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RELATIONS**

**THE SOFT POWER STRATEGY AND
INSTRUMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY OF
TURKEY (2002 - 2017)**

MASTER'S THESIS

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OF TURKEY (2002 - 2017)**

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ABSTRACT

THE SOFT POWER STRATEGY AND INSTRUMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY (2002 – 2017)

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One of the most studied subjects of the international relations discipline is the power concept and all aspects of it. Power concept is considered in two basic approaches as hard power and soft power. Public diplomacy, one of the most important aspects of soft power is turning public and intelligentsia of another country to its advantage and trying to impress them through policies of this nation. From this point of view, it can be seen that public diplomacy and soft power complement each other. Soft power concept taking place in Turkish foreign policy, recently, in discourse and practice, is accepted as an important factor for Turkey to implement its long-term plans. Also, public diplomacy methods are applied in these policies. It is intended by this method to improve prestige of our country at international platform. In this study, the public diplomacy instruments of Turkey as the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, the Directorate General of Press and Information, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, the Presidency for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities, Yunus Emre Institute and other institutions with similar purposes are described. The level of contribution of these institutions on the image of Turkey and how efficiently soft power is used through these institutions of Turkey are mentioned.

Key Words: Soft Power, Turkey, Public Diplomacy

ÖZET

TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASINDA YUMUŞAK GÜÇ STRATEJİSİ VE ENSTRÜMANLARI (2002 – 2017)

Karataş, Yahya
Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü
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Günümüzde uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininde en çok incelenen konulardan biri güç kavramı ve bu kavramın bütün boyutları olmuştur. Güç kavramı, sert güç ve yumuşak güç olarak iki temel anlayışla değerlendirilmektedir. Yumuşak gücün en önemli unsurlarından biri olan kamu diplomasisi, bir ülkenin başka bir toplumun halkı ile aydınlarını bu ulusun politikaları ile kendi avantajına döndürmesi ve etkilemeye çalışmasıdır. Bu açıdan bakıldığından kamu diplomasisi ile yumuşak gücün birbirini tamamladığı görülebilir. Son yıllarda söylemde ve uygulamada Türk dış politikası içerisinde yer alan yumuşak güç kavramı, Türkiye'nin uzun vadeli planlarını gerçekleştirebilmesi hususunda önemli bir unsur olarak kabul edilmektedir. Yürüttülen bu politikalarda kamu diplomasisi yöntemlerine de başvurulmaktadır. Bu yöntem ile ülkemizin uluslararası platformda saygınlığının arttırılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin sahip olduğu kamu diplomasisi araçları olan; Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü, TRT, Basın Yayın Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, Türkiye İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı, Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akrabalar Toplulukları Başkanlığı, Yunus Emre Enstitüsü ve benzer amaçlara sahip olan diğer kurumlar açıklanmıştır. Bu kurumların, Türkiye'nin imajına ne denli katkıda bulunduklarından ve Türkiye'nin sahip olduğu bu kurumlar ile yumuşak gücünü ne denli etkili kullandığından bahsedilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yumuşak Güç, Türkiye, Kamu Diplomasisi

DEDICATION



To My Son Yiğit Alp

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	The General Directorate of Civil Defense
ATLARC	The Administration for Turks Living Abroad Related Communities
DGPI	The Directorate General of Press and Information
EU	The European Union
HAF	Humanitarian Aid Foundation
IPA	Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PCC	Public Diplomacy Policy Coordinating Committee
TCCA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
THY	Turkish Airlines (Türk Hava Yolları)
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Association
USA	United States of America
USIA	United States Information Agency
YEI	Yunus Emre Institute

INTRODUCTION

A country tries to impress the world opinion through a series of its skills under soft power frame in order to get gains it desires in the world politics. In this regard, it is observed that soft power used by several countries as a policy instrument has been reflecting on the policies recently followed by Turkey. Changes have been made on foreign policy after the Justice and Development Party came into power in 2002 and accordingly, Turkish foreign policy has been reconstructed through a number of principles. Turkey intending to display more active policies in regional and global policy, tries to use soft power factor efficiently in order to enable its foreign policy principles.

Soft power concept taking place in Turkish foreign policy, recently, in discourse and practice, is accepted as an important factor for Turkey to implement its long-term plans. Also, public diplomacy methods are applied in these policies. It is intended by this method to improve prestige of our country at international platform. Difference of soft power compared to other powers is using it in relation with public diplomacy and implementing as a power needing bilateral multiple-diplomacy. In our age, countries apply soft power diplomacy to achieve their political goals instead of hard power.

The countries willing to improve their efficiency at global and regional scale and have a higher voice in international system in accordance with its goals attach particular importance to soft power. Because, some developments in history show the heavy results caused when soft power is neglected. Due the changes in international system and multilateral policy taking place of unilateral one and formation of a system based on mutual dependency, ‘power’ phenomenon has also changed and ‘soft power’ concept has become important.

Although, hard power continues to be an absolute must as before, soft power concept comes into prominence.

Every country has its soft power resources; while some are aware of them, some do not use them as much as they should. Turkey has wealthy soft power resources with regards to its geopolitical position, its culture and history, its great Military force and its values.

Public diplomacy, one of the most important aspects of soft power is turning public and intelligentsia of another country to its advantage and trying to impress them through policies of this nation. From this point of view, it can be seen that public diplomacy and soft power complement each other. Both concepts aim to fascinate other countries and become an enviable country through its available factors instead of hard power and leave an impression on them.

When, soft power of Turkey is considered, the first things come to mind are firstly the Middle Eastern Geography and then the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia. This is an accurate determination. Soft power is a compliance-based power for penetration and attraction. Consequently, there are areas and regions where states can use soft power. The regions where Turkey uses its soft power which are suitable for using it are the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia.

The Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy, the Directorate General of Press and Information, the Anatolian News Agency, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, the Turkish Airlines, the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs, Yunus Emre Institute, the Presidency for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities, the Red Crescent and the Disaster and Emergency Management Administration are among the public institutions making up the first group of the soft power instruments of Turkey. The second group of the soft power instruments of Turkey is made up of non-governmental organizations. With regards to soft power, NGOs have been in deep communication and cooperation with their foreign equivalents for the last ten years. It is especially observed that the NGOs

related with finance and business world (such as the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association, the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of

Turkey, the Turkish Employment Agency, the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations and etc.) are long-term members of foreign NGOs or some carry out their activities for foreign territories by opening representation agencies in several foreign countries.

In this study, it is intended to study the soft power strategies and the instruments of Turkey during the term of the Justice and Development Party. In the first chapter of this study, it is tried to explain the power concept in international relations and current approaches on it.

In the second chapter, the soft power concept is addressed. In addition, it is tried to explain the place and importance of power concept and public diplomacy concept.

In the final chapter, the soft power and implementing agencies of Turkey are addressed. In the final chapter where soft power strategies of Turkey are also addressed, soft power instruments of Turkey are studied in detail.

CHAPTER 1

1. POWER CONCEPT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The international relations discipline where power concept has a central position has emerged quite recently compared to other disciplines of social sciences. Although, there is a common understanding among the academics in this field on when international relations has emerged as an independent academic discipline, it is not possible to say that there is not any consensus on how inception of international relations can be extended (Sancak, 2015: 6).

The first founders of international relations discipline tried to describe power of state by defining human nature and position of people before power. Classical realists define power concept as an ability of deterrence. National interest concept has always been pre-eminent and security and military elements have always been at the forefront. Hans J. Morgenthau, one of the first founders of the discipline, defines power as control of people on minds and actions of others. What makes this control relation a political one is that it exists among authorities or between authorities and the public (Tanrisever, 2007: 55).

In lexical meaning, power is the ability of forcing others which they do not normally do and controlling them. As, the ability of controlling others is frequently associated with having particular resources, politicians and diplomats define power as "having population, land, natural resources, financial strength, military forces and political stability" (Günek, 2011: 20).

The only political instrument implemented by a state in its international relations is power. It is one of the goals of a state to improve this instrument. An ability which is not used as an instrument of politics or can be used in that way is not power. Politics is the art of preparing and using strengths and resources of a state in accordance with national interests. Strategic success firstly requires using power product is used in accordance with the purpose and time (Yılmaz, 2011: 31).

The most common opinion suggested on the meaning of power concept is the definition of Robert A. Dahl. Dahl referred in almost every study in this field defines power as the ability of an actor represented by A to enforce another actor represented by B to something which otherwise B would never do (Dahl, 1957: 202). However, this case, presented by Dahl, has been enriched in time and "power of A is not expressed only by enforcing B to do what A directs" but also through other means. If, A can enforce B to abandon a specific behavior, then A can also be considered as powerful (Bachrach and Baratz, 1963).

Power is defined as the ability of a country to enforce another country to accept its goals and purposes and the financial and immaterial capacity of it (Ziberovski, 2018: 5).

In the most general sense, power is defined as the ability of an actor to get what it wants. Another definition of power is "the ability to impress others for getting what you want". When, it comes to power, another definition is that power is the combination of strength and will. According to this definition, it is not enough to have the elements of power to be powerful. These elements only turn into power as they combine with will (Çamır, 2009: 3).

According to Waltz, power is power control by considering the international system rather than a control on resources and actors, so that the international system is capable of significantly complicate the control on resources, actors and events. Waltz suggests that it is impossible for the actors to change behaviors of other actors as they want due to international system while he does not qualify this as a weakness. Directing others is the result of power, power means influencing processes and results are always uncertain

due to the nature of system. In this sense, it is not a struggle for controlling others, it is the struggle to get the most autonomy in a system. In other words, according to Waltz, power is combined abilities of a state in the frame of systemic constraints (Özdemir, 2011: 127).

Power concept covers capacity, quality and quantity factors of power and defines them completely (Holsti, 1964: 182).

Considering power related assessment from the actors' angle, thing should be said is that identity of these actors does not change the analysis results whether they are states or individuals. In any case, power of an actor on another one can be expressed in the aforementioned frame. It is obvious that specific steps should be taken to achieve a political goal whether the actor is a state or an individual (Çamır, 2009: 4).

In addition, there are approaches defining power concept by classifying it into aspects. According to this, the first aspect of power emphasizes the observable aspects of power by analyzing it in cause-effect relationship; the second aspect brings unobservable aspects into the forefront. The third aspect addresses changing and shaping preferences, perceptions and beliefs of the other party. Determining an agenda is also important like the second aspect. The party exposed to power is not aware that power is enforced on it or the power of the party enforcing it. Actors might act differently and make different decisions due to some circumstances caused by the nature of system. They might consider that this is their own preference without recognizing that they are being enforced. And this is the third aspect of power (Çavuş, 2012: 9-10).

The quantitative elements such as geography, population, financial and military capacity, natural resources and etc., also have significant impact in revealing power potential of states. The elements as geography and natural resources, which states are destined with, are also influential in shaping both financial and military elements. Qualitative elements such as national character, moral, diplomacy and quality of its government are influential in presenting a stable policy.

A state with a stable foreign policy builds up its reputation in both domestic and foreign public opinion. And this contributes in improving its economy and establishing international cooperation (Ziberovski, 2018: 7-8).

Persuasion, retribution, rewarding and oppression methods of hard power are narrowed in several studies and used with carrot and stick metaphor. While, carrot corresponds rewarding and persuasion stick means retribution, oppression or threatening to oppress. The methods applied by a state using it determine the instruments acting as a carrot and a stick. In this sense, it is possible that any power element can be used as a carrot in any case and as a stick in another case. (Sancak, 2015: 56).

An actor can influence behaviors of others through three basic methods. The first one is threatening and enforcement (stick) and the second one is incentive (carrot). In both of these approaches, an actor in international system uses its military and financial power to achieve its goals. Military and financial power determines hard power capacities of countries. In hard power, oppression, sanctions, payments and bribery are important as the most appropriate resources, behavioral spectra of hard power are order, enforcement and persuasion. (Çavuş, 2012: 25).

While, defining hard power, all coercive, deterrent and threatening elements are expressed. In this case, it seems useful to include the finance related elements of power within the classification of hard power. Threatening, deterrent and coercive steps in definition of hard power can be taken by financial aspects. For instance, if a country enforces a financial embargo for another country to act in a specific way, in this case, the country which is imposed embargo is facing a coercive action. In this case, hard power is implemented through financial aspects (Çamır, 2009: 8).

The hard power concept is observed more clearly in the World War I and World War II. Use of military force in times of war has also increased the cost of financial power. Use of hard power in wars has caused destructions and death of millions. The recent Iraq War of the United States of America and oppression of Israel on Palestine confront us as examples of military force (Gültekin, 2015: 17).

One of the examples addressing how hard power shapes international relations is the approach of various theorists. For instance, according to the approach of Machiavelli, it is only possible for you to make others do what you want is through using a high hand. In other words, according to Machiavelli, the relation between ruling and power is based on "fear and abstention". If, it is necessary, the ruler has to create oppression and fear on others by using force. Because, intimidation is mostly more efficient for achieving a political goal (Machiavelli, 2008).

Soft power serves the same purpose with hard power as the other side of power. Both are for their countries to get what they want while, there are differences between them with regards to concreteness of resources and types of behaviors. There is order as a type of hard power at one end of power enforcement methods of states and on the other hand, attraction as a type of soft power and states try to get results through methods between them (Sancak, 2015: 73).

As much as military capacities establish a significant part of power, costs of these capacities gradually increase every day and also use of hard power aspects such as military elements might cause some legitimacy problems. Therefore, power aspects like hard power which can be used to the purpose more appropriate with the conditions of our time have been searched. Soft power is a concept which was firstly used by Joseph Nye in 1990. Waring Partridge considers soft power as a type of power supporting use of hard power and enabling its use when it becomes necessary (Özdemir, 2008: 136).

Through soft power, an actor achieves its goal in an international system with the consent of the other actors rather than forcing and threatening them.

While the most appropriate resources of soft power are reflected values, culture, policies and institutions, its behavioral spectrum is creating an agenda, attraction and appeal. (Çavuş, 2012: 25).

Soft power used for protecting and maintaining national interests is an instrument focusing on appeal through a realist point of view, directing governments of other countries towards its needs through support of public opinion, strengthening the position of a country, strengthening relations with the citizens of other countries by performing cultural activities, capturing hearts and serving purposes for implementing foreign policy (Aydemir, 2015: 118).

Although, soft power concept has been used since 90s, actually, it has become widespread after the September 11 attacks in the USA. Becoming a party of such an attack, despite, great financial and military power of the USA has brought traditional power related approaches into question. The soft power concept which was developed in the beginning as a solution offer for continuing the world dominance of the USA has been sought after in other regions of the world in a short term. China, expected to become the most important power before the USA through its rapidly developing economy and growing population has also become a rival of the USA in this field (Sancak, 2015: 62).

Difference of soft power compared to other powers is using it in relation with public diplomacy and implementing as a power needing bilateral multiple-diplomacy. In our age, countries apply soft power diplomacy to achieve their political goals instead of hard power (Gültekin, 2015: 19).

In our age with various aspects of power, all aspects of power are defined through several characteristics such as soft and hard power based on their use and it should be indicated that hard and soft power are interrelated. These aspects are two separate approaches used for influencing other states in international relations which complement each other. A country with high military and financial power can also be a center of attraction. Hence, use of hard and soft power jointly in foreign policy is defined as "the smart power". In this sense, behavioral diversity and difference between hard power and soft power can be expressed in a wide spectrum from using force, financial oppression, creating an agenda to pure appeal (Şener, 2014).

For some, soft power is considered as a term which has gradually become old fashioned. The analysts of the United States of America, including Ernest J. Wilson III and Nye himself, currently address a dynamic combination of hard power and soft power, softened as the smart power where public diplomacy informs policy makers (Cull, 2009: 15).

According to Nye, smart power is the perfect balance established between hard and soft power. Soft power is the ability to influence others to achieve the results you want. You can achieve this through force and bribe as some methods of soft power and also through attraction and persuasion as some methods of soft power. According to Nye, efficient power can be defined as combining these two characteristics of the smart power around successful strategies (Nye, 2005: 89-147).

1.1. POWER CONCEPT RELATED APPROACHES

Today, in the international arena, in general, one of the most discussed concepts in international policy analysis and international relations theories is power concept. Efficiency of the states and international actors are generally analyzed by emphasizing their relations with power concepts. In this sense, actors and the aspects making them powerful are important in the international arena. The thinkers studying international relations in a theoretical frame have different opinions on the identities of the actors of international arena and how to conduct their power analysis. Therefore, in order to analyze power in international relations, it will be advantageous to consider different academic theories approaching this concept from different perspectives.

1.1.1. REALISM/NEOREALISM

Realist theory has emerged as a reaction to idealist theory which was the dominant discipline after the World War I as it could not predict and prevent the World War II. Realists played an important role in developing and shaping international relations theory presented a theory centered on power. They claimed that international relations are a power struggle and explained process of the system through power concept (Sancak, 2015: 24).

One of the thinkers with a work on realism is Thomas Hobbes. 17. During the 17th century, he conducted studies for establishing a bond between the human nature and wars. According to Hobbes, it is inevitable to experience this process resulting with wars when there is any higher authority people obey. Therefore, according to Hobbes, the presence of the immortal God Leviathan is needed who will be obeyed by everyone, all power and ruling will be assigned and thus a state will be founded (Çamır, 2009: 11).

Power concept has always been an interesting subject of study. This concept which has been enriched with opinions of different thinkers today is also a subject of various studies same as before. After, Hans Morgenthau who has an important place in the international relations literature, identifies the fundamental purpose of international relations with power-seeking and power struggle and the national interest with power concept, places this concept in the center of realist approach (Özdemir, 2008).

During the Cold War period where realism was most efficient, it caused formation of blocks as a regional possibility of nation-states which recently gained their independence between the USA and the Soviet Union, during this term, security policies developed in the frame of a corporate structure as Western and Eastern Blocks in an ideology-based international system with two opposing forces. The fundamental goal of these blocks served ensuring their security for the defense systems they developed by reciprocally modernizing and developing arms.

During this period, an anarchic environment emerged through reciprocal power struggles and security became conceptualized on a state and military threat oriented point of view in the center of realism.

According to realists, international corporations and organizations emerging in the international arena are the subsequent parts of states in the international system with borders determined by states. These international organizations are also established through consents of the states willing to maximize their interests.

Yet, it may become possible to maintain order and turn the system running in favor of the actor through these organizations and unions. According to the ideas adopted by the realist trend, the self-help system stipulating to change power balance of the system in its favor presents a structure based on military power and cooperation (Yilmaz, 2008: 11).

The approach of classical realism which associates actions of states on human nature was criticized by considering unscientific. Other criticisms were related with not considering financial issues sufficiently and not defining the changes experienced in the world since 70s. These criticisms enabled the theory to renew itself and the theory strengthened by some new approaches was accepted in the literature as neorealism (Demir ve Varlik, 2013: 73-74).

According to neorealism; states are founded on an anarchic order based on power struggles in international relations by defending that this order constraints actions of states and it ascribes new meanings to power concept. Like realism, international relations in neorealism are state-centered and states are in conflict with each other for national interests and an anarchic environment prevails. In this environment, states have to hold "power" for considering their own survival. However, at this point, which separates neorealism from realism is while "power" is the goal in realism; it is an instrument in neorealism. In international system, neorealists consider conflict and war bring insecurity and states have to obtain power as an instrument to ensure and sustain national security. States can use power in a conflict to ensure their security for their

interests while, in an international system, they can establish short-time cooperation against some threats (Çetinkaya, 2012: 249-250).

Neorealists emphasize the international system while defining power. According to this, power is defined as elbow room held in the frame of systemic restrictions and autonomy against capacities of others (Özdemir, 2011: 128).

The names as Kennet Waltz, Robert Gilpin, Henry Kissenger, George Kennan and Stephen Krasner have great contributions in differentiation of realism trend in time. Realism which has been reinterpreted on today's conditions has been criticized by Kennet Waltz and then Waltz has presented the fundamental thesis of the Neorealist model which would also be called then as Structural Realism. According to Waltz, there are two important elements in international relations. One of them is the anarchic structure of the system. While, the second one is that the international system consists of the relations between units with same functions (Camır, 2009: 14).

As of the mission they ascribe on power, there is a difference between realism and neorealism. According to neorealism, power is not a goal for states to be achieved as in realism, but an instrument to be used for achieving a goal. In addition, it is not true that "states always want to maximize their powers" as stipulated by realists. A continuous thrust for attaining power will make other states unsettled and they will try arming and combining their powers through alliances. In this case, the main point which states should worry should not be attaining power, but ensuring security (Sancak, 2015: 26).

1.1.2. LIBERALISM/NEOLIBERALISM

The ideas that man is perfect, democracy is needed for improving it and the idea of development lay underlie in the essence of liberal thought (Baylis & Smith, 2005: 5).

As it is not a date where liberalism emerged as an international theory, it took place jointly with the idealism approach between 1920s and 1930s. As a normative movement of thought, liberalism separates from idealism through a methodological and more scientific positivist approach. While, idealism is considered as an ethical approach for preventing anarchy in international relations, liberalism defends even if there is anarchy in this system; it reveals cooperation between states (Oğuzlu, 2015: 149).

According to liberal approach, security and prosperity of a country improves with financial activities and commercial power.

Financial power as the precondition for ensuring peace and prosperity depends on having good relations with world countries. In this case, the anarchic structure with conflicts of interest will give way to commercial cooperation as a result of financial bonds to be established by each actor considering its own prosperity. By this way, financial cooperation and mutual dependency will prevent wars and anarchic structures reducing prosperity of public (Çamır, 2009: 14).

Liberalism considers power as commercial cooperation between states. While, liberalism examines behaviors of states, also analyzes the issues of economical incentives and security for other groups. Liberals concur with realists that the international system is anarchic, think differently on establishing cooperation. Liberalism defends that increasing cooperation between actors will ensure establishing a financially secure grounds and the rule of law and consequently, it will become possible to reform the anarchic environment of the international system. While, realists consider military issues important in power approaches and emphasizes military power; liberals prioritize economical issues more and lay emphasis on financial power (Ziberovski, 2018: 28).

Neoliberals defend that mutual dependency between states especially on financial issues has increased and states focus their attention on financial aspect of power rather than the military one. They suggest that the activities towards military power among the sources of power have been decreasing. According to neoliberals, power does not operate zero-sum (Bozdaloğlu et al., 2004: 65).

According to neoliberals, mutual dependency relation between states can turn into an instrument of influence as much as the asymmetry it has. Here, the point where liberals separate from realists is related with the elements to be used for ensuring influence as one of the components of power. While, realists consider military elements as basis, liberals indicate the importance of financial ones (Sancak, 2015: 26).

Nye and Keohane as the pioneers of neoliberals, suggest that the most important interaction method in the changing international environment is mutual dependency relation. Mutual dependency relation is the cases where both sides carry interest. In this sense, there are also changes in world policy and cooperation in relations becomes important.

Related with this, Keohane indicates that establishing cooperation is an important political process and actors consider establishing cooperation suitable for their interests due to increasing costs within mutual dependency relations (Eralp, 2005: 150).

1.1.3. IDEALISM

Term of idealism was used by the chancellor of Glasgow University, Birkenhead in a paper presented by him during a conference in 1923 and “Birkenhead attracted attention of idealism with regards to its difference in philosophical and international relations and defined philosophical idealism as the desire of a person or a society to achieve a

position further and greater than the actual and existing physical situations and conditions and idealism within the context of international relations as the desire of developing international relations around ethics and values" (Gözen, 2015: 70).

The basis of idealism approach pioneered by Woodrow Wilson is made up of the necessity of a conflict-free environment where all states in international society can live in peace by establishing international society acting in mutual cooperation for international peace. Consequently, in idealism, states are considered as not inclined to war, therefore a democratic structure should be established and idealism is considered as an environment where international social order is based on the rule of international law and it can be achieved through a high judicial mechanism (Elmas, 2013: 46- 47). Wilson defends that world peace can be achieved through an international organization where the states come together to achieve it.

Yet, it has become prevalent that the universal peace can be achieved after the United Nations has been founded and become strong (Sandıklı and Kaya, 2012: 137).

1.1.4. CONSTRUCTIVISM/STRUCTURALISM

Although, the history of constructivist thought is older, it has become an important and popular theory in the discipline since 1990s. According to the approach of constructivist ecole, the main element shaping behaviors of states are ideas and interests. The interest concept of constructivist theory is different than interest concepts of realist theories. Theorists adopting the constructivist ecole state that interest is related with ideas on contrary with realism which identifies it with financial power. Interests cannot exist objectively and they are formed around specific ideas and perceptions (Özdemir, 2008: 134).

Compared to traditional theories, constructivism has a different approach to explain the international system. In traditional theories, state is the basic actor and it acts for providing maximum benefit in the international system. In the international system, this structure where interests of states are at the forefront and the system has an anarchic structure is accepted constant for states. While, constructivism brings a new perspective for this issue, also constructivists indicate that states are in search of rules, norms and legitimacy like people and they create identities for them and pursue a policy in the frame of these identities (Griffiths et al., 2011: 153).

Constructivists suggest that collective identities should be established and there should be a pluralist security approach. In this sense, social construction of security societies is an important field of study for constructivists. The states sharing specific norms and establishing a common identity do not have to use military force and cooperation is essential in this system. In addition, social norm of states consider specific values and institutions as international society which they should share. They suggest that the information provided by international and transnational scientific boards or communities contributes establishing international cooperation (Çavuş, 2012: 23-24).

According to constructivists, societies build their states and histories and within this regard, the international relations on their own.

Like neorealists, they see the system as a structure but consider that it is the result of human action. They indicate that the anarchic structure is not normlessness, "it is a norm where no state or group of states is dominant on others". Therefore, possibility of war inside this anarchic structure does not mean there will always be war (Sancak, 2015: 29). According to constructivism, behaviors of international actors are not only influenced by anarchy and power factors, other factors also play an important role. In the power analysis of constructivism, identity concept has an important place. While, viewing the relation between identity and interest, constructivism also tries to explain how ideas influence interests (Çakmak, 2007: 149).

Structuralist approach is an approach which objects to the judgment that the fundamental and only determinant actor of international system is state. According to structuralists, analyses on an international system should be conducted to cover the entire system. Therefore, not only the behaviors of states but also the behaviors of all actors influencing the system should be taken into account. According to structuralist ecole, the global environment, the elbow room of states and other actors, is influential on behaviors of actors. In this case, behavior of any actor cannot be considered free from the conditions of global environment (Çamır, 2009: 15).

The constructivist approach has brought another view in interest perception of previous theories. Constructivism has dealt with the time and context to consider power rather than the disagreements of the Realists and Neorealist theory on whether power is an instrument or the purpose. According to constructivism, whether power is an instrument or the purpose is based on how interests disperse. Perception of power actors should be considered based on the interests determined in accordance with their opinions and ideas.

In this sense, power elements can become either vulnerabilities or advantages for interests. For instance, specific geographical characteristics can provide advantages or cause vulnerabilities based on the purpose, ideas and interests of an actor with particular geographical characteristics (Çamır, 2009: 19).

1.1.5. CURRENT APPROACHES

In 1800s, Marxism has developed as a movement of thought which criticizes hard labor conditions and social injustice and defends personal freedom during the times when capitalism has begun rising after the industrial revolution. Karl Marx suggested that society is made up of production relations, the class holding production tools dominates

society and it establishes security policies by creating a general perception that any threat against its assets and interests threaten the whole society. He considers state as an entity dependent to this class and consequently implies that state is a security policy which serves to the interests of this dominant class (Birdişli, 2017: 77).

Critical theory has been developed in 1920s firstly in Germany and then the USA. It was suggested by the thinkers of the Frankfurt School. Although, the pioneers of critical theory are Max Horkheimer, Friedrich Pollock, Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas and Herbert Marcuse, it is originally based on the Marxist Western Marxism or Neo-Marxist philosophy (Karabulut, 2011: 75). Furthermore, critical theory brings a problem in any discipline into discussion and objectively addresses it in a scientific frame. It especially questions whether it is possible to be objective around an idea or information presented and developed by a ruling authority and investigates the relation between the ruling authority and the people dominated around the information/ideas produced by it through methodological strategies.

It draws attention that this should be taken into consideration and the characteristics of this bond between information and ruling authority and defends this dominance can only be eliminated by implementing critical theory (Okur and Ongur, 2015: 292).

International relations are managed in an environment where states try to increase their efficiency by using cultural and diplomatic power elements known as soft power which support the military and financial power elements known as hard power. Such that, today, it is adopted as a more effective method to manage international actors on their free will by creating an impression on them rather than hard power elements.

Like the realist approach, this ability covers managing international actors without using physical/qualitative or nonphysical/quantitative elements of power (Karagül, 2013: 80).

When, we look the world history, we see that hard power and its practices were the effective power until the end of the Cold War era. After, this era, mutual dependency of states has increased more due to rapid globalization. This dependency has caused that

states have been more abstaining in using hard power against each other. This attitude of using hard power has directed states to soft power which we see as another power type of foreign policy. Although, orientation of states toward soft power does not indicate that hard power has completely disappeared, it is effective for preferring it less (Ziberovski, 2018: 8).

Notably the USA, the Western world dictates that security constructs should develop a new power projection to implement soft power along with hard power. Transformation of power has not been implemented, yet in the regions with countries of authoritarian regime which have not still been industrialized, especially the ones in Africa and the Middle East. In the countries, such as China, India and Brazil, traditional military power is still at the forefront. Notwithstanding, in several cases, soft power has gotten ahead of hard power to the contrary of the 19th and 20th centuries and become more efficient (Yılmaz, 2011: 31).

CHAPTER 2

2. SOFT POWER

Considering the history, it is seen that states frequently resort to military methods and fight for achieving what they want and having more lands as a way to increase their gains. In this sense, it is recognized that the only applicable method in using force is based on use of military elements. However, it is observed that social, military, financial and technological changes in time have caused a change in this field. It is considered that especially the huge wars in the last century have played an important role in this change (Sancak, 2015: 64).

Throughout the history, there are different actors in the world stage. If, a retrospective study is done, it will be seen that these actors can be individuals, feudal rulers, religious institutions, empires or states. Free from its identity, it can be said that every actor has a goal and a purpose. The actors need specific instruments for achieving their goals. Perception of power in world history is shaped in accordance with the instruments needed and used by actors for achieving their goals. The effective actors of the system and the instruments they use determine the system's structure. In general, it can be said that international system changes especially based on the used instruments (Çamır, 2009: 20).

In addition, although, it was not called like that during that era; beginning of the evolution of soft power dates back to much older times. Within this context, soft power is considered as propaganda activities for demoralizing tenacity of citizens of the country to be occupied or the practices to ensure peace and comfort of the people

through political, financial and cultural regulations for ensuring loyalty and stability in occupied countries. For example, when, the Ottoman Empire was about to occupy a place, first it used to send merchants there and these people used to make propaganda that the Ottoman occupation would be advantageous for the people. Religious beliefs and freedom of the people living in occupied places were not interfered much and the precautions were taken for ensuring them to live their lives peacefully. The societies living in the lands under four hundred years of Ottoman occupation mention that they still have not forgotten the compassion and fair treatment of the Ottoman Empire through various occasions (Yılmaz, 2011: 32).

Nye first mentioned the soft power concept in his book, published in 1990, titled as *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. In another book of Nye, written in 2004, with the title of *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, importance of soft power for the USA with regards to our time is emphasized. Soft power is cooperation through consent rather than *de facto* and forceful intervention and considering priorities of actors for determining an agenda and attracting them to presented options by impressing them beyond persuasion (Karagül, 2013: 82).

Alexander L. Vuvung as another author studying soft power concept, explains soft power in his article, *How Soft Power Works* as ensuring others to want as we want or accept as we accept. Vuvung describes soft power based on three criteria as beauty, brilliance and benignity. While, beauty is related with the values, ideas and visions held and shared by states, brilliance is related with state's performance. A state with a rich financial structure, deep-rooted history and culture is placed as a model. A successful and brilliant state evokes admiration of others and thus use of soft power becomes easier. Finally, benignity criteria address the cooperation of a state in relations with other states (Ziberovski, 2018: 12).

Soft power is the ability to attract without persuasion and attraction is persuading the other party. Soft power which is an attractive power is made up of the values establish appeal. Soft power is based on presence of voluntary commentators and recipients.

In other words, attraction has a more general and dispersed effect rather than an easily observable specific action. Accordingly, even soft power has a direct impact on specific purposes, it mainly has an impact on the general purposes intended to be achieved a country (Aydemir, 2015: 109).

Guen Lee as another author conducting studies and trying to turn soft power into a theory divides soft power into 5 categories. These are (Ziberovski, 2018: 13);

1. Ensuring an atmosphere of peace and creating a positive image to ensure foreign security of a state.
2. Providing support of other states for foreign and security policies of a state.
3. Manipulating ideas and preferences of other states.
4. Protecting a society or preserving unity of a society.
5. Improving approval rates of a leader or local support to a government.

Commonly, soft power is an effective instrument legitimating the sovereignty and security of the USA. Soft power emphasizes the necessity of acting multilaterally for the USA. This is implemented through democratic ideals, attracting power of political institutions of America and international institutions (Layne, 2010: 58).

2.1. JOSEPH S. NYE AND DEFINITIONS OF SOFT POWER

According to Nye, Soft Power concept is "A country getting anything it wants through its attraction", in other words, "Soft power is the force of a country to ensure others want what it wants." (Nye, 2005: 23).

Nye indicates that a country can have a more respected position at international level by using soft power in culturally suitable grounds. According to him, the way to have soft power is establishing a center of attraction primarily based on cultural and political values and corporate institutions with attractive identities and policies based on moral foundation and legitimacy (Nye, 2004: 11).

According to Nye, a strong economy is not a source only used by states for imposing sanctions, but also a source used in improving soft power. An economically strong state creates a positive image on other states. For example, the European Union (EU) with a strong economy provides financial aids at the Balkans through the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) program. These aids create a positive image for the EU in these countries and perceived as a guarantor. Sometimes, hard power elements influence soft power. A state experiencing a decline in economical and military respects does not only lose its hard power, but also its ability to determine international state and loses its positive image (Ziberovski, 2018: 14).

Another definition of soft power concept is the indirect influence of a state on the behaviors and interest definitions of another state through cultural and ideological instruments. These instruments can be history, culture, literature, cinema, arts and diplomacy. In other words, it can briefly be said that it is attracting a country to it without using any financial or military force. Put it differently, soft power is not the military and financial power of a country; it is the power it has through its successful social integrity and culture (Günek, 2011: 18).

While, describing soft power behaviors, Nye does it by comparing it with the hard power ones. In order to comprehend it well, he describes three separate aspects/features of power by exemplifying the issue on an individual plane as he sometimes does. He constructs his example on the behaviors of a principal trying to put his student off smoking. Within the context of the first aspect of power, the principal can act in a way to threaten his student by punishing or expelling him (hard power) or persuading (soft power) him to quit smoking by spending hours.

In accordance with the second aspect of power, the principal can forbid the cigarette automat in the school (hard power) or have banners indicating harms of smoking hung (soft power). In the third aspect, the principal can threaten (hard power) smoking minority by going further or ensure this issue is discussed in a session/meeting on smoking (soft power). Here, soft power success of the principal is determined by his appeal, reliability and confidence in him (Sancak, 2015: 82).

While, an actor progress towards his/her goal, he/she draws other actors to his line without using force, threatening or deterring them and this is soft power. There may be several ways to do this. Sometimes culture or political ideas of an actor can be attractive for others. Key factor of soft power is appeal (Çamir, 2009: 8).

Joseph Nye divides aspects of soft power into three separate groups as culture (where considered attractive by others), political values (if, lived in harmony both home and abroad) and developments in foreign policy (when, a moral authority considered legitimate by others is held). Mainly, as these three factors are effective as they are accepted by other states and increase the rate of states getting positive results from their soft power policies (Graig, 2011: 27).

According to Nye, information revolution makes states more transparent. Today, governments have to share the stage with the actors using information to increase their power and oppress governments by directly or indirectly guiding public. Gradually increasing role of nonstate actors in international arena leaves its mark on the information age and private organizations increasingly go beyond national borders. Within this context, today, non-governmental organizations, international joint stock companies, organized religious movement, malicious organizations and networks, the international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and etc., digital technologies and media can produce soft power and become soft power of these organizations (Nye, 2005: 23).

Legitimacy is important for having soft power. If, a country makes its strength and goals legitimate before the eyes of others, it experiences less resistance.

In hard power, oppression, sanctions, payments and bribery are considered as the most appropriate resources and behavioral spectra of it are order, enforcement and persuasion.

While the most appropriate resources of soft power are reflected values, culture, policies and institutions, its behavioral spectrum is creating an agenda, attraction and appeal (Çavuş, 2012: 12).

If, states are willing to determine the agenda in international policy, they should use positive image as one of the important factors of soft power. Positive image of a state in world policy is mainly formed around its culture and ideas and Nye defines this positive image as the influence of a state on other states. Here, the key point is to achieve the desired result in the frame of consent of other states without using any aspects such as threat and force. By means of its positive image, a state will not only get approval and regard of other states, it will also become an inspiration for the policies they will pursue in international platforms (Ziberovski, 2018: 11).

2.2. PLACE AND IMPORTANCE OF SOFT POWER

The countries willing to improve their efficiency at global and regional scale and have a higher voice in international system in accordance with its goals attach particular importance to soft power. Because, some developments in history show the heavy results caused when soft power is neglected. In the assessments related with this subject, conducted in China expected to be one of the most important powers of the future through its recent extraordinary economical developments, the reason why the Soviet Union lost the struggle of global domination with the USA is indicated as the Soviet Union did not consider soft power important as it should have (Sancak, 2015: 66).

Due to the changes in international system and multilateral policy taking place of unilateral one and formation of a system based on mutual dependency, ‘power’ phenomenon has also changed and ‘soft power’ concept has become important.

Although, hard power continues to be an absolute must as before, soft power concept comes into prominence.

Every country has its soft power resources; while some are aware of them, some do not use them as much as they should. Turkey has wealthy soft power resources with regards to its geopolitical position, its culture and history, its great Military force and its values (Çavuş, 2012: 30).

In today's world, where means of communication become extremely diversified and complex, countries use media, universities, companies and non-governmental organizations as their soft power instruments. As, media is one of the most important channels for accessing people and influencing their ideas, its importance as a soft power instrument has been gradually increasing every passing day and wars through media stand out. Trade as one of the most fundamental ways of cultural transmission since the beginning of history has become of the most prominent instruments of soft power by means of globalizing world, multinational companies and huge financial network Güzel, 2016: 346).

Today, soft power is implemented through an education, science, arts and economy-centric change. Written and visual media, universities, non-governmental organizations and multinational enterprises are the actors of establishing soft power. All kinds of information and news can be communicated to the addressees easily and manipulating as required through means of communications. Behavior or an expression of a popular sports team or an artist can very easily impress masses (Karagül, 2013: 83).

During the post Cold War era, several states are interested in another option in addition to military methods as well as financial power practices as they do not always give the expected results and have very high costs and negatively influence the welfare of the party using these elements. Soft power presenting a more advantageous image as of its cost compared to the other elements emerges as a result of such an approach. If, the goal is to get what is wanted, the smartest way will be implementing it through the lowest costs and this is through soft power practices (Sancak, 2015: 65).

Developments and advancements in information and technology have caused changes in the international system. Today, states consider their welfare more important than fighting and establishing superiority. This does not mean that no war is experienced today, while it is observed that military actions are less compared to previous chapters of the history. In this sense, nature of power has also needed a change and importance of hard power has decreased and use of soft power called as the second aspect of power has become prominent for states (Ziberovski, 2018: 21).

2.2.1. CULTURE AND MEDIA

Joseph Nye considers culture as an important source for imposing soft power and suggests that if the culture of a country contains universal values and the policies are in harmony with the values and interests shared by others, it will be a higher possibility to get the required results. The conditions should be suitable for using culture as a power factor. For example, wines and cheese varieties of France do not guarantee admiration to France, neither cola is not a guarantee for loving the USA (the United States of America). However, this case is also valid for the hard power sources and use of these sources is based on availability of current condition (Çavuş, 2012: 13).

Soft power also contributes in other fields of a country as well as political ones. From this aspect, soft power has an important place in developing the economy of a country through its direct and indirect effects. Commercial relations between states improve every passing day and a great market is formed in the international arena. Several states are in fierce competition with each other for getting more shares from that market. Every country looks for a way to sell more goods in this market and increase its income. Soft power has an important role in increasing that market share. Countries with soft power impress other countries through their popular cultures and values (Sancak, 2015: 67).

With regards to soft power, culture is an important source ensuring a state preserves its material and nonmaterial existence in an international arena through methods and means standardized by states, causing global fields of stability are expanded, bringing new approaches to political solutions, creating a strategic environment by influencing public opinions and transmitting ideas and reservations of a state in different extents-different times (Aydemir, 2015: 119).

Psycho-social and cultural power is the power of a society, provided to it by material and nonmaterial values of its history. This can partially be called as "moral power". This element of power grounds on inner structure of societies and generally contributes to power of states in moral sense. Although, it is difficult to assess this contribution computationally, it is possible to see its effect. For instance, there are examples that the countries experiencing similar financial difficulties with stronger spirit of social solidarity in their cultural structure are less influenced from these difficulties (Çamır, 2009: 6).

Every society in the world and within this sense, every country absolutely has a culture. However, it is important that these cultures are attractive for others as they have soft power potential or turn into power. As Nye mainly addresses the issue as global leadership of the USA, he keeps the frame of culture to produce soft power wide and states that the possibility to get the desired results will increase if this culture contains universal values. Likewise, it is considered that it is hard for limited cultures and narrow-minded values to produce soft power. From this point of view, he leans one basis of his claim that global leadership of the USA will continue on the widespread American culture in the world (Nye, 2005: 20).

Nye mentions his discomfort that some authors characterize soft power only as popular culture and oversimplify it. Historian Nail Ferguson criticizes that the expressions of "untraditional like cultural and commercial goods" and "soft is good, that's it" which are used related with soft power. And as an example for it, he states that it does not mean for someone eating at McDonald's or wearing Michael Jackson shirt to love America.

Even, this individual might be a person who fights against Americans and therefore, it will be wrong to consider the elements making up soft power similarly with soft power (Nye, 2011: 22).

Culture becoming increasingly important in international relations is a regulating reality influencing daily life which helps a country to achieve its foreign policy goals, contributes protecting and developing global positions of countries, enables a country to be presented with appeal through active use of education and media, produces mass commercialization by presenting cultural products to masses (such as computer games of Japan) and as a result penetrates into societies and produces particular results (Aydemir, 2015: 122).

Hollywood movies spread the mass culture, beliefs and economical, social and political values of the USA such as democracy, equality, freedom, transparency and achieving a higher social level through their soundtracks, costumes, symbols, expressions, statements and other means to other societies. In addition to this, Hollywood movies also emphasize that the USA has a global role in fighting with the problems related with the whole humanity such as global terror, authoritarian regimes, spread of weapons of mass destruction, environmental problems and etc., and introduce the USA to other countries that this country continuously protects peace and human rights in its foreign policy and does not act in an arrogant and hypocrite manner only based on national interests. Consequently, Hollywood movies plays an important role in designing international society appropriate with foreign political purposes of the USA and persuading the international public opinion that the unilateral foreign policy actions and behaviors of this country are only for protecting the interests of international society. In other words, Hollywood movies are quite effective in establishing the international political atmosphere where the USA will act more freely. In this sense, Hollywood movies provide great contributions to foreign policy of the USA (Pınar, 2017: 254).

One of the most active elements of soft power concept is cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is considered as a foreign policy instrument, used by several developed and

developing countries, with very deep roots in history and tried to be described conceptually especially during the Cold War era. In Turkey, parallel to economical developments in the last 10 years, development aids have increased through active foreign policy practices (Güzel, 2016: 334).

Media undertakes a significant function in foreign policy. Media creates an impetus and acts as a bridge for dispersing and promoting values and ideas of a country. By means of the media, it becomes possible to present soft power instruments in a much efficient way. Countries transmit various aspects which become increasingly important, such as culture, commerce, investment, finance and etc. through mass media and try to share other countries for their own futures. Soft power proceeds based on the system prepared related with the meanings ascribed to other countries and reaction changes based on that meaning. Especially, soft power creates a difference for the country by using the media targeting large masses of society (Aydemir, 2015: 138).

2.2.2. DIPLOMACY

Diplomatic values one of the sources making up soft power emerges as the product of diplomatic values and government activities of a country. As of their results, the government activities weakening or increasing soft power are divided into two as domestic and foreign diplomacy. The activities viewed under diplomatic values title are mainly related with domestic diplomacy and within this sense, local values. In his American-centered approach - Nye - addresses the diplomatic values forming a basis for soft power of a country mainly in the contexts of human rights and democracy (Sancak, 2015: 90).

Diplomatic values in globalization process directly and indirectly influence states. Today, a diplomatic value vision, where classic political value approach changes, countries take place in the international platform by determining their values based on

their potential and justice, democracy and human rights arguments are used by actualizing them, stands out.

Diplomatic values is the process of implementing genuine aspects of values, beliefs and practices, reflecting the national character and making up the culture of a nation, which are important as long as there are obvious differences between various countries and societies with regards to political characteristics and related with accumulation of countries. Each nation has a national character separating it from others which consists of the messages of that nation (Aydemir, 2015: 121).

The capacity of a state to improve the possibility of getting the required results is based on that this state has a genuine culture and diplomatic values so it creates a field of appeal and responsibility for it. Diplomatic values as one of the most important sources of soft power is ensuring that a state makes its power felt by another state. Here, one of the important factors is getting legitimacy (Ziberovski, 2018: 18).

In order to turn diplomatic values of a country into soft power, they should evoke admiration for others. However, values evoking admiration for some countries may cause an opposite effect for others. Considering the effect and control of governments, it is seen that there is a difference between the culture and diplomatic values, which have been previously mentioned as sources of soft power. Governments have a higher voice in emergence or regulation of diplomatic values compared to formation of culture (Sancak, 2015: 91).

Governing a country through democracy, being a constitutional state, considering individual rights and freedoms important, being environment-sensitive and being mentioned in several places of the world with humanitarian aids will improve the reputation and soft power of it around the world. Otherwise, the authoritarian and totalitarian governments, the countries with tainted records related with human rights and the countries without any constitution will have lower reputation and correspondingly weak soft power, although they are strong in financial and military respects (Gültekin, 2015: 25).

2.2.3. POLITICS

Foreign policy of a country should be considered legitimate by others for it to be a soft power source. Therefore, it becomes more important how and where to use the instruments used in foreign policy rather than what they are. Another way for a foreign policy carried by a country to establish soft power of a country is that this policy addresses common values in the international arena. Therefore, it is very important to pursue the policies supporting the concepts such as democracy and human rights which are generally accepted as the universal values in the international area (Sancak, 2015: 93).

According to Joseph Nye, policies of states sometimes weaken soft power of them. Soft power policies are negatively influenced because of the reasons such as being indifferent to opinions of others and arrogant national or foreign politicians addressing an issue inside the box. Defending the issues such as democracy, human rights the rule of law and etc. in international policy are the important factors improving soft power of a state (Ziberovski, 2018: 18).

In a manner of speaking, Nye tries to direct the American government towards soft power elements by criticizing the perspective of American foreign policy which was presented in a combatant approach after the September 11 attacks. Nye suggests soft power notion as a recommendation for a new strategy for improving the image of the USA in a sense, which has been tarnished all around the world and forecasts that the USA will have a more efficient future in domestic and foreign politics due to its current scientific and cultural achievements (Karagül, 2013: 83). Within this context, it can be said that political aspect of soft power has a more critical importance with regards to images of countries.

Performances of governments significantly form existing policies and the ones in international area with regards to soft power. Today, by means of mass media and internet, all nations can know what is going on in the world.

For example, in the surveys conducted in 2003, after the Iraq war, it was observed that popularity of the USA was rapidly decreasing. People and countries in negative thoughts mentioned that their reactions were not generally against the USA, but the Bush government. People from several countries have continued to admire the technology, music, movies and television of America. However, a major part of people in several countries indicated that they did not like the increasing influence of the USA on their countries (Demir, 2012: 63).

2.2.4. INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES

2.2.4.1. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The fundamental instrument of using soft power in international relations is government agencies. States can carry out several activities in other countries through their agencies such as ministry of foreign affairs, embassies, consulates and etc. These agencies organize cultural and economical events in the countries they are located for supporting foreign policy of their country and by this way, they provide significant contributions in using soft power (Yılmaz, 2011: 203).

2.2.4.2. NON-GOVERNMENTAL FACTORS

Non-governmental actors are non-profit organizations which are not an institution or an agency of the government. Non-governmental actors are generally seen as non-governmental organizations, international private companies and various non-governmental institutions (Baharçiçek, 2008: 298).

Today, the role and effect of non-governmental organizations in the field of international relations gradually increase. As partners of governments, non-governmental organizations, undertaking two types of roles in international policy, firstly implement government policies through supporting them one way or another. Secondly, they act as a secondary super power by playing a role independent from governments. Most of the non-governmental organizations, each one with different goals and missions, are devoted to improve and develop the world conditions. As the factors, increasing soft power of a country, non-governmental organizations which determine the goals as providing urgent aid and development assistance to refugees and displaced persons, protecting human rights, organizing sustainable development programs, establishing democratic institutions and resolving conflicts can produce soft power (Aydemir, 2015: 127).

Although, in new global system, states represent democracy and related responsibilities in the field solely on their own, the non-governmental organizations, international and regional agencies and global companies of this country provide constructive contribution in course of foreign policy. No government can solely undertake executing its public diplomacy on its own. In addition to the government, the political parties, non-governmental organizations, foundations, unions, schools, academic circles, private sector and individuals have important roles in carrying out public diplomacy. Here, the duty of governments is to be in cooperation with non-governmental organizations and achieve the aimed success by involving non-governmental organizations in foreign policy-making as necessary (Gültekin, 2015: 27).

2.3. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The pluralist and complex structure of international relations direct states to policies beyond official and diplomatic relations and public diplomacy. Due to the course of globalization, states use various communication channels for improving their images. With regards to both international and national public opinion, attempts prioritizing human dimension are the most effective image making methods (Karagül, 2013: 80).

2.3.1. DEFINITION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

While, diplomacy in classical sense emerges as a concept which prioritizes mutual relations between states, 'public diplomacy' emerges as a new field where states improve their efficiency in today's global world where communication is diversified. It has become a necessity for the institutions and persons responsible for a state's diplomacy to pave the way for the concept of "public diplomacy" (Arpacıoğlu, 2012: 31).

Even, it is very frequently mentioned, 'public diplomacy' is a concept which is not very clear for many people. In definition of this concept, generally, the factor of influencing foreign public opinion through promotion of a country's own national goals and policies, culture and ideals is brought into forefront. Although, it is accepted that this activity of "influence" has increased its importance, a specific discussion on the aspects separating public diplomacy from traditional diplomatic activities have been continuing (İskit, 2012: 159).

Public if a non-governmental concept and adopted by implementers. There is a change in public orientation which is carried out unofficially and there is a bilateral symmetric communication. While, diplomacy is a government related concept and executed by foreign affairs experts. While, diplomacy is executed carefully and scientifically, public is passive and there is a mass following up the course. There is not any change in

diplomacy orientation and there is a bilateral asymmetric communication (Snow, 2009: 8).

Public diplomacy concept has firstly been used in 1965 by the Dean of Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Mr. Edmund Gullion. According to Gullion, public diplomacy is the effect of public behaviors in forming and executing foreign policy. Unlike traditional diplomacy, it covers influencing various aspects of international relations, public opinions of other countries, flow of information and ideas and interaction between interest groups of the country." (Tuch, 2003: 3).

According to Edward Murrow Public Diplomacy Center, public diplomacy is related with the influence of public attitudes on regulating and executing foreign policies. Beyond traditional diplomacy, covering the aspects of international relations, public diplomacy also involves formation of government's public opinions in other countries, interaction between special groups and fields of interest of these special groups in a state. In addition to these, public diplomacy covers communication between foreign representations and diplomats, intercultural communication process, Foreign Affairs reports and their effects on politics (Aydemir, 2015: 83).

According to Djerejean, "Public Diplomacy is promoting national interests through information, attraction and influence towards public opinions of foreign countries." (Djerejian, 2003: 13). 'Public diplomacy' deals with the role of press and other media broadcasting related with international issues, creating 'public opinions' by governments, non-governmental interaction of special groups and interests of them with others in a country and policy-making process of these supranational organizations and foreign affairs management (Waller, 2007: 24).

Public diplomacy is apart from traditional diplomacy, in other words, it also covers the fields of international relations except the fields of traditional diplomacy. Establishing a public opinion in foreign countries by governments and interaction between private agencies of governments with the ones of other countries ensure communication between diplomats and intercultural communication process. In addition, public

diplomacy is liable to disseminate accurate information. Public diplomacy is the attempt of countries for disseminating accurate information constructed for achieving their national goals, interests and purposes by establishing an international public opinion (Demir, 2012: 14-16).

2.3.2. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TECHNIQUES

International politics have changed shape along with globalization and the changing balances of power and traditional channels of diplomacy have left their places to new diplomacy channels. This new way of diplomacy consists of intergovernmental communication as well as ways of communication and interaction which governments establish with public opinions of other countries and public opinions of other countries establish with each other. Consequently, new diplomacy has begun paying more attention to soft power, public diplomacy, culture and elements of culture and civil society (Kahn, 2011: 11).

Nye stating, public diplomacy, expressing a versatile communication process, has three important aspects, indicates that these aspects are at different rates, they should be directly within the knowledge of state and they result from cultural relations covering a long timeframe. Daily communications which make local and foreign policies understandable make up the first and close aspect of public diplomacy. In modern democracies, the government authorities making preliminary preparations before making a statement to press should approach foreign press as well as domestic press. Because, while, government authorities announce decisions related with their countries - they should consider citizens of other countries as well as the citizens of their countries with regards to impact it might create. In the second aspect of public diplomacy, there are strategic communications planned to influence the target audience. Likewise any campaign, it aims to reach consciousness of people by using various instruments and symbols.

In order to provide a positive atmosphere for the country's image - through rational strategies, - planning some events and communications are accepted as the primary target of this aspect. Implementing - scholarships, seminars, internships, student exchange programs with important people - and long term relations established through media channels consist the third aspect of public diplomacy (Turan and Karanfil, 2017: 23).

The public diplomacy practices developed in the recent period are brought into forefront in public diplomacy practices through versatile and mutual communication. Within this context, new public diplomacy practices are not dedicated to propaganda. Apart from propaganda activities, public diplomacy activities in this new period are constructed on "telling you" and "listening to addressees". It is ensured that ideas and information flow through a joint plane open to participation without exposing to any disinformation. In this course, an extensive briefing and establishing direct communication process which progress based on information and communication technologies have an important part. And this makes public diplomacy activities no longer only a process of exposing briefing and information. In these activities based on two-way communication, a mutual communication model where the stakeholders increase with regards to senders and receivers of messages (Günek, 2011: 25).

Public diplomacy, one of the most important aspects of soft power is turning public and intelligentsia of another country to its advantage and trying to impress them through policies of this nation. From this point of view, it can be seen that public diplomacy and soft power complement each other. Both concepts aim to fascinate other countries and become a enviable country through its available factors instead of hard power and leave an impression on them. Public diplomacy is not only a fight of thinkers. Public diplomacy is also a multi-stage art of study based on understanding, informing, attracting and influencing the decision-makers of foreign societies in order to make values, policies and goals of a country understood better (Gültekin, 2015: 12).

While, classic "public diplomacy" involves propaganda, culture export, regime export and similar policies of a country to society of another country, today, "public diplomacy" has turned into an efficient communication strategy prioritizing public-to-public communication (Arpacıoğlu, 2012: 23).

In this direction, governments place importance on public diplomacy in order to succeed and establish communication with different societies in various fields of practice. As the diversity of practice fields has increased along with globalization, success of the states with efficient practice shows parallelism.

The activities and long-term projects implemented in the fields of practice such as culture, education, arts, sports and etc., are used in public diplomacy field for achieving international political goals and make up the international, civil and other civil/non-governmental organizations and public-to-public communication (Aydemir, 2015: 94).

Public diplomacy activities are conducted in two main frames as "from state to public" and "from public to public" communication. Activities in the state-public axis are introduction of policies, activities and initiatives of the state to public by using official means and channels. In public to public direct communication activities, it is essential that non-governmental instruments such as the non-governmental organizations (NGO), research centers, public opinion survey companies, press, opinion leaders, universities, exchange programs, foundations and associations are used. Supragovernmental institutions and non-governmental interaction occupy a very large place in the field of 'public diplomacy' (Arpacıoğlu, 2012: 29-30).

When, it comes to public diplomacy, two societies in search for a dialog between two cultures should be taken into consideration rather than state representatives to interfere in the name of their governments. In this sense, public diplomacy is the overall programs which will ensure that cultural exchange and academic changes are implemented and cultural and national values are dispersed in order to improve the image of a country before foreign countries.

In addition, within this context, soft power and culture diplomacy become one of the most important instruments of public diplomacy (Akçag, 2012: 6).

2.3.3. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES AS SOFT POWER INDICATORS IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Considering public diplomacy through a historical perspective, the World War II has been a turning point for public diplomacy.

While, public diplomacy was only implemented by prominent countries of the world before this war, post-war developments have increased activities of international institutions and non-governmental organizations in several countries and expanding activity fields of these institutions and organizations have been involved in activity fields of international relations. As actors of international politics, non-governmental organizations and similar institutions have begun using communication technologies in their public diplomacy activities and by this way, media has become a frequently used field for establishing public diplomacy (Bostancı, 2012: 99).

Especially, the term of public diplomacy has rapidly been accepted by the United States of America. There are two reasons for this; the first one is that the United States needed softer alternatives instead of propaganda and psychological combat in order the United States to put a more specific distance between its own democratic information practices and the policies pursued by the Soviet Union. The second one is that the international intelligence bureaucracy of the United States - the Information Agency of the United States has welcomed a term making them diplomats (Demir, 2012: 15).

Public diplomacy carries out its activities in accordance with the purpose to inform and influence. "The United States Information Agency, USIA" which carried out its activities from 1953 to 1999 is a role model in the history of "public diplomacy" which

tried to influence decision-makers and public through briefings and communications by means of public diplomacy dedicated various instruments (Arpacıoğlu, 2012: 27).

In the United States of America where public diplomacy practices are carried out institutionally, it is observed that the public diplomacy practices in the recent period are produced as policies supporting national security strategy. The national security goals of the USA are gathered under eight titles in the report titled as National Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication Policies of the USA which was prepared by the Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy Policy Coordinating Committee (PCC) in 2006. These are propagating human rights, cooperation against terrorism, ending religious conflicts, preventing mass armament, encouraging global economy, extending development process and cooperating with other global powers.

The purpose of public diplomacy activities carried out in these contexts, the purpose of public diplomacy of the USA is to serve values and national security goals of the USA (cited from PCC, 2006, Gülek, 2011: 27).

Today, small and medium scale several countries have developed new public diplomacy methods. From the USA to Liechtenstein with regards to their power and magnitude in the global political system and from China to Singapore with regards to their regimes or authoritarian perspective, interest in Public diplomacy has been increasing. Interest in public diplomacy has even been increasing in Ethiopia which is the poorest country of the world (Gilboa, 2001: 20).

International organizations and sport events can be used as an opportunity for propagating cultural image of a country. Countries make series of attempts for propagating their cultures to other countries and promoting them in these countries. For example, in the Olympics in 2008, the Chinese culture have been broadcasted to all corners of the world through all channels. In these broadcasts, colorful, wealthy and deep-rooted culture of China was focused. These broadcasts have provided contribution in peaceful image which China has been trying to establish around the world. (Gliolo, 2001: 19).

Along with the developments in communication and information technologies, public diplomacy implementers tend towards cheaper, interactive and accessible media networks. Social media networks with millions of members which enable concurrent participation of thousands of them encourage propagating an idea and taking action for it. Several protesters demonstrated against the G-20 summit which was organized in London, in 2009 through twitter. Twitter played an important role for gathering people together and league together. Messages sent through twitter gathered 5000 protesters and they organized demonstrations in the streets of London for two days. Likewise, 10000 Moldavians mobilized by Facebook protested the communist party. Twitter and Facebook are also efficient means of communication which are also used by leaders to reach people. Twitter which was used for the first time by the Queen of Jordan, Raina, is currently used by several leaders (Powers, 2009: 10).

2.3.4. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES AS SOFT POWER INDICATORS IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

Although, public diplomacy activities in Turkey were not considered important during the Ottoman era, it has become an important field which has started to be studied at significant level in the Republic era. During the Republic era, the public diplomacy and soft power activities have especially become especially intensified in the 2000s when the course of democratization has accelerated. If, Turkey still currently deals with the Cyprus question and Armenian question and even cannot make its voice heard enough in the word in its fight against terrorism, the reason of this is that it has not been able to use its soft power elements and has not attach enough importance on public diplomacy. Really, Turkey has experienced difficulties in explaining itself to the world in the Armenian question, the Cyprus question, the Kurdish question and experienced coups (Demir, 2012: 213).

Turkey has accelerated its activities in public diplomacy field in recent years. In 1991, Turkey has established contact with the communities in the Central Asia and the Caucasia which have separated from the USSR and declared their independence and started activities in the fields education and development. In 1992, "the Great Student Project" was implemented and within this context, every year, thousands of students were provided scholarships by Turkey and it was also enabled that these students had education in Turkey. With this attitude, Turkey aimed to create Turkish sympathy in the Central Asia and Caucasia countries. In 2009, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced through internet by means of social media tools that the Ministry would implement public diplomacy activities (Gültekin, 2015: 14-15).

Deficiency of public diplomacy blocks Turkey in foreign policy especially in its course of membership to the European Union. The European Union member countries have to consider the ideas of their citizens and their perspectives for Turkey while making a Turkey-related decision. The main problematic fields of Turkish foreign policy stand out as the fields of practice for public diplomacy of Turkey. Related with its European Union membership process, Turkey needs public diplomacy practices in the issues such as the image of Turkey in Europe, the Cyprus and Armenian question, the Kurdish question and etc. If, the Turks living abroad and the Ottoman background considered as the public diplomacy sources of Turkey were not used properly, they can also be brought into forefront as problem fields (Gülek, 2011: 35).

2.3.5. INSTITUTIONAL ATTRIBUTES OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN POST-2002 TURKEY

One of the new political approaches started in Turkey by the term of the Justice and Development Party is the activities for preventing any problem instead of resolving after they happen. In order to achieve this, even it is not directly related with Turkey; the country tries to prevent any potential problem by standing between in international

and regional conflict situations through using its soft power and democracy approach. Soft power development of Turkey is firstly based on that the country completes its economical and cultural development (Oran, 2013: 139).

2.3.6. STRATEGIC DEPTH CONCEPT

The point of Strategic Depth is that Turkey is a state which can access very different regions thanks to its historical background with multiple identities driven by its geography. Through the soft power elements and efficiently implemented foreign policy, this state will not only become a "Regional Power" but also become a "Global Power" and one of the rarely seen "Central Powers". As a result, even some people think that it is not practical to implement this; strategic depth concept needs that common history, culture and the whole accumulation of humanity formed in the geography where people live are put in place in international relations of a country and use them as elements of soft power. From this point of view, strategic depth concept involves all soft power elements (Gültekin, 2015: 50-51).

CHAPTER 3

3. SOFT POWER AND IMPLEMENTING AGENCIES OF TURKEY

Throughout history, power concept has been identified with military capacity - financial capacity has become a part of it in the last century - and while power of a country is mentioned, actually the military force of this country is implied. Power which was considered consisting of military and financial elements for a long time, was thought as an instrument for countries to get what they want by force. On the other hand, another aspect of power which does not involve forceful methods has come to the forefront in the last quarter century and this aspect has been brought into the literature by Joseph S. Nye as soft power. Turkey claiming to be a regional power which aims to have a voice in the global system has not been indifferent to this type of power and soft power has been placed in the center of Turkish Foreign Policy (Sancak, 2015: 2-3).

Although, Turkey does not have the advantages of popularity as the USA as mentioned above, it has a considerable amount of opportunities with regards to soft power factors. At first, Turkey has strong historical, cultural and emotional bonds with the geography it is located. The country can develop bilateral and multilateral relations on regional level. Turkey is a country sought by regional and global actors for cooperation in case of a regional or global crisis and conflict. The country supports all kinds of attempts to provide contribution in stability in its region. The country has added development aids for cooperation with developing countries among its priorities (Karagül, 2013: 83).

When, soft power of Turkey is considered, the first things come to mind are firstly the Middle Eastern Geography and then the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia.

This is an accurate determination. Soft power is a compliance-based power for penetration and attraction. Consequently, there are areas and regions where states can use soft power. The regions where Turkey uses its soft power which are suitable for using it are the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia. It is obvious that, Turkey has a very close culture, history and geography with these countries, these countries consider Turkey and Turkish people with sympathy and by this means, mutual relations, assistance and solidarity with these countries are higher than the other ones (Çavuş, 2012: 30).

Turkey has a country with soft power potential. The degree of this potential varies in accordance with its historical bonds, common culture and identity. Turkey has tended towards soft power policy more in 2000s through the impact of changes experienced in international system. While, implementing this policy, the institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, the Yunus Emre Institute have been the most used instruments (Ziberovski, 2018: 44).

In addition to the ones mentioned above, Keyman indicates the factors that among reinforcing the soft power of Turkish foreign policy; the multiculturalism, the interesting experience in modernization despite the continuing deficiencies in democratization and pluralism, loyalty to democratic political system, economical dynamism, the sustainable success in humanistic progress despite gaps in economy, proactivity in problem-solving and the dialogue-based good neighborhood diplomacy despite the gaps in implementing a realist and efficient foreign policy (Keyman, 2010: 3).

3.1. SOFT POWER OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE 2002

It is seen from the foreign policy analysis of Turkey that the foreign policy has been carried out through specific parameters for the term after proclamation of the Republic. Turkish foreign policy adopting a pragmatist method along with an equilibrium policy

during the first terms of the Republic, has taken place with the west as a side of the Cold War after 1950. After the end of the Cold War, Turkish foreign policy was in search of new political pursuits in order to take place in global plane. From the beginning of 1990s, global power claim has been suggested. In this claim, it is considered that "Turkey can associate with the Turkish Republics in the Central Asia through the Powerful Turkey from China to Adriatic". Turkey's discourse of Soft power has emerged during 1990s where the statements for Turkey as the regional power and model country have arisen and continued more strongly after 2000 (Laçiner, 2009: 720).

In the world conditions changing with the end of the Cold War, it has come up that the foreign policy Turkey has been undergoing transformation and Turkey has tended towards a multilateral policy and diplomacy based on mutual dependency from a unilateral policy pursued during the Cold War due to threats and opportunities and this has become a matter of question (Duran, 2009: 387).

During this course corresponding to the 12th September Period of Turkey, the changes appropriate with this structure have been implemented especially through the 24th January Decisions. The President Özal's export promotion centered development model has replaced the Import-Substitution Industrialization model. During the Özal period, the first signals that the traditional foreign policy would change started to be given. Especially, the efforts of Özal for by-passing traditional Foreign Affairs bureaucracy in determining and implementing processes of foreign policy can be shown as examples for these signals. The Turkish foreign policy during Özal period has developed within the grip of problems experienced with neighbors. The Aegean and Cyprus problems with Greece, the problems caused by oppression on Turks in Bulgaria, the fear from the Islamic revolution in Iran and internationalization of the Kurdish and the Armenian Questions have brought Turkey to a bottleneck for producing multilateral foreign policy (Denizhan, 2010: 19).

In the beginning of 1990s, a new field of cooperation has been formed for Turkey when the Central Asia countries have declared their independence. Consequently, the policies pursued by Turkey during the Cold War era have also changed. At first, the President

Turgut Özal visited Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan in 1991 and then mutual visits were done with other Turkish Republic countries. Furthermore, in 16th December 1991, Turkey is the first country recognizing independences of these states, which separated from the USSR and gained their independence and this shows, how these states in the Caucasus and the Central Asia are important for the Turkish Foreign Policy. Within this context, Turkey has tried to pursue a more active policy for the countries in close region during the era started with the Gulf War (Ziberovski, 2018: 38-39).

During the term continuing by the end of the Cold War, Turkey needed a stable and consistent foreign policy supported by institutionalized soft power instruments for Turkey to become an active power in its close basin. Although, Turkey which was also supported by the Western countries, was not been able to resolve some of its problems, it was eager to share its experience of democracy with these new independent states. Turkey has tried to improve its efficiency in its region and close basin through its soft power consisting of the positive values of this country which was presented as a "model" to these countries. Efficiency of Turkey in a wide region has been a new beginning for establishing relations for previously "ignored" sections. Turkey has tried to carry out this course by associating its soft power sources consisting of historical and cultural values as well as its geopolitical, financial and military capacities (Karagül, 2013: 82).

Turkey, which has been governed by coalition governments throughout 1990s, has entered 2000s along with heavy financial crisis. While, domestic policy was going through, in the frame of discrepancies and controversies of coalition partners, a process of change which has not been deep-rooted as the breakup of the Soviets, has begun in the international arena when the World Trade Center and Pentagon became the targets of terrorist attacks in the September 11 attacks. The USA has begun settling the Eurasia region through the war it has waged on Afghanistan. It can be said that surrounding and controlling the region with rich oil and natural gas resources are the basis for the policy formed when the USA entered Iraq in 2003 (Erhan, 2005: 134).

3.2. POST-2002 SOFT POWER OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

As, the Justice and Development Party has come to power in the 2002 elections, a process of transformation has been experienced in foreign policy of Turkey. In this term, Turkey has emphasized that a regional and global level foreign policy should be pursued based on its historical and cultural background. In addition, the geopolitical position of Turkey has been considered as an important factor for improving its relations at regional level and other states. Within this sense, Turkey has carried out activities for maximizing its relations at first with the neighborhood countries and others (Ziberovski, 2018: 40).

Evaluating based on concrete examples, when, the Justice and Development Party came to Power, the Middle East attitude of Turkey towards the American intervention on Iraq and its peacemaking attempts for bringing peace to the region have accelerated the rapprochement and cooperation steps established on a common history and common culture perspective. Turkey has acted through a political approach aware of the problems which would be caused by a Northern Iraq-related foreign policy only based on hard power factors. As, it would have caused problems, if Turkey had created an influence in the region only through its military power, as the ones experienced by the USA in Iraq and Afghanistan, Turkey has been able to become an efficient and popular power through its soft power factors (Altunışık, 2008: 44-48).

Turkey entering into a restructuring process in its foreign policy by providing political and financial stability in 2000s has become the "center of attraction" of the region through the strategy it pursues. Related with this, it is seen that the elements of common civilization, history and culture are significantly emphasized in the relations with the Balkans, the Middle East and Central Asia. These policies have not only been implemented through statements but also institutional configurations. During this era, serious steps have also been taken in financial areas parallel to the changes experienced in foreign policy. Within this context, new structures have been established for strengthening financial relations of Turkey. Turkey has not used its financial power for

implementing military or financial sanctions in its foreign policy, rather for making its soft power factors more effective (Tekin and Tekin, 2014: 41).

During the term where Ahmet Davutoğlu took the seat as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, foreign policy of Turkey has undergone a change towards soft power. If, we briefly summarize the foreign policy factors of Davutoğlu (Duran, 2009: 391):

1. Establishing a sensitive equilibrium between security and democracy in domestic policy
2. Pursuing zero problem principle with neighbors
3. Keeping close relations with the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Central Asia
4. Pursuing a peacekeeping rhythmic foreign policy undertaking an active role in international relations
5. Pursuing a complementary and multidimensional foreign policy which is not based on competition with other global actors mainly as the USA and the EU.

Considering the bases of regional influence of Turkey with regards to government policies, the course of progress of Turkey to become the obvious the dominant power of the Middle East in military, financial and diplomatic fields has significantly accelerated and democratic character and legitimate government of Turkey has brought in an extraordinary power and strength for the Turkish foreign policy. As a result, there is a severe contrast governing almost all other states in the region which do not have sufficient representation ability, autocratic, abstain from its own public, depend on support of foreign states in an atmosphere mostly cruel and incapable leaders prevail (Fuller, 2008: 159-162).

Scholarships and supporting incentives provided in the fields such as education, culture-arts, literature and etc. are among the soft power strategies of states. Parallel to its financial development, Turkey has shown a considerable progress in several fields such as national income, domestic and foreign security, education and etc. In this respect, humanitarian aid activities, especially development aids to foreign countries have increased. Turkey has become the country which has increased its foreign aid the most among the Organization for Economical Development and Cooperation (OECD) countries by increasing its foreign aids which was 967 millions of US Dollars in 2010 to 1.320 Billion US Dollars in 2011 with a 38.2% increase rate (Karagül, 2013: 80-81).

It is possible to say that Turkey has successfully disposed of its soft power factors which the country has begun using in its foreign policy by 2000s, if we consider the Macedonia example. The relations between these two countries have shown a continuous progress in political, financial, cultural and other fields especially after 2005. The institutions such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency and the Yunus Emre Institute have played an important role in improving these relations. By means of the soft power policy it pursues, in a short time, Turkey has become more visible not only in Macedonia but all across the Balkans and has become a model country for the countries in that region (Zibrovski, 2018: 91).

3.3. SOFT POWER STRATEGIES OF TURKEY

Soft power instruments cover a very wide area. Soft power separating from hard power as of its methods predicts getting long-term and indirect results from foreign policy. The countries other than the large-scale countries such as the USA, China and Russia, usually focus their power factors in specific fields. Instead of mentioning soft power of Turkey, it is necessary to emphasize different soft power resources of Turkey which can be used in accordance with the objectives of the country and assess how Turkey can use its soft power potential in accordance with these objectives (Günak, 2011: 23).

As a medium-size country, Turkey is one of the actors resorting to soft power. Turkey having a different but also a similar culture with the West and the Middle East, uses soft power by propagating its culture, pursuing a constructive, active and multilateral strategy in its foreign policy and using its economical development cooperation cards. Turkey focusing on the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus regions which are the regions with cultural and historical affinity has also soft power strategies in the frame of the Arab Spring experienced in the Middle East where global terrorism is an issue (Çavuş, 2012: 29).

The basis of Turkish foreign policy during the term of the Justice and Development Party should be consisted of mutual relations with the EU for integration of the country, the relations with the USA for mutual interests and the relations with neighbors and the Islamic countries in the frame of cooperation and Islamic approach. Turkey has set off on these thoughts with the notion of promoting itself to other countries as a new civilization. The country used its determination in its negotiations, its soft power in its discussions with the Islamic world and its Turkish identity in its discussions with the Turkish world (Gültekin, 2015: 44). Considering each of these identities separately, the soft power potential of Turkey can be seen clearly.

It is seen that Turkey has significantly important resources with regards to soft power potential. The historical and cultural bonds of Turkey in its geography provide advantage to the country in establishing bilateral and multilateral relations at regional level. In addition, Turkey is a country with soft power potential which can become the center of attraction of its region by being a democratic and modern country. It is observed that Turkey has recently been using its soft power resources and public diplomacy efficiently in foreign policy. Increasing humanitarian aid activities of Turkey in other countries are observed as another development supporting these approaches (Sarıgül, 2013: 84).

3.3.1. “ZERO” PROBLEM WITH NEIGHBORS

As a result of the problems experienced in regions in close proximity to Turkey during the term of the Justice and Development Party, the policy of zero problems with neighbors has been one of the most discussed principles and criticized by several authors. However, it would be wrong to evaluate the zero problem policy as successful or unsuccessful in accordance with the developments in the region. This policy has firstly been designed for establishing and strengthening bonds in mutual relations with neighboring countries (Ziberovski, 2018: 42).

Turkey has overcome trust issues with several countries and initiated multilateral cooperation through its rhythmic diplomacy and zero problem policy, the country pursues especially for its neighbors and the countries with previous trust issues. The sympathy, symbolized by "one minute" rise of the Prime Minister Erdoğan's in 2009 Davos Forum, has gained a structural character and changed stereotyped opinions of the Arab world about Turkey which were prevailing for decades. Reconciliation of Turkey with its Middle Eastern identity, its leading role undertaken in the Palestine question and the support provided for the change in the Arab spring have made Turkey the leader of Islamic world (Purtaş, 2013: 11).

Turkey has intended to improve cooperation and resolve previous problems with its neighboring countries. As a result of the zero problem with neighbors policy of Turkey, the instruments used by the country have begun changing and a policy which prioritizes soft power factors have begun to be pursued (Oğuzlu, 2012: 12).

3.3.2. SOFT POWER INSTRUMENTS OF TURKEY

The soft power potential of Turkey is formed in accordance with the available soft power instruments. Within this context, the soft power instruments restructured

especially during 2000s are considered as two separate groups as the public institutions and the non-governmental organizations.

3.3.2.1. PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

The Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy, the Directorate General of Press and Information, the Anatolian News Agency, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, the Turkish Airlines, the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs, Yunus Emre Institute, the Presidency for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities, the Red Crescent and the Disaster and Emergency Management Administration are among the public institutions making up the first group of the soft power instruments of Turkey.

3.3.2.1.1. THE COORDINATING OFFICE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy has been established in order to establish cooperation and coordination between the public institutions and agencies and non-governmental organizations for activities to be carried out in the field of public diplomacy and strategic communication and promotion activities. The secretariat services of the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy are carried out by the Directorate General of Press and Information. The Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy organizes various events, issues and promotion meetings in foreign languages for promoting Turkey (Gülek, 2011: 37).

Turkey aims to ensure cooperation and coordination both between the public institutions and agencies and between non-governmental organizations through the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy which has been established for efficient performance of public diplomacy practices.

This institution which carries out promotion and information activities in national and international field represents Turkish foreign policy in institutional sense. In addition, the institution organizes events such as panels, workshops and meetings (Turan and Karanfil, 2017: 18).

Country meetings, wise people conferences, Europe meetings, panels and international summits are organized within the political communication activities of the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy. The meetings within country programs are held in foreign countries and these are organized with the prominent think tanks of the visited country. In the frame of this program, the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy has gone to the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Egypt, Jordan, Bosnia-Herzigovina, France, Yemen, Germany, Kuwait, Mauritania, Tunis, Morocco, Niger, Belgium and Sudan and attended country meetings. The Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy aims that the issues in the agenda of public are discussed by statesmen and politicians, intellectuals and journalists, qualified in their fields and trusted by the international public opinion and get positive results in foreign policy for Turkey by resolving them (Demir, 2012: 242).

3.3.2.1.2. THE DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF PRESS AND INFORMATION

The Directorate General of Press and Information (DGPI) was established in 1862 as the Press Directorate, changed as the Directorate of Press and Intelligence in 1920 and finally titled as the Directorate General of Press and Information in 1984. The institutions aiming to create a correct perception of Turkey in the world has 17 provincial directorates and 39 press counselor offices at abroad. The provincial directorates of the institution are located in the provinces of Adana, Afyonkarahisar, Antalya, Bursa, Çanakkale, Edirne, Erzurum, Gaziantep, İstanbul, İzmir, Kayseri, Konya, Muğla, Samsun, Şanlıurfa and Trabzon. The press counselors in other countries

are located in Abuja, Astana, Ashgabat, Athens, Baku, Bern, Beirut, Bishkek, Brasilia, Brussels, Jakarta, Jeddah, Islamabad, Cairo, Kuala Lumpur, the Hague, Nicosia, Madrid, Moscow, New York, Sarajevo, Paris, Beijing, Pretoria, Riyadh, Rome, Sofia, Stockholm, Damascus, Tehran, Tashkent, Tokyo, Tripoli, Warsaw, Vienna, Washington and New Delhi (Gültekin, 2015: 57).

The Directorate General of Press and Information has been titled as the Republic of Turkey, the Presidency Communication Directorate with the 14 numbered Presidential Decree which was published in the Official Gazette with 24th July 2018 date and 30488 number and the procedures and guideliness related with the duties and authorities of the organization have been regulated¹.

3.3.2.1.3. THE ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY

Turkey, recognizing the importance of agencies with regards to public diplomacy, has recently brought in the Anatolian News Agency quite efficient structure which has been founded in 6th April 1920. The Anatolian News Agency which has begun broadcasting in other languages since 2012, increased the number of foreign languages up to 7 as of 2014 and begun serving 1200 subscribers with its offices in 57 different countries. The Anatolian News Agency aiming to become one of the top five news agencies of the world plans to increase the number of broadcasting languages to 11 as of 2015. The Anatolian News Agency considering social media as the most efficient news and communication arena of the future builds its future vision on its new media concept (Sancak, 2015: 182).

¹ <http://www.iletisim.gov.tr/turkce/hakkinda>.

3.3.2.1.4. THE TURKISH RADIO AND TELEVISION ASSOCIATION

In international arena, international television channels are used actively in the field of diplomacy. Countries, leaders and societies can be heard by the whole world through international television and radio channels. In this sense, international television channels are the instruments of international communication. In Turkey, the Turkish Radio and Television Association reaches, defends theses of Turkey and broadcasts to other countries, the countries of Turkish origin, the communities in the Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Kurdish citizens, the Arabic spectators in the Middle East and the whole world through broadcasts intended for them (Gültekin, 2015: 54).

Along with 2000s, the Turkish Radio and Television Association has begun broadcasting in languages and dialects other than Turkish. The Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT) has begun transmitting broadcasts in culture, politics, finance, history and arts in various languages and dialects through its channels as TRT-Int, TRT-Turk, TRT-Avaz, TRT-Şeş, TRT-Arabic and TRT-Documentary. The association aims to depict Turkey and Turkish people in the broadcasted countries and regions not only to the global community but also to its own community in their own language through the news, documentaries, discussion programs, TV shows, films, movies, entertainment programs and etc. prepared. The efforts to expand its target audience which have begun with TRT Şeş and continued with TRT-Avaz and TRT-Turk are the most serious steps to be taken in the field of public diplomacy (Başar, 2011: 177-178).

3.3.2.1.5. THE TURKISH COOPERATION AND COORDINATION AGENCY

One of the most effective soft power instruments of Turkish foreign policy is the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TCCA). This agency has been

established to support formation and development of new countries especially the Turkish Republic which have emerged when, the Cold War was over and the USSR broke up. The TCCA has been founded affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers with 24th January 1992 date through the 480 numbered Statutory Decree which has been put into force by publishing in the Official Gazette with 2114 number and 20th January 1990 date. In 1999, the TCCA has been subordinated to the Prime Ministry with the 4668 numbered "Law on the Organization and Duties of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency"².

The TCCA carries out its activities through 26 program coordination offices located in 23 countries (Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ethiopia, Palestine, Georgia, Montenegro, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Macedonia, Mongolia, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Senegal, Serbia, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Ukraine-Crimea and Pakistan). In the places where no Program Coordination Office located (Bulgaria, Romania, some autonomous republics of the Russian Federation, Sanjak and some African countries), the projects planned in the main office are implemented through the Coordination Offices, Turkish Embassies or consulates and central departments and non-governmental offices closest to these countries. As of today, the number of countries taking advantage from the activities of the TCCA is almost 111 (Gülek, 2011: 36).

There have been some regulatory changes for the TCCA to work in coordination with the institutions founded in the field of soft power and public diplomacy such as the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy, the Administration for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities and etc. Through these changes, the TCCA has turned its previous cash foreign grants into project based operations. According to this, the activities of the TCCA have begun to be carried out developed projects and cooperation projects coordinated with national and international institutions and organizations. It can be said for the TCCA, which used to be an institution only for Turkish Republic in the previous years, has changed its plans in accordance with the Middle East, Africa and

² <http://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/sayfa/tarihce-222>.

Latin America initiatives of foreign policy begun to be implemented by the term of the Justice and Development Party (Ekşi, 2014: 220-221).

In the 5th Ambassadors Conference held in 2012, the Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan mentioned in his speech to Turkish ambassadors that they took very important steps to strengthen foreign policy and facilitate activities of Turkish ambassadors and the TCCA was carrying out successful activities as an ambassador of peace and cooperation in a very wide geography and the Administration for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities were carrying out successful activities for pursuing and resolving problems of Turkish citizens in foreign countries as well as in the fields of education and non-governmental organizations (Purtaş, 2013: 9).

The TCCA aims to establish friendship and social peace through various projects and activities it carries out in several countries of the world and at the same time, the agency improves mutual relations between countries in the political, financial, cultural and diplomatic fields. Furthermore, it is aimed to establish good relations with the countries of the region where the projects and activities are implemented by the TCCA. Throughout the process of identity establishment, it is tried to improve relations with other countries and produce peaceful solutions to international problems. Within this respect, the TCCA plays an important role in new foreign policy of Turkey (Kardaş and Erdağ, 2012: 17).

3.3.2.1.6. TURKISH AIRLINES

Turkish Airlines is a company which provides contribution in political, financial and social development. The company carries out this role parallel to Turkish foreign policy and Turkish Airlines (THY) provides new opportunities to Turkish people carrying businessmen, statesmen or individuals to everywhere Turkish foreign policy reaches. Turkish Airlines undertakes domestic and foreign tasks. It is important for the image of

Turkey that THY, a company which is under a heavy responsibility beyond an ordinary airline company, is strong (Ziberovski, 2018: 54).

After 2000s, rapid development and active use of technology along with the influence of globalization have caused countries are influenced from each other more than before. We can give the sponsorship of Turkish Airlines to Barcelona Football Club and use of its promotional materials and logos in the billboards at Barcelona's Nou Camp stadium and all channels of the football club as another example for a public diplomacy instrument and development of this course. Commercial shootings and sponsorships of Turkish Airlines with football players of Barcelona and NBA stars as well as other famous athletes are powerful developments to influence the image of Turkey (Gültekin, 2015: 46).

3.3.2.1.7. THE DIRECTORATE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

The foreign activities carried out by the Directorate of Religious Affairs provide significant contributions as an instrument of soft power in expansion of foreign policy of Turkey. The Directorate of Religious Affairs have begun organizing at abroad for the first time by the decision of the Council of Ministers with 24.02.1978 date and 7/1456 number. Within this context, the Directorate has been carrying out its activities since 1980s in the regions such as Europe, the Balkans, the Central Asia and the Caucasus³.

The Turkish Religious Foundation providing significant contributions in religious education has started the International Theology Program in 2006 for training religious officials and teachers at abroad. Within this program, scholarships have been provided to 700 foreign students in Istanbul, Marmara, Istanbul 29 Mayıs, Ankara, Uludağ and Necmettin Erbakan Universities.

³ <https://diyanet.gov.tr/tr/icerik/kurulus-vetarihce/8>.

The Turkish Religious Foundation undoubtedly provides significant contributions to identity formation and soft power policy of Turkey by providing aids to people in need and orphans at several places of the world, organizing activities and events for establishing cultural and social life and building mosques, universities, dormitories and culture centers (Ziberovski, 2018: 56).

3.3.2.1.8. YUNUS EMRE INSTITUTE

Yunus Emre Institute (YEI) affiliated to Yunus Emre Foundation, is a public foundation which has been founded by the 05.05.2007 dated and 5653 numbered law for promoting and propagating Turkish language, culture, history and art to the world. YEI which has begun its activities in 2009, currently has almost 40 culture center offices in various foreign countries. In addition to Turkish education provided to foreigners in these center, various activities in culture and arts are also carried out⁴.

Yunus Emre Institute carries out scientific studies and practices through training and education activities in order to achieve its goals. In accordance with its founding purposes, the Institute carries out its activities in order to conduct studies for promoting and teaching Turkish culture, history, language and literature well, supporting scientific studies through cooperation with various institutions and announcing resulting outputs to the public opinion through various publications. Yunus Emre Institute aims to provide contribution in education qualified academics and researchers in Turkish language, history, culture, arts and music and carry out training-education activities through certification programs. 'The Administration for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities' has been established in 2011 in order to protect the rights of Turkish citizens living at abroad, ensure they are organized and maintain their bonds with their motherlands (Gülek, 2011: 36-37).

⁴ <http://www.yee.org.tr/tr/yunusemreenstitusu>.

3.3.2.1.9. THE AMDMINISTRATION FOR TURKS LIVING ABROAD AND RELATED COMMUNITIES

ATLARC has been founded in 6th April 2010 as a public institution at undersecretariat level affiliated to the Prime Ministry. The administration fulfills its duty to ensure coordination by carrying out activities involving the Turkish nationals living abroad, the cognate and relative communities and international scholarship students from Turkish, Muslim and relative communities⁵.

ATLARC has firstly considered the workforce agreement signed with Germany in 1961 and dealt with it as the basis of Turkish diaspora. Yet, two and a half millions of Turkish citizens currently live in Germany. Almost six millions of Turkish citizens currently live around the world. In order to turn this unorganized Turkish population into a diaspora, the ATLARC aims to protect the Turkish citizens living abroad against assimilation by securing their assets under guarantee. By this way, the ATLARC organizes activities for Turks living abroad to maintain their cultural and social bonds with Turkey (Ekşi, 2014: 213).

The ATLARC ensures coordination of the services provided through various instruments for cognate and relative societies to be more efficient and productive. In this respect, the non-governmental organizations play an important role. The Turkish citizens and cognate and relative communities preserve their bonds with Turkey through the non-governmental organizations established in Turkey or where they live and participate in administration more efficiently. In order to achieve this, support is provided to various non-governmental organizations by the ATLARC (Yıldırım and Yıldırım, 2017: 208).

⁵ <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/kurumsal.php>.

3.3.2.1.10. RED CRESCENT

The Red Crescent founded in 11th June 1868 under the title of "Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti", has been named in 1877 as "Ottoman Red Crescent Society", in 1923, "Turkey's Red Crescent Community", as "the Turkish Red Crescent Foundation" in 1935 and "the Turkish Red Crescent Society" in 1947. Great leader Atatürk has named the institution the name "RED CRESCENT"⁶.

Throughout the period from 1876 Ottoman-Russian War to 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation, the Red Crescent has assisted care and treatment of thousands of Turkish soldiers and soldiers of allies and enemies, injured or sickened in the war-zone through its mobile or stationary hospitals established at hinterland, patient transfer services, hospital ships equipped by it, trained nurses and voluntary caregivers in all wars Turkey has involved, provided the aids required for the prisoners of war regardless they are Turkish or not, spent efforts for maintaining, caring and protecting the civil community influenced by wars, provided maintenance, care, shelter and subsidence of the disaster victims in our country since the great cholera epidemic in Istanbul after the proclamation of the 1st Constitutional Period, participated in international aid activities, pioneered training of nurses, first aid and blood related services and provided social aids and services to several citizens who need protection.

3.3.2.1.11. AFAD

The General Directorate of Civil Defense carrying out its disaster related activities affiliated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the General Directorate of Natural Disasters affiliated to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and the General Directorate of Turkish Emergency Management affiliated to the Prime Ministry were closed with the 5902 numbered law enacted in 2009 and the Disaster and Emergency

⁶ <https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Kurumsal/tarihcemiz>.

Management Center affiliated to the Prime Ministry has been established and all authorities and responsibilities have been assembled under the same roof. Within the context of the regulations implemented for the Presidential Government System, the Disaster and Emergency Management Center has been affiliated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the Presidential Decree No. 4 issued in 15th July 2018⁷. The Disaster and Emergency Management Center is the sole authority for disasters and emergencies and carries out its activities as an umbrella agency in cooperation with other ministries such as the Presidency of General Staff, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Health, Transportation and Infrastructure and etc., as well as related non-governmental organizations based on the nature and size of a disaster and emergency.

According to the statements made by government officials, the overall total of humanitarian aid for refugees in Turkey is 10 Billions of Dollars while the international support provided to Turkey for refugees has not exceed an insignificant amount as 455 Millions of US Dollars (AFAD, 2016).

3.3.2.2. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

Undoubtedly, one of the most important resources of soft power is non-governmental actors. Especially, the non-governmental organizations (NGO) can directly pressure states and prominent businessmen and demand them to change their policies by means of all kinds of media beyond national borders. (Yılmaz, 2011: 36).

One of the important instruments of non-governmental soft power is non-governmental organizations. Today, most of the non-governmental organizations claim that they

⁷ <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2211/AFAD-Hakkında>.

represent overall benefit of public and act like a "global conscious". These groups do not have much hard power while directly pressing states and prominent businessmen to change their policies and indirectly developing new norms for changing the opinions of public on what states and companies should do. As the number of connections of non-governmental organizations which have increased their soft power through the information revolution, they have also become diversified (Nye, 2005: 92).

Soft power perspective of Turkey is closely related with the activities carried out by several Turkish non-governmental organizations in several locations of the world. The Turkish non-governmental organizations do not only become active participants of humanitarian aid activities in the Islamic world but also for the people and societies in various continents for various ethno-religious origins in an increasing rate. The scholarships provided by the Turkish government for graduate and post-graduate students from various parts of the world are the products of same perspective (Bayer and Keyman, 2010: 8-9).

Considering it through the Turkish foreign policy, non-governmental organizations can determine the agenda of Turkish foreign policy create a message exchange and establish relations. Mavi Marmara incident is an example to that. With regards to soft power, NGOs have been in deep communication and cooperation with their foreign equivalents for the last ten years. It is especially observed that the NGOs related with finance and business world (such as the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association, the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey, the Turkish Employment Agency, the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations and etc.) are long-term members of foreign NGOs or some carry out their activities for foreign territories by opening representation agencies in several foreign countries (Cicioğlu, 2012: 77).

The public institutions such as the Directorate of Religious Affairs which has a limited foreign experience for satisfying the Turkish employees in Europe and the Turkish Red Crescent Society which has been founded in 1868 but could not branch out despite its deep-rooted history; have implemented international events as the invisible power of Turkish foreign policy, since 1990s. As well as the state institutions such as the Red

Crescent and AFAD, the non-governmental organizations such as the Humanitarian Aid Organization and Is There Anybody Out There have provided contributions in Turkish foreign policy through their humanitarian aid diplomacy and natural disaster diplomacy. With regards to natural disaster aids and humanitarian aids, various non-governmental organizations such as the Humanitarian Aid Organization, Is There Anybody Out There and Life Line have got ahead of state institutions. Turkish NGOs bringing aid to anywhere in the world have used almost 200 millions of US Dollars of source for their accommodation, health, clothing, food and disaster or post-disaster strengthening activities for disaster victims in 2011 (Purtaş, 2013: 9).

3.3.2.2.1. OTHER MEDIA INSTITUTIONS AND TV SHOWS

The soft power factor of more than 200 television channels and thousands of radio channels broadcasting in Turkey through satellite have been increasingly emphasized by every passing day. Although, negative influences of Turkish TV shows are being discussed, the interest and popularity created by Turkish movie stars in the Arab world has been a starting point for multidimensional interaction from tourism to trade and provides contribution in soft power of Turkey (Bilbassy, 2010: 52)

As a soft power instrument, the role of media is important. Media is a means for reflecting culture. In this sense, Turkish TV shows have great contributions. Turkish TV shows attract great interest in Macedonia as well as the Balkans. The adventure started with the TV Show "Binbir Gece", has been gradually increasing every day. Today, the biggest TV channels of Macedonia, Sitel TV and Channel 5 broadcast at least two Turkish TV Shows in a day. "Muhteşem Süleyman", "Kurtlar Vadisi", "Ezel", "Karadayı" and "Kara Sevda" are among the most followed TV shows. In addition to these shows, several different TV shows and movies are also watched. By means of these TV shows, people of Macedonia especially show interest in Turkish and try to learn it (Ziberovski, 2018: 85-86).

After, the channels and programs of Turkey broadcasted in the languages in addition to Turkish such as the Arabic, Farsi, Kurdish and English have begun to be broadcasted; the programs of Turkish visual media have begun attracting interest of the citizens of neighboring countries. The ratings of Turkish TV shows and programs have been gradually increasing beginning from the Middle East to the Southern Caucasus and the Balkans. Parallel to increasing ratings of Turkish media since 2008, number of Arab and Middle Eastern tourists has been increasing. Thanks to the impressing image created by Turkish TV shows in imaginations of Middle Eastern tourists, touristic tours to Turkey have become attractive (Salah El Din, 2012: 148).

3.3.2.2.2. DIASPORA

It is suggested that Turkey can establish good relations with the Islamic Diaspora in Europe and Muslims of the Middle East and various institutions of Muslim society and get their support. It is known that religion is an important factor in the field of international relations. Today, even though, religion factor is not at the forefront in international relations, it is a factor which should not be ignored. Current values system of Turkey, being a country of Islam and a country, in its geography as a bridge between east and west, so to say, a country which has a way of understanding both sides are the factors increasing soft power of Turkey (Çavuş, 2012: 32).

Since 2002, as the Justice and Development Party has come to power, Turkey has begun remembering and strengthened its ties with Islam. The country has got closer with the Islamic world and come to terms with internal factors trying to destroy it. As the country comes to terms with itself, its financial efficiency has awakened and it has also tried to improve its social dynamism. As this rise increases, Turkey has been able to pursue its own policy. Turkey under the administration of the Justice and Development Party has begun revealing a Turkey image which opposes the EU and begins advancing in the path to become the leader of the Islamic World by opening to the world instead of

its image dependent on the European Union and trying to do what they request with a formality kept between it and the Islamic countries. Even though, this policy pursued by Turkey is a risk for a Turkey bound to Europe, Turkey has begun to be followed both by the Islamic world and the European countries as a result of this policy (Gültekin, 2015: 43).

3.3.2.2.3. HUMANITARIAN AID FOUNDATION

The Humanitarian Aid Foundation (HAF), founded in 1992 and become institutionalized in 1995, has carried out its activities in 135 countries up to now in order to prevent that the rights and freedoms of vulnerable and victimized people and disaster-victims in anywhere in the world are not violated and they are provided humanitarian aid⁸.

The HAF carries out its activities in several fields such as providing aid and assistance to orphans in Macedonia, the victims of the flood disaster in 2016, distributing meat during Eid-Al-Adha and providing scholarships to students in need. 3 thousands of families were provided food aid by the HAF during the Ramadan in 2016. Since its foundation, the foundation supports various aid projects for orphans in various geographies of the world, in war and disaster zones and refugee camps. The HAF has set off in Macedonia with a team of 11 with the slogan "if, you make an orphan smile, the whole world smiles" and performed various aid activities by getting together with more than 500 orphan children mainly in Skopje and Ohrid, Gostivar, Kicevo, Tetova and Struga (Ziberovski, 2018: 88).

⁸ <https://www.ihh.org.tr/hakkimizda>.

3.3.2.2.4. DOCTORS WORLDWIDE

The healthcare professionals who set off firstly at the Bosnia and Kosovo wars and the 17th August Earthquake have founded the Doctors Worldwide in 2000 in order to ensure that they reach the people in need of healthcare services on any ground and enable them to hold onto their lives⁹.

The Doctors Worldwide aiming to enable people in need who cannot access healthcare services hold on to their lives has now a widespread network in the world. The Doctors Worldwide has been providing support to the people in need up to now at the 2004 the Indian Ocean (Indonesia Aceh) Earthquake and Tsunami, 2005 Sudan Darfur Crisis, 2005 Pakistan Muzafferabad Earthquake and Flood Disaster, 2006 Indonesia Yogyakarta Earthquake, 2007 Sri Lanka Internal Conflicts, 2008 Gaza Crisis, 2009 Pakistan Swat Crisis, 2011 Van Earthquake, 2011 the Horn of Africa Drought Crisis, 2012 Syrian Crisis, 2013 the Philippines Typhoon, 2014 Central Africa Crisis, 2014 Soma Disaster, 2014 Gaza Crisis, 2014 Western Africa Ebola Epidemic, 2015 Nepal Earthquake, 2015 Pakistan Flood Disaster and 2017 Arakan Crisis.

3.3.2.3. HISTORICAL FACTORS

Leaning the soft power of Turkey only on cultural and historical bonds can either be reacted positively or negatively in international relations. Establishing bonds through culture and history cannot carry Turkey one step further beyond being a regional power. International geography is not only made up of communities where only common history and culture are shared. As mentioned by Özkan, a national public diplomacy policy seems inevitable from this respect and new sources must be produced in order to achieve the goals of foreign policy (Aydemir, 2015: 389).

⁹ <https://www.yyd.org.tr/tarihce/>.

Therefore, it can be said that implementing new projects based on common historical background will provide contribution in soft power capacity, which is the return of historical heritage of Turkey.

It has been determinant for Turkey to use soft power policy more efficiently that the political and financial stability and development have also been provided in Turkey during that term. During this term, Turkey has started developing its relations with Balkan countries in the frame of soft power. Turkey has shared a common geography with Balkan communities for more than 500 years during the Ottoman era. Consequently, it will not be hard to mention common historical and cultural bonds with these lands. In this sense, the historical and cultural bonds between Turkey and Macedonia create a basis for Turkey to use its soft power policy in this region (Ziberovski, 2018: 90).

Turkey has been carrying out an active cultural diplomacy through its businessmen, education institutions, investments, humanitarian and technical aids and supports and cultural activities for more than twenty years in the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Central Asia regions where the country shares a common history and geographically strong bonds and Europe, Africa and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Local administrations, universities, Turkish schools, the aid foundations such as the DEMC, the HAF and etc. are the major coordinators of the cultural diplomacy which we can consider as the rising value and invisible power of Turkish foreign policy (Purtaş, 2013: 2).

3.3.2.4. FOREIGN POLICY RELATED FACTORS

3.3.2.4.1. ARAB MOVEMENTS

Democracy of Turkey plays an important role in having the role of a regional and global actor. In addition to being a democratic country, its financial success and stability has been an inspiration for several countries where the movement of "Arab Spring" begun

in Tunis in 2011 and then spread to other Middle East countries have been experienced and this has made the Turkey a model country for them (Kalin, 2011: 9).

Prime Minister Erdoğan facilitates Turkey to lead the Middle Eastern countries through a leadership example proving Nye right where he represents the values which others desire to pursue after the Egypt and Tunis revolutions. The wave of insurrection surrounding the Arab world has opened the change of power in Egypt after Tunis and "do not stand against your people" call of the Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan to Egypt President Hosni Mubarak has isolated Mubarak and while Erdoğan has turned into a loved leader, his country has positioned as a model country (Arpacioğlu, 2012: 39).

3.3.2.4.2. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND FACTORS IN OTHER FIELDS

The full membership negotiation process started with the EU in 2005 has increased Turkey's need for public diplomacy and in this frame; the cultural events in the European countries have increased. The events such as the Turkish Season in France and guest country participation to the Frankfurt Book Fair have been organized for this purpose. Intensive efforts have been spent for changing the perspective of the EU public opinion with negative consideration on full membership of Turkey in the EU through the cultural heritage and art exhibitions, movie days and various cultural events organized in the European countries. By this means, Turkish culture has been opened to intercultural communication and the positive image policies intended to be ensured for the EU membership process have become the dynamic of Turkish cultural diplomacy (Purtaş, 2013: 12).

Considering from the European Union perspective, the population of Turkey which is higher than most of the European countries which has a rapid growth rate, is associated with the opinion that Turkey would have a strong position as a decision-making mechanism in the EU. The decisions to be made by Turkey, an Islamic country with 80 millions of population are estimated to imbalance Europe. In addition, Turkey's good

relations with the Middle Eastern countries attract these countries that the European countries and the United States can manage the Middle East through Turkey (Gültekin, 2015: 42-43).

Recent attacking stance of Turkey in its region especially in the financial and political issues has paved the way for Turkey to have a voice in its own region and the Ottoman hinterland again. Especially, the financial crisis of the European Union countries has caused these countries withdraw upon themselves and reevaluate their foreign policies. In addition, parallel to this situation, Turkey has begun making its soft power fields felt more influentially in the Balkans as the soft power factors of the European Countries in these countries have begun weakening. Consequently, the most influential soft power factor of Turkey in the Balkans is the Turkish culture which has left its mark on the region for centuries (Bayraktar, 2012: 186).

The soft power potential of Turkey either in the borders of the European Union and the whole Europe, is quite high. The Balkan geography, the mosaic of religions and ethnicities has never been left alone not in the past and today due to the interest of global and regional actors such as the European Union (EU), the United States of America (USA), Russia and etc. While, the Balkans, come to these days without losing deep traces of the Turkish and Islam civilization, most recently used to be a region where massacres and conflicts were experienced, has been progressing rapidly towards becoming a geography where wealth and tolerance prevail. Turkey with its deep-rooted historical, cultural and emotional bonds is one of the most important actors of the process for ensuring sustainability of peace, prosperity and stability in the Balkans. Turkey, either at the government and non-government levels, has been implementing a wide range of initiatives in financial, commercial, technical, social, humanitarian, cultural and educational fields in the Balkans (Karagül, 2013: 81-82).

3.3.2.4.3. HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIZATION RELATED FACTORS

Governing a country through democracy, being a constitutional state, considering individual rights and freedoms important, being environment-sensitive and being mentioned in several places of the world with humanitarian aids are among the factors for improving the reputation and soft power of it around the world. On contrary, even if a country is powerful with regards to its financial capacity and military forces, but it does not care for its people and it is not at the desired level with regards to the rule of law, its soft power will consequently be weak (Demir, 2012: 63).

It has been increasingly approved that the multiplier effect of a Turkish foreign policy to be pursued by considering soft power factors and public diplomacy important would be high. One of the most important developments supporting this approach is the indirect multiplier effect of the increasing international humanitarian aid activities of Turkey. Turkey, one of the most contributing countries to the United Nations World Food Program in the food crisis in Africa, hosting various aid conferences and supporting education, water and agriculture projects in various regions of the world are considered as one of the development multiplying its soft power in foreign policy (Karagül, 2013: 84).

The human rights notion of the Justice and Development Party is not only based on interpretation of human rights with local culture. At the same time, it includes the emphasis that human rights are part of the Islamic civilization and even it is represented better through it. In other words, the Justice and Development Party builds "its own" human rights in the topicality and Islam synthesis. The concept which finds place the most in this notion is - emphasized in all ruling periods of the Justice and Development Party - tolerance. Yet, although, the concept of tolerance itself is an indispensable element of democratic system, its hierarchy should not be ignored. Moreover, under apprehension of an Islamic civilization centered society, tolerance is mostly experienced as religious tolerance. It should be added that the definition of rights and freedoms are

interpreted by centering the freedom of religion. Especially, the concrete output of the claim of "peaceful coexistence" frequently emphasized during the first term of the Justice and Development Party is the coexistence under the roof of Islam (Aktoprak, 2016: 10).

The multiculturalism, the interesting experience in modernization despite the continuing deficiencies in democratization and pluralism, loyalty to democratic political system, economical dynamism, the sustainable success in humanistic progress despite gaps in economy, pro-activity in problem-solving and the dialogue-based good neighborhood diplomacy despite the gaps in implementing a realist and efficient foreign policy are listed as the aspects consolidating soft power of Turkey in foreign policy (Keyman, 2010: 2-3).

CONCLUSION

One of the most studied subjects of the international relations discipline is the power concept and all aspects of it. The approaches theoretically studying the international relations discipline have great importance for the international relations field and they have presented significant ideas on power. While, the approaches mentioned in this study emphasize that realistic approach considers using hard power factors more appropriate, the neorealist approach based on the realist approach states that power is not the purpose but the instrument.

Pursuing the soft power policy in accordance with the concepts as identity and culture involves parallelism with the constructivism theory emphasizing importance of these concepts in managing foreign policy. The suggestion of constructivism that the international system should not be formed based on distribution of power, rather on ideas and facts of actors and assumptions that the ideas, perceptions and culture as the elements of social aspect as well as financial power form international relations, strengthen the bond of this theoretical approach with soft power. In this approach, culture and identity are the focal points of ensuring mutual relations and security of states and solidarity and bonds improved by culture and identity also improve the strength of their relations. In this sense, it can be said that a cultural and identity-based approach will be appropriate for using the soft power instruments of Turkey and benefiting from their potential at the maximum efficiency.

Soft power concept taking place in Turkish foreign policy, recently, in discourse and practice, is accepted as an important factor for Turkey to implement its long-term plans. Also, public diplomacy methods are applied in these policies. It is intended by this method to improve prestige of our country at international platform.

Deficiency of public diplomacy blocks Turkey in foreign policy especially in its course of membership to the European Union. The European Union member countries have to consider the ideas of their citizens and their perspectives for Turkey while making a Turkey-related decision. The main problematic fields of Turkish foreign policy stand out as the fields of practice for public diplomacy of Turkey. Related with its European Union membership process, Turkey needs public diplomacy practices in the issues such as the image of Turkey in Europe, the Cyprus and Armenian question, the Kurdish question and etc.

In this study, the public diplomacy instruments of Turkey as the Coordinating Office of Public Diplomacy, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, the Directorate General of Press and Information, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, the Presidency for Turks Living Abroad and Related Communities, Yunus Emre Institute and other institutions with similar purposes are described. The level of contribution of these institutions on the image of Turkey and how efficiently soft power is used through these institutions of Turkey are mentioned.

Turkey can become an actual power center in the future years, if the country can increase its national power by preserving national integrity along with its sovereignty and independence and it can possess the ability to implement independent power policies in accordance with its national interests. The authorities expert in this field list the multiculturalism, the interesting experience in modernization despite the continuing deficiencies in democratization and pluralism, loyalty to democratic political system, economical dynamism, the sustainable success in humanistic progress despite gaps in economy, pro-activity in problem-solving and the dialogue-based good neighborhood diplomacy despite the gaps in implementing a realist and efficient foreign policy as the factors reinforcing soft power of Turkey in foreign policy.

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