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OF TURKISH RUSSIAN RELATIONS**

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ÖZET

Bu Tez, 1990’lardan itibaren gelişen Türk-Rus işbirliği sonrası dönemi iki devlet arasındaki ekonomik ilişkilerin gelişmesinin başlangıç noktası olarak iki ülkenin turizm ilişkileri arasındaki sebepleri ve sonuçları araştırmayı hedeflemektedir. 1990 sonrası ekonomik ilişkilerin gelişmesi, siyaset ve iş dünyası ileri gelenlerinin yatırımlarının iki ülke arasında dönem dönem yaşanan krizler sonrası güçlü bir normalleştirme süreciyle devam ettiği gözlenmiştir. Bu tez; iki ülke arasındaki ticari ilişkiler ve turizm alanındaki işbirliklerini inceleyerek bu konuların siyasi problemler üzerinde yaratabileceği pozitif etkiyi düşünmektedir ve bu konudaki iş birliğinin artırılması gerektiğine işaret etmektedir.



ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate what are the reasons and the consequences of the tourism relations between Russia and Turkey in the post-Cold War era. It has been observed that within the development of economic relations after 1990, the investments of politicians and the business world even continued with a strong normalization process after the crises experienced between the two countries. This thesis examined the commercial relations and tourism cooperation between the two countries and considered their positive impact on political problems and points out that the cooperation for developing the relations between these two countries should be increased by examining the commercial relations and tourism collaboration between the two countries.



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INTRODUCTION

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, economic and social linkages between Turkey and Russia were strengthened with growing cooperation. In the post-1990, developing economic relations, energy projects and increasing tourism volume enriched this multidimensional cooperation.

Moreover, while the commercial relations between the two countries are developing rapidly, remarkable progress has been observed in the field of tourism. Tourism has formed a strong link between the two countries. Therefore, the role of tourism is important in the political economy of tourism in Turkish - Russia relations.

However, despite the importance of tourism in bilateral relations, most of the academic literature on Turkish-Russian relations have focused on energy and trade partnerships. Therefore this thesis aims to examine Turkish-Russian tourism relations since the end of the cold war since it understudied. The main research question is what are the reasons and consequences of the tourism relations between these two countries.

The thesis is prepared in the following way; the first chapter gives a historical perspective on Turkish-Russian bilateral relations since the cold war. Turkish-Russian bilateral relations from the trade, energy, education to the military will be explained with historical turning points between these two countries. After the analysis of bilateral relations between the two countries, the importance of tourism in the new world order will be studied.

In the second chapter, a theoretical framework will be established for tourism and cooperation with the liberal approach. Theoretical assumptions will be based on theories of globalization, soft power, and interdependence in international political economy and international relations.

In the third chapter, the case study will be analyzed with the theoretical assumptions. Firstly, the meaning of tourism for Turkey and Russia will be understood and then the evaluation of Turkish-Russia tourism relations from the perspective of soft power and interdependence.

In this context, qualitative and quantitative research methods will be used in this study. Contemporary Turkish-Russian relations library resources, academic studies, newspapers, reports, statistics, and the results of the interviews conducted with experts will be used for analysis. In this context, firstly, Turkish-Russian bilateral relations with historical turning points will be

examined since the cold war. In the next section, it will be questioned international political economic theories for the tourism and cooperation. In the next chapter, after looking at the tourism policies of these two countries, the basis of tourism cooperation between Turkey and Russia will be examined and strengthening factors of this cooperation will try to be explained. It will be concluded with the evaluation of Turkish-Russian tourism relations from the perspective of the International Political Economy in the last chapter.



CHAPTER 1

TURKISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN POST COLD WAR ERA

1. a. Political History of Turkish-Russia Relations since Cold War

In this section, the origins of Turkish-Russian bilateral relations from the trade relations, energy, education to the military will be analyzed to understand the evolution of cooperation between the two states. The political climate of tensions and uncertainty between states had affected their bilateral relations.

Despite the political climate tensions and uncertainty between states, there are some efforts in the field of politics, education, and business by both countries in the 90s. For example, in 1992 after Minister of Foreign Affairs Hikmet Çetin and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel officially visiting Russia, a new important document was signed between the two countries.¹ First of all, the parties called each other “friendly states”. The new text commits solidarity against the attack.² In 1993, Tansu Çiller was hosted as a guest in her capacity as prime minister and in December 1996 as deputy prime minister and foreign minister. On 15-16 December 1997, the president of the Russian Federation Government V.S. Chernomyrdin made an official visit to Turkey. Moreover, in the year 1999, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit visited Moscow and he signed some agreements about the fight against terrorism and international issues.³

In the field of education, various initiatives were started between Turkey and Russia in the 90s. For example, a cooperation agreement was signed between the Turkey Ministry of National Education and RF Higher Education State Committee on 2 November 1994. In 1994, an education consultancy was opened as a subordinate unit of the Embassy of Moscow.⁴

In the field of business, the Turkish-Russian Business Council, which was established on 11 December 1991, has many activities that it has carried out alone, jointly, from state to state relations with various regional or local private or public institutions between 1992-2000. Since the Turkish-Russian Business Council was established, until 2000 business meetings can be seen in the table below.

¹Elif Hatun Kılıçbeyli, “Avrasyacılık: Türkiye ve Rusya’da eski kavramlar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar”, *Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinde İhtilaflı Konular ve Çözümleri*, Ed. Gülten Kazgan, İstanbul, 2008, 29-49, p. 32

²Elnur Hasan Mikail, “Yeni Çarlar ve Rus Dış Politikası”, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2007, p. 251-252.

³Elif Hatun Kılıçbeyli, “Avrasyacılık: Türkiye ve Rusya’da eski kavramlar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar”, p. 32

⁴Ali Başaran, “Siyasi İlişkiler-Kültürel İlişkiler Etkileşimi: Türk-Rus İlişkileri Örneği”, *Avrasya Etüdləri*, Vol.48, 2015, pp. 101-142, p.122

Turkish-Russian Business Council Mutual Meetings

Dates	Places
25-29 September 1992	Antalya
16-17 October 1993	Soçi
6-7 October 1994	Antalya
20-23 November 1995	St. Petersburg
20-27 October 1996	Antalya
23-24 September 1997	Nijni Novgorod
14-16 October 1999	Antalya
23 November 2000	Istanbul

Resource: DEIK

At the same time, the meetings of the Turkish-Soviet Joint Economic Cooperation Commission continued intermittently. Visits were organized between heads of state and senior bureaucrats. Exhibitions were opened and relations between companies were tried to be intensified. On 20-23 October 2000, Ankara JEC (Intergovernmental Joint Economic Commission) meeting, trade relations, energy cooperation, Blue Stream project (Russian gas deliveries to Turkey via Bulgaria, Ukraine, Romania,), electrical energy, nuclear energy, industry, construction, health, and new cooperation issues have been initiated. Besides, Russian-Turkish Research Center (RUTAM) had a close relationship with Turkey so that RUTAM is located in a building owned by the largest Turkish construction company (ENKA) that has close ties with Moscow's prominent mayor Yuri Luzhkov.⁵ However, despite all these efforts, the intense indefinite period created by the recession and crises in the 1990s gave rise to an unstable environment in both countries.⁶

After 2000, the political climate continues to shape the Turkish-Russian cooperation process. The bilateral relations between the two countries developed with similar political attitudes, in-

⁵ Suat Kınıkoğlu, "The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations", Insight Turkey, April-June 2006, Vol.8, No.2, (April-June 2006), pp. 81-96. p.90

⁶ Gülten Kazgan and Natalya Ulçenko "Dünden bugüne Türkiye ve Rusya : politik, ekonomik ve kültürel ilişkiler", İstanbul : İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi , 2003, p. 168-169.

tense diplomatic visits, problems with the EU, U.S., and alienation with western policies and energy-centered issues.

First of the driving forces of the bilateral relations between the two countries is having common perspectives. Russia and Turkey's policymakers exhibit a reactive stance to US world leadership. The two countries have started to pursue a policy that wants to be active again in their former domination regions.⁷

Secondly, the bilateral relations developed with the intense diplomatic visits as well. With the beginning of the 2000s, an orderly diplomatic dialogue started between the two countries. Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Ilya Klebanov visits Ankara in 2000. Also, the 80th anniversary of relations was celebrated on June 2, 2000. Putin and Ahmet Necdet Sezer hold a high-level meeting in New York on 6 September 2000.⁸ Moreover, in October 2000, the Russian Prime Minister M. M. Kasyanov's visit to Ankara marked a new phase for Turkish-Russian relations because Kasyanov stated that Russia and Turkey are not competitors. Both countries are vulnerable to a strategic partnership.⁹ In December 2004, Russian President Vladimir Putin has won the title 32 years after becoming the first Russian president who visited the Republic of Turkey.¹⁰ Putin took place in a business forum with Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The meeting was considered as a sign of the desire to establish good relations. Two states signed prominent agreements for deepening their collaboration in the field of military, technology, territorial waters, and Gazprom.¹¹ the months before Putin's visiting, at the beginning of 2004, the Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül had visited Russia with Turkish entrepreneurs and they signed the "Negotiation program between Turkey and Russia so this negotiation has heralded a changing political climate. This program aimed at political and economic cooperation, together with the fight against terrorism and acting together regional and international issues."¹²

For both Turkey and Russia, the new century refers to a new period that includes bilateral relations that were developed in the searching for cooperation rather than the competition by the

⁷ Özge Çopuroğlu and Tevfik Karpuzcu, "An Analytical Overlook to Crises Guided Turkish-Russian Relations Until The Fighter Jet Drawn: 2004-2016", Süleyman Demirel University, The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Y.2017, Vol.22, No.2, pp.465-483, p.473

⁸ Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", p. 50

⁹ Fikret Bila, "Kasyanov'un Ziyareti," Milliyet, 26.10.2000

¹⁰ Emre Erşen, "2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri "Kısmımanlaştırma Stratejisinin Sorunları", *Kuşku ile Komşuluk: Türkiye ve Rusya İlişkilerinde Değişen Dinamikler*, Eds: Gencer Özcan, Evren Balta, Burç Beşgül, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p.147-162, p.150

¹¹ Prof. Dr. Mohamad Arafat, "The Turkish-Russian Relations in the Era of AKP", Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, İİBF Dergisi, 2011, Vol. 13, No.2, p:10.

¹² MFA, " Turkey's Political Relations with Russian Federation", Accessed: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-russian-federation.en.mfa

single-party powers dominated governments the strong leaders. As a political leader, the arrival of President Putin in Russia and Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Turkey corresponds to this period. The similarity of Putin and Erdogan's political attitudes and rhetoric has an important role in the acceleration of the cooperation process. Both the Turkish and Russian governments think of their states as order providers in the post-Soviet and the Middle East region.¹³ Similar evaluations are important for deepening relations because in the Soviet Union period, due to differences in the two countries' assessment of each other, there was no progress in relations.¹⁴ Within this framework, the two countries approaching each other based on a commercial partnership with mutual understanding rather than seeing each other as a major security threat, and this new approach spread it to Eurasian geography as well. On November 16, 2001, Turkey and Russia have signed the "Collaboration between Russia and Turkey in Eurasia Action Plan" document. The growth of the political relationship between Russia and Turkey is based on coming into force with this plan. The plan aimed an increased dialogue in soft areas such as trade, culture, and tourism, but also supported regular political consultations.¹⁵ According to the Russian Ambassador of Ankara Lebedev, The Action Plan on Eurasia has a deep political meaning that precedes Eurasia. (TDN 2002, Republican 2001):

"We have many bilateral agreements with Turkey but it is the first time for Eurasia. Russia and Turkey are unique because of being part of both Asia and Europe. Our common interests are in large areas. This means moving from competition to cooperation. We do not use the term "strategical partnership" to the strategical partnership is based on an organization to act together just like the members under NATO. An advanced partnership is very important for both countries to give up the past competition."

This document has prominence for close relations in regional and international issues, especially in Eurasia. The field of collaboration in Eurasia was stated as assisting the political resolution of conflicts, enriching stability, and creating conditions for sustainable economic development. The Action Plan also mentioned that this mutual understanding of international law, human

¹³ Seçkin Köstem, "Different paths to regional hegemony: national identity contestation and foreign economic strategy in Russia and Turkey", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.25, No.5, pp. 726-752, p.731

¹⁴ Özge Çopuroğlu and Tevfik Karpuzcu, "An Analytical Overlook to Crises Guided Turkish-Russian Relations Until The Fighter Jet Drawn: 2004-2016", *Süleyman Demirel University, The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences* Y.2017, Vol.22, No.2, pp.465-483, p.471

¹⁵ Suat Kınıkoğlu, "The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations, *Insight Turkey*", April-June 2006, Vol.8, No.2, (April-June 2006), pp. 81-96. p.82

rights, and democracy will provide a new perspective in common relations between the two countries.¹⁶

During the 2000s, problems with the EU, U.S., and alienation with western policies on the Middle East and Kurdish issues conducted to develop cooperation process with Moscow. In May 2004, despite Turkey's objections, after the adoption of the EU membership of the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus (GSASC) as an entire island, the Turkey-EU relations are seen as a certain cool. Although it has been decided to begin accession negotiations with Turkey in October 2005, also in 2006 depending on the many chapters of the Cyprus problem it has been suspended by the EU. When Turkey experienced, interestingly Russia revised its relations with both Washington and Brussels as well. Moscow was particularly concerned about the "colorful revolutions " period that erupted in succession in the former Soviet geography between 2003 and 2005, and blamed the Western countries for the change of power in the popular uprisings in Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. These kinds of concurrent problems with the EU accelerated the cooperation process between Turkey and Russia.¹⁷

Besides the problems with the EU, current political and safety issues in the Middle East, Turkey had a debate especially with Western allies on Iraq and the Kurdish problem onwards the beginning of the 2000s, this route and behavior shaped Turkey's Russian diplomacy.¹⁸ In this period, the most important development that enabled the relations between Ankara and Moscow to gain momentum was the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003. During the Iraq crisis, both Ankara and Moscow declared their support for the preservation of Iraq's territorial unity so Turkish-Russian relations began to gain momentum.¹⁹

In the meaning of problems with the U.S, another turning point in the 2000s for Turkish-Russian relations is experienced in the Georgian Conflict in 2008. After the intervention of Russia, the USA wanted to take its troop to the Black Sea. However, Turkey has finally expressed their discomfort with US ships allowed to enter the Black Sea by Montreux conditions. According to Russia, Turkey's this attitude destroyed the belief that Turkey is the outpost of the Atlantic bloc and Russia left its suspicious against Turkey because the two countries have united as

¹⁶ Prof. Dr. Mohamad ARAFAT, "The Turkish-Russian Relations in the Era of AKP", Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, İİBF Dergisi, Vol.13, No.2, 2011, p. 7

¹⁷ Ömer Taşpınar, "Batı'ya Kızgınlık büyüyor.", Radikal, 27/07/2005

¹⁸ Inan Rüma and Mitat Çelikpala, "Russian and Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in the Syrian Theater", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol.16, No.62, 2019, pp. 65-84, p.68

¹⁹ Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", *Bilge Strategy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring 2011, p. 54

the idea of the Black Sea security, which is related to the Montreux Straits Convention in the subject of the absence of third states.²⁰

In addition to political developments, energy-centered issues were developed during the 2000s. With the Blue Stream Natural Gas Pipeline Project, Russia has begun natural gas shipments to Turkey through the Black Sea so Turkey became one of the biggest partners in the energy sector of Russia.²¹ In 2005, the launching of Blue Stream is very important in terms of focusing on a cooperation approach instead of the competition on the "Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan" oil pipeline issue between the two countries.²² On the other hand, during the 2000s, it can be seen Turkey's growing dependence on Russian energy is started to be effective over Ankara's regional as well. For example, due to the price dispute, Russia has cut natural gas supplies to Ukraine on 2006 New Year's Eve. This crisis with Ukraine brought also significant repercussions on Turkish-Russian relations because many other European countries such as Turkey has a significant portion of the supply from Russia in natural gas.

Turkey's Natural Gas Import

Years	Russia	Other Countries	Total
2009	19.473	16.383	35.856
2010	17.576	20.460	38.036
2011	25.406	18.468	43.874
2012	26.491	19.501	45.992
2013	26.212	19.057	45.269
2014	26.975	22.287	49.262
2015	26.783	21.644	48.427
2016	24.540	21.812	46.352
2017	28.690	26.560	55.250
2018	23.642	26.640	50.282

Resource: EMRA

Russian natural gas leads to Turkey as "West Line" is an important part of the pipeline extending from Russia to Europe, including pass-through Ukraine.²³ Since 2004, between Moscow and Kyiv ongoing concerns about the political and economic disputes, depending on the cutting of gas supplies to Turkey have been conducted in meeting common ground with the EU on this

²⁰ Özge Çopuroğlu and Tevfik Karpuzcu, An Analytical Overlook to Crises Guided Turkish-Russian Relations Until The Fighter Jet Drawn: 2004-2016, Süleyman Demirel University, *The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences* Y.2017, Vol.22, No.2, pp.465-483, p.471

²¹ Tekin Aycan Taşcı, "Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri ve Üst Düzey İşbirliği Konseyi (ÜDİK)", *KARE*, no. 8 (2019): 81-128. p.96

²² Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", *Bilge Strategy*, 2/4, Spring 2011, p. 41

²³ Erdal Şafak, "En Sabıkalı Hat", *Sabah*, 03/01/2006

issue.²⁴ This pipeline competition gained momentum in the region, on the one hand, while pointing to Turkey-Russia strategic partnership border, on the other hand, it showed that it is not possible to evaluate the relations between the two countries independently from globally and geopolitically other actors such as the EU.

Despite the existence of some problems between Ankara and Moscow two countries, since the end of 2008, close relations in the energy field and 38 billion dollar trade volume is effective to regain momentum in Turkish-Russian relations. Considering that the trade value between the two countries was only 1.4 billion dollars in 1992, it can be said that the level reached was a great achievement for both countries.²⁵ Despite the existing problems, in terms of continuing energy projects, the President of the Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gül's 2009 Moscow visit was very important because, in this visit, Moscow has approved to implement the Samsun-Ceyhan project as a response to the Turkish government's green light to start the geological studies to put South Stream on the Black Sea which is in Turkey's exclusive economic zone. This five hundred kilometer project is currently being built by the private Turkish company Calik Energy and the ENI company of Italy. Its target is to carry almost 2 million barrels per day from Samsun to Ceyhan where will be put on tankers for European markets.²⁶

Another important subject in the energy field is collaboration in the nuclear field. Although Turkey's tender for nuclear power plants in 55 years for 4 times, none of them were finalized. Finally, the Council of State decided to stop the execution in November 2009 about the tender won by the Russian-Turkish group of companies- JSC Atomstroyeksport-JSC, Inter Raoues, and Park Teknik- which is the only participant of the nuclear power plant tender planned to be held in Mersin Akkuyu. Turkey insists on having it in cooperation with Russia on nuclear power plants so Turkey gave the construction of the power plant to Russia through interstate agreements.²⁷ The criticisms on the Akkuyu nuclear project because it will increase dependence on Russian energy and carry serious security risks, have been ignored by Ankara.

In addition to planning twenty billion dollar investment of this power plant to be operated in 2019, Turkey and Russia have continued to develop their relations in many cooperation fields with the institutions. During the visit of Prime Minister Erdoğan, who went to Russia at the be-

²⁴ Necdet Pamir, "Enerji Arz Güvenliği ve Türkiye", *Stratejik Analiz*, 2007, Mart, p: 14-24.

²⁵ Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", *Bilge Strategy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring 2011, p. 43

²⁶ Richard Weitz. "Russian-Turkish Relations: Steadfast and Changing", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, pp. 61-85, Summer 2010, p.68

²⁷ Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", *Bilge Strategy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring 2011, p. 45

ginning of 2010, it was decided to establish a council (ÜDİK) between the two countries.²⁸ The establishment of UDIK, which will bring together leaders regularly by installing a kind of umbrella task in the relations, means that the parties now establish a stable and special institutional form to ensure that the relations are coordinated at the highest level and the problems are resolved quickly so it can be said that Turkish-Russian relations had a new stage with this institution.²⁹ Under the Council is a Joint Strategic Planning Group, where international issues will be discussed under the chairmanship of foreign ministers, a Joint Economic Commission where economic relations will be reviewed, and a Turkish-Russian Communal Session will reinforce the interaction between the peoples of the two countries. Establishing an extensive institutional structure in bilateral relations is important to reach the dream target in the early 2000s and to overcome the issues that may cause problems quickly.³⁰

Besides the cooperation areas with institutions, the social dimension of bilateral relations was emphasized as well. 2007 was announced as Russian Culture Year in Turkey while 2008 was declared the Year of Turkish Culture in Russia.³¹ Turkey-Russia celebrated the 90th year of diplomatic relations in 2010 so numerous scientific and cultural activities were organized. Also opening the Turkish Cultural Center in Moscow in October 2010 is seen as cooperation to emphasize the model of Turkey as an insurance against the radical movements. Thus, since June 2010, the Presidency of Religious Affairs started collaborating with the Islamic Education Council which was formed by 5 Islamic universities in Russia, and it is important to cooperate in areas that are not even imagined in the 1990s. Thanks to these steps, it can be claimed that the quality of Turkish-Russian relations from state to state is aimed to evolve step by step from the people to the people and from individuals to individuals, by activating the intellectual capacity of the society. This is an effect of the stepping to transform the change in relationships into a radical transformation in the public's perception or approach.³²

After 2011, the developments in the field of energy, economy, and culture continue in the shadow of regional tensions in the Middle East and North Africa, political disagreements, and geopolitical competitions by compartmentalizing economic subjects and geopolitical competi-

²⁸ Emre Erşen, "2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri "Kısmatmanlaştırmaya Stratejisinin Sorunları", *Kuşku ile Komşuluk: Türkiye ve Rusya İlişkilerinde Değişen Dinamikler*, Eds: Gencer Özcan, Evren Balta, Burç Beşgöl, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p.147-162, p.154

²⁹ Tekin Aycan Taşcı, "Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri ve Üst Düzey İşbirliği Konseyi (ÜDİK)", *KARE*, no. 8 (2019): 81-128. p.98.

³⁰ Mitat Çelikpala, "Rekabet ve İşbirliği İkileminde Yönünü Arayan Türk-Rus İlişkileri", *Bilig Dergisi*, No. 72, 2015, p. 137

³¹ Fatih Özbay, "Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: 1992-2010", *Bilge Strategy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring 2011, p. 52

³² Mitat Çelikpala, "Rekabet ve İşbirliği İkileminde Yönünü Arayan Türk-Rus İlişkileri", *Bilig Dergisi*, No. 72, 2015, p. 137

tions for preventing the negative effects of specific disagreements in areas of cooperation.³³ Compartmentalization strategy can be seen in Ukraine and Syria crises. Ukraine Crisis is the crisis that broke out with the public demonstrations against the Viktor Yanukovich government in Ukraine in the first months of 2014. Turkey was quite uncomfortable about these developments because of observance of the rights of Crimean Tartars and preservation of the territorial unity of Ukraine which is in good relations with Turkey. Foreign Minister Davutoğlu went to Kyiv in the early days of the crisis and met with representatives of the new Ukrainian government and the leaders of the Crimean Tatars. Turkey also continued to emphasize the territorial unity of Ukraine by not recognizing the outcomes of the referendum in which Crimea's joining into Russia in March 2014. On the other hand, the results of the independence referendums held in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions in Eastern Ukraine in May were also rejected by Ankara. Another important result of the Ukrainian crisis for Turkey is a disruption of the strategic balance in the Black Sea in favor of Moscow due to Crimea's joining Russia.³⁴ Re-emergence of Russian military threat with the annexation of the Crimea affected geopolitical dynamics between Turkey and Russia which have relative peace since the Soviet Union's collapse.³⁵ Although Turkey claimed to continue implementation of the regulations of the Montreux Convention for protection of the current strategic situation in the Black Sea during the crisis, Russia criticized to remain Taylor named USA warship aground, which came to the Black Sea during the Winter Olympics in Sochi and taken for repairs in Samsun, in the Black Sea for more than 21 days.³⁶ Nevertheless, Turkey has shown diplomatic and careful attention to Moscow just like in the 2008 Georgia crisis, and in contrast to many Western countries, Turkey explained not to participate in economic sanctions against Russia.

In the shadow of the Ukrainian and Syrian crises, the fifth UDIK summit, which was held in Ankara on December 1, 2015, has been one of the clearest examples of the compartmentalization strategy. Eight new agreements were signed after the meeting between Putin and Erdogan. Putin has also explained to cancel the South Stream project that the EU wants to suspend after the Ukraine crisis. Instead of this, he brought a new project- parallel to the Blue Stream pipeline- on the agenda, that will extend to Greece via Turkey.³⁷ It is announced that the annual capacity of this pipeline, also known as "Turkish Stream", will be 63 billion cubic meters.

³³ Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Turkey And Russia In A Shifting Global Order: Cooperation, Con Ict And Asymmetric Interdependence In A Turbulent Region", *Third World Quarterly*, 2016 Vol. 37, No. 1, 71–95, p.87

³⁴ Şener Aktürk, "Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinde Yeni Dönem mi?", *Sabah*, 18/06/2016

³⁵ Şener Aktürk, "The Crisis in Russian-Turkish Relations, 2008-2015", *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 179, 2016, p. 5

³⁶ Uğur Ergan, "Rusya ile Montrö restleşmesi", *Hürriyet*, 04/04/2014

³⁷ Abdullah Karakuş, "Putin'den AB'ye Güney akım resti", *Milliyet*, 02/12/2014

Despite the changed strategic situation in the Black Sea against Turkey shows, such an ambitious pipeline project between the two countries on the agenda shows that actually compartmentalization strategy increasingly moves away from geopolitical realities in the region.³⁸ An example of this rupture is the short polemic between Erdogan and Putin regarding the Syrian issue at the press conference after the same UDIK summit. In response to Putin's stating that Assad won the vote in Syria with a high vote, Erdogan's reaction is "Coups plotters always take the high vote in the world". This shows us the Syrian issue is a potential conflict issue against all steps of the two countries in the area of trade and energy.³⁹

During the years between 2008-2015, when Russia's military interventions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Syria affect Turkey as a Russian military threat, these developments didn't affect economic relations between the two countries. After a one-year decline due to the global economic crisis in 2008, the volume of Turkish-Russian trade continued to increase every year and rose from around \$ 20 billion in 2009 to \$ 30 billion in 2012.

Turkish-Russian Foreign Trade Numbers

Years	Export	Import	Volume	Balance
2009	3.202.398	19.450.085	22.652.483	-16.247.687
2010	4.628.153	21.600.641	26.228.794	-16.972.488
2011	5.992.633	23.952.914	29.945.548	-17.960.281
2012	6.680.586	26.625.286	33.305.872	-19.944.700
2013	6.964.209	25.064.214	32.028.423	-18.100.004
2014	5.943.014	25.293.392	31.239.105	-19.347.679
2015	3.588.657	20.401.756	23.990.413	-16.813.099
2016	1.732.954	15.162.386	16.895.340	-13.429.432
2017	2.734.316	19.514.094	22.248.410	-16.779.778
2018	3.401.617	22.306.475	25.708.092	-18.904.858

Resource: TURKSTAT

When the quantity of tourists coming to Turkey is thought of as 3 million in 2010 and 4 million in 2013, the intensity of relations between the two countries can be understood.⁴⁰ However, the crisis in November 2015 adversely affected the relations between the two countries in an economic sense as well.

³⁸ Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, "With Friends Like These: Turkey, Russia, and The end of An Unlikely Alliance", ECFR/178, June 2016, p.7

³⁹ Emre Erşen, "2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri "Kompartımanlaştırma Stratejisinin Sorunları", *Kuşku ile Komşuluk: Türkiye ve Rusya İlişkilerinde Değişen Dinamikler*, Eds: Gencer Özcan, Evren Balta, Burç Beşgöl, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p.147-162, p.157

⁴⁰ Şener Aktürk, "Türkiye'nin Rusya ile İlişkilerinin Yükselişi ve Gerilemesi: 1992-2015 Neorealist Bir Değerlendirme", *Kuşku ile Komşuluk: Türkiye ve Rusya İlişkilerinde Değişen Dinamikler*, Eds: Gencer Özcan, Evren Balta, Burç Beşgöl, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p.129-147, p.140

In November 2015, Turkish-Russian relations were disturbed because a Russian fighter jet was down by Turkish armed forces down due to violating Turkish airspace.⁴¹ Different thoughts on Syria between Turkey and Russia had led to a series of problems before the jet crisis. These different thoughts related to not only Assad's diplomatic status but also ISIS in the region. Russia's ultimate aim in the Syria issue is not to protect Assad or the Baath regime. Russia was trying to make sure to be one of the main actors in the post-Assad structure if there is a change in Syria. Even though they have some disagreement about Syria, they tried to continue to political dialogue with each other so that ten days before the jet crisis, in a press conference Putin said that Turkey and Russia have common preferences and the Syrian issue is not a barrier for their bilateral relations.⁴² On the other hand, statements and explanations could not calm the Russian government's reaction when a Russian Jet was downed. The dropping of the jet by Turkish military forces erased the fifteen-year development in bilateral relations within 20 seconds.⁴³ For the first time, a member of the NATO alliance dropped a Russian fighter jet.⁴⁴ Turkey directly brought this to the NATO and rejected to offer an excuse for their action when Moscow brought several restrictions with economic activities, consumer goods, warning Russian tourism companies to stop tour packages against Turkey.⁴⁵ During the 7 months crisis period, the relations between the two countries were almost at a freezing point. The comprehensive sanctions of the Putin administration put Turkey economically in a very difficult situation. The sanctions have caused serious damages, especially in the tourism, construction, and fresh vegetable sectors. Over the next few periods, the negative impact on the economy of the Russian sanctions on Turkey was a pushing factor for the search for reconciliation with Russia. The fighter jet crisis showed that regional conflicts can affect the diplomatic and trade relations between Turkey and Russia so that Russia's restrictions caused a huge economic loss for Turkey. The number of Russian tourists decreased significantly.⁴⁶ Finally, in June 2016, President Erdogan wrote a regret letter stating that he was willing to normalize bilateral relations with President Putin.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Erşen, Emre, "Evaluating the Fighter Jet Crisis in Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 19 / No. 4 / 2017, pp. 85-103, p.87

⁴² Emre Erşen, "2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri "Kısmatınlaştırmaya Stratejisinin Sorunları", p.89

⁴³ İnan Rüma and Mitat Çelikkpala, "Russian and Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in the Syrian Theater", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol.16, No.62, 2019, pp. 65-84, p.69

⁴⁴ Özge Çopuroğlu and Tefik Karpuzcu, "An Analytical Overlook to Crises Guided Turkish-Russian Relations Until The Fighter Jet Drawn: 2004-2016", Süleyman Demirel University, *The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences* Y.2017, Vol.22, No.2, pp.465-483, p.477.

⁴⁵ Emre Erşen, "Evaluating the Fighter Jet Crisis in Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 19 / No. 4 / 2017, pp. 85-103, p.91

⁴⁶ "Turkey Faces Big Losses as Russia Sanctions Bite." BBC News, January 2, 2016

⁴⁷ Emre Erşen, "Evaluating the Fighter Jet Crisis in Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 19 / No. 4 / 2017, pp. 85-103, p.87

However, providing real momentum to the Turkish-Russian rapprochement was a sharp deterioration in relations between the transatlantic partners with Turkey. The unsuccessful coup event that happened on July 15, 2016, in Turkey was a milestone in this respect. Although the coup attempt was being repulsed by Turkish security forces, Ankara was frustrated by the quiet response of Washington and Brussels. Russia and Iran explicitly supported Turkey. The unwillingness of US officials alienated the US from Ankara.⁴⁸ After the July 15 coup attempt, the deepening division between the Allies and Turkey gave a new dimension to the Turkish-Russian compromise.⁴⁹ Turkey's other subject related to important problems in transatlantic relations was the Syrian Kurds. PYD / YPG had a very important role in the possible self-governing Kurdish region in northern Syria. At the same time, Turkey was concerned about the U.S.'s support to these PYD / YPG so this support pushed Turkey to be close to Russia in the Syria issue.

With the normalization period, The Turkish-Russian bilateral relations developed especially after the negotiation between Putin and Erdoğan in St. Petersburg in August 2016. On this date, Both leaders came together to renovate bilateral relations on the economy, energy, and tourism. After this meeting, the two leaders met many times personally and frequently talked on the phone. Putin's visiting Turkey in October 2016 was especially important due to the signing of an agreement for the building of the Turkish Stream. This project replaced the South Stream project because Moscow canceled the South Stream project in reply to European Union economic sanctions.⁵⁰

Turkish-Russian relations also expanded in the military area as well. The most important outcome in the military area was Turkey's "Operation Euphrates Shield", which was declared in August 2016 against the ISIS and PYD/YPG forces in northern Syria. Operation Euphrates Shield is carried out with the US and Russia, but the main factor was allowed to perform the normalization of Turkey's relations with Russia. In particular, Turkey was allowed to have a muted deal with Russia for the Turkish army to operate and near the Syrian airspace.⁵¹ Ankara also set up a direct military hotline with Moscow and noticed that it is interested in purchasing the Russian S-400 missile system to reinforced national air defense.⁵² In 2017, Russia and Turkey had some meetings to buy S-400 which is a powerful Russian defense system with having a

⁴⁸ "European Parliament Votes to Suspend Turkish Membership Talks." *Financial Times*, 24.10.2016

⁴⁹ Emre Erşen, "The Transatlantic Dimension of Turkey's Strategic Rapprochement with Russia: The Turkish Perspective", *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*, Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2017, p.213.

⁵⁰ Akin Ünver, "Russia May Block EU Energy Ambitions with Turkish Stream Pipeline." *World Politics Review*, 07.07.2016

⁵¹ Inan Rüma and Mitat Çelikpala, "Russian and Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in the Syrian Theater", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol.16, No.62, 2019, pp. 65-84, p.81

⁵² Emre Erşen, "The Turkish-Russian Dialogue in Syria: Prospects and Challenges." *Al Sharq Forum*, 05.01.2017

fifth-generation aircraft and ballistic and cruise missiles to a maximum range of almost 250 kilometers.⁵³ In July 2017, Turkey agreed to buy the most advanced S-400 rocket system from Russia, which cannot be integrated with NATO's missile-defense architecture and would not create interoperability with NATO systems.⁵⁴

In 2016, although the murder of the Russian Ambassador in Ankara could not slow the mutual processes between Turkey and Russia. Only one day after this event, the ministers of Turkey, Russia, and Iran meet for signing the "Moscow Declaration".⁵⁵ Turkey and Russia in 2017 were again in a strategic rapprochement stage. In January 2017, they even agreed to conduct joint operations against ISIS militants in Syria. The document describes the coordination and cooperation mechanisms for the flight safety of Russian Air Force and Turkish Air Force planes during the attack on terrorist targets, and steps to be taken to prevent unwanted incidents while the aircraft and unmanned aircraft are in Syrian airspace. After a few months, they made a new treaty, including Iran, to establish a series of stress relief areas in Syria, once again largely excluding the U.S. from this process.⁵⁶

In February 2017, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov met with Foreign Minister of Turkey Mevlut Cavusoglu in Bonn, Germany within the framework of the G-20. The two ministers discussed the current situation and future issues of Russian-Turkish relations, especially in the areas of politics, trade, and economy. Besides, the coordination of joint actions in the fight against international terrorism, the strengthening of the ceasefire regime in Syria, and support for the political solution process was exchanged for the situation in this country.⁵⁷ On March 7, Chief of General Staff Hulusi Akar, Russian counterpart Valeriy Gerasimov and US counterpart Joseph Dunford met in Antalya. The parties shared their views on the regional security issues in Syria and Iraq, which is the latest in combating all terrorist organizations operating in Syria. Besides, to fight more effectively with all terrorist organizations in the upcoming period, additional measures have been evaluated to prevent unwanted incidents among the armed forces of the three countries.⁵⁸ To institutionalize their friendship and neighborly relations between Tur-

⁵³ Elvin Aghayev and Hayati Aktaş, "Prospects of Cooperation between Russia and Turkey", *European Researcher Series*, 2017, Vol.8, No.2, p.100

⁵⁴ Can Kasapoğlu, "Why Turkey Might Buy Russia's S-400 Defence System", 24.03.2017

⁵⁵ Emre Erşen, "Türkiye-Rusya Yakınlaşması: Yeni Bir Eksen Kayması mı?", *İKV Dergisi*, No. 215, 2016, pp. 38-43, p.40.

⁵⁶ Emre Erşen, Emre Erşen, "The Transatlantic Dimension of Turkey's Strategic Rapprochement with Russia: The Turkish Perspective", *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*, Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2017, p.215.

⁵⁷ MFA, "Turkey's Political Relations with Russian Federation", Accessed: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-russian-federation.en.mfa

⁵⁸ Giray Saynur Derman, "'Türkiye-Rusya Üst Düzey İşbirliği Konseyi'nin Altıncı Toplantısında Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan-Putin Görüşmesinin Sonuçları", *ANKASAM*, 10.04.2017

key and Russia and to bring a strategic outline, The Fourth Meeting of the Turkish-Russian High-Level Cooperation Council was held in Moscow on March 10, 2017. The fifth and last meeting was held in Turkey in 2014. Following the plane crisis between the two countries in December 2015 Turkey-Russia meeting scheduled for St. Petersburg University has been canceled by Russia. The summit, which is expected to support the development of relations between the two countries, was the first joint cabinet meeting after three years. During the meeting, bilateral relations between Turkey and Russia have been discussed comprehensively in all aspects. Also, opinions were exchanged on regional and international issues concerning the two countries, particularly the Syrian issue.⁵⁹ As a result of the meeting, eight agreements were signed:

- Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration in the Area of Diplomatic Staff Training and Information Sharing Between Russia and Turkey,
- Declaration on the preparation of 2019 Mutual of Culture and Tourism Year in between Russia and Turkey.
- Cooperation Protocol between the Russian Federation Prosecutor General's Office of the Turkish Republic Ministry of Justice
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Federal Service of the Intellectual Property of the Russian Federation and the Turkish Patent and Trademark Agency
- Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of the Russian-Turkish Investment Fund
- Memorandum of Understanding between "Opora Rossii" Small and Medium-Sized Businesses of All-Russian Non-Governmental Organization with KOSGEB
- Cooperation Agreement between TASS News Agency and Anadolu Agency

If all these developments are analyzed after 2011, it can be seen that Turkish-Russian relations settle despite ups and downs especially related to the Syrian region. On the other side, relations should be evaluated in cooperation areas in crisis times rather than balanced interdependence.⁶⁰ For example, the need for cooperation towards each other in the face of the developments in Syria between these two countries has increased. At this point, especially the lack of interest and support from the US who is Turkey's traditional allies is a fundamental factor. In this sense, the belief of the US's support for the Gülen movement, sharing some photos and information about the US's cooperation and arms and ammunition support to YPG in the media effect directly the

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Turkish-Russian rapprochement as well. In this context, Operation Euphrates Shield starting August 24, 2016, means Turkey's returning to the Syrian territory for fighting against terrorism and opening a new alliance area which includes Russia and Iran as well.⁶¹ On December 20, 2016, Turkey, Russia, and Iran reached an agreement to make a cease-fire in Syria. After the meeting in Moscow by Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Sergey Lavrov and Cevad Zarif, Russian President Vladimir Putin agreed that the agreement between the Syrian government and the opposition, the agreement on the guarantor, and the agreement on resumption of peace talks was announced as three agreements. With the guarantor of Turkey, Russia, and Iran on December 30, 2016, the ceasefire came into force.⁶² After this, in Kazakhstan's capital Astana, as previously agreed, peace talks began. While the priority of Turkey is 'to exclude terrorist groups from the process', the Russian side requested 'arranging a meeting will represent all segments in Syria' caused a short-term tension between the parties. However, it is understood that they have dealt with and solved quickly without covering. Indeed, in this case, the solution is Turkey's giving Kurdish groups a congress list to Russia except for the PYD. At this point, the Russian side carefully understands Turkey's sensitiveness and gave the wanted reactions to expectations. The Astana Process has moved as insurance that supports bilateral cooperation in Syria. For Turkey, one of the most effective results of the cooperation on Syria with Russia and Iran is Idlib's release to the guarantor of Turkey as a non-conflict zone and Turkish soldier troops settling in Idlib.⁶³

In 2017, the developments in Syria remain to build the basic agenda of Turkish-Russian relations. "The Astana Process" talks were started by the two countries till the end of 2016 with the participating of Iran to them, which has an important role in this respect. Ankara, Moscow, and Tehran kept taking important steps via the Astana negotiations process that was held eight times during the year, even though there were significant differences between them regarding the solution of the crisis in Syria. The Syria issue was in main topics to be discussed in Turkey-Russia relations in 2018 as well. In the Astana Process, it is progressing step by step to the ending of the armed struggle in 2018, and the next step which is the restructuring of Syria. This stage also indicates that a difficult phase has been achieved in Turkish-Russian bilateral relations and the ground has been reached where it is discussed whether the continuation of the Astana Process is possible. As a matter of fact, the Tehran Summit, held in September 2018, shows that the points of disagreement between the parties and the differentiation of priorities and expectations.⁶⁴ At

⁶¹ Sinan Ülgen and Can Kasapoğlu, Anadolu Ajansı "Operation Euphrates Shield: Aims and Gains" 19.01.2017

⁶² BBC Türkçe, "Suriye'de ateşkes yürürlüğe girdi", 30.12.2016

⁶³ Mitat Çelikpala, "Bugüne Tarih Olarak Bakmak: Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinin Serencami ve Geleceği", *Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Araştırmalar Merkezi*, 2019/5, p.25.

⁶⁴ "Son Dakika: Tahran'da Tarihi İdlib Zirvesi", *Hürriyet*, 7 Eylül 2018

this summit, as reflected vividly in the media, some breaking points are seen such as the positions of moderate opposition groups and radical groups and the situation of Idlib where is under the control of Turkey and the region. Parties exceed the differentiation by the signing of a 12-point statement, also Turkey and Russia managed to identify a road map with intensive bilateral talks. In this context, we see a new process in which the parties care about the continuity of the Astana process and associate it with bilateral relations, although they cannot fully meet each other's expectations. As a result, Astana Process brought Russia and Turkey along with Iran closer in the way of taking into account the priorities and expectations of the parties by developing solution-oriented regional cooperation. In short, the bilateral relations between Turkey and Russia are followed by instability which is a dominant trend due to the inevitable pressures of global and regional developments across both sides of the developments from time to time. The efforts of the two leaders to come together 11 times in the past year indicate that they are aware of this difficulty and instability. Both sides strive to develop a shared perspective on regional and global issues by eliminating mutual distrust that prevails on both sides as the legacy of geopolitical and historical competition. As can be understood from these developments, this effort has produced some positive results, albeit limited in Syria. As of the end of 2018, the two parties were cooperating peacefully and diplomatically about the Syria issue.⁶⁵

Bilateral political relations which developed rapidly by focusing on the Syrian issue reflected rapidly on the economy and trade, which was the primary subject of the previous period, especially in the area of energy in the context of the Turkish Stream and Akkuyu nuclear power plant. Indeed, due to the rapid completion of the marine section of the Turkish Stream pipeline, on 19 November 2018 in Istanbul, Putin stressed the importance of the project for the Turkish economy and thanks to Turkey for its will and bravery. His explanations highlight the issue of trust that will determine not only the economic and commercial but also the political course of bilateral relations in the following period.⁶⁶ Therefore, it can be said that Turkey-Russia relations optimistically entered in 2019. The topics confirming this optimism are more than the topics that may create risk.

1. b. Understanding Big Picture: the Role of Tourism in the New World Order

The tourism sector is interdisciplinary and can be affected very quickly by social, political, and economic situations. To understand this better, we can look at four aspects of globalization such

⁶⁵ Mitat Çelikpala, "Bugüne Tarih Olarak Bakmak: Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinin Serencami ve Geleceği", *Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Araştırmalar Merkezi*, 2019/5, p.26.

⁶⁶ "İstanbul'daki Türk Akımı Töreninde Konuşan Putin: Projeye Adını Erdoğan Verdi", *Sputnik Türkiye*, 19 Kasım 2018

as internationalization, technological revolution, deterritorialization, and liberalization. The term globalization can be explained with four different aspects of the world economy.⁶⁷ The technological revolution refers to the way modern communication. For example, buying online flight tickets and making an online hotel reservation is possible through technological advances. De-territorialization was forced by the technology reform and refers to the decreasing of distances and boundaries over the people. Liberalization defines state policies which diminish the role of the state in the economy, such as via removing of visa in some countries for traveling. In summary, the integration of the global economy, becoming more comfortable and faster transportation, the development of technology, and the ability to obtain information for any destination, and increase travel opportunities can be seen as the result of globalization in the tourism sector.

Globalization has prepared an environment for its worldwide development of tourism. Tourism has also led to the operation of a global process within an economic system. As tourism becomes a global phenomenon, it is seen that the economic impact area of tourism has increased in the world. Undoubtedly, increasing national income, providing foreign currency with a short term for a developing economy and increasing employment are among the most important economic benefits of touristic activities.⁶⁸

Table 1		Travel & Tourism Contribution to GDP	
		2018 T&T Contribution to GDP	2018 T&T GDP Growth
1	USA	1,595	2.2
2	China	1,509	7.3
3	Japan	368	3.6
4	Germany	345	1.2
5	The U.K.	311	1.0
6	Italy	275	3.2
7	France	266	4.1
8	India	247	6.7

⁶⁷ Ngaire Woods, International political economy in an age of globalization, John Baylis et.al., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.252

⁶⁸ Doç. Dr. Ömer Şanlıoğlu, "Uluslararası Turizmin İktisadi Yönü: Akdeniz Havzasında Bulunan Seçilmiş Bazı Destinasyonların Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi", Detay Yayıncılık, Ankara 2017, p.62.

9	Spain	211	2.4
10	Mexico	209	2.4
11	Australia	154	3.2
12	Brasil	153	3.1
13	Canada	111	2.9
14	Thailand	110	6.0
15	Turkey	96	15.0

Resource: WTTC, 2019

According to the data of the WTTC 2019 Report, the effect of travel and tourism on world GDP can be seen in table 1. In this table, it is clear that the contribution is significant in Turkey.⁶⁹

Tourism movements continue to rise all around the world. According to WTO data, almost 1,401 million people took part in tourism activities for different purposes in 2010.⁷⁰ The increase in the level of disposable income, the increase of trade despite many negative developments, and the tendency of the closed political and economic systems to integrate with the world show the openness of the world tourism. The country that receives the most tourists in the world is the USA with 255.5 million people per year. This is followed by Spain, France, England, Italy, and China. If we look at the most visited cities and countries around the world, we see that Turkey is among the top 10 with 38 million.⁷¹

When tourism is considered, it should not think only about beaches or cultural locations. One of the reasons that lead people to touristic purposes is health. Health tourism is described as an aim to stay healthy or have medical treatment.⁷² Recently, several countries are supporting health tourism for their economic growth. The reasons for this economic growth can be explained by three factors. First, health tourism revenue is a form of foreign exchange revenue. Second, growing health tourism improves workforce opportunities in the health care sector. Third, health tourism helps to develop more qualified domestic health care in developing coun-

⁶⁹ WTTC, Travel and Tourism Economic Impact 2019, World, p.1.

⁷⁰ UNWTO, "Global and Regional Tourism Performance"

⁷¹ UNWTO, "Country Profile-Inbound Tourism"

⁷² Samlee Plianbangchang, "A view on medical care globalization and medical tourism", *Journal of Health Research*, 32/1, 2018 pp. 69-73, p.70

tries. Meanwhile, Turkey particularly has a comparative advantage on esthetic, eyes, teeth, and IVF treatments in medical tourism to other countries.⁷³ Around 200 hospitals and private clinics have studies on this subject especially in Istanbul and Antalya. Medical tourism in Turkey developed recently due to the efforts of private hospitals. Many hospitals, especially Class A hospitals, started to participate in medical tourism fairs worldwide and established “foreign patient departments” to provide good service to international patients. Since medical tourism is a concept that requires special attention and is based on trust, the establishment of these departments has made the procedures of international patients much easier.⁷⁴

Table 2: International Patients which come to Turkey

Years	Number of International Patients
2008	74.093
2009	91.961
2010	109.678
2011	156.176
2012	270.000
2013	409.328
2014	496.328
2015	392.950
2016	359.668
2017	434.583
2018	553.527

Resource: Turkey Ministry of Health

According to Turkey Statistical Institute (TSI), at the beginning of 2019, the number of international patients coming to Turkey for health and medical purposes reached 364 thousand people by increasing 32% compared to the parallel period of 2018. International patients prefer Turkey

⁷³ Salih Haluk Özşarı, Özlem Karatana, “Health tourism situation in Turkey”, 2013; 24(2): 136-144, p:140

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.141

in the field of medical tourism for a variety of reasons. One of the most important reasons is to have high-quality services with more affordable prices than the countries they live in. Turkey's modern hospitals providing quality service, qualified staff, advanced technological equipment are effective reasons to prefer.⁷⁵

Even though tourism activities affect the countries positively in economic terms, the tourism sector is highly sensitive to crises that occur due to economic, political, or social reasons. Political events in the touristic regions affect tourism activities.⁷⁶ Indeed, the aircraft crisis with Russia in November 2015 cause the stopping of political relations, and until the middle of 2016, almost no tourists come to Turkey for this reason.

As of August 2016, as political relations started to improve with Russia, the number of tourists has started to increase again.⁷⁷ In addition to the aircraft crisis, actual terrorist attacks and political unrest also created a dark cloud over Turkey. The period when Russian tourists took their hands from the Antalya region was one of the processes in which one of the biggest blows in the sector. Moreover, coup attempts and terrorist attacks greatly harmed the country's image to choose for the ideal holiday in Turkey. Now, the foreign currency crisis, which hit many sectors hard, has affected tourism well. With the devaluation of the Turkish lira against foreign currencies, foreign tourists also turned their route to Turkey to make a good holiday. According to the Turofed Tourism report, the number of tourists reached about 40 million by the end of 2018 and stated that this is the record of all years.⁷⁸

According to the statistics of the Ministry in the January-September 2019 period, Turkey hosted 36 million 428 thousand 212 foreign visitors in 9 months with an increase of percentage 14.50 comparing to the parallel period of the previous year. Especially, as a consequence of 2019 is announced as the Turkish- Russian Federation year, it is seen that the number of tourists from the Russian Federation increased a lot. In January-September 2019 period, Russian Federation visitors is the first in the list of the countries sending the most visitors to Turkey with an increase of percentage 15.28 comparing to the same period of the previous year. With increasing of percentage 12.43, Germany is second and with increasing of percentage 16.05, Great Britain is third in the same list.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Bahar Burtan Doğan and Abdulmücahit Aslan, "TÜRKİYE'DE SAĞLIK TURİZMİNİN MEVCUT DURUMU VE ÜLKE EKONOMİSİNE KATKILARI", *Dicle Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9 / 18, Kasım 2019, 390-418, p.403

⁷⁶ Doç. Dr. Ömer Şanlıoğlu, "Uluslararası Turizmin İktisadi Yönü: Akdeniz Havzasında Bulunan Seçilmiş Bazı Destinasyonların Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi", *Detay Yayıncılık*, Ankara 2017, p.51.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.51

⁷⁸ TUROFED Tourism Report, 2019/1 p. 12

⁷⁹ "Türkiye'ye 9 ayda gelen turist sayısı açıklandı", *CnnTürk*, 31.10.2019,

In summary, it is seen that despite the difficult process of Turkey, it continued competition and taking measures to revive the tourism industry.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR TOURISM AND COOPERATION

Liberal Approach

Although realism seems to be the dominant theory of international relations, liberalism has robust arguments to be an alternative as well. In the last two centuries, the most influential liberals are Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, Richard Cobden, Woodrow Wilson, Norman Angell, Joseph Schumpeter, and John Maynard Keynes.⁸⁰ Unlike realism's anarchic view of "the international", Liberalism focuses on the importance of justice, equality, and freedom to protect international peace and morality.⁸¹ Another important argument is that cooperation and collaboration can be achieved by international and regional organizations.⁸²

Besides, while the concept of "globalization" will be assessed in a detailed way in the following chapters, this concept has a critical role in liberal theory as well. According to some scholars focusing on liberalization, while globalization brings technological innovation, it creates a less political and more unified world order.⁸³ Moreover, in liberal theory, states are always the part of both a domestic and a transnational society, which build economic, social, and cultural interactions across borders. States policies may enable or prevent these interactions.⁸⁴ According to Keohane and Nye, the results of these transnational interactions can be multidimensional.

Nye and Keohane, in their work of "Power and Interdependence", bring the term of "complex interdependence" by taking one step further of the concept of "transnationalism". According to Keohane and Nye, complex interdependence world policy is that there are multiple channels of social communication, there is no order of importance between economic or security issues, and military power is still less important.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberalism and International Relations Theory", *Harvard University*, No. 92-6, p.1

⁸¹ Tim Dunne, Liberalism, John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.111

⁸² *Ibid*, p.114

⁸³ Ngaire Woods, *International political economy in an age of globalization*, John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.253

⁸⁴ Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics", *International Organization* 51, 4, Autumn 1997, pp. 513-53, p.519

⁸⁵ Robert O. Keohane ve Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence*, New York, Longman, 3th edition, 2001, p.16

Keohane and Nye, in their work of "Power and Interdependence", aim to develop the analysis of interdependence. According to their perspective, interdependent relations always have costs but they pointed out that there is no certain way to understand the benefits of a relationship will be higher than its cost or vice versa. The benefits and costs of relationships depend not only on the values of actors but also the nature of the relationships.⁸⁶ They also claimed that interdependence doesn't create cooperation automatically. On the contrary, cooperation can be possible by an agreement between the individuals having different behaviors or organizations. As a result of interdependence and cooperation discussions in the international system, organizations have been analyzed more by neo-liberal institutionalists. Neo-liberal institutionalists claim that institutions are mediator and the means to achieve cooperation in the international system. They also see that cooperation can be harder to achieve in areas where leaders perceive they have no mutual interests.⁸⁷

Neo-liberals or liberal institutionalists have been criticized by neo-realists, despite their acceptance of some assumptions of neo-realists (anarchic system, state-centered approach, etc.) and their acceptance of the existence of international institutions and cooperation in the international system. For example, in his book *Theory of International Politics*, Kenneth Waltz claims that dependency and cooperation are myth and weak points of the countries. He claims that they are not as intense as neo-liberals' claims.⁸⁸

One of the most important criticisms of neoliberals is that neoliberalism is not very different from neorealism. The two approaches differ only in terms of subject but in the field of epistemology and the main hypothesis, they are very similar.⁸⁹ This new-realistic opposition will initiate the "neo-neo debate" between neo-realists and neo-liberals that will occupy the entire 1980s and almost half of the 1990s. This debate will be detailed in the section on Interdependence.

In light of the theoretical discussions above, soft power will be explained in the next part. Gaining popularity in the academic world since the 1990s, soft power is evaluated within the framework of the neo-liberal approach, in contrast to the realist approach.⁹⁰ While the realist

⁸⁶ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, "Power and Interdependence" (4th Edition). New York. Longman, 2011, p.10

⁸⁷ Steven L. Lamy, "Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-realism and neo-liberalism," John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.133

⁸⁸ Kenneth N. Waltz, "Globalization and Governance," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 32, No.4, 1999, p.693-700.

⁸⁹ Steven L. Lamy, "Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-realism and neo-liberalism," John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.121-124.

⁹⁰ G. Gallarotti & I.Y. Al Filali, *The Soft Power of Saudi Arabia*, *International Studies*, 2014, 49 (3&4), p.2

approach focuses on the military dimension of power, the neoliberal approach evaluates power with interdependence and cooperation.⁹¹

2.a. Globalization and Tourism

The concept of “globalization” has a critical role in liberal theory. Globalization is one of the most discussed in the field of social sciences as well. When the historical process is analyzed, although it dates back many years ago, it has developed with the Second World War and the nineties. According to some scientists, globalization can be seen also as the power conflict of imperialism, capitalism, economy, and the state. It is not clear when globalization first appeared. The reason for this can be seen that globalization has a versatile structure that has validity in many different fields such as cultural, political, economic, and social. While defining globalization, the areas used in its definition are different, and the ways and methods are different in itself, have ensured that the concept of globalization continues as a living concept.⁹² For this reason, the definition of globalization can also change due to the cultural, political, economic, and social events that have taken place in the world until this day. Some researchers have consciously limited the historical scope of globalization to the last forty of the post-industrial era to reveal the contemporary features of globalization. Others tend to extend this time frame to include the groundbreaking developments of the 19th century. Some other researchers argue that globalization is a continuing process with the emergence of the capitalist world-system about five centuries ago. Some researchers also refuse to limit globalization in periods measured by decades or centuries. Instead, they state that these processes have been developing for thousands of years.⁹³ When we look at the literature, globalization has emerged in the very old years and it is said that capitalism has emerged with globalization. A clear expression of globalization is expressed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to some authors today, globalization is a new phase of capitalism.

In international relations, globalization can be defined as increasing awareness of the increasing interconnectedness of social life with its borderless and distanceless characteristics. The basic argumentations in favor of globalization comprising a new phase of world politics are economic transformation, communications, global culture, homogeneity, collapsing of time and

⁹¹ Nicholas Berry & Michael Roskin, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, (trans. Ö. Şimşek), 2014, Ankara: Adres Yayınları, p.58

⁹² Joseph Nkang Ogar & Thomas Eneji Ogar, "An Appraisal of Globalization and Its History," *Cogito: Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 11, no. 3 (September 2019), p. 184

⁹³ Manfred B. Steger. “Küreselleşme”, *Kültür Kitaplığı*: 50; *Siyasetbilim*: 3, p. 39.

space, global polity, cosmopolitan culture, and risk culture.⁹⁴ Economic transformation has created a new world politics by the expansion of trade and finance. Tourism has a very important role in this transformation. The world economy became more interdependent as a result of tourism activities. The US dollar currency, which is valid in almost every part of the world, has provided great convenience in tourism movements.

Communications have fundamentally reformed all around the world.⁹⁵ For example, nowadays, holiday purchases are mostly made on the internet, and consumers can easily find information about the destinations they will visit while purchasing their travels over the internet. The person who wants to buy travel through various blog sites and social media can communicate with those who already know the region and who have travel experience in the region and can make a decision based on their preferences.

A global culture defines much of the urban areas sharing a mutual culture.⁹⁶ This can be called the socialization of the world. The increase in tourism movements in the world has increased considerably as employees find job opportunities in different countries thanks to this global culture.

The collapsing of time and space is also a result of globalization.⁹⁷ With globalization, it can be quickly reached the vehicles whoever wants, regardless of time and place. Arrangement of accommodation in any country is very easy at any time.

Moreover, global polity emerges with transnational social and political movements and the starting of a connection of loyalty from the state to international organisms.⁹⁸ A cosmopolitan culture is consisting of different cultures. Istanbul, which has been a cosmopolitan city throughout history, has made gastronomy tourism an important part of cultural tourism by reflecting the cuisines of its nations.

On the other side, risk culture is happening with people realizing that the main risks that face them are global such as global warming and health problems. Even though there are some opposite views, the allied argument is that globalization is progressive and improves the lives of people.⁹⁹ Namely, many studies show that the growth of international tourism and globalization are useful. When international tourism grows, the positive effects of globalization can be seen effi-

⁹⁴ John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens, "The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations", *Oxford University Press*, USA; 4th ed (2008), p10.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

ciently. Therefore, globalization has a direct impact on tourism, which is one of the important industries of many countries and is defined as travel, transportation, and services.¹⁰⁰

When the relevant literature is analyzed, studies examining the relationship of globalization with tourism are mostly regional and it can be seen that the subjects vary according to the countries and cultures.

Sugiyarto, in the study of “Tourism and Globalization - Economical Effect on Indonesia” the development of tourism due to globalization has prevented the negative effects of tourism. The increasing of tourism movements also helped to reduce the current account deficit and contributed to the welfare of the government and the public as well.¹⁰¹

Buluk ve Özkök, in their study about the tourism industry, discussed that the movements and developments through globalization how to affect the tourism industry.¹⁰²

Samlee Plianbangchang explained health tourism by defining global medical treatment and its effects on economic benefits.¹⁰³

In general, globalization is accepted as a phenomenon, which can be explained by capitalism and is considered in the general theory of capitalism. Long and short-term changes in the world economy with globalization cause major changes in the amount of foreign direct investments, the flow direction of investments, preference of the invested sectors, and type of investment. Foreign capital offers opportunities to reach both high financing and advanced technology to make tourism investments.¹⁰⁴

With globalization, rapid developments in communication technologies, increasing speed in vehicles, comfort, capacity, price, and similar factors are also reflected in tourism in numerical and economic terms.¹⁰⁵ When the data of the international tourist numbers of the last twenty is considered, every year increasing of these figures can be seen as the numerical indicator of the impact of the innovations and developments in the fields of communication, technology, and transportation in the tourism industry.¹⁰⁶ With the increase in internet usage, many travel agencies and hotels have switched to the online reservation system. Using the Internet, the destina-

¹⁰⁰ Guntur Sugiyarto, Adam Blake, M.Thea Sinclair, “Tourism and globalization: Economic Impact in Indonesia”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30/3, 2003, Pages 683-701, p.700.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Buket Buluk, Ferah Özkök, “Küreselleşme Hareketlerinin Turizm Endüstrisine Etkileri”, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, No: 54 March-April 2016 pp 37-53.

¹⁰³ Samlee Plianbangchang, “A view on medical care globalization and medical tourism”, *Journal of Health Research* 32/1, 2018 pp. 69-73.

¹⁰⁴ Buket Buluk, Ferah Özkök, “Küreselleşme Hareketlerinin Turizm Endüstrisine Etkileri”, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, No: 54 March-April 2016 pp. 37-53, p.40

¹⁰⁵ Haiyan Song, Gang Li, and Zheng Cao, “Tourism and Economic Globalization: An Emerging Research Agenda”, *Journal of Travel Research*, 2017, p.3

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.11

tion can be revived by whoever wants to visit, read the user reviews, and collect detailed information about the destination and its surroundings. Since Global Distribution Channels become most used in terms of the tourism industry, sites such as Galileo, Amadeus, Saber, and Worldspan, which provide information and reservations about Airlines Transfers, Terminal, Hotel, Car Rental, and Cruise Ship Operations, are the dominant distribution systems in the global market. Other important sites with online reservation systems are Booking, TripAdvisor, Hrs, Expedia, Hotelbeds.¹⁰⁷ In table 3, we can see an increasing number of listing on Tripadvisor worldwide from 2014 to 2019. So, it is considered that as a result of globalization, any tourism company can reach consumers so easily and effectively wherever in the world.¹⁰⁸

Table 3: Number of listings on TripAdvisor worldwide from 2014 to 2019				
	Restaurants	Hotels	Vacation rentals	Attractions
2014	2,447	915	650	500
2015	3,809	995	770	625
2016	4,26	1060	835	760
2017	4,6	1200	750	915
2018	4,9	1300	875	1000
2019	5,2	1400	842	1200

Resource: Statista.com

From an economic perspective, globalization exists in international trade, international finance, and people's mobility.¹⁰⁹ When Russia's and Turkey's tourism relations are tried to be assessed from an interdependence definition of globalization, it is possible to find these interpretations. Especially, in the last thirty years, it was seen that one of the striking features of Turkish-Russian relations is the deepening of economic interdependence. Since the increase of trade rela-

¹⁰⁷ www.skift.com

¹⁰⁸ Buket Buluk, Ferah Özkök, "Küreselleşme Hareketlerinin Turizm Endüstrisine Etkileri", *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, No: 54 March-April 2016, pp. 37-53, p.45

¹⁰⁹ Haiyan Song, Gang Li, and Zheng Cao, "Tourism and Economic Globalization: An Emerging Research Agenda", p.2

tions between Turkey and Russia, important cooperations have developed in the fields of trade, investment, construction, and tourism as well.

In conclusion, international tourism in the world has been living in the phenomenon of globalization. As a result of globalization, with the acceleration of technology and knowledge, there has been a rapid growth in the tourism sector as in other sectors. In an environment where everything is changing and renewed globally, tourism enterprises must adapt to the existing changes that occur with globalization to carry out their activities successfully, just like industry-based.¹¹⁰

2. b. Considering “Interdependence” with Tourism

Joseph S. Nye and Robert O. Keohane challenged the realist theory which was a dominant approach in the international system after World War II in the 1970s. Nye and Keohane, who opposed realist thinking about power and international system issues, put forward the interdependence assumption in their book “Power and Interdependence”, which they wrote in 1977.¹¹¹ Nye and Keohane, in their work of “Power and Interdependence”, bring the term of “complex interdependence” by taking one step further of the concept of “transnationalism”. According to Keohane and Nye, complex interdependence world policy is that there are multiple channels of social communication, there is no order of importance between economic or security issues, and military power is still less important.¹¹²

Keohane and Nye, in their work of “Power and Interdependence”, aim to develop the analysis of interdependence. Interdependence is mixed of situations caused by the links and relationships created by many channels of mutual effect between countries and communities in the international system. The reason for this interaction can be economic, financial, social, or security issues. According to Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, to handle these interactions within the framework of interdependence, the cost element must be involved. In other words, the most important factor that creates interdependence in the international system is the cost incurred if the connections between the actors are broken.¹¹³ For example, Keohane and Nye compared a country that imports all of its natural gas from another country with a country that imports luxury consumer goods from another country. They argued that the situation of the first country is

¹¹⁰ Elena V. Yudina, Tatiana V. Uhina, Irina V. Bushueva and Natalia T. Pirozhenko, “Tourism in Globalizing World”, *International Journal of Environmental & Science Education* 2016, Vol. 11, No. 17, 10599-10608. p.10607

¹¹¹ Fabio Carbone, “International tourism and cultural diplomacy: A new conceptual approach towards global mutual understanding and peace through tourism”, *Tourism*, Vol. 65/ No. 1/ 2017/ pp. 61 - 74, p.64

¹¹² Robert O. Keohane ve Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence*, New York, Longman, 3th edition, 2001, p.16

¹¹³ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, “Power and Interdependence” (4th Edition). New York. Longman, 2011, p.7.

based on a mutual dependence but the second situation is not a mutual dependence because of not having the cost.

Steve Chan, in his work titled "International Relations in Perspective", defines interdependence as "if the relations which are interdependent are interrupted, its effects must be mutual, indeed, the effects must be felt for both parties." He also states that a certain relationship may be more important for one side than the other, so he emphasizes that the interdependence relationship has different degrees of importance for both parties.¹¹⁴ Chan explains this level of significance with an exemplary relationship model between A and B actors. According to this model, actor A needs actor B, or actor B needs actor A less. In this case, actor B gets a bargaining chip on actor A, and in a situation where their relationship is interrupted, actor B is less affected than actor A is affected. Thus actor A is more afraid of having damaged relationships, and actor B makes a more powerful bargain to get the most beneficial out of their interactions.¹¹⁵

Besides, another issue to be known in the interdependence assumption is that interdependence between the parties may not be equal. In such cases where an actor has more bargaining power than another actor, instead of the interdependence relationship, the asymmetric or unequal bargaining power comes out between the actors. Keohane and Nye claim that this inequality and an asymmetric relationship may be one of the factors that create power in international politics. If one of the parties is less dependent than the other or the opposite is more dependent, the concept of "power" emerges. The concept of asymmetric interdependence also emerges at this point. Keohane and Nye explained how asymmetric interdependence creates power with the concepts of sensitivity and vulnerability.¹¹⁶ At the same time, both two concepts are key points of Complex Interdependence. According to two of them, these two concepts help us to understand the role of interdependence and power relations between mutually dependent states. In this case, sensitivity is an obligation to being affected costly from outside due to changing conditions while vulnerability can be defined as suffering costly by external events after changing conditions. In the situation of the immediate effects of external changes, these cases cause a sensitivity dependence since it is difficult to set the policies accordingly. However, vulnerability dependence can be adjusted by the cost of regulation to the external changes over a while. For example, they showed the situation of the USA, Japan, and Western European countries while oil prices rose after the 1973 Oil Crisis. In this case, oil-producing countries can use oil as a power source, but the level of sensitivity of the countries is a factor that determines the degree of this

¹¹⁴ Steve Chan, "International Relations in Perspective", New York. Macmillan Publishing Company, 1984, p.235

¹¹⁵ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Power and Interdependence", p.9

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.11.

effect.¹¹⁷ In order not to overlook some political aspects in case of only the sensitivity factor is used, Keohane and Nye also stated that vulnerability is another factor affecting the relationship between interdependence and power. Increasing the domestic production of one of the two countries having equal oil imports will reduce the cost and the fragility against prices.

According to Nye and Welch, while a perfect symmetry in mutual relations is quite rare, asymmetry forms the basis of interdependence. Namely, interdependence does not result in gaining equal shares from the bilateral economic relationship. On the contrary, the costs associated with a crisis in bilateral relations are generally higher for the weak side.¹¹⁸

During this period, as a result of the discussions of interdependence and cooperation in the international system, regimes and organizations were started to be analyzed by international relations theorists. These were more focused on “liberal institutionalism”.¹¹⁹ Liberal institutionalists assert the existence of an international system where the interests and welfare of states are at the forefront. They claim that cooperation can only occur when states have significant common interests. Once states’ decision-makers expect self-interest benefits from cooperation, the liberals’ assets, institutions, facilitate cooperation.¹²⁰

Although liberal institutionalists or neo-liberals accept some assumptions of neo-realists without changing, they were criticized by neo-realists. For example, in his book *Theory of International Politics*, Kenneth Waltz claims that dependency and cooperation are myth and weak points of the countries. He claims that they are not as intense as neo-liberals’ claims.¹²¹ One of the most important criticisms of neoliberals is that neoliberalism is not very different from neo-realism. The two approaches differ only in terms of subject but in the field of epistemology and the main hypothesis, they are very similar.¹²² This new-realistic opposition initiates the "neo-neo debate" between neo-realists and neo-liberals.

To express interdependence assumption more clearly, the discussions between neorealist and neoliberals on “effects of international organizations” and “relative gain-absolute gain problem”. Their detailed explanation of interdependence assumption helps us to understand the key dynamics better. In terms of international organizations, the disagreement between them focuses

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.13

¹¹⁸ Seçkin Köstem, “The Political Economy of Turkish-Russian Relations: Dynamics of Asymmetric Interdependence”, *Perception*, Summer 2018, 23/2, pp. 10-32, p.13.

¹¹⁹ John J. Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of Institutions”, *International Security*, Vol 19, No.3, 1994/94, p.8

¹²⁰ Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, “The Promise of Institutional Theory”, *International Security*, Vol.20, No.1, pp. 39-51, p.42

¹²¹ Kenneth N. Waltz, “Globalization and Governance,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 32, No.4, 1999, p.693-700.

¹²² Steven L. Lamy, “Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-realism and neo-liberalism,” John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.121-124.

on whether institutions support world stability and peace. According to Grieco, international anarchy accelerates conflict between states and thus prevent the willingness of actors to cooperate, even though they have mutual interests.¹²³ According to Mearsheimer, realists claim that institutions essentially rely on the distribution of power and serve the interests of great powers in world politics. Therefore, they are not significant instruments of peace and stability.¹²⁴

On the other side, Neoliberals claims that international organizations help states to cooperate. They criticize realists for putting a lot of emphasis on the conflicts between states. Furthermore, they underestimate the effects of international organizations in promoting cooperation.¹²⁵ As a result, neoliberals' claim about the importance of international organizations' for supporting peace and stability in the world system is questioned by realists. Realists claim that these organizations were established for developing the interests of the states.¹²⁶

To explain how cooperation emerges in the anarchical context of international relations, the discussion of the problem of absolute gain and relative gain between Neoliberalism and Realism should be explained. According to Baldwin, in the meaning of cooperation, neo-realists focus on relative gains of the states while neoliberals focus on absolute gains of the states.¹²⁷

According to Waltz, the realist assumption on the relative gain is based on states' searching for security in the anarchical system.¹²⁸ On the contrary, Keohane claims that states try to increase their absolute gain for the preferences of actors in the world system according to their welfare, not for the others.¹²⁹

In the meaning of evaluation of both assumptions, Grieco's analysis claims that neoliberal theory can ignore the security issues when realists mostly focus on security threats from current allies. Therefore, he suggests that a state should focus on the gains from its partners.¹³⁰

Keohane clarifies all these points in his further work and he asserts that "the relative gains argument merely highlights the difficulties of cooperation where there is tough bilateral completion; it does not by any means undermine prospects for cooperation in general."¹³¹

¹²³ Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism", *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No.3, pp.485-507, p.485

¹²⁴ John J. Mersheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, Vol. 19, No.3, pp. 5-49, p.7

¹²⁵ Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation", p.487

¹²⁶ David A. Baldwin, "Neoliberalism, Neorealism and World Politics," *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, s.4-8.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Kenneth Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory", *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume: 44, Issue: 1, pp: 21-37, p.30

¹²⁹ Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1984, p.9

¹³⁰ Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation", p.487

¹³¹ Robert O. Keohane, *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*, Routledge: London, 2002), p.32

2. c. Soft Power and Tourism

As we explain in the previous section, neoliberals accept the anarchy assumption of neo-realists but also they think that the anarchic structure of the system doesn't prevent cooperation. According to neoliberals, interdependence develops between the states especially in the economic issues so cooperation efforts of states on economic areas increased.¹³² In the light of these theoretical discussions, firstly we will try to understand "the power".

To find out whether a country has great power in the international system, the war power of that country should be looked into. However, in today's world, the definition of power has changed in the international system.¹³³ According to political theorists such as Niccolo Machiavelli and Hans Morgenthau, power is the natural purpose of states and people. According to Morgenthau, power can encompass everything that will enable humans to control and maintain control over humans. Therefore, power means a social relationship that serves this purpose; it can include anything that allows a person not only to use physical violence but also controlling persons' thoughts.¹³⁴ Machiavelli and Morgenthau claimed that other organizations can also obtain power just like states. Organizations such as multinational companies, the Catholic church, and NATO are some of the organizations that may be the focus of power.¹³⁵ According to David Baldwin, power is a potential relationship between two or more actors such as persons, states, and groups rather than the property of any one of them.¹³⁶

According to Nye, power is such as air, everybody depends on it and speaks about it, but few understand it. Also, power is like love, it is simpler to try rather than to explain and to measure, but this does not diminish its reality.¹³⁷ As we know, the concept of hard power is the capability to alter the behavior of another actor or actor by using an actor's economic and military means. Countries that want to play critical roles in world politics always give importance to having strong armies. It can be said that the use of military force is completely "strict" because it requires force and intervention. With the end of World War II, in addition to military power, "eco-

¹³² Arthur Stein, "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World", in David A. Baldwin (ed.): *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 29-59

¹³³ Camgöz and İstanbullu Dinçer, "Günümüz Uluslararası İlişkilerinde Turizmin Türkiye'de Yumuşak Güç Olarak kullanılmasına Yönelik Bir Değerlendirme", *JRTR* 2017, 4 (Special Issue 1), 283-293, p. 284.

¹³⁴ Tim Dunne & Brian C. Schmidt, "Realism," John Baylis et.al., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.96

¹³⁵ Camgöz and İstanbullu Dinçer, "Günümüz Uluslararası İlişkilerinde Turizmin Türkiye'de Yumuşak Güç Olarak kullanılmasına Yönelik Bir Değerlendirme", *JRTR* 2017, 4 (Special Issue 1), 283-293, p. 285.

¹³⁶ Onur Şen, "Targeted soft power in Turkish new foreign policy and its impact on origins of in-bound tourists", *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research*, Volume 5/1, 65-74, p. 67

¹³⁷ Joseph Nye, "Dünya siyasetinde Başarının Yolu: Yumuşak Güç", Elips Kitap. Trans: Reyhan İnan Aydın, 2005, p.11.

conomic power" also had an important place in political discourse. Although economic power does not appear as "solid" when analyzed from the outside, there are "sticks (threats)" in the economic power phenomenon and the only difference is that there is a "carrot (tricks)" at the end of the stick.¹³⁸ Nye defines hard power as the ability to push from the country's army and economic power, while soft power defines the attraction of a country's culture and political ideas. In this case, when the soft power of that country is greater, the other countries see more legitimate a country's policies.¹³⁹

Joseph Nye firstly started to use the term of soft power in the 1990s, and in 2004 put it in a wider conceptual framework with his book "Soft Power". While explaining this concept, Nye talks about power sources other than economic and military sources in international relations. Accordingly, military power and economic restrictions are defined as "hard power" and are treated separately from "soft power", which includes various influences. At this point, soft power is determined by many factors: culture, education, science, various branches of art, media, civil society and its elements, tourism, etc. As seen based on these elements, it provides the depth and sustainability of a country's "soft power". At the same time, Nye, who made a sharp distinction in soft power and hard power definitions and uses the resources as the main element in this distinction and admits that in some cases, such as qualified economic and military structure, the invincibility myth, the tendency of people to force, military cooperation and training programs also create soft power in some cases.¹⁴⁰

Unlike "hard power", which takes its source from the material, concrete elements, "soft power" consists of more abstract, mental, and valuable elements. In terms of "soft power", it is important to create trends such as trust, respect, and demand. These intangible elements may have tangible or material returns on international returns. For example, that can be a positive image which causes more investment, trade in a country's economy. A country's soft power supplies can cover a wide variety: economic potential, human capital, education, welfare level, cultural and historical depth, technological development potential, etc. According to Nye, the soft power of a country is based above all on three sources; culture, foreign policy, political values.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, the principles and behaviors exhibited by a government within the country, in the field of international cooperation and its foreign policy affect its "soft power" and give it a positive or negative perspective.

¹³⁸ Joseph S. Nye, *Power & Interdependence*, p.7

¹³⁹ Abdulsamet Günek, "A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding", *International Journal of Cultural and Social studies*, Vol. 4/1, June 2018, 252-259, p.253

¹⁴⁰ Cengiz Özel, "Yumuşak Güce Bütünsel Bakış", *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi*, May 2018, 7/1, 1-27, p.7

¹⁴¹ Nye, S. Joseph, *The Paradox of American Power: Why The World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, USA: Oxford, 2002, s.10.

Every country has a soft strategy of soft power. According to Geun Lee, General soft power strategies¹⁴²:

- Countries trying to correct their image to expand their security areas. For example, after World War II, Germany's efforts to integrate with Europe, Japan's restricted its military spending.
- Taking support from the countries by damaging the images of other countries. For example, the U.S.'s view of Russia as the 'enemy empire' in the Soviet era, and also today an effort to reconcile the Western world with the religion of Islam and distort its image in the world.
- The strategy of using heroes and celebrities; Achieving a positive image by acting in partnership with governments or some international organizations. For example, Angelina Jolie's visits to refugee camps under the UNICEF institution can be cited as an example.

Soft power is gained when a state imposes its civilization on another state or states. However, this situation must be fulfilled at the request of other states. The types of behavior between command and co-option can be listed as a wide range of thoughts which are economic pressures without using force, creating the agenda, and pure attraction. Soft power sources combine with the "co-option" end of behavior thoughts, while hard power sources are often associated with "command" behavior.¹⁴³ At this point, tourism can play a major role as an element of soft power precisely. Thanks to the positive image of tourism, a bridge can reach the states and the decision-making mechanisms of the states from the peoples through tourism. Therefore, it is possible to accept tourism as an element of soft power.

When the relationship between soft power and tourism is considered, media, universities, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, global companies, the film industry, student exchange movements can be attractive factors in-country tourism. These elements can create a positive image at the advertisement point of the country and bring the country's potential to the upper position in the global market. These "soft power" elements in the construction of the country brand are extremely effective. Culture, science, art, sports, education, etc. soft power resources are crucial assistants in establishing effective and long-term communication and interaction with the public. As a result of the relations established with these tools, the perception of the country is constructed positively, and new relations are established and collaborations are developed in other areas by making use of this positive perception.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Geun Lee, "A Theory of Soft Power and Korea's Soft Power Strategy", *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, No.2/2, pp.205-218, p.9-10

¹⁴³ Joseph Nye, "Dünya siyasetinde Başarının Yolu: Yumuşak Güç", Elips Kitap. Trans: Reyhan İnan Aydın, 2005.

¹⁴⁴ Vuving, A.L, "How Soft Power Works", *American Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Toronto, September 2, 2009. p.13

On the other hand, as the credibility and persuasiveness of a country increases, the attraction of that country is undoubtedly increasing. For example, Japan forms the 'improvement model' as a soft power factor. This makes Japan an attractive model for its neighbors. Provides a safer and more comfortable place around Japan.¹⁴⁵ The country, whose attractiveness has increased, arouses adoration and same feelings in other countries or people of the other countries. It is predicted that the interest and curiosity towards the countries where these feelings will increase the tourism activities so that more tourists will want to come and see that country.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TURKISH-RUSSIAN TOURISM RELATIONS

3.a.Political Economy of Tourism

When the existing international political economy of tourism is reviewed, there is little written about it. Much of the writing on the topic is related to International Political Economy, concerned with issues that cross the nation's state border.¹⁴⁶

Generally, current works about the political economy of tourism are related to global trade goods, regulation theories, governance, and foreign direct investments. However, in addition to these titles in the literature, there are also case studies examining tourism and local economic relations on country and region examples. Some of them can be summarized as the studies on the political economy of tourism below.

Firstly, Gabriela Kütting, in her book analyses the global political economy of tourism with three cases where are Zakynthos, Thassos, and Cavo Sidero in Crete. These three cases have different specialties about equity, environmental protection, and empowerment. This book claims that environmental analysis can not be done without evaluation of nature-society relations and the historically specific environmental values and ethics of the main actors.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Abdulsamet Günek, "A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding", *International Journal of Cultural and Social studies*, Vol. 4/1, June 2018, 252-259, p.256

¹⁴⁶ Jan Mosedale, "Re-Introducing Tourism to political economy, in Political economy of tourism: A critical perspective", Ed. Jan Mosedale, *Routledge*, January 2011, pp.1-14, p.4

¹⁴⁷ Gabriela Kütting, "The Global Political Economy of the Environment and Tourism" Palsgrave Macmillan, 2010

Secondly, Raul Bianchi, in his study, researches different theoretical approaches in political economy and their application to the analysis of tourism development such as the cultural political economy and Marxist thought.¹⁴⁸

Political economy offers a useful perspective for developing tourism and for studying government processes. For example, according to Bianchi, the Marxian political economy is useful for tourism researching due to analyzing labor relations in tourism and providing an objective distribution in the destination.¹⁴⁹ Generally, the model of the political economy suggests that the state has an effective role in managing and promoting tourism. Governments are the main actors in the political process of tourism development and generally have a more interventionist approach to the development of tourism compared to other sectors. There are three different styles of the economy in which states respond to tourism.¹⁵⁰

First of all, is the Liberal economy in which the market is deal with tourism. The USA and Canada are examples of the Liberal States in the meaning of management of tourism. In the USA, There is “the Office of Travel and Tourism Industries) which is a think tank type of institution in the Department of Commerce. The Office of Travel and Tourism Industries has the functions of the management of travel and tourism, doing international promotions, developing tourism policies.¹⁵¹ In Canada, The Canadian Tourism Commission makes research, sustains profitable Canadian tourism industry, provides information to the private sector, and advertises as a public-private partnership.¹⁵²

The second type of economy is social democracy which defends the rule of law and constitutional governments in the political sense. Social democracy, while affirming liberal democratic values, argues that political change takes place on the constitutional basis, the qualitative similarity of socialism and capitalism, capitalism is not fair in the distribution, but the state can intervene as the protector of common benefit, and the nation-state is an effective force in this process.¹⁵³

Finland and Sweden are examples of Social Democratic States’ responses to tourism. In Finland, the Finnish Tourist Board makes marketing communications on Finnish tourism and pro-

¹⁴⁸ Raoul Bianchi, “The political economy of tourism development: A critical review”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2018, 88–102.

¹⁴⁹ Jan Mosedale, “Re-Introducing Tourism to political economy, in Political economy of tourism: A critical perspective”, p. 14

¹⁵⁰ Craig Webster and Stanislav Ivanov, “Political Economy and Tourism Policy: NTOs and State Policy”, *SSRN Electronic Journal*, April 2009, pg. 2

¹⁵¹ Ibid, pg. 5

¹⁵² Ibid, pg.7

¹⁵³ Andrew Heywood, “Siyasi İdeolojiler Bir Giriş.”, Çeviren. A. K. Bayram vd. Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2007.

motes high-quality product development and commercialization as an organization.¹⁵⁴ In Sweden, Swedish Travel and Tourism Council and NUTEK - Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth which is a Swedish government agency organized under the Ministry of Enterprise, tasked to be promoted cooperation on tourism affairs, marketing, and market development. International marketing is performed by Swedish Travel and Tourism Council.¹⁵⁵

The third approach in the political economy phenomenon is Mercantilism. In Mercantilism, the simple realization mechanism of power attributed to the state; it can be explained by the accumulation of wealth of the state with the accumulation of wealth, with the precious mineral stock, and of the precious metal stock with the excess in the trade balance. Mercantilism, which reflects the ideology of commercial capitalism, has prioritized the interests of the merchant sector within the framework of the national wealth concept because state interests and traders' interests are kept identical. The reason for this situation is that the overseas trade that provides the power of the state and the economic activities such as the production of arms necessary for the army is in the hands of the merchants.¹⁵⁶

Japan and Korea's responses to tourism can be seen as an example of Mercantilist policy. In Japan, the Japan National Tourist Institution is under the Ministry of Tourism. The Japan National Tourist Organization is not involved with tourism planning because planning is the responsibility of the Tourism Planning Division of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism, but it rather focuses on the international promotion of Japan as a tourist destination.¹⁵⁷

The Republic of Korea's organizational response to the tourism challenge is the Korean Tourism Organization, responsible to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. the Korean Tourism Organization is not only involved in marketing Korea as the other NTOs analyses but is also engaged in developing resorts, infrastructure, tourism technology, and tour packages.¹⁵⁸

The responses of the state to the challenges of tourism are seen largely consistent with the style of the political economy of the state. Prevailing paradigms of thought about political economy seem to influence strongly how states respond to the tourism challenge thus paradigms seem to create perceived barriers to action as well as prescribe types of responses.

¹⁵⁴ Craig Webster and Stanislav Ivanov, "Political Economy and Tourism Policy: NTOs and State Policy", pg. 8

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, pg.10

¹⁵⁶ Gülten Kazgan, "İktisadi düşünce ve politik iktisadın evrimi", İstanbul Remzi Kitabevi

¹⁵⁷ Craig Webster and Stanislav Ivanov, "Political Economy and Tourism Policy: NTOs and State Policy", *SSRN Electronic Journal*, April 2009, pg. 11

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pg.12

In this sense, the political economy provides a beneficial perspective to develop tourism and to examine government responsibilities. This approach is an effective approach for the government to manage tourism.

3. b. Turkey's Tourism Strategy

The tourism sector is in the biggest growing sectors both in our country and globally. The fact that tourism activities have a socio-economic feature between different disciplines and that they have direct or indirect relations with more than 50 sub-sectors emphasizes the economic importance of tourism. In addition to primary contributions such as increasing the GDP, meeting the foreign exchange needs of the national economy, creating employment, contributing to the state budget, taxes, attracting foreign capital to the country, and helping regional development.

¹⁵⁹ The tourism sector also contributes to the improvement in the health sector.

3.b.1. Turkey's Policies

Tourism is a major economic sector, directly contributing to GDP, employment, and services exports in the countries. In 2018, the number of international tourist arrivals reached 1.4 billion by growing 5% compared to the previous year thanks to technological advances and new business models. At the same time, export earnings by tourism have reached USD 1.7 trillion.¹⁶⁰ According to the UNWTO 2018 report, Turkey ranked in the top 10 destinations which receive 40 % of worldwide arrivals.

¹⁵⁹ Timothy A Faladeobalade and Suchi Dubey, "Managing Tourism as a source of Revenue and Foreign direct investment inflow in a developing Country: The Jordanian Experience", *International Journal of Academic Research in Economics and Management Sciences*, May 2014, Vol.3, No.3, p.17

¹⁶⁰ UNWTO, 2019

Table 10: Top Ten Destinations – 2018

The top 10 destinations receive 40% of worldwide arrivals



Top ten destinations by international tourist arrivals, 2018
Source: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

Resource: UNWTO

On the other hand, when the tourism sector in Turkey up to 1980 is considered, there is not remarkable progress that has been achieved in the tourism sector. However, this situation started to change after the January 24, 1980 resolutions. Along with these decisions, the growth model applied to protect the import-substitute and domestic production maintained until that day has been abandoned and an export-based growth strategy has been adopted. Thus, the state intervention has been minimized and the free formation of prices under market conditions has been adopted as an economic policy target. These fundamental policy changes that have been implemented since 1980 undoubtedly brought many innovations in the tourism sector.¹⁶¹

To ensure the growth of the tourism sector in Turkey, the Tourism Encouragement Law was issued in 1982 and 1983. Özal government has implemented many measures to promote tourism from the period. As a result of these innovations, the tourism sector was undoubtedly one of the fastest developing sectors.¹⁶²

Between 1980 and 1990, tourism indicated quick development due to investments. In this period, several travel agencies were established and developed. Business relationships increased between local and international firms. In Turkey, the tourism industry became one of the major

¹⁶¹ Cevat Tosun, “Challenges of sustainable tourism development in the developing world: the case of Turkey”, *Tourism Management* 22, 2001, pp. 289-303, p. 295

¹⁶² Fisun Yüksel, Bill Bramwell, Atila Yüksel, “Centralised and decentralised tourism governance in Turkey, *Annals of tourism research*”, 32/4, 2005, pp. 859-886, p.863.

sectors for foreign exchange. New hotels opened in Antalya, Muğla, and other cities. The airports were established in Antalya and Dalaman which are two major touristic cities.¹⁶³

Table 11: Visitor Numbers to Turkey

Years	Number of Visitors
1955	107.248
1960	124.228
1965	361.758
1970	724.284
1975	1.148.611
1980	1.057.364
1988	4.172.729
1990	5.389.308
1995	7.726.886
2000	10.428.153
2005	21.122.798
2010	28.632.204
2015	36.244.632
2019	51.747.199

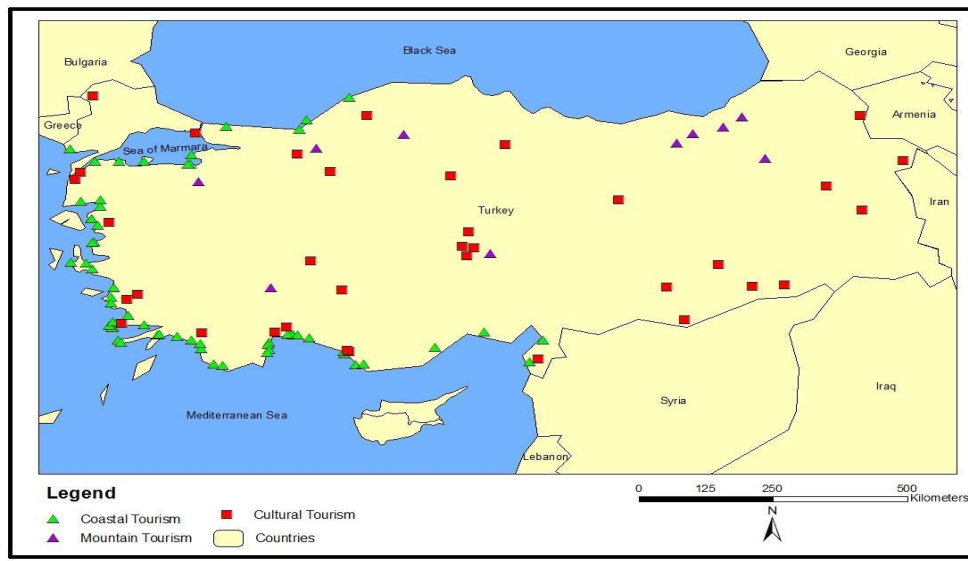
Resource: TURSAB

According to TURSAB data, the annual number of visitors to Turkey in Table 11 above can be seen. Even though sometimes there are drops, generally these numbers are at an increasing level. While the reasons are related to the developments in tourism policies and capacities of beds in tourist areas, it is mostly related to Turkey's geographical position because Turkey is surrounded by Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans, Europe, and Africa with its turquoise seas on three sides

¹⁶³ Ayşe OKUYUCU, "Tourism Development in Turkey: Development Process, Challenges and Patterns", *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, Vol 6, Issue 7, July 2013, pp. 815-827, p. 819

that make it a preferred country in the field of tourism. With its geographic choices, Turkey is an excellent place for four seasons.¹⁶⁴

Location of Most Important Tourist



Localities in Turkey

Also, it has historic areas and natural beauties. This means Turkey is attracting foreign visitors in recent years. When it is seen in table 12 below, important growth can be seen in the numbers of people from Germany. In the last years especially from Russia to Turkey tourism demand increased.

Table 12: Visitors to Turkey

Years	2010		2015		2018	
Num-ber	Country	Tourist Num-ber	Country	Tourist Num-ber	Country	Tourist Num-ber
1	Germany	4.385.263	Germany	5.580.792	Russia	5.964.613
2	Russia	2.673.605	Russia	3.649.003	Germany	4.512.360
3	Great Britain	2.673.605	Great Britain	2.512.139	Bulgaria	2.386.885

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p.823

4	Iran	1.885.097	Georgia	1.911.832	Great Britain	2.254.871
5	Bulgaria	1.433.970	Bulgaria	1.821.480	Georgia	2.069.392
6	Georgia	1.112.193	Iran	1.700.385	Iran	2.001.744
7	Netherland	1.073.064	Netherland	1.232.487	Ukraine	1.386.934
8	France	928.376	Iraq	1.094.144	Iraq	1.172.896
9	Syria	899.494	France	847.259	Netherland	1.013.642
10	Italy	671.060	Ukraine	706.551	France	731.379

Resource: Culture and Tourism Ministry of Turkey

The tourism sector which realized its first growth from the middle of 1980s to the early 2000s has achieved a new growth momentum, especially in the 2000s. While the state undertakes the task of full infrastructure and regulation in the tourism sector, the public tourism assets are largely privatized and the weight of the private sector and foreign capital has increased gradually in the tourism sector. Public policies for mass tourism and especially the incentives are given to the Mediterranean and Aegean regions have been strengthened in this period. As a reason for all these policies, a range of positive impacts, which are current account balance, national income, tax revenues, direct-indirect employment, and even sociocultural development, had been expected from the sector.¹⁶⁵

Turkey, especially in the 2000s ranked 6th with about 40 million visitors and ranked as 9th with \$ 34 billion tourism revenue in the world. The improvement in tourism revenues and the increasing number of tourists has also been highly effective for closing the foreign trade deficit of Turkey.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵Münevver Soyak, Türk Turizm Sektörünün Yapısal Analizi ve Swot Matrisine Dayalı Sektörel Stratejiler, *The Journal of Marmara Social Research*, No. 10, Aralık 2016, p.9-12.

¹⁶⁶ Remzi Bulut and Ahmet Yalçın, “Importance and Development of Turkish - Russian Tourism in Terms of Economic Relations”, *International Refereed Academic Social Sciences Journal*, Issue 19, Summer, p.103

Table 13: Closing Foreign Trade Deficit Rate of Tourism Revenue

YEAR	Foreign Trade Deficit (FTD) (\$)	Tourism Revenue	Closing FTD Rate of Tourism Revenue (%)
2000	26.727.914	9.990.841	37,38
2001	10.064.867	13.450.127	133,63
2002	15.494.708	15.214.514	98,19
2003	22.086.856	16.302.053	73,81
2004	34.372.613	20.262.640	58,95
2005	43.297.743	24.124.501	55,72
2006	54.041.498	23.148.669	42,83
2007	62.790.965	27.214.988	43,34
2008	69.936.378	30.979.979	44,3
2009	38.785.809	32.006.149	82,52
2010	71.661.113	33.027.943	46,09
2011	105.934.807	36.151.328	34,13
2012	84.066.659	36.776.645	43,75
2013	99.858.613	32.308.991	32,35
2014	84.508.918	34.305.903	40,59
2015	63.268.398	31.464.777	49,73
2016	55.995.686	22.107.440	39,48
2017	76.736.291	26.283.656	34,25

Resource: TURSAB

Especially in countries such as Turkey, which has low rates of domestic savings and trying to grow depending on foreign savings rates, the current account deficit is a very important issue. However, the positive effect of tourism revenues on the solution of such an increasing current account deficit cannot be ignored. At this point, as it is seen in Table 13, the importance of tour-

ism is measured by its contribution to the foreign trade balances because the foreign exchange movements have a good effect on the payments of the countries. Therefore, the role of tourism's impact on the foreign exchange earning is very huge in closing Turkey's foreign trade deficit.

In this regard, one example of government policies is the incentives of the Ministry of Trade on foreign exchange-earning trade in Turkey.¹⁶⁷ Health tourism is the most important tourism branch for foreign exchange-earning trade in recent years. Health tourism contributes to the development of foreign exchange-earning trade. For this purpose, the Health Tourism Development program is implemented by the Ministry of Tourism. With this program, the Ministry of Tourism aims to raise Turkey's position in the medical tourism area of the world market and to increase its competitiveness power in the areas of thermal tourism and elderly tourism by rising quality of service. Some of the objectives of this program are the following¹⁶⁸:

- ☐ Providing services to 1,500,000 (600,000 therapeutic purposes) foreign thermal tourists in thermal tourism,
- ☐ Being in the top 5 location in the world in health tourism,
- ☐ Treatment of 750.000 international patients,
- ☐ Increasing of bed numbers in elderly tourism,
- ☐ Increasing foreign tourist number in elderly tourism,
- ☐ 750 million dollars revenue in elderly tourism,

At the same time, with the Circular Regarding the Implementation Procedures and Principles of the Decision on the Support of the Ministry of Economy 2015/8 Foreign Exchange Earning Service Trade, support is provided in sectors such as reporting, certification, advertising, foreign office, consultation, and agent service.¹⁶⁹ For example, thanks to these incentives, most of the private hospitals in Turkey can promote their hospitals at international fairs and attract potential international health tourists.¹⁷⁰ Thus, they are engaged in foreign exchange earning trade to our country.

Besides health tourism, several tourism areas are increased in Turkey such as cultural tourism, conventions tourism, faith tourism, youth tourism, and sports tourism as well.¹⁷¹ When the trends in Turkey's tourism, cultural wealth, market share, geographical advantages are examined, it can be said that outweigh its strengths as demand in international tourism.

¹⁶⁷ Ministry of Trade, Accessed: <https://ticaret.gov.tr/hizmet-ticareti/doviz-kazandirici-hizmet-ticareti>

¹⁶⁸ H. Ömer Tontuş, Sağlık Turizminin Geliştirilmesi Programı, Onuncu Kalkınma Planı (2014-2018), T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, p.2.

¹⁶⁹ Ministry of Trade, Accessed: <https://ticaret.gov.tr/hizmet-ticareti/doviz-kazandirici-hizmet-ticareti>

¹⁷⁰ Ministry of Health, Accessed: <https://dosyamerkez.saglik.gov.tr/Eklenti/429,ekonomi-bakanliginin-saglik-turizmi-ile-ilgili-tesviklerle-ilgili-tebligipdf.pdf?0>

¹⁷¹ Maria D. Alvarez, "Marketing of Turkey as a Tourism Destination", *Anatolia*, 21/1, 123-138, p.127.

Even though there are policies for tourism development in Turkey, the scarcity of promotion and marketing and the lack of advertisements are seen especially in the social media area. At this point, it is possible to mention some suggestions. In the meaning of written campaigns, the promotion area undoubtedly is poster slogans. Slogans in brochures and posters of the Ministry of Tourism can create significant attraction to the people. Moreover, comprehensive marketing strategies should be followed for tourist locations in Turkey. These branding strategies can be culture-based marketing, media-based marketing, market competition based marketing, and multi-channel marketing strategies.¹⁷² Tourism Strategy of Turkey in the event of the completion of the work as specified in the Certificate of about 63 million tourists in 2023, foreign tourism revenue of \$ 8 billion and is projected to spend \$ 1350 per tourist.¹⁷³ These projects can be successful on these subjects: planning and organization of tourism, research, and development, service, transportation, infrastructure, promotion and marketing, branding, alteration of tourism.

3.b.2. Russia's Role

Russia is a large country with borders with almost all world regions such as Europe, Asia, and North America. This is a country where we can find several different climates from the arid desert climate of Southeast Asia and Siberian polar climate. But, in general, has a very cold climate in winter, with temperatures usually below zero, and cool and moist summers with an average temperature of 15-20 degrees.

The location of the country provides a strategic position because of closing to some of the most developed countries in the world such as the European Union, Japan, the United States, and to important emerging economies like China and India. The size and location of the country offer Russia a huge potential for development in the global tourism industry. However, geographically, a large part of the region is located around the Arctic Circle and limits this development.

¹⁷² Yingzhi Guo, Xiaoming Li and Qiulin Wang, "Cultural Soft Power-based Brand Culture Marketing Strategies of Tourist Destinations", *Journal of Landscape Research*, 2014, 6, 1/2: 51-52, p.52

¹⁷³ Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007

Russia in the World Map



Source: Attributed to Wikimedia Commons 2019¹⁷⁴

Moreover, there are enormous sections of regions with very low population density, lack of infrastructure, and difficult living conditions. These areas are generally divided into natural parks and reserves in the middle, north, and east of the country. As a result, the majority of people live in the European region of Russia, and the development of the tourism industry in the rest of the country should be viewed as a long-term process. This will require the development of these regions as a prerequisite and necessary condition.¹⁷⁵

When the advantages existing of this country are analyzed, two types of advantages can be seen which are comparative and competitive advantages. Comparative advantages are natural resources and geographic location while competitive advantages are operations developed by the private sector and governments. The tourism sector in Russia can be analyzed on the exploitation of the comparative and competitive advantages of the country. The main comparative advantages are the geographic position and the remarkable endowment in the tourism resources such as nature-based resources, cultural heritage, health, and sports tradition of Russia. The use

¹⁷⁴ Wikipedia Commons,

¹⁷⁵ Lidia Andrades Caldito and Frederic Dimanche, "Tourism in Russia : A Management Handbook": Vol. 1, *Emerald Group Publishing Limited*, 2015. p.28

of competitive advantages poses significant challenges for this sector, such as the capacity of the private sector to improve all stages of the tourism value chain and the capacity of the state to establish a regulatory framework that ensures the efficient development of the tourism sector.¹⁷⁶

As we mention in the globalization and tourism section, tourism spread around the world properly with the development of the cultural potential, transport and communication channels, emergence of economic, social, and political ties between nations and states. The Russian Federation has started to give any importance to tourism after the disintegration of the USSR. During the USSR Period, military investments were focused.¹⁷⁷

In this regard, specific stages of the development of Russian tourism can be distinguished in 5 historical steps.¹⁷⁸

1. The period from 10th through 17th centuries.
2. From the late 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century.

In these stages of tourism development in Russia, it is seen random advancement of tourism, mainly pushed by the efforts of enthusiastic individuals. Strictly speaking, Russia did not have a real establishment of tourism activities in the meaning of a modern economic sector until the beginning of the 20th century. This situation was similar to the rest of the western world at that time.¹⁷⁹

3. From the second half of the 19th beginning to the 20th century
4. Soviet period: 1918-1991
5. 1992 up to now

During the Soviet period, tourism and traveling activities were experienced through educational activities. In the transition-to-market period, Russia has improved the degree of integration into the world tourism market. Actually, from the 90s till the 2000s, the main feature of tourism in Russia was the lack of a clear government policy to develop domestic and foreign tourism, which resulted in the deterioration of infrastructure, stagnation of investment, and monopolization of the tourism market.¹⁸⁰ In 2007, The country has become a UNWTO participant, joining

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p.32.

¹⁷⁷ Remzi Bulut and Ahmet Yalçın, "Importance and Development of Turkish - Russian Tourism in Terms of Economic Relations", *International Refereed Academic Social Sciences Journal*, Issue 19, Summer, p.109

¹⁷⁸ Lidia Andrades Caldito and Frederic Dimanche, "Tourism in Russia : A Management Handbook", Vol.1, *Emerald Group Publishing Limited*, 2015. p.12

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.17.

¹⁸⁰ A. Ovcharov, "Russia's Tourism Industry: Trends and Risks, Problems of Economic Transition", 2008, 51/5, 56-67, p.58

the Executive committee. Russian companies have been granted membership in several international associations such as the International air transport Association (IATA), the International Federation of TourOperators, or the International Hotel Association. The country also participates in most major international tourism exhibitions, has on its territory most of the largest international hotel chains, and gradually opens wider the door to international visitors and investments.¹⁸¹

Now, the Russian tourism industry has all the necessary resources for the development of all types of recreation. The Russian Travel and Tourism industry had total revenues of \$48.2 bn in 2018, representing a compound annual rate of change (CARC) of 0% between 2014 and 2018.¹⁸²

Table 14: Russia travel & tourism industry value: \$ billion, 2014-2018

Year	\$ billion	% Growth
2014	48.3	
2015	40.7	15.7 %
2016	40.7	0.1 %
2017	47.8	17.4 %
2018	48.2	0.9 %

Resource: Marketline, 1 Feb 2020

Tourism in Russia has a long tradition for domestic flows, but it only recently opened to international travel, both inbound and outbound. Total inbound tourism in Russia accounted for 28.4 million foreign tourists in 2013, a 10% increase from the previous year, with US\$ 11,988 million in receipts. Outbound tourism flows represented about 45 million person-trips with US\$ 53,500 million in expenditure in that same year.¹⁸³ The decline seen in 2015 tourism revenues was largely the result of geopolitical tensions and economic turmoil. The average price of accommodation declined massively in recent years, whilst occupancy rates only witnessed im-

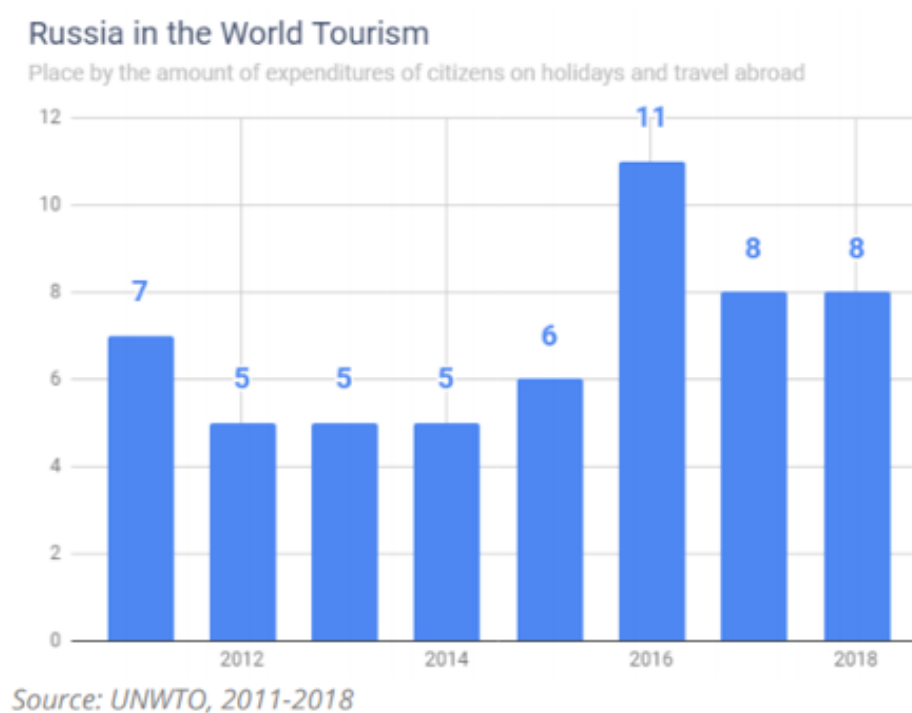
¹⁸¹ Lidia Andrades Caldito and Frederic Dimanche, "Tourism in Russia : A Management Handbook", p.26.

¹⁸² "Travel & Tourism Industry Profile: Russia", *Marketline Industry Profile*, February 1, 2020, p.9

¹⁸³ Lidia Andrades Caldito & Frederic Dimanche. *Tourism in Russia : A Management Handbook: Vol. First edition.* Emerald Group Publishing Limited., 2015. p.26.

provements over 2015 and 2016.¹⁸⁴ According to UNWTA data, in 2018, Russia indicated the biggest growth with 16% the number of expenditures of citizens on holidays and travel abroad so it keeps the place in 8th.

Table 15: Russia in the World Tourism

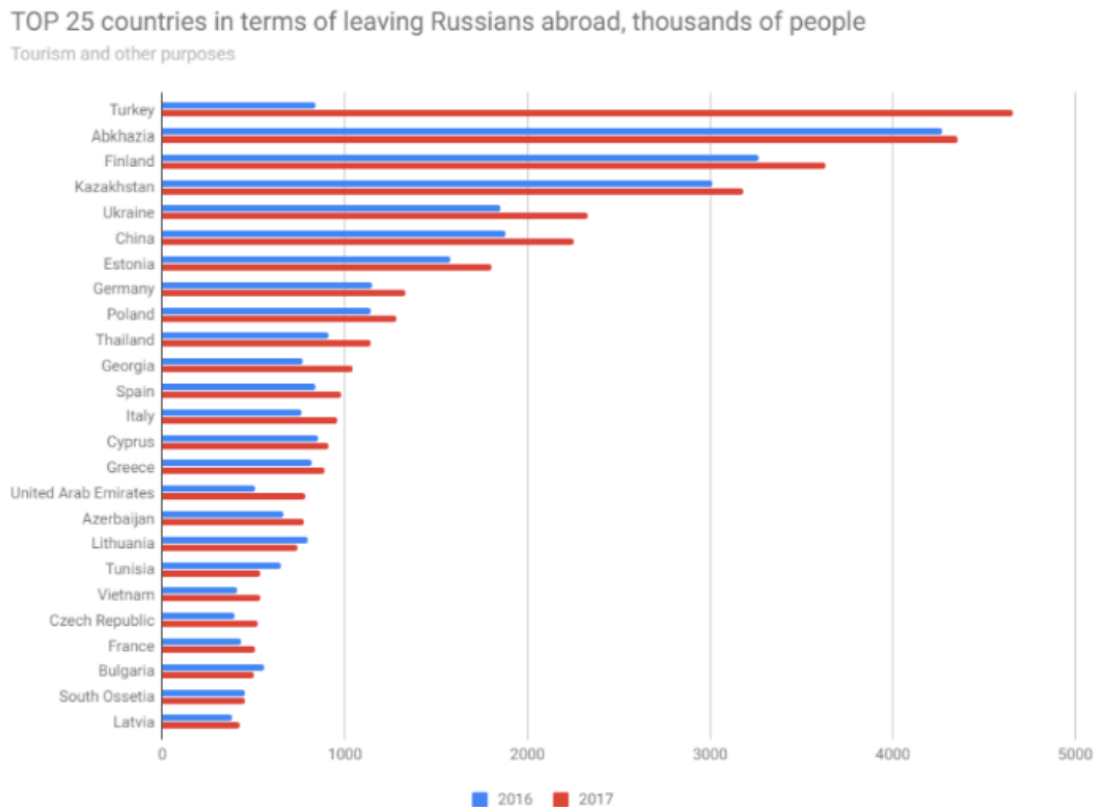


Resource: UNWTO, 2019

However, the outbound tourism market finished the year 2018 with a humble compared to growth rates of 2017 growth in the number of tourists. At the end of 2018, the outbound tourist grew only by 6.1% (in 2017 – by 35.9%).

¹⁸⁴ Travel & Tourism Industry Profile: Russia, Marketline Industry Profile, February 1, 2020, p.9

Table 16: List of Countries Most Visited by Russians



Resource: Federal State Statistics Service, 2018

According to the Russian State Statistics Service Rosstat, From 1 January – 30 June 2019, Russian citizens made 19,891,000 trips abroad of which is 6% more than the same period in 2018, which was 9% more than in 2017. Due to the downing of the Russian Jet Crisis, in 2016 the number of Russian tourists sharply decreased but Turkey remains the first choice after its return to the market in 2017. According to the official statistics, the top destinations for Russian tourists in the first half of 2019 are Turkey, China, Thailand, Spain, and Italy.¹⁸⁵

As it is seen in the numbers, except for the year 2016, Turkey was the first choice for Russian visitors. The decrease in the number of Russian tourists in 2016 for Turkey is one of the most important examples of the impact of international relations on the tourist flow. The next section will examine the relationship of tourism between Turkey and Russia in this case with more detail.

¹⁸⁵ Emiss, Communication Ministry of Russia, Accessed: <https://fedstat.ru/indicator/38480>

3.c. Turkish-Russian Tourism Relations

Turkey is one of the most preferred tourism locations for Russians so that some analysts say that Russians reached the "warm waters" with tourism.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, tourism has a significant component in the economic relations and cultural relations between Turkey and Russia.

When the factors that contribute to these relations are considered, firstly it is possible to mention The Tourism Cooperation Agreement. On 24 March 1995, The Tourism Cooperation Agreement was signed by the two countries. This agreement contributed to tourism activities and exhibitions between these countries. Following this agreement, the Turkish Ministry of Tourism started advertising activities for Turkey's resorts for attracting Russian tourists.¹⁸⁷ After these promotions, the number of Russian tourists visiting Turkey's southern regions increased. For a long time ago, Turkey is a preferred location for Russian tourists due to its geographical closeness and high quality cheap Turkish tourism services.

As a very important contribution, Turkish exports to Russia to our economy was studied in the previous sections.

An important trade area between Turkey and Russia is the "suitcase trade" with Russia in the early 1990s made a great contribution to both our economic relations with Russia and our tourism relations as well. Even though there is an imbalance in contacts with Russian officials from time to time, it can be said that the issues are closed thanks to construction investments, tourism, and the trade of this suitcase.¹⁸⁸ Due to the realization by the continuous journey of the Russians between two countries, Russian called this trade as "shuttle trade". Turkish people likened this trade to sell goods in Turkey that were brought from Cyprus in the 1960s so they gave the name "suitcase trade". Laleli is the center of the suitcase trade in Turkey. A large number of people from Russia and other newly independent republics are dealing with the goods which they buy from this market in their own country. Among the most purchased goods in this market are textiles, clothing, leather garments, etc. is located. In the late 1990s, exports to Turkey's official export from Laleli market is estimated to reach more than half.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Suat Kınıkoğlu, "The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Turkey*, April-June 2006, 8/2, pp. 81-96. p.91.

¹⁸⁷ Turan Aydın and Olgan Bekar, "Türkiye'nin orta ve uzun vadeli ekonomik çıkarları açısından Türk Rus ilişkileri", Ankara: TESEV, 1997. p.181

¹⁸⁸ İlyas Kamalov, "Komşuluktan Stratejik İşbirliğine: Türk-Rus İlişkileri", *ORSAM report*, 18/3, Mayıs 2010. s. 8.

¹⁸⁹ Salih Yılmaz and Abdullah Yakşi, "Turkish-Russian Relations from the Ottoman period to the present", 9-57, *TYB Akademi*, No.17, May 2016, p.33

In addition to the economic relations in the 90s, collaborations in the field of energy also brought the peoples of the two countries closer together and contributed to the development of tourism. For instance, for the delivery of Russian Natural Gas under the Black Sea to the Republic of Turkey signed on December 15, 1997, the Blue Stream agreement which was seen as critical by tourism sector operators in terms of the tourism sector and diplomats in terms of the rapprochement of peoples.¹⁹⁰ However, the numbers of tourists coming from Russia, which was turbulent due to the 98 crisis in the 90s, gained considerable transition in the 2000s.

Table 17: Number of Russian Tourists Visiting Turkey

Country	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
Russia	0.5	0.7	1.9	3.1	3.7	7

Resource: Turkey Culture and Tourism Ministry

In the post-2000 years of the Putin Period, Russia and Turkey relations have gained a lot of momentum. As we have seen in detail in the previous chapters, in these years, it is trying to strengthen the relationship between them in both countries. During the 2000s, relations deepened, diplomatic dialogue increased, cultural relations developed and common trust was tried to be strengthened. Commitment to strengthening relations in both countries had a very important effect on the development of relations.¹⁹¹ Undoubtedly, it is seen the effect of this in tourism relations. As it is seen in table 16 above, despite the crisis in 2001, tourism momentum continued to increase throughout the 2000s. Another reason for the not decline in the number of tourists from Russia after the 2001 crisis in Turkey is that low-level prices of the Turkish tourism sector caught the attention of Russian tourists and the number of Russian visitors increased.¹⁹²

According to the numbers showed in table 17 below, the increasing trend in the number of tourists from Russia coming to Turkey is monitored. In 2015, there was a 20 percent decrease due to the economic situation of Russia. This decline gained momentum after tensions between Russia and Turkey.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p.34.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.35.

¹⁹² Levent Şahin and Hasan Akça, “Effects of Russia’s Economic Growth on Turkey’s Tourism Sector”, *International Conference on Eurasian Economies*, 2013, Session 3A: Tourism, p.77

Table 18: Number of Russian Tourists Visiting Turkey

Country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Russia	3.1	3.5	3.6	4.3	4.5	3.7	0.9	4.72

Resource: Turkey Culture and Tourism Ministry

In the year 2016, Turkey's tourism has taken a serious wound. After this occurred crisis with Turkey's largest commercial partner with Russia on 24 November 2015, it happened tensions between the two countries in economic terms. In the tourism industry, political crisis, political disagreements, and conflicts can cause a huge loss in terms of economics.¹⁹³ After the crisis, the Russian Federation has decided application to economic sanctions in relations with Turkey. Sanctions hurt tourism in Turkey by Russia in 2016 areas follows¹⁹⁴:

- Stopping sales by stimulating tourism companies which sales vacation packages to Turkey,
- Stopping charter flights from Turkey,
- Suspension of the free visa process.

Russia also made sanction decisions in addition to the measures taken. According to this; civil airline pilots in Russia will henceforth not go for training to Turkey. Although there are already sanctions on the tourism sector, extra sanctions were added. The main reason for this is preventing Russian citizens to book hotels with internet sites in Turkey by themselves without the agencies.¹⁹⁵ After Russia's embargo about the jet crisis, Turkey's damage in tourism is 2.1 billion dollars in 2016.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Uslu, Abdullah and Akay, Bayram. "Assessing The Effect of International Relations on Tourism Demand In The Context Of Turkey-Russia Aircraft Crisis", *Journal of Tourism and Services*, 29/05/2019, p.64

¹⁹⁴ Esin Can, Saniye Yıldırım Özmutlu, Cansu Aykaç, "Politik İklim Değişikliklerinin Ülkelerarası Ticaretle İlişkisi: Türkiye Rusya Uçak Krizi Üzerine Ekonometrik Bir İnceleme", *Journal of Political Sciences*, Vol.28, No.1, pp. 1–18, p.8

¹⁹⁵ Salih Yılmaz and Abdullah Yaksi, "Turkish-Russian Relations from the Ottoman period to the present", 9-57, *TYB Akademi*, No. 17, Mayıs 2016, p.48

¹⁹⁶ Emrah Şahin, Fatih Konak, S. Serdar Karaca, "Türkiye ve Rusya Arasındaki Uçak Krizinin Borsa İstanbul Gıda, İçecek ve Turizm Endeksleri Üzerine Etkisi", *Business and Economics Research Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2017 pp. 473-485, p.476.

Revenues from tourism are important for the successful improvement of Turkey's economy, including the optimization of its balance of payments. That's why the drop in tourist flows from Russia has affected this industry after the jet crisis in 2015. Therefore, in December 2016, Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım went to Moscow with the invitation of his Russian counterpart, Dmitriy Medvedev. Yıldırım met with Federation Council President Valentina Matviyenko, Prime Minister Medvedev, and finally President Putin in the Kremlin. During the contacts, the general situation of bilateral relations and regional and international developments, especially joint projects in the fields of energy, agriculture, tourism, industry, and transportation, were evaluated. When the relations are improved, the numbers improve quickly and rise to 4.7 million in 2017 and about 6 million in 2018.¹⁹⁷

Turkey and Russia again proved that they are key tourism partners. In 2017, Russian President Vladimir Putin and President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, after bilateral talks in the Kremlin-Russia High-Level Cooperation Council of the Republic of Turkey, attended the meeting 6. Especially the development of bilateral relations based on mutually beneficial economic and commercial cooperation between Russia and Turkey were discussed in detail. Ideas were exchanged on current regional and international issues. As a result of the meeting, eight agreements were signed. One of these was the Declaration on the Arrangement between the Russian Federation Ministry of Culture and Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture for Tourism Year in 2019 between Russia and Turkey. After the declaration, on 23th of January 2019, during a joint press conference with his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin in Moscow, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said¹⁹⁸:

"We have broad cooperation with Russia in the areas of the economy, trade, culture, and industry, and our collaboration is particularly spearheaded by the tourism sector,"

Russia and Turkey have declared 2019 as "Culture and Tourism Year", which created an important opportunity for increasing social and cultural linkages. This declaration boost the number of Russian visitors by setting a record.¹⁹⁹

Besides the economic factors, while analyzing tourism potential between the countries, it is also useful to look at the cultural relations. Marriage is the first factor in this. Marriage is a real

¹⁹⁷ Mitat Çelikpala, "Bugüne Tarih Olarak Bakmak: Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinin Serencami ve Geleceği", *Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Araştırmalar Merkezi*, 2019/5, p.16.

¹⁹⁸ Daily Sabah, 24 Jan 2019

¹⁹⁹ Turhan Dilmaç, "Turkey and Russia: From Shared History to Today's Cooperation", *Perception*, Summer 2018, 23 / 2, pp. 4-6, p. 8

migration factor from Russia to Turkey. Since the 90s, mixed marriage numbers have increased in Turkey. Russia is top of the list.²⁰⁰ Tourism is one of the most important factors for human mobility.²⁰¹ Russian women generally meet their husbands when they visit Antalya on their holidays or when they come for short-term work. Most of the residents here have come to Antalya for touristic purposes at least twice before. Therefore, in this sense, they differ from immigrants who have never seen this place.²⁰²

These marriage relations between Russians and Turks make bilateral relations between the two countries warmer and closer.²⁰³ According to statistics, in the past 10 years, marriages have reached almost 200,000 between Turk and Russians. The male side is Turkish in all marriages. Besides to increasing Russian population in Turkey, there are many Turkic speaking Muslims in Russia. At the same time, some entrepreneurs opened some schools in Russia to give education to these people.²⁰⁴

Secondly, cultural relations deepen between the two countries in real estate. The tourism industry has enormously contributed to this process. After spending some time on vacation in resort cities, many Russian tourists have decided to buy a house or an apartment. It is important to note that Turkey is the leading real estate market for Russians investing abroad.²⁰⁵ Russia is one of the examples of states that experience internationalization of real estate. Russia's financial system creates a lasting effect on foreign countries. Secondly, Russia creates a geopolitical effect and dependency on foreign countries where sell real estate. According to Turkstat, in 2019, 45,500 houses and apartments were bought by foreigners. Russians bought 2.893 of them. In 2019, Russians bought 26% more apartments and houses in Turkey than in 2018.

Table 19: House sales numbers to Russians, 2015-2020

Year	Country	Total
2019	Russia	2 893
2018	Russia	2 297

²⁰⁰ Ayla Deniz and E. Murat Özgür, "Mixed marriage and transnational marriage migration in the grip of political economy: Russian-Turkish Case", *Turkish Studies*, 2020, p.2

²⁰¹ Ibid, p.7

²⁰² Ayla Deniz ve Ertuğrul Murat Özgür, "Antalya'daki Rus gelinler: Göçten evliliğe, evlilikten göçe", *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, 3/27, 2013/2, 151-175, p.159.

²⁰³ Nevzat Şimşek, Ayça Şimşek, Zhenginkhan Zhanaltay, "Analysis of Bilateral Trade Relations between Turkey and Russia Federation", *Bilig*, 2017/83, 1-26, p.2

²⁰⁴ Şener Aktürk, "Turkey's Special Relationship with Germany and Russia", *Insight Turkey*, October-December 2006, 8/4, pp. 7-14, p.11

²⁰⁵ Halduñ Çancı, "Economic Pull Factors versus Political Push Factors: A Descriptive Analysis of Multidimensional Relations between Russia and Turkey", *European Review*, 1-16, 2017, Academia Europe, p.10

2017	Russia	1 331
2015	Russia	2 036

Resource: TUIK, 2020

Real estate experts claim the increase in Russian sales to low prices. The depreciation of the Turkish lira provided many Russians the opportunity to purchase Turkish property. Russian buyers prefer houses and apartments in Antalya and Alanya, on the Mediterranean coast. Big cities are not so popular among Russians.

As a result, many factors contributed to Turkish-Russian tourism relations in the field of economy and culture.

3.d. Interdependence in Turkish-Russian Tourism Relations

When the effects of interdependence assumption on Turkish-Russian relations are considered, it can be observed on trade, investment, and tourism.

Growing economic relations between Turkey and Russia has been intense. The trade number between Turkey and Russia increased from US dollar 4.5 billion in 2000 to 26,309 billion USD in 2019.²⁰⁶ The second area of the increasing interdependence between Russia and Turkey is an investment channel. Russian telecommunication investments in Turkey continued to grow. An example of this is the Russian Alfa Group's buying a portion of Turkey's GSM operator Turkcell. Besides telecommunication, construction, energy, and tourism investments continued to grow. The biggest investments were made by Efes Pilsen, Vitra, Vestel, Pasabahce, Enka, Gamma, and others.²⁰⁷ At the same time, Turkish investments in Russia expanded on the construction, foodstuff, retail, glass, and electronics industry.²⁰⁸ Turkey's building companies have worked with the Russian market over the years. According to Russian data, Turkish building companies got about \$20 billion value of contracts before the 2009 stagnation period.²⁰⁹ The

²⁰⁶ MFA, "Relations between Turkey and the Russian Federation", Accessed: mfa.gov.tr

²⁰⁷ Natalia Ulchenko, "What Is So Special About Russian-Turkish Economic Relations", *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 125, 25 March 2013, p.8

²⁰⁸ Suat Kınıkoğlu, "The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations, *Insight Turkey*", April-June 2006, 8/2, (April-June 2006), pp. 81-96. p.85

²⁰⁹ Richard Weitz, "Russian-Turkish Relations: Steadfast and Changing", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, pp. 61-85, Summer 2010, p.71

third area of deepening interdependence in Turkey–Russia relations is tourism. In 2011 travel without a visa for 30 days between Russia and Turkey proved that a turning point for their common trust. Turkey is a preferred location for Russian tourists. According to the Culture and Tourism Ministry data, in 2019 6.8 million Russians visited Turkey.²¹⁰

According to Nye and Welch, while a perfect symmetry in mutual relations is quite rare, asymmetry forms the basis of interdependence. Namely, interdependence does not result in gaining equal shares from the bilateral economic relationship. On the contrary, the costs associated with a crisis in bilateral relations are generally higher for the weak side.²¹¹

In Turkish-Russian economic, energy, and tourism relations, mostly asymmetrical interdependence can be observed. In the meaning of the number of investments and exports, Turkey is in a more advantageous position than Russia.²¹² Therefore, Turkey's economy is sensitive to any crises with Russia. After Turkey downs the Russian jet in 2015, the developments showed that a crisis is costly for both sides but costlier for Turkey. The Russian government announced a list of economic sanctions on Turkey such as Turkish investments and workforce in Russia, Turkish goods in the Russian market, and restrictions of flights to Turkey.²¹³

According to Keohane and Nye's Power asymmetry definitions, sensitivity, and vulnerability dimensions are seen on the developments after Turkey downed the Russian jet issue. Russia's economic restrictions showed that Turkey was quietly sensitive to any changes in Russian diplomacy. Moreover, Turkey was more undefended to any change in the regulations of the economic restrictions with Russia. Three reasons worsen Turkey's vulnerability to Russian restrictions.²¹⁴ Firstly, it was difficult for Turkish exporters to discover a new trade partner that could replace Russia. Namely, Turkey's exports to Russia decrease from US\$ 5.9 billion in 2014 to US\$ 1.7 billion in 2016 and recovered to US\$ 2.7 billion in 2017. Generally, when the export relations between Turkey and Russia are considered, while Turkey is superior in products of coffee, tea, cocoa, spices and products, travel goods, handbags, carrier goods, shoes and accessories, fruits and vegetables, clothing and their accessories, motor vehicles, bicycles and motorcycles, animal and vegetable fertilizers, mineral substances such as salt, sulfur, lump, plaster, prefabricated structures, sanitary plumbing, heating, and fixed lighting devices, textile products,

²¹⁰ Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Accessed: <https://yigm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-9851/turizm-istatistikleri.html>

²¹¹ Seçkin Köstem, "The Political Economy of Turkish-Russian Relations: Dynamics of Asymmetric Interdependence", *Perception*, Summer 2018, 23/2, pp. 10-32, p.13.

²¹² Natalia Ulchenko, "What Is So Special About Russian–Turkish Economic Relations", *Russian Analytical Digest* No. 125, 25 March 2013, p.8

²¹³ Seçkin Köstem, "The Political Economy of Turkish-Russian Relations: Dynamics of Asymmetric Interdependence", p.13.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

power generating machines and vehicles, fish and other seafood, medicine and pharmaceutical products, furniture, bedding, bed struts and pillows, electrical machines, devices and parts of products while Russian Federation is superior in petroleum gases, natural gas, and other manufactured gases, hard coal, coke and briquette coal, animal foodstuffs, mineral chemical fertilizers, cereals, cereals, vegetable oils, and fractions. The superiority in capital-intensive goods lies in the Russian federation.²¹⁵

Table 4: Turkey's Export and Import Numbers with Russia

Years	Exports to Russia (billion \$)	Import from Russia (billion \$)
2009	3.19	19.45
2010	4.63	21.60
2011	5.99	23.95
2012	6.68	26.63
2013	6.96	25.06
2014	5.94	25.29
2015	3.59	20.40
2016	1.73	15.16
2017	2.73	19.51
2018	3.4	22.3
2019	4	22.4

Resource: Turkey Ministry of Trade

Secondly, it was very hard to replace Russian tourists, the number of which had risen to 4 million in 2014, constituting 12% of total tourist arrivals to Turkey in the same year. Russian tourists spent an estimated US\$ 3 billion in Turkey in 2014. Only seven hundred thousand Russian

²¹⁵ Eyüp Zengin, The Relations of Trade Between Turkey and Russian Federation, *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 4/1, 2015, 61-103, p. 93.

tourists visited Turkey in 2016, despite the gradual normalization of relations that had started in the summer of 2016.²¹⁶

In this context, on 24 November 2015 aircraft crisis has been a test case in terms of Turkey-Russia relations of asymmetrical interdependence especially in the field of tourism. Kremlin has brought a series of restrictions against Turkey in response to the dropping of the Russian jet at the border of Syria and Turkey. The quotas were applied to some goods exported from Turkey, touristic tours were stopped, the work permissions of Turkish workers in Russia were canceled and visa-free travel has been suspended.²¹⁷

In the case of Turkish-Russian energy relations, asymmetrical dependency has an importance that affects interdependence relations between them in terms of sensitivity and vulnerability. Turkey extremely depends on Russian Natural Gas. Russia provides much 55% of Turkey's natural gas demands.²¹⁸ Turbulences in recent years between Turkish-Russian relations revealed the limits of the energy-induced asymmetric relationship between two countries and so that these limits are drawn by the harmony between the two actors' geopolitical interests.

According to the report of the Turkey Energy Market Regulatory Authority, in 2018 November, Turkey's most crude oil import is from Russia with 1 billion 354 thousand tons. While Russia's crude oil import is limited relatively, Russia also ranks first in Turkey's imports of diesel and other petroleum products.

For Turkey, Russia is not only a supplier with its largest portion of the energy capacity, it is also seen as a reliable partner. From the Cold War years to Ukraine Crisis in 2006, Russia often used its energy as a tool of political repression but Russia's stability is very important in supplying gas to Turkey. Namely, while Russia is a reliable supplier for Turkey, Turkey is an important market in the rapidly growing demand for Russian gas. It can be seen that both countries are sensitive to each other in terms of energy. The ups and downs in Turkish-Russian relations demonstrate the primacy of politics for sustained economic interdependence in the future.²¹⁹

Shortly, in terms of the number of tourists and its revenue, Turkey is asymmetrical dependent on Russia because, especially as seen in the 2015 jet crisis, a serious decline was seen in the number of tourists from Russia and revenue.

In this case, the majority of the people I interviewed mentioned that the aircraft crisis-affected Turkish tourism very badly. According to Meral Kahya, In 2015, Turkey's diplomatic crisis with

²¹⁶ Seçkin Köstem, "The Political Economy of Turkish-Russian Relations: Dynamics of Asymmetric Interdependence", p.13.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid, p.14.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p.27.

Russia reduced tourism and trade in Turkey. Russian President Vladimir Putin's instructions created a negative perception of travel. After overcoming this problem, tourism relations normalized so that especially the Antalya region peaked in 2019. One of the sector representatives, Betül Çulhacılar, also mentioned that the aircraft crisis affected the tourism sector. As I try to explain in previous chapters, the effect of the relations between the two countries on this crisis can be explained mostly by the asymmetric side of the interdependence assumption because it was costlier for Turkey.

Therefore, the explanation of tourism relations of Turkey and Russia in the assumption of interdependence is more in line with the asymmetric interdependence assumption. Turkey's tourism market was very sensitive to Russian sanctions after the downing of the Russian Jet. At the same time, Turkey's dependency on Russia's energy resources is a driving force for stable economic relations.²²⁰ Therefore, in the long term, economic cooperations may reduce the likelihood of these ups and downs between the two countries.

3.e.Soft Power in Turkish-Russian Relations

Turkey tries to develop its soft power strategies with its institutions, Turkish TV Series in foreign countries, several airline advertising strategies, and improvements in the Turkish health sector.

In the field of institutions, Turkey has several institutions such as TİKA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, TRT (the Turkish National Broadcaster), Anadolu Agency (Turkish semi- governmental news agency), Kızılay (the Turkish Red Crescent) and the Yunus Emre Foundation (the Turkish cultural foundation).²²¹ Indeed, Even though Turkey's 2023 Tourism Strategy contains branding our cities with rich cultural and natural values, bringing these cities to a point of attraction for tourists and the development of alternative forms of tourism; the phrase “using tourism as a powerful tool in local and regional development in tourism development regions covering more than one province” was used as the destination. Strategies such as cultural tourism development region and belief tourism axis have been developed according to a regional basis and the cultural heritage of the regions.²²²

²²⁰ James W. Warhola and William A. Mitchell, “The Warming of Turkish-Russian Relations”, *Demokratizatsiya*, January 2006, p.130

²²¹ Onur Şen, “Targeted soft power in Turkish new foreign policy and its impact on origins of in-bound tourists”, *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research*, Volume 5/1, 65-74, p. 68

²²² “Türkiye Turizm Stratejisi 2023 Eylem Planı 2007-2013”, Yatırım ve İşletmeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları No:3085, 2007, pp. 21–32.

On the other hand, as the credibility and persuasiveness of a country increases, the attraction of that country is undoubtedly increasing. For example, Japan forms the 'improvement model' as a soft power factor. This makes Japan an attractive model for its neighbors. Provides a safer and more comfortable place around Japan.²²³ The country, whose attractiveness has increased, arouses adoration and same feelings in other countries or people of the other countries. It is predicted that the interest and curiosity towards the countries where these feelings will increase the tourism activities so that more tourists will want to come and see that country. The media has a great contribution in showing the attraction of the countries. Since the Cold War, Hollywood was promoted on Tvs by the US to attract Liberal Western values.²²⁴ According to a study of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, many tourists coming from countries that bought Turkish TV programs has increased by 12 percent in the last 5 years. For example, many tourists coming from the United Arab Emirates increased by 21 percent because in the country the 'Gumus' series was most-watched.²²⁵ Turkey's significant progress in the television series and cinema has contributed to being out of the top positions in the soft power area. When the term of soft power is considered through this series, it can be seen that they are attracting a way for tourists to Turkey where should be regarded as an achievement. Especially Balkans are a good market for Turkey Tv Series. For example, after the Tv series, Yabancı Damat was shown on Greek Tv, Greeks started to attract another Turkish Tv series.²²⁶ Turkish Tv Series is so popular in Russia as well. Young people in Russia were interested in Turkish culture thanks to Turkish TV series and movies.²²⁷ For example, as of February 2015, Kurt Seyit and Shura (Aleksandra), which is shown every day on the television channel of Russia's Domashny, has received great acclaim. Part of the series, which is about History - Drama and which works on the love story of Crimean Tatar Kurt Seyit and Russian girl Aleksandra Verjenskaya, was shot in St. Petersburg, Russia. This is one of the factors that Russian viewers watch the series.²²⁸ In short, Turkish TV series are effective instruments of soft power in different geographic areas and countries. According to the export statistics of the Tv series, the Middle East, South Asia, the Balkans, and Russia are

²²³ Abdulsamet Günek, "A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding", *International Journal of Cultural and Social studies*, Vol. 4/1, June 2018, 252-259, p.256

²²⁴ Onur Şen, "Targeted soft power in Turkish new foreign policy and its impact on origins of in-bound tourists", *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research*, Volume 5/1, 65-74, p. 70

²²⁵ Zafer Akbaş, Hakan Tuna, "Yumuşak Güç Olgusu ve Turizm İlişkisi: Medikal Turizm Kapsamında Ortadoğu'dan Gelen Turistler Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Birey ve Toplum*, Fall 2016, Vol 6, No. 12, p.85.

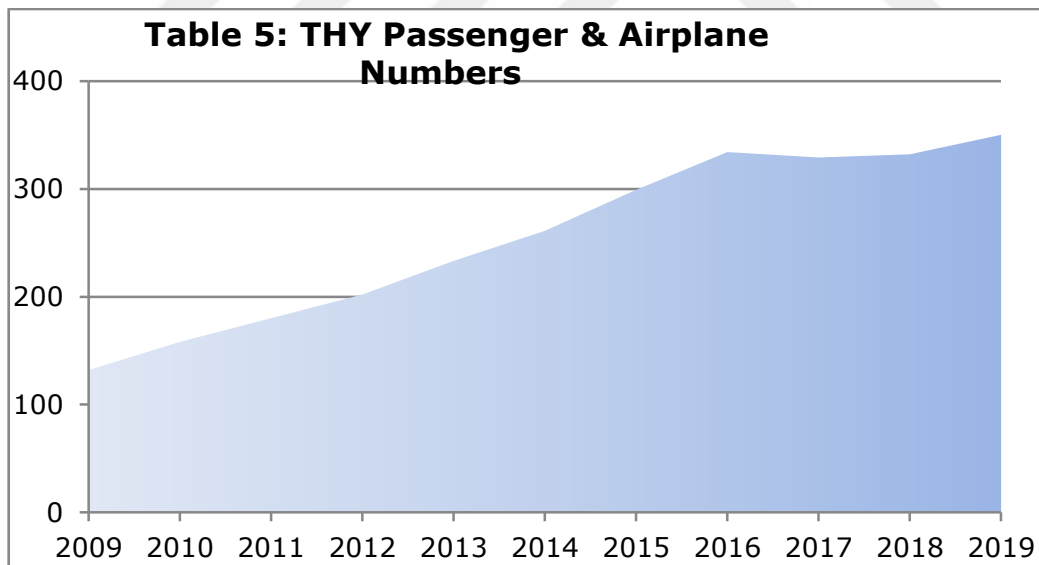
²²⁶ Nehir Ağırseven and Armağan örki, "Evaluating Turkish TV Series as Soft Power Instruments", *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*, December 2017, 7/13, pp. 836-853, p.848

²²⁷ Rus gençler dizilerle Türkiye'yi tanıyor, *Hürriyet*, 29.11.2019

²²⁸ Zeynep Gabralı, "Rusya ve Ukrayna'da sevilen Türk dizileri". *Ranini TV*, 18.04.2018

shown as the main importers but Central Asia is not in the top four.²²⁹ At this point, Turkey has geopolitical advantages, traces from the historical background, cultural characteristics, structure, foreign policy, etc. for public diplomacy efforts. Due to its characteristic features, it has recently become a regional power and its soft power has gradually increased.²³⁰ One of the most important factors for Turkey's soft power is Turkey's integration with the world. Turkey is an important member of the global institutions.²³¹

Besides the institutions of Ministry and TRT's contributions to the development of tourism, as a soft power tool of Turkey, Turkish Airlines must be evaluated as well. According to the British consulting firm Portland Communications, Turkey "as a real bridge between East and West, has endeavored to strike a balance and connection between both sides. One of the most positive outward of these efforts is Turkish Airlines, which is an investment supported by the government. THY notes the strengths of Turkey by interpreting "Turkey gets the glory by establishing a bridge between the people and the cultures with an airline that flies to more countries than any other airline in the world."²³² THY has a significant role in the development of tourism in Turkey with increasing advertising campaigns all over the world, major sponsorship deals, increasing service quality, and renewed aircraft fleet.



Resource: THY, 2019

²²⁹ Nehir Ağırseven and Armağan örki, "Evaluating Turkish TV Series as Soft Power Instruments", *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*, December 2017, 7/13, pp. 836-853, p.841

²³⁰ Camgöz and İstanbullu Dinçer, "Günümüz Uluslararası İlişkilerinde Turizmin Türkiye'de Yumuşak Güç Olarak kullanılmasına Yönelik Bir Değerlendirme", *JRTR*, 2017, 4 (Special Issue 1), 283-293

²³¹ Abdulsamet Günek, "A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding", *International Journal of Cultural and Social studies*, Vol. 4/1, June 2018, 252-259, p.256

²³² Zafer Akbaş, Hakan Tuna, "Yumuşak Güç Olgusu ve Turizm İlişkisi: Medikal Turizm Kapsamında Ortadoğu'dan Gelen Turistler Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Birey ve Toplum*, Fall 2016, 6/12, p.86.

In recent years, Turkish Airlines is the biggest move in terms of creating international brands in Turkey compared to the previous years.

Another organization that contributes to the soft power of Turkey is the Yunus Emre Institute which was founded as a public foundation of the Yunus Emre Foundation. The Institute promotes the Turkish language, history, culture, and art; to present relevant information and documents to the benefit of the world; serves abroad for those who want to study in Turkish language, culture, and art; do scientific research and applications activities with education and training to realize their aim of developing cultural exchange with other countries to increase the friendship of Turkey carries.²³³

Yunus Emre Institute, which has important works in promoting Turkish culture all over the world, was opened in Moscow in 2018. In Opening, the Culture and Tourism Minister Numan Kurtulmuş pointed out that this institution will close Turkey and the Russian people to each other, and he spoke: "with this good faith and sincerity, hundreds and maybe thousands of Russian friends will learn beautiful Turkish language, and they will adopt the culture of Turkey, and they may be our cultural ambassadors in Russia."²³⁴ Moscow Yunus Emre Institute organized 15 different activities in the field of culture and art in the year when it was opened.²³⁵

In addition to Yunus Emre Institute, thanks to the signing of the 2019 Turkey-Russia Culture and Tourism Year Mutual Declaration between the two countries, dozens of events in the arts and tourism hold in 2019. For example, in 2019 Turkey and Russia Mutual Culture and Tourism Year respectively, one of the activities is an exhibition which includes photographs of Russian diplomats of Igor Mityakov's working in Turkey and Turkish diplomat Orhan Gazigil working in Moscow. These photographs are steps for the approximation of two cultures. This kind of organization can contribute to mutual cultural promotion.²³⁶ In the closing program of the event in Istanbul, Culture and Tourism Minister Mehmet Nuri Ersoy and Russian Culture Minister Vladimir Medinskiy made a speech. Bakan Medinskiy expressed "As part of this special year, which started with the Trojan opera, which took place in Moscow in April last year, dozens of events took place in many areas ranging from theater, museum, cinema, dance, music and television series. This year, Russia and Turkey are celebrating the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations. As it is known, diplomacy goes through mutual trust and acquaintance. Today, our

²³³ Yunus Emre Enstitüsü,

²³⁴ "Moskova'da Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türk Kültür Merkezi açıldı", 14.03.2018, Anadolu Ajansı

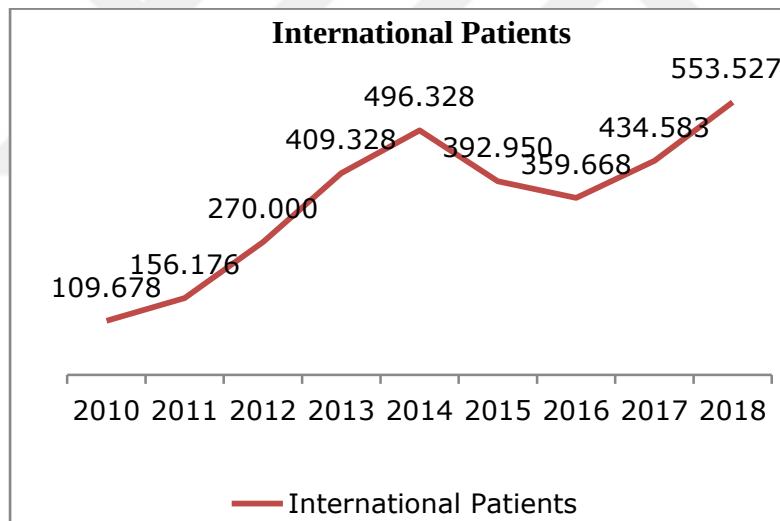
²³⁵ Yunus Emre Enstitüsü 2018 Faaliyet Raporu

²³⁶ Gökmen Kılıçoğlu and Ayhan Nuri Yılmaz, "Turkey-Russia Relations From A Different Viewpoint: Turkey's Soft Power Over Russia", *Pesa International Journal of Social Studies*, November 2019, Vol. 5, Issue:3, p.217

heads of state opened a big project. Without such a serious interaction between the two countries, such a big project would not have been possible to come to life so quickly.”²³⁷ The interaction of the peoples from two countries paved the way for many investments. According to the Turkish Culture and Tourism Ministry 2019 foreign visitor data, Russian Federation took first place with an increase of 17.65 percentage and 7 million 17 thousand 657 visitors.²³⁸

Another factor in Turkey's soft power is an increasing number of health tourism area in recent years. Turkey's reforms and improvements in the health sector led to make great progress of public hospitals and private hospitals in Turkey. Particularly in the area of eye health, dental, aesthetic health services and also many areas, including higher quality has become a major health center for foreigners who want to get quick service in Turkey. Considering Turkey's health tourism potential at this point can provide an important opportunity.²³⁹ According to Madina Mirza²⁴⁰, government incentives are very useful for health tourism, as well. Also, Turkey's reforms and improvements in the health sector led to becoming a major health center for foreigners.

Table 6: Number of International Patients coming to Turkey



Resource: Turkey Ministry of Health

²³⁷ Elif Sudagezer, “Türk-Rus Kültür ve Turizm Yılı’nın Kapanışı yapıldı: Halkların etkileşimi dev projelerin önünü açtı”, Sputnik News, 08.01.2020

²³⁸ Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Accessed: <https://yigm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-9851/turizm-istatistikleri.html>

²³⁹ Nurullah Gür, “Yeni Türkiye’nin Yumuşak Güç Unsuru: Turizm”, *Seta Perspektif*, No: 58 Temmuz 2014, p. 4

²⁴⁰ Interview with Madina Mirza

When the arrival location of international patients coming to Turkey is analyzed, it can be seen that international patients prefer mostly touristic regions of Turkey for their treatment. As a matter of fact, as of 2012, the number of people who came to Antalya was 87,162. Even though Istanbul is the capital of history and cultural tourism, it is ranked as second with 68 thousand 842 people.

Table 7: International Patients in Turkey, Top 10, 2012

Countries	Numbers
Germany	43259
Libya	38898
Russia	27604
Iraq	16926
Netherlands	14959
Azerbaijan	13023
England	12456
Romania	5685
Norway	5554
Bulgaria	5511

Resource: Turkish Ministry of Health, Evaluation Report on Medical Tourism in Turkey 2013

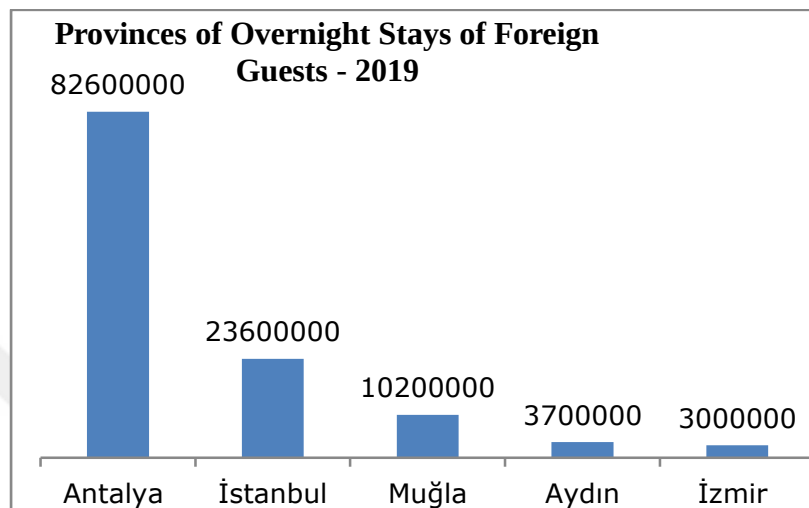
İzmir, Muğla, and Aydın are also among the top ten.²⁴¹ For this reason, many airlines organize charter flights between Russia and Antalya. This is an important reason for the preference for potential health tourists from Russia. There are also Russian-based companies flying to Turkey, including Aeroflot, UTair, Rusline, Kuban Airlines, Grozny Avia Airlines, and Saratov Airlines. Other reasons to prefer Turkey for patients are Russia's inadequacy of medical technology, lack-

²⁴¹ Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Accessed: <https://antalya.ktb.gov.tr/TR-175626/2012-yili.html>

ing high specialization of health workers, operations are not covered by insurance, the need for specific treatment options, and demonstrations of traditional tourism facilities.²⁴²

As we table below, in 2019, Antalya is the most preferred city by foreign tourists even though Istanbul is the capital.

Table 8: Provinces of Overnight Stays of Foreign Guests - 2019



Resource: Turkey Culture and Tourism Ministry

According to the Turkey Culture and Tourism Ministry 2019 statistics, Russia has the most overnight stays in Turkey with the number of 31,1 million tourists.

Undoubtedly, all these factors are considered in terms of creating soft power elements in Turkey, it illustrates the economic impact in the country. There has been significant growth in the number of tourists in the country and this increase has had a positive effect on the country's exports.

Table 9: Turkey's Tourism Revenues

Years	Tourism Revenues
2010	24.930.997
2011	28.115.692
2012	29.007.003
2013	32.310.424

²⁴² H. Ömer Tontuş, Türkiye'nin Sağlık Turizmindeki Önemi, SATURK

2014	34.305.904
2015	31.464.777
2016	22.107.440
2017	26.283.656
2018	29.512.926
2019	34.520.332

Resource: TURSAB, 2019

When it is seen in Table 9, the sharp decrease in tourism revenues of Turkey in 2016 is shown because of the downing of Russian Jet and increase security concerns in Turkey after the attacks in Turkey. However, after, the improvement of tourism activities is seen.

As a result, Turkey tries to develop its soft power strategies with its institutions, Turkish TV Series in foreign countries, several airline advertising strategies, and improvements in the Turkish health sector. This development in tourism affected positively Turkey's revenues and an increasing number of tourists so that the country shows itself in world tourism.

According to Joseph Nye, soft power is gained when a state imposes its civilization on another state or states.²⁴³ When we consider the relationship between soft power and tourism, we can see many attractive factors in Turkey-Russian tourism relations. These factors create a positive image in the advertisement point of our country and bring Russian tourists to our country. Festival organizations that reflect both cultures, more art event organizations can attract Russian tourists.²⁴⁴ Culture, art, science, natural values are crucial tools of soft power. By using these soft power tools, tourism relations could be deepened with Russia in the long run. Meral Kahya thinks that Turkey has the necessary resources for these tools but it needs to do more advertisement.

²⁴³ Camgöz and İstanbullu Dinçer, "Günümüz Uluslararası İlişkilerinde Turizmin Türkiye'de Yumuşak Güç Olarak kullanılmasına Yönelik Bir Değerlendirme", *JRTR* 2017, No. 4, (Special Issue 1), 283-293, p. 285.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Meral Kahya

Similarly, Sezgin Kalkan²⁴⁵ suggests that proper marketing strategies should be used to promote our country. He claims that Russian tourists already have a great desire to travel to Turkey due to the geographic location.

From the expert views and main assumptions from existing literature, it could be briefly said that Turkey's role of soft power tools such as its culture, natural beauties, institutional powers, and health tourism potential are very important reasons for attracting Russian tourists to Turkey.

In sum, mutual economic cooperations and cultural reasons affected Turkish-Russian tourism relations. The rapid normalization process even after major issues such as the downing of the Russian Jet and ambassador assassination indicates how much emphasis is placed on mutual economic development. After the normalization of relations, we witnessed this in the peak number of tourists in Antalya. If we look at the tools on the cultural dimension, Russian tourists prefer Turkey to be affected by these tools refers to the soft power of tourism. Especially after in 2019 proclamation of Turkey-Russia Cross-Year of cultural and tourism, the highest-ranked of Russia in the ranking of tourists coming to Turkey and record levels of Russian tourist confirm this assertion.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Sezgin Kalkan

4. CONCLUSION

With the new types of political and economic relations of the post-cold war era, Turkey and Russia's compliance processes to changes in world politics are in the same direction because of having similar unstable political order. Due to globalization, a new type of states, firms, transnational actors, and international organizations became influential in policymaking and economic factors. At the same time, globalization increased the economic impact of tourism, as well. In the 1990s, liberalization and globalization policies not only increased the effectiveness of their economies but also caused instability within the country. Although the similar unstable political order brought in search of a partnership between two countries until 2000, it started a cooperation period that deepens their relations after 2000. Moreover, while deepening bilateral relations were developing, remarkable tourism growth between the two countries stands out. Namely, with this rising human and cultural interaction, tourism and trade linkages have grown.

When the relationship between soft power and tourism is considered, media, governmental organizations, international organizations, global companies, and the film industry can be attractive factors in-country tourism. In this case, Turkey's role of soft power tools such as its culture, natural beauties, institutional powers, and health tourism potential are very important reasons for attracting Russian tourists to Turkey. Besides its natural beauties, Turkish TV series are effective instruments of soft power in different geographic areas and countries. For example, the love story of the Crimean Tatar Kurt Seyit and Russian girl Aleksandra Verjenskaya was shot in St. Petersburg, Russia. Russian viewers attract this series.²⁴⁶ Institutions are effective instruments for developing soft power in different countries. For example, Moscow Yunus Emre Institute organized 15 different activities in the field of culture and art in the year when it was opened.²⁴⁷ In addition to Yunus Emre Institute, thanks to the signing of the 2019 Turkey-Russia Culture and Tourism Year Mutual Declaration between the two countries, dozens of events in the arts and tourism hold in 2019. According to TURSAB data, the tourism revenue of Turkey reached 34.520.332 billion dollars in 2019. Moreover, improvements in health tourism are another soft power tool in Turkey. According to the Turkish Health Tourism Coordination Board report, the reasons to prefer Turkey of patients are Russia's inadequacy from medical technology, lacking high specialization of health workers, operations are not covered by insurance, the need for specific treatment options, and demonstrations of traditional tourism facilities. According to Madi-

²⁴⁶ Zeynep Gabralı, "Rusya ve Ukrayna'da sevilen Türk dizileri". Ranini TV, 18.04.2018

²⁴⁷ Yunus Emre Enstitüsü 2018 Faaliyet Raporu

na Mirza²⁴⁸, government incentives are very useful for health tourism as well. Also, Turkey's reforms and improvements in the health sector led to becoming a major health center for foreigners. In short, from the expert views and main assumptions from existing literature, it could be briefly said that the reasons for this cooperation are Turkey's soft power tools such as its culture, natural beauties, institutional powers, and health tourism potential.

These elements can create a positive image at the advertisement point of the country and bring the country a potential position. However, when the consequences of tourism relations between Turkey and Russia, it can be seen that Turkey is in a more advantageous position than Russia. For example, only during nine months of 2012 alone, 3 million Russians traveled to Turkey, while the number of Turkish citizens who visited the Russian Federation over the same period was only 0.2 million. Therefore, in the context of the economy, Russia is more a giver than a taker.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, when considering the sensitivity of tourism to political and economic developments, it can be seen that after the downing of the Russian Jet crisis, decreased tourist numbers showed that the interdependent tourism relations between Turkey and Russia are on the asymmetrical side. The Turkey Social, Economic, and Political Research Foundation (TUSEM) reported that Turkey's loss was \$ 11 billion after the jet crisis.²⁵⁰ According to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism report, when the Russian tourist number was 3.7 million in 2015, it decreased to 0.9 million in 2016. It was very difficult to substitute Russian tourists in 2016 so the aircraft crisis caused a huge loss in tourist numbers and revenues for Turkey because these losses showed that international relations with Russia are highly determinant on tourism revenues of Turkey.²⁵¹ With the normalization of the relations after the crisis, the number of Russian tourists visiting Turkey increased again and reached 7 million in 2019. Therefore, the asymmetrical side of the interdependence assumption for Turkey can be seen clearly because Turkey's tourism revenues are very sensitive in the political and economic relations with Russia.

Despite the importance of cooperation in the tourism area between Turkey and Russia, most of the studies focused on energy relations. Therefore, I believe that this thesis will contribute to examining Turkish-Russian tourism relations based on international political economy and in-

²⁴⁸ Interview with Madina Mirza

²⁴⁹ Natalia Ulchenko, "What Is So Special About Russian-Turkish Economic Relations", *Russian Analytical Digest* No. 125, 25 March 2013, p.8

²⁵⁰ Bezen Balamir Coşkun, "Turkey's Relations with Russia after the Failed Coup: A Friend in Need Of a Friend Indeed?", *New Middle Eastern Studies*, 9/1, pp. 36-52, p. 45

²⁵¹ Uslu, Abdullah and Akay, Bayram, "Assessing The Effect of International Relations on Tourism Demand In The Context Of Turkey-Russia Aircraft Crisis", *Journal of Tourism and Services*, 29/05/2019, p.73

ternational relations field. I believe that the information in the chapters of the study and the evaluations of experienced sector representatives in the interviews will contribute to the literature in the point of strengthening of tourism relations which are already growing between both two countries.

The first limitation of my study is language limitation. Due to the Russian language, I could not access some resources. My second limitation was that when I was finishing my thesis, the Corona pandemic process happened. If Corona didn't happen, I wanted to visit Antalya as a research area and interview with some industry representatives face to face. I will include these in my later works.



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ANNEX 1 INTERVIEWS WITH EXPERTS

1. Interview with Meral Kahya*

Q: Merve Çuhadaroğlu: *Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector?*

A: Meral Kahya:

1. The number of Russian licensed guides in Turkey inadequate
2. Exorbitant tour wages of the Russian language speaking guiders
3. Aircraft crisis and its consequences: In 2015 Turkey's diplomatic aftermath of the crisis experienced by the Russian defense aircraft to reduce tourism and trade between the two countries stopped altogether. Charter and some regular flights have been canceled. Russian President Vladimir Putin's instructions to civil servants are banned from traveling to Turkey and started the visa regime between the two countries has also created a negative perception in society that it is not safe for Russian television broadcasts in Turkey terrorist country and travel. Fortunately for the last 2 years, this problem has been overcome between the two countries, and the travel restriction has been eliminated as a result of newly signed commercial agreements and relations have normalized again. The Visa application has been removed. The Antalya region peaked in the Russian market in 2019, but the targeted figures have not been fully captured because we cannot think of the Russian market as a profile that only comes to the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts. Russia's leading MICE sector agencies have opted to Turkey has been very successful projects for the organization and MICE groups but occurred as a result of our domestic and foreign policies that failed our country has entered into the search for different destinations.
4. High prices
5. The density of Arab guests
6. Fluctuations in exchange rates
7. Shopping with local money, trade
8. Advertisement: Turkey needs to increase advertising and promotion on our cultural tour.
9. Cruise ships need to normalize for entry to Istanbul. Many Russian passengers travel on these ships and spend money on tours and shopping during their anchoring to Istanbul.
10. There is a need to increase the control for many taxis, fake tour guides, transfer staff, and individual employees.

* Meral Kahya is a sales executive in Adonis Tour

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess or feel the state's effect/intervention in the tourism sector? Could you please explain the positive and negative effects of them?***

A: Meral Kahya: The tourism sector is one of the most prominent sectors that bring currency to our country in the short term, and as a state, significant strides are being made, but we think these are insufficient. We need more country advertisements. Public order and controls need to be increased.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Meral Kahya: Rapidly improving relations after the aircraft crisis contributes positively to the tourism sector. The results of mutual investments are felt in both countries.

Festival organizations that reflect both cultures, more art events (concerts, ballet, and painting exhibitions). Russians attach great importance to art, the demonstrations of Tarkan and Anatolian fire in Moscow in recent years are still in memory. Likewise, the concerts of Russian artists in Antalya should continue. Incentives of both governments should be promoted to tourism agencies working in this market.

2.Interview with Ömür Ünal*

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector?***

A: Ömür Ünal: We should collect the problems experienced in the tourism sector under 3 main headings as incoming, outgoing, and ingoing. Unfortunately, border entry and exit restrictions, mandatory standards for accommodation facilities, the consumer budget allocated for tourism activities due to the decrease in purchasing power, and most importantly, the psychological situation of people don't make it possible to happen in these 3 legs. Since the sector is entirely based on human resources, the employment problem experienced will also affect service quality.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess or feel the state's effect / intervention in the tourism sector? Could you please explain the positive and negative effects of them?***

A: Ömür Ünal: The state should support all the mechanisms of tourism as a guarantor. On the other hand, the developments in the world should be up-to-date and in a decisive position in the continuity of these formations. Shaping the crisis will be the first to reach stability.

Otherwise, accommodation enterprises, airline companies, product suppliers, and tourism workers struggling with the economic crisis will have difficulties to survive until the end of 2020 in an environment where the state is not a guarantor.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroğlu: ***How can you describe a powerful state?***

A: Ömür Ünal: Turkey which is a country has reached 84 million. If a state can hope and stand by its most desperate citizen, it has been the most powerful state. This is of course an inner perspective. Also, strong states should be in a respectable, decisive, and respected position in foreign policy. It should be the country that directs. He must set the rules himself.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroğlu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Ömür Ünal: There is no problem with relationship size. Russia ranks first among the nations visiting our country. But Russia is currently the country with the highest rate of Covid-19. It faces the number of cases in the 11-12 band every day. As of the moment, departures from the country are restricted until June 15. We have to wait for a little.

* Ömür Ünal is Turkey Manager in METGLOBAL / Hotels pro

3. Interview with Betül Çulhacılar *

Q: Merve Çuhadaroğlu: ***Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector?***

A: Betül Çulhacılar: For me, the most important problem is the depreciation of the Turkish Lira. Unfortunately, the fluctuations in exchange rates stemming from the political events in recent years have affected the tourism sector. Overseas travels have been considerably reduced, aside from overseas holidays, even corporate companies have reduced the number of staff they have sent abroad for work, but have gone to a budget constraint. The second biggest problem of Turkey and its people, foreign media especially reflected in the very different in European media. Political reasons; Gezi events in 2013, the dropping of the Russian plane in 2015, the 2016 coup attempt, the bomb explosion during ISIS attacks, Turkey perception of the Middle East and its people, (even seeing the Arabic alphabet in areas where there are a lot of tourists could not suggest other foreign nationals), perception as a country in terms of safe as not be women traveling alone, unfortunately. Even though our prices are cheap relatively, it was not shown much worth visiting Turkey. Three, and I think what I hear most from all tourism professionals is that all the problems in the world or our country affect both domestic and foreign tourism in the first place.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess or feel the state's effect/intervention in the tourism sector? Could you please explain the positive and negative effects of them?***

A: Betül Çulhacılar: The most positive effect of the government is to support tourism by participating in major tourism fairs abroad (eg London, World Travel Market.), As well as the display of important places in the country where everyone can see. Advertisements in such fairs, which are attended from almost every part of the world, can contribute to the travel of people to the country. However, closer relationships can be established with tradesmen to leave a good impression among tourists, especially in regions where tourism is intense. Prices can be examined more closely at every point of sale to tourists. Unless there are many ordinary events in the country, we cannot feel a special contribution of the government to the tourism sector. On the contrary, attitudes towards foreign states and political policies in the region affect tourism negatively. The US halted visa applications from Turkey in 2017.

* Betül Çulhacılar is Account Manager of Turkey in RateHawk / Emerging Travel

I think I will write this every time, sudden and unstoppable changes in exchange rates affect tourism momentarily, which unfortunately is the result of political events.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Betül Çulhacılar: In 2015, the downfall of the Russian plane came to the brink of the crisis, and the resumption of the visa requirement between the two governments, unfortunately, affected tourism negatively. Only firms engaged in the tourism business between Russia and Turkey is still unable to reach the pre-2015 momentum. As a result of the political crisis between the two countries, the Russian Foreign Minister's call to go to Turkey caused a decline in the number of Russian tourists visiting Turkey.

4. Interview with Sezgin Kalkan*

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector? What Kind Of Solutions Do You Suggest To These Problems?***

A: Sezgin Kalkan:

- Maybe it will be cliché, but the shortage of qualified staff is the biggest problem of both the coastal and city hotel management or the tourism industry, including agency or all side areas. A large part of the generation that grew up even in high schools and universities is always loading the southern hotel management mission or released without even any mission. I can explain as follows, only 5-6 people of 70 Anadolu University faculty of tourism graduated people work in tourism just like me.
- The reason for the lack of qualified personnel is the very low wages and unhealthy (physical and social) conditions. Especially hotels' GOPs should generally be in the range of 20-30% and a lower profitability rate is not considered positive for the investor. However, the low wage strategy applied to a particular department or positions is somewhat distancing the skilled staff. On the other hand, satisfactory salaries can be provided in the planned annual budgets, especially for personnel trained from tourism and qualified according to their positions.
- Our country, regrettably, does not have a long-term tourism strategy and perceives tourism only as sea-sand-sun. Besides, it should be understood that marketing is not just shooting and publishing Cappadocia-Pamukkale-Efes-Antalya videos or printing billboards. Health tourism, congress tourism, nature-culture tourism, city tourism (business), and many more branches should be allocated, and more detailed and feature-oriented projects should be made for each department at the ministry level.
- Most of the tourists are considered as 'one-time tourists', lack of reputation. This exists in every tourism part, hotel, restaurant, transfer, tour, etc. The solution is increasing reputation with low-profit margin honestly and explicitly rather than making high profits at once.
- Failure to take action on different markets planned to revive that market of a product that is formed only in a different area (for example, opening the south American market thanks to the series. However, there was no planning to open this market, the result of the series.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroğlu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Sezgin Kalkan: There is no need for any source of motivation between these two states. Our political relations with Russia as long as the good of our Russia from every segment of the visitors to Turkey will come. Russia's geographical location is already a desire to travel too much and in the way of everything is the closest one country: Turkey. For this reason, there is no need

for great action or marketing work for Russia. However, if we think which segment of the guests coming from Russia should be more, of course, planning can be made accordingly.

* Sezgin Kalkan is Assistant Sales Manager in Çırağan Palace Kempinski

5. Interview with Madina Mirza*

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector?***

A: Madina Mirza: Based on work experience, I can identify a few problems:

- ☐ Price Policy - Selling with the same quality but with a high price, difference leads to loss of customer confidence. As the amount paid by X hospital / X hotel to another hospital is lower than the price paid.
- ☐ The proliferation of Agents - Unfortunately, our citizens, who have more or less tourism history, open an agency cause information pollution and poor quality jobs. While he doesn't have much experience yet, he can make a few sales by making a bad advertisement for other hospitals or hotels while trying to sell.
- ☐ Unfortunately, the foreign exchange - currency crisis can affect many countries. Due to the exchange rate fluctuation in the last 5 years in Russia, it has greatly affected the purchasing power of citizens.
- ☐ The Ruble has become very worthless against the Dollar. This, in turn, made tourists difficult; this time they started to take a holiday by borrowing from the banks and taking credit. Generally, more the preference for Turkey to make all exclusive hotel expenses, as not long ago began to fall in gold and leather sales.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***What Kind Of Solutions Do You Suggest To These Problems?***

A: Madina Mirza: Of course, there should be a price difference in terms of competition, but this should be under control so that the price difference does not cause an abyss; Whether small or large companies need to undergo strict inspection and they need to do it intermittently, the training of the staff they employ, etc. should undergo inspection.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess or feel state's effect / intervention in the tourism sector? Could you please explain the positive and negative effects of them?***

A: Madina Mirza: For example, I find government incentives very useful for tourism. However, one of the factors that negatively affect tourism, in general, is our policy problems with foreign countries. I think it would be enough to mention only foreign policy because the subject is a bit deep.

* Madina Mirza is International Business Development Responsible in Koç Healthcare

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How can you describe a powerful state?***

A: Madina Mirza: Economic power; Good relations with foreign countries; Being productive.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Madina Mirza: As long as Russia and Turkey's political relationship is not broken, Russia will always be number one for Turkey. This does not require extra effort, Russians love Turkey. When compared with other countries, a comparison of customer service in Turkey to another country is impossible, which greatly increases customer satisfaction.

6. Interview with Svetlana Eroshina*

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***Could You Please Tell Us The Problems Experience In The Tourism Sector?***

A: Svetlana Eroshina: Russia has started to evolve its tourism sector at a dizzying pace with the World Football Cup in 2018. It has been a vivid step forward in terms of welcoming tourists. However, after the Cup finished, the agiotage has slowed down which is a pity. Moscow can become a tourist hub as well as Paris or Venice now. But we're a bit unapproachable in terms of the Visa process, Cyrillic letters not accompanied with Latin script (except the center of Moscow and several Saint-Petersburg central districts). Most of the cities are too virgin for tourists, it is an interesting experience of course for foreigners, but Russia is a powerful country which should develop every region, not only Moscow

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***What Kind Of Solutions Do You Suggest To These Problems?***

A: Svetlana Eroshina: It is a strong question to the economical sector of Russia which of course experienced hard times after the 90s default, but now we have a lot of resources and fresh minds which can be a good way of developing the country internally and diversely. We should not lose them or gift to other governments. The government should provide decent conditions for the young generation to develop the country altogether.

* Svetlana Eroshina is Representative in European Cultural Centre Russia

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess or feel state's effect / intervention in the tourism sector? Could you please explain the positive and negative effects of them?***

A: Svetlana Eroshina: The airports are being renovated and providing a good level of support to the tourists, English is becoming more common in the country. The young generation is catching up and cultural exchange happens faster than it was in the last century. The state provides good technological support. But only in a maximum of 10 Russian cities. Which is a positive and negative side likewise.

The negative side could be also an unapproachable manner of entering the country, visa, and language barrier.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How can you describe a powerful state?***

A: Svetlana Eroshina: A powerful state can manage every sector's issue without drawing the attention of its population to the problems when they arise. To manage each segment correctly and with minimum losses and risk. A powerful state has powerful, respectable, and fair leaders. The state should not show its weak points to the outer world but to solve them with grace. Tourism is a link to the outer world and it should be managed with grace too. With a high quality of service, respect to the visitors, and enough resources of the country to welcome tourists from all over the world. The state should upgrade the skill of hospitality and cultivate its culture so it can stand as a beacon of the country's image.

Q: Merve Çuhadaroglu: ***How do you assess Turkish-Russian tourism relations? Which motivations can be described for this cooperation?***

A: Svetlana Eroshina: Russia and Turkey have always been close though historically we were equipollent powers. In terms of tourism, both countries have a fair number of tourists, especially millions of Russians who come to Turkey annually. For the past 30 years, Turkey has become a

touristic hub for Russians and CIS citizens. The cultural exchange is limited but still, it is a thread that links both countries apart from the oil, gas, and energy segments. The best motivation could be sending more tourists to Russia but also after the relations were frozen in 2016, maintaining Russian tourists flow to Turkey is still a successful case nowadays. The motivation is such large-scale cooperation which has always been trading and politics.

