.

To specify the recent public diplomacy journey of Turkey, structuring of public diplomacy that emerged rather late period in Turkey, is actually a result of the international policy conducted in Turkey in recent years. With the change starting with the 1980s in the Turkish Foreign Policy, policies to become active playmaker have begun to be pursued in international politics and high-level political dialogue in regional policies and security for all mutual economic dependency and policies to protect multiculturalism have been tried to be carried out moving away from the static policies in the Cold War period.[1181] As a reflection of these policies increased communication and relationship-building requirements have necessitated the understanding and practice of public diplomacy for Turkey.

In this context, Turkey has spent the period from the coming of the JDP to the power to the outbreak of the Syrian crisis in 2011 in establishing the public diplomacy system. In this process Turkey has tried to be institutionalized in this aspect specifically, and thus, it caught the chance to meet the modern needs. In this sense, Public Diplomacy Office has been established within the Prime Ministry and this institution has carried out various activities, but now this institution has been transformed into the Chairmanship of Communication and acts in a manner that

[1181] Zengin, G. (2010). *Hoca, Türk Dış Politikasında Davutoğlu Etkisi*. İstanbul: İnkilap Yayınları.

supports the policies of the government rather than acting as an institution of the state. Whereas, from the point of the long term success of the public diplomacy, it is better that the states are forefront rather than the governments.

Another example is that Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities which is another institution serving in this context, has become an institution which provides scholarships especially today instead of keeping Turkish people abroad connected with their countries, which is the main establishment purpose of the institution. From this point of view, it can be concluded that the establishment purpose of the institution is not parallel with its practices. In addition, these practices are carried out through a budget based on ideological grounds. The reason for this is the realization of the assistance provided especially for African students.[1182] Another institution, TİKA, which takes a significant share of the state budget, while it has a potential to provide significant grants, it is faced with an inability to create a major Turkish lobby outside the borders of Turkey with its activities carried out so far.[1183]

At this point, it is necessary to mention about the results achieved in terms of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy policy constitutes an important branch of public diplomacy. Undoubtedly, Turkey, in the process of developing public diplomacy, has attributed humanitarian diplomacy as an important task for itself. Especially during the period when Ahmet Davutoğlu was Minister of Foreign Affairs and continued his duty as Prime Minister, important remarks were made an important steps were taken on behalf of humanitarian diplomacy. The policy he built on, still being held in various different forms, proved to be beyond realism in time. Indeed, the cylical developments in the neighboring regions of Turkey opened the door for such policies; it would not be wrong to claim that global and regional alterations determined the inner argument mostly. In respect of public policy initiatives, Turkey started to act like a superpower both in discourse and expenditures. But the important point to be kept in mind was that Turkey's resources and amenities were of a middle power. The failure of most policies are most probably all because of this fact.

[1182] Hürriyet. (2018c). Türkiye'ye Gelen Yabancı Öğrenci Sayısı Beş Kat Arttı. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/egitim/turkiyeye-gelen-yabanci-ogrenci-sayisi-5-kat-artti-40777430., Date of Access: 04.06.2019.

[1183] TİKA. TİKA Faaliyet Raporu 2017. https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Faaliyet%20Raporu/TİKA%20Faaliyet%20Raporu%202017.pdf., Date of Access: 04.06.2019.

Turkey, starting especially after the year 2016, increased the aid it financially made from 3.2 billions of dollars[1184] to 6 billions of dollars with a %53 rice in ratio.[1185] According to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report of 2018, Turkey has taken the title of the most generous country in the world with $8.07 billion dollars in Humanitarian Aid.[1186]

In this context, it can be said that Turkey makes significant investments in terms of humanitarian aid as a foreign policy tool, and carries Turkey to a unique place in the state policy when compared with other countries. For example, Turkey's assistance carried out in 2016, although a smaller amount compared to other years, it corresponds to the following figures:

- About 3 times the budget of the Directorate of Religious Affairs,
- 2 times the budget of the Ministry of Justice,
- A little less than the budget of the General Directorate of Security,
- Approximately 9 times the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism,
- The all budget of the two major investor organizations such as DSI (State Hydraulic Works) and TCK (Turkish State Highway Commission),
- Two-thirds of the 2016 budget deficit[1187],
- According to the assumption that the cost of the minimum wage was about 1300 Turkish Liras in that year, this figure corresponds to almost 14 million times the minimum wage.[1188]

Here a crucial question arouses: In a country where 20% of its own citizens are below the hunger thereshold[1189] how meaningful is it to possess the title of the "most generous country" in aspect of helping the people outside the country and the foreign people living in Turkey?

Before passing on the answer to such a question, it is necessary to evaluate the AFAD institution, which is the main subject of this thesis. In the context of this thesis, there is a particular reason why the AFAD institution is addressed. This thesis is also a research to question the

[1184] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, (2016). http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Global-Humanitarian-Assistance-Report-2016.pdf., Date of Access: 04.06.2019.
[1185] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2017.
[1186] AFAD News. The Most Generous Country in the World, *ibid.*
[1187] Saygılıoğulu, N. (2017). Türkiye'nin Dış Yardımları ve Suriye Üzerine. *Dünya.* https://www.dunya.com/kose-yazisi/turkiyenin-dis-yardimlari-ve-suriye-uzerine/389016., Date of Access: 05.06.2019.
[1188] Muhasabe 7 News. (2017). Figures are accounted according to the avarage exchange rate of the year 2016. https://www.muhasebenews.com/ortalama-doviz-kuru-programi/., Date of Access: 09.06.2019.
[1189] Tüketici Dernekleri Federasyonu. Basın Açıklaması. http://www.tudef.org.tr/haberler/basinaciklamalari.2018.10.16.html., Date of Access: 09.06.2019.

competencies of AFAD. AFAD, which was founded to be served in emergency and disaster situations, emerges as an important tool of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. In this context, it serves in many ways in many regions, with the exception of the regions and the nations discussed above specifically. Another handicap emerges here, which leads us that the service area of the institution is not fully defined. AFAD is an institution established to serve in case of emergency and disaster.[1190] However, with the decision no. 34202324-10.06.02-27767, it was decided that AFAD had important missions on Syria and that the issue would be carried out under its own influence.[1191] The fact that AFAD takes part in the main duty of such serious works and that it stands out in the field of humanitarian aid, affects negatively the role of its main job, which is the disaster management and operations, and its activity in a country like Turkey most affected by natural disasters. Whereas in such a country, the sole task of an organization established for such a purpose should be to manage disasters. When the task area of the institution is separated with humanitarian aid or other related situations, just as in the Adıyaman Samsat Earthquake, the problems associated with domestic politics are emerging. This leads us to the conclusion that domestic policy is complementary to foreign policy and that when the embracing policy applied in foreign policy is not used in the same way inland, then its effectiveness decreases. In other words, Turkey cannot play in the same way that the attitude exhibited outside of its territory and this causes inconsistency in its policy. In Syrian case, which is deeply handled under previous chapters; there is another important point to be discussed: the issue was seen as an emergency situation for more than 7 years which was surreal. This led both Turkish citizens and the Syrians become nervous and worried as all the burden of almost 4 million Syrians have been shouldered without developing a permanent and concrete policy. On one side are the Syrians who were not given legal status or work permit of some of which have been living in the containers in the camps for years, on the other side are the Turkish people who are waiting this long visit of the Syrians end soon of whose expenses are covered by their own gross income.

Another point is that, while AFAD has its own budget and additionally to this it has a special budget for these kind of aids apart from receiving international financial aids to be given to the needy ones; AFAD, especially in recent years, This brings to mind the question whether AFAD is an NGO or a public institution. If AFAD is to act as an NGO or if it is to act as a government

[1190] AFAD. AFAD Hakkında, *ibid.*

[1191] AFAD. Geçici Koruma Altındaki Yabancılara İlişkin Hizmetlerinin Yürütülmesi. https://www.afad.gov.tr/upload/Node/2311/files/Gecici-Koruma_Altindaki_Yabancilara_Iliskin_Hizmetlerin_Yurutulmesi_2014-4_.pdf., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.

should be well clarified and this is the only way to determine the realm of the authority and reach the specific goals of the State itself.

> One of the advantages that Turkey has a flexible humanitarian assistance system as regards to regulations, budget and the decision-making process. These characteristics facilitate swift and prompt humanitarian assistance. In regards with the aspect of funding, there exists a fund allocated humanitarian assistance operations which can be transferred to any government or non-governmental organization for this purpose in accordance with the relevant legislation. This fund -we called special budget here-, is used not only in project based operations, but also for fulfilling urgent humanitarian needs, facilitates to act in a speedy manner in humanitarian operations.[1192]

Though this situation increases the fast-moving capacity of Turkey, in parallel with this advantage, a handicap is raised within the same context. Due to lack of adequate supervision of the expenses made by AFAD and propriety audit is not done by none of the authorities; all good practices are gone under question. As explained clearly in the previous chapters, in the USA and Germany cases it is far different. The activities carried out under the soft power framework are supervised by the Ministry of Development Aid in Germany and in the USA, humanitarian aid is overseen by the Government Accountability Office. Both institutions work on the basis that the aid will be in favor of the country and that the allocated budgets will be spent correctly. In Turkey, although the budgets of the government agencies are audited by the Court of Account, there is no similar institution specifically examining AFAD's activities in the context of humanitarian aid. However, the audit carried out by the Court of Account is only in the form of compliance with the law, but it is deprived of the authority to carry out an on-site inspection in terms of form and procedure.[1193] Whereas the State Supervisory Council has the authority to carry out an on-site inspection, but an institution such as AFAD, which carries out activities involving significant amounts of aid and serious costs, has not been subjected to such supervision.

At this juncture, it would be beneficial to touch upon the transperancy and accountability issues of AFAD's budget. Although, every year it is given a significant amount of budget for general purposes; AFAD also has a special budget disparately. And this budget has not a limit and is determined according to the emerging situations. But when the reports of Court of Accounts are well analyzed -as mentioned deeply above- it will be seen that there is not an audit mechanism if these expenses are made appropriately and these expenses are not called into question. The only perspective of the audit is procedural review and according to the reviews written in the reports, it is clearly seen that the accounting of these expenses have not been made. This situation makes us

[1192] Turkish Humanitarian Policy. *ibid.*
[1193] T.C. Sayıştay Bakanlığı. Sayıştay'ın Görevleri. https://www.sayistay.gov.tr/tr/?p=2&CategoryId=73., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.

question if humanitarian aids done by AFAD are truly and properly customized to the soft power goals of Turkey.

It sould also be mentioned that one of the biggest challenge on Turkey's soft power is the limited capacity of civil society's freedom of movement. NGOs need to act more autonomously within such policies but of course under the control of the state as seen in the USA and German cases. However, when the whole thesis examined, it is concluded that NGOs in Turkey fall too far behind the state institutions in the context of soft power policies. As mentioned in the German context, for the success of public diplomacy, it is more appropriate that government itself is not directly in the limelight. Of course, the institutionalization of the NGOs in Turkey are not in the same pace when compared with their counterparts in the developed countries. Here the important point is that the governments in the developing countries should be in the position of supporting and coordinating the NGOs while aids are given by the hands of the NGOs mostly.

However, Turkey is trying to carry out to realize policies in the field of soft power through the state, as well as on many issues. In this context, soft power policies are seen as an activity that tries to brighten political parties and the government. Whereas these policies should be long-term policies of states, because when it is focused on polishing these political parties and governments, then it is expected to get results in the short term and thus foreign policy becomes part of domestic political accounts. In this context, especially starting from the examples given in the whole thesis, it is possible to state that the process which is starting with Ahmet Davutoğlu's policy, Zero Problems with neighbors and bringing the humanitarian diplomacy to Turkey's new role, failed to meet the expectations as desired and in this context turned into a process involving ineffective policies while making Turkey lonelier despite its great efforts. At this point, it should be mentioned that soft power policies do not only include the countries that are applied and implemented, but also they have to potential to affect relations with other countries as it is a foreign policy on the main basis. Starting from the example of Somalia, it is reached to the conclusion that many countries thought that Turkey realized all the assistance to increase its prestige in the region. For this reason, Turkey has faced many problems on this situation with many Eastern Arab countries. This well proves the nature of the soft power policies: external aid can sometimes cause problems with other countries apart from the target country or sometimes with the governments of the target country itself. The case of Myanmar for instance; it is said that Turkey's humanitarian aid in the region is not supported by the Myanmar government and that even carries risk at some points for Turkey. Because, according to the rulers in especially democratically underdeveloped geography, the community (people) is the structure to be controlled, not to be served as mentioned beforehand.

Yet, it does not mean to stop applying soft power policies in such kind of countries, it only means that risks and disadvantages should be well analyzed in order not fail.

These leads us to the conclusion as following; Turkey has determined humanitarian diplomacy, which constituted an important sub-field of public diplomacy, as a task for itself especially in the process that JDP jump-started. Although this was a late move in the context of understanding the importance of public diplomacy, it established various institutions to use the strategic power of the 21st century and in this context it has chosen to construct the system. However, this system, which was designed in a short time, still did not give the expected results despite the serious figures and efforts. Although Turkey made the biggest amount of help in regard to its gross national product; Turkey, for instance, unfortunately left behind the two countries that built the system well, Germany and the USA, in the Global Humanitarian Assistance Reports with its help, is still far below these countries in the passport value index list.[1194] This, of course, is not the only valid scale factor in the context of soft power. There are many elements that guide foreign policy. Yet, the elements that make such large investments and are effective in determining state policies must produce equally or at least close amounts of output. In this context, not only in the list of passport value index, in quite a few areas we see similar pictures. For example, despite Turkey has been making the most effort on Syria and is hosting the most Syrian refugees, it has been unable to obtain the expected support in the international arena and failed to get what was foreseen. This situation has the capacity to affect not only the diplomatic field but also many other fields. For example, going on comparing the countries handled in the thesis, the USA has received a total of 258 Nobel prizes in 5 fields so far, while Germany has 80 Nobel prizes.[1195] On the other hand, onlt two Turkish people won the Nobel prizes so far[1196] which makes people question the amount of investments made on human resources and research fields . Another example is that, although Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, which is founded with the goal of improving relations with citizens abroad and is a result of soft power workings, performs work on education by moving away from its goal, Turkey, especially when compared with the two countries, namely Germany and the United States, does not have an adequate level of international students. In addition, unlike these two countries, foreign students coming to Turkey is limited to certain locations. For instance, according to UNESCO's 2017 data, while America has 24% of foreign students in the world, Germany has %9. On the contrary, Turkey could not even enter the

[1194] Global Passport Power Rank 2019. https://www.passportindex.org/byRank.php., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.
[1195] The Guardian. (2016). Which Countries Have Had the Most Nobel Prize Winners? https://www.theguardian.com/science/datablog/2016/oct/08/which-countries-have-had-the-most-nobel-prize-winners., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.
[1196] IPFS. List of Turkish Nobel Laureates. https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoypizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/List_of_Turkish_Nobel_laureates.html., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.

most prefferred list of 10 countries.[1197] Here; it would be appropriate to ask the question one more time: which is a better tool of public diplomacy; the number of the foreign university degree students in a country or the rank of the universities of that country in the international index? When universities are developed, students abroad will be more attracted and it is very much fitted to the spirit of the public diplomacy; this both serves to the domestic development and to the international reputation -thus public diplomacy. Priorities should be well concerned and policies should be designed accordingly while budgets are being designed.

It would be helpful to have an overview of comparison of three countries in order to better understand the situation:

Table 2. *Rates of the Humanitarion Aid Amounts to the Gross National Product*

Countries/ GDP and Amount of Humanitarian Aid	Gross National Product 2015	Humanitarian Aid Amount 2015	Gross National Product 2016	Humanitarian Aid Amount 2016	Gross National Product 2017	Humanitarian Aid Amount 2017
TURKEY	859.797 Billion USD[1198]	3.2 Billion USD[1199]	863.722 Billion USD[1200]	6.0 Billion USD[1201]	851.549 Billion USD[1202]	8.0 Billion USD[1203]
	3.70 ‰		**6.94 ‰**		**9.39 ‰**	
GERMANY	3.381 Trillion USD[1204]	1.5 Billion USD[1205]	3.495 Trillion USD[1206]	2.6 Billion USD[1207]	3.693 Trillion USD[1208]	2.9 Billion USD[1209]
	0.44 ‰		**0.74 ‰**		**0.78 ‰**	
The USA	18.219 Trillion USD[1210]	6.4 Billion USD[1211]	18.707 Trillion USD[1212]	6.3 Billion USD[1213]	19.485 Trillion USD[1214]	6.6 Billion USD[1215]
	0.35 ‰		**0.33 ‰**		**0.33 ‰**	

[1197] Study International News. (2014). https://www.studyinternational.com/news/country-home-largest-international-student-population/., Date of Access: 06.06.2019.
[1198] World Bank, Turkey Data. https://data.worldbank.org/country/turkey., Date of Access: 10.06.2019.
[1199] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2016.
[1200] World Bank, Turkey Data. *İbid.*
[1201] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2017.
[1202] World Bank, Turkey Data. *İbid.*
[1203] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, (2018). http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/GHA-Report-2018.pdf., Date of Access: 10.06.219.
[1204] World Bank. Germany Data. https://data.worldbank.org/country/germany., Date of Access: 10.06.2019.
[1205] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2016.
[1206] World Bank. Germany Data, *İbid.*
[1207] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2017.
[1208] World Bank. Germany Data, *İbid.*
[1209] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2018.
[1210] World Bank. The United Satates Data. https://data.worldbank.org/country/united-states., Date of Access: 10.06.2019.
[1211] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2016.
[1212] World Bank. The United Satates Data, *İbid.*
[1213] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2017.
[1214] World Bank. The United Satates Data, *İbid*.
[1215] Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, *ibid.*, 2018.

In the table, three of the states handled in this theses are compared according to the rates of the humanitarian aid amounts to their gross national products in the years of 2015, 2016 and 2017. As obviously seen, Turkey is well ahead of Germany and the USA both at the monetary amount and at its rate to the gross national product. These figures would be much more meaningful when combined with GDP per capitas of the mentioned countries and their unemployment rates in the same years. Because all these issues are strongly related financial issues and cannot be considered without each other in total.

Table 3. *Rates of GDP per capita and Unemployment Total*[1216]

Countries/ GDP per capita and unemploy- ment total	GDP Per capita 2015	Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) 2015	GDP Per capita 2016	Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) 2016	GDP per capita 2017	Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) 2017
Turkey	10,984 USD	10.2 %	10,862 USD	10.8 %	10,546 USD	10.8 %
Germany	41,394 USD	4.6 %	42,443 USD	4.1 %	44,665 USD	3.7 %
The United States	56,803 USD	5.2 %	57,904 USD	4.8 %	59,927 USD	4.3 %

Turkey is this time well behind of the USA and Germany at the amount of GDP per capita and again well ahead at the rate of unemployment. In other words, the more the amount of humanitarian aid of Turkey is, the less GDP per capita becomes and the more unemployment rates are. The conclusion of these two tables could be wrapped up as such:

In the years 2015, 2016 and 2017;

- The amount of Turkey's humanitarian aid conspicuously increased every passing year; such that, while Germany and the USA's aids cannot reach to even 1 ‰ (one in a thousand) in proportion to the gross national income, Turkey's aids reach to 9.39 ‰,
- Unemployment rate in Turkey increased every passing year, while it decreased in Germany and the USA,
- GDP per capita in Turkey decreased every year, while it increased in Germany and the USA,
- Turkey's financial situation and the wealth of its citizens got worse every passing year while Germany and the USA's financial situation and the wealth of their citizens got better.

[1216] World Bank. Datas of GDPs are taken from: World Development Indicators. https://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=NY.GDP.PCAP.CD&country=., Date of Access: 11.06.2019.

Now, considering that these two developed countries both enjoy the prestige of super powers, one cannot stand asking the most crucial question: of the three countries, who is doing the right thing? Public policy goals are as important as the policies inside of course, but the process should worth the investments made. Efforts of the countries could be evaluated from this perspective, the more you put the more you receive. Therefore, it would be useful to highlight once more that humanitarian diplomacy strategies should be well defined and planned by considering all of the factors both in and out of the country.

The conclusion to be summed up from all these statements, it could be claimed that; in a world, where human suffering has reached the highest level since the Second Wold War, be it as a result of natural disaster or armed conflict, 60 million people are displaced due to conflicts and violence, 218 million people each year become victims of natural disasters and the cost of these disasters on the world economy exceeds 300 billion dollars[1217] Turkey's great efforts of humanitarian aids are worthy of commendation. But efforts and investments not always turn into a success in the same way. The point here is to take strategic steps which refers to act according to both necessities and interests.

But well before this, it is highly important to design the institutions properly. Similar institutions which are carrying out similar activities with huge and seperate budgets and without cooperation; should be defined and their field of activity should sharply be drawn. Pre and post activity interrogation system should be launched and transpacency problem should be diminished both at national and international level; if reliablity is to established. The quality and essence of the institutions would clearly help in setting more pragmatic goals and achieving them. Here, the role and working area of AFAD needs to be planned again and its main purpose and priorities shoul clearly be defined. Workload in many different fields is bound to be inefficient.

Apart from these, humanitarian diplomacy is the issue of foreign policy and it is expected to be carried out via experts of foreign policy. Yet, the institutions that are running these policies are far from the management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. AFAD is the best example of this dilemma: its main aim is planning, risk reduction and response to the natural disasters under the coordination of Ministry of the Interior; but it is given the responsibility of foreign humanitarian

[1217] Dünya İnsani Zirvesi. (2016). Zirve Hazırlık Dönemi. http://dizturkiye.org/yeni-calisma-yontemi/hakkinda., Date of Access: 11.06.2019.

aids which is too much risky in constructing foreign relations which is the main working area of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Turning humanitarian aids into a good tool of diplomacy is not always evenly successful due to uprising risks and handicaps. Cost benefit analysis should be well made, risks should be well defined and the conditions and priorities should be well defined. Within this aspect, Turkey still has a way to better explain itself in the context of soft power, which is the phenomenon state polices of the 21st century. Lack of the system and deficits of the strategy are the main reasons of it. In other words, the outputs of the current policies inhold the potential of missing the expected level.

It should never be forgotten that humanitarian diplomacy, which is a part of public diplomacy, is a tool of foreign policy. And foreign policies are set by the states, very firstly, according to the interests of its own citizens. The other side of a strong and powerful foreign policy is to increse the attractiveness capacity of the state in the areas of education, culture, economy, technology and so on, which is referred as soft power. A country should well calculate what it expects before, while and after paying. Without setting a good strategy, it would be far from realism to expect receiving a good result. Big targets need big plans and if a plan is made properly, only than the result is accordingly awarding, otherwise all the efforts and investments are referred to as vain.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name : KARAKOÇ DORA, Zuhal
Nationality : TC
Date of Birth : 21 Mayıs 1983
Date of Place : Kahramanmaraş
Telephone : +903124206729
e-mail : zuhal.dora@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Graduation Year
Master's Degree	Gazi Uni. – Int. Relations	2012
Undergraduate	Anadolu Uni. – Int. Relations	2015
Undergraduate	Anadolu Uni. – Eng. Lang.T.	2005

WORK EXPERIENCE

Institution	Year	Position
TBMM	2019-Ongoing	Deputy President
AFAD	2016-2018	Head of Strategy Development Department
MEB	2014-2016	Head of Department
MEB	2008-2013	AB ve Dış İlişkiler – Görevli Öğretmen
MEB	2006-2007	Project Coordinator – Eng. Teacher

LANGUAGES

English (Advanced) , Arabic (Intermediate)

PUBLICATIONS

Dora, Zuhal. "Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israeli Case", Gazi University, Master's Thesis, 2011.

Karakoç Dora, Zuhal. "Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israeli Case", Akademik Ortadoğu, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2018, p.73-105.

"A field Survey on Demographic View, Life Standards and Future Expectations of the Syrians in Turkey", AFAD, 2017 (Karakoç Dora, Zuhal. Project Team Member)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

"International Conference on Syrian Students in Turkish Higher Education System, Conference Report (Publication), Antakya, 2017. (Karakoç Dora, Zuhal. Invited Speaker.)

"International Symposium on Syrian Refugees, Adaptation and Education," Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ankara 2018, (Karakoç Dora, Zuhal. Invited Speaker)