



**T.C.
GAZİ UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**MASTER OF
SCIENCE
THESIS**

**TURKEY'S STRATEGIC INTEREST IN SUB-SAHARAN
AFRICA 2005-2016: A CASE OF SHIFTING ALLIANCE OR
ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION**

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**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEPARTEMENT
POLITICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

APRIL 2018



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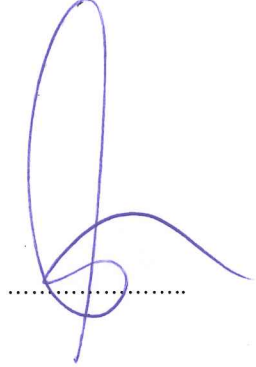
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Joshua KWIZEERA tarafından hazırlanan “Turkey’s Strategic Interest in Sub-Saharan Africa 2005-2016: A Case Of Shifting Alliance or Economic Diversification” adlı tez çalışması aşağıdaki jüri tarafından OY BİRLİĞİ/~~OY ÇOKLUĞU~~ ile Gazi Üniversitesi Siyaset ve Sosyal Bilimler Anabilim Dalı YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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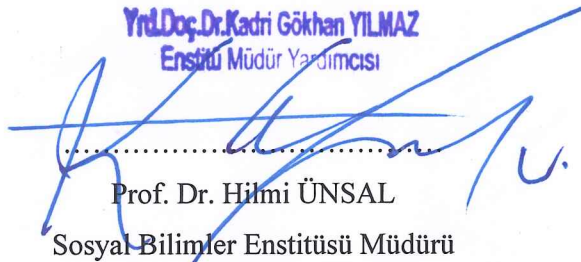
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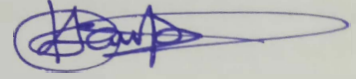
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20/04/2018

TURKEY'S ATRATEGIC INTEREST IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA 2005-2016: A
CASE OF SHIFTING ALLIANCE OR STRATEGIC DIVERSIFICATION?
(M.S. Thesis)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis answers the question whether Turkey's strategic interest in sub-Sahara Africa is a case of shifting alliance of economic diversification. Although many scholars argue that, the relationship between Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa dates back to the Ottoman Empire period, there was no clear Turkish foreign policy on Africa since the formation of Turkish republic in 1923, sub-Sahara Africa was never in Turkey's interest only the Arab Maghreb region of North Africa, some school of thought, Turkey was busy negotiating its membership into the European Union, the regional instabilities in the Middle East and the internal political system problems dominated by military regimes made sub-Sahara Africa a minor case in Turkey's foreign policy. However, when the AKP came to power, its Ankara was more aggressive in dealing with sub-Sahara African region through African action plan. This thesis therefore discuss more details about the process of Turkey-sub-Sahara Africa economic cooperation. And also provide a comprehensive discussion about what has been achieved by this cooperation in terms of social, economic and political aspects. The available opportunities and challenges experienced by Turkey-sub-Sahara cooperation, And finally, policy recommendation to overcome these challenges are suggested.

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**TÜRKİYE’NİN SAHRA ALTI AFİRKA'SINDAKİ EKONOMİK ÇIKARLARI
(2005-2016): BİR STRATEJİK ÇEŞİTLENME Mİ YOKSA İTTİFAK DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ
DURUMU MU?**

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Joshua KWIZEERA

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ÖZET

Bu tez, Türkiye’nin Sahra Altı Afrika’sındaki stratejik merakının, ekonomik farklılığın anlaşmaya varmasının bir davası olup olamayacağı sorusuna cevap vermektedir. Türkiye ve Sahra Altı Afrika arasındaki ilişki Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemine dayanmaktadır. Birçok akademisyen bu konuda tartışma içerisindedir. 1923 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin oluşumundan beri Afrika’da belirgin bir Türk dış politikası izlenmemiştir. Sahara Altı Afrika hiçbir zaman Türkiye’nin ilgi alanında olmamıştı. Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği üyeliği ile ilgili müzakerelerle meşguldü. Orta Doğu’daki bölgesel dengesizlikler ve askeri rejimlerin neden olduğu iç siyasi sistem problemleri, Sahara Altı Afrika’yı Türkiye’nin dış politikasından bir adım daha uzaklaştırdı. Bununla birlikte AKP iktidara geldiğinde Ankara, Afrika eylem planı vasıtasıyla Sahara Altı Afrika ile muhattap olmak konusunda agresif bir hal amıştı. Bu tez bu nedenle Türkiye – Sahara Altı Afrika ekonomik işbirliği süreci hakkında daha fazla ayrıntı içermekte ve aynı zamanda bu işbirliği ile sosyal, ekonomik ve politik açıdan neler elde edildiği konusunu tartışmaktadır. Uygun fırsatlar da, zorluklar da Türkiye – Sahra Altı Afrika işbirliği tarafından deneyimlenmiştir ve sonuç olarak da zorlukların üstesinden gelinmiştir.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF MAPS	ix
LIST OF ACRONYMS	x
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background of the Study.....	1
1.2. Explanation of Foreign Policy and Strategic Diversity.....	6
2. RELEVANT HISTORICAL PROCESS	13
3. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SUB-SAHARA AFRICA.....	17
3.1. Origins of Turkey’s Foreign Policy towards Sub-Sahara Africa.....	21
3.2. Turkey’s Foreign Policy as a Case of Shifting Alliance	25
3.3. Turkey’s Foreign policy as a Case of Economic Diversification	36
4. BENEFITS OF TURKEY’S ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SUB-SAHARA AFRICA.....	43
4.1. Turkish Point of View.....	43
4.2. Sub-Sahara Africa Point of View	47
4.3. Opportunities.....	52
4.4. Challenges	59
5. CONCLUSION.....	65
REFERENCES	73
ÖZGEÇMİŞ	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 4.1. Graph shows Turkish exports to sub-Sahara Africa as of 2013	44
Figure 4.2 Sub-Sahara Africa's population growth and work force growth predictions.....	52
Figure 4.3. The figure below shows regional community memberships in Africa.....	70



LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
Map 2.1. Map shows sub-Sahara African countries	14
Map 3.1. Shows increase in Turkish embassies in sub-Sahara Africa(2009-2016).....	19
Map 3.2. Map showing Turkey and its neighbors	26
Map 3.3. The Map Showing Turkey's desire to have strategic sea port of Mogadishu	32



LIST OF ACRONYMS

IMF	International Monetary Fund
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
SASA	Sub-Sahara Africa
The EU	European Union
USA	United States of America
The AU	African Union
USD	United States Dollar
ABD	African Development Bank
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
TIKA	Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
EAC	East African Community
CIA	Criminal Investigation Agency
MIT	Milli İstihbarat Teskilati
UNOMS	United Nations Ombudsman and Mediation Services
The DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
FETO	Fethullah Terrorist Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
PKK	Partiya Karkerin Kurdistan

MW	Megawatt
CTF	Counter Terrorist Force
UAE	United Arab Emirates
DEİK	Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu
TPAO	Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UK	United Kingdom
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
EC	European commission
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
EEC	European Economic Commission
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi
DSP	Demokratik Sol Parti
KYM	Kimse Yok Mu
IHH	İnsani Yardım Vakfı
WHO	World Health Organization
TİM	Türkiye İhracatçıları Merkezi
IR	International Relation
YTB	Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Toplulukları Başkanlığı

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The former Turkish Prime Minister Hon. Ahmet Davutoğlu; “The ongoing tumultuous challenges the world experience presents tectonic transformation in the way countries plan and implement their internal and foreign policies” (Davutoglu, 2012). Although some of these challenges are natural and inevitable, states develop a sound understanding of the causes of these transformations and come up with suitable strategies to cope up with the change. The art Foreign policy is conducted in such a tempestuous regional and international environment.

The way countries design their foreign policies depend on either domestics demands of that particular country or the external influence on a country’s politics. The Foreign policy, therefore, aims at winning country’s interest outside its geographical boundaries. According to realism, foreign policy is viewed in terms of power politics. Realist argue that “power possesses materialistic components and that the influence of domestic politics on foreign policy is likely to vary with security challenges steaming from an external environment” (Heywood, 2013:408). The relative size of a state’s material resources is also likely to influence its ability to set agenda to influence specific decisions and outcomes in international affairs (Wivel, 2017).

Since the formation of the Turkish republic in 1923, Turkey's foreign policy was associated with deliberate neutrality in order not to risk the consolidation of territorial integrity and its sovereignty both internally and externally. According to Sözen, “the end of 20th and beginning of 21st century, Turkey's foreign policy was based on the principle of continuity, conservatism, caution and status quo” (Sözen, 2006). The internal situation put Turkey on the course of implementing domestic policies of westernization to normalize its foreign policy with the major powers based on active neutrality to keep the country out of external conflicts although Turkey declared a symbolic war against Germany during Second World War in 1945.

The period shortly after the formation of the Turkish republic, there were three major threats that Turkey faced. These include; Religious fundamentalism, ethnic separatism, the Soviet

Union invasion. These were the major threats to the young republic and put Turkey on both internal and external tension. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Turkish agenda of de-islamization, de-arabization, and westernization were at the forefront of internal policies that Turkey was busy implementing (Kemalism reforms). These reforms included; the elimination of Sultanate, abolition of legal codes, dress laws, and women's suffrage and were all aimed at moving closer to the west.

During the cold war era, Realpolitik was the leading model in international relations particularly in the making of foreign policies of states, and this was defined as power- politics where security and military issues were the primary factor of politics. On the other hand Economic, democracy, human rights, environmental and social issues became secondary of low politics. Here foreign policies of any countries were based on the series of rules that were imposed on them by two super powers (US and USSR).

During this period, Turkey's security and integrity could no longer be guaranteed by neutrality and the deep-rooted suspicions against the west, due to limited options, Turkey needed the west and America to protect itself from the soviet invasion. It therefore ended up on the extreme right (Bruce and Kuniholm1991). This became the genesis of the relationship between United States and Turkey where through Truman Doctrine (1947) the United States gave Turkey economic and military aid during the Marshall Plan. In 1952, Turkey was admitted to NATO and also became an associate member of EEC in 1963 which was a strong and reliable watchdog of the US containment strategy over the Soviet Union. To many analysts, Turkey's decision to ally with the west was a fulfillment of Ataturk's vision of Turkey to be part of contemporary civilized nations which he equated with the western world. Turkish foreign policy until the 1970s became (anti-communist) and acted like it was representing the interest of the west in its relation with Middle Eastern countries which alienated itself in the Middle East and was left with a narrow vision and room to maneuver (Sözen, 2006).

However, as time passed Turkey's relation with the US and the West came to be questioned after certain scenario , ¹the first was the Americans trading off Jupiter missiles in Turkey without consulting with Turkish officials for Soviet anti-ballistic during a Cuban missile crisis, and this was followed by Lyndon Johnson undiplomatic letter sent to Turkish Prime Minister İnönü threatening to withdraw NATO's support for Turkey in case the Soviets

invaded because of 1974 Turkish military operation in Cyprus which later led to US arms embargo on Turkey (Merih and Rodrik, 1989). This created mistrust in the Turkish foreign policy makers questioning the Monocentric foreign policy of Turkey and to anticipate on the need for a more independent foreign policy, however, after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979 brought Turkey to the forefront of the geographical need of the west. Therefore, there was no room for Turkey to act independently from the western camp.

In (1983-1989), Turgut Özal became the prime minister of Turkey and later president until 1993, he made efforts to end the Cyprus issue and improve his country's relationship with the United States. During this period, The United States became a strong supporter of Özal's liberal economic reforms. Turkey also started to divorce its regional policy from its alliance with the west and established bilateral rather than multilateral relations with the major Middle Eastern states.

According to Merih and Dani; "Turkey's relations with its neighbors focused more on economic aspect and tried to avoid taking the side in the disputes," Turgut Özal concentrated on an active export oriented strategy and the GNP growth was 4.6 percent per year between 1981 -85, conveyed by sharp rises in trade ratios. In value terms, merchandise exports increased from around \$2.3 billion in 1979 to \$8.3 billion in 1985 with the share of manufactured products going from 35 to 75 percent in the same period intensified" (Merih and Dani, 1989:198).

The reduction in the rate of inflation from about 105 percent in 1980 to 28 percent in 1983 was a substantial one, even though inflationary pressures intensified "Turkish exports to the Middle East increased fivefold with 64 percent of Turkish total export consumed by the neighboring Iran and Iraq. In fact, exports to Iraq from Turkey rose from 12 million US dollars in 1979 to 1.1 billion in 1985 intensified, the military coup d'État of 1980 in Turkey was a setback to Turkey- EC relations although it was controlled and galvanized after the military rule and by 1987" (Merih and Dani, 1989:198). Turkey put forward an official application for the full membership of EC. However, the commission prepared its official opinion issued in 1989 which seemed a polite rebuff of the Turkish application.

After the cold war and the collapse of Soviet Union, socialist states of Eastern and Central Europe were independent of the Soviet Union. This brought changes in international politics

since the dominant paradigm "Realpolitik" was challenged and questioned by the liberal outlook. Liberalist paradigm shifted ideas from high politics to low politics and here economy, democracy, human rights, environmental and social issues were filling the vacuum left by the departure of high politics. Organizations like NAFTA and APEC were put in place to enhance economic cooperation among states. The axis of world politics was moving from geopolitics to geo-economics where democracy, human rights, and market economy were unanimously endorsed and became globally popular in the 1990s (Sözen 2006).

The end of cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union released new horizons to Turkey's foreign policy where access to Turkic states in central Asia and the Caucasus was possible. Balkan countries that shared a long history with Ottoman Empire and played a significant role in European and world history was now Turkey's entryway to the European continent. During this period, Turkey's relation with the region came to sit on a more sober and accurate platform.

However, according to the report released by Rabobank International Turkey; "Turkey still suffered from three lingering domestic problems: an Economic crisis that caused high inflation, political instability and terrorism from PKK insurgents amidst the leadership of several coalition governments. The fight against PKK in the 1990s drained Turkey not only billions of dollars but also Turkey's attention and energy away from pursuing its foreign policy although they still fostered Turkey-EU relations regardless of the domestic crisis". The European Union set out certain reforms that Turkey has to fulfill in order for its full membership to be considered (Helsinki Summit, 1999).

The challenge was the Turkey was led by the coalition government of three political parties with ideologies that contradicted. A case in point, Prime Minister Ecevit's Centre-left (DSP), Bahçeli's extreme right (MHP) and Yılmaz's liberal-conservative (ANAP). This coalition government made the implementation of Copenhagen political criteria slow and later a failure. This confusion in the coalition government gave birth to November 2000 financial crisis where in 2001 the world witnessed the value of Turkish lira drop almost 50 percent overnight and nearly 65 percent by the end of 2001 inflation became a huge catastrophe to the coalition government and the option was to give full control of Turkish economy to Kemal Derviş to serve as the Minister of Economics (Brinke, 2013).

These economic reforms were complimented by political reforms in order to receive necessary international financial support.

By november 2002, Turks went to the polls and AKP claimed victory with the two-third of the seats in the Turkish parliament defeating the three political parts within the coalition government which scored not more that 10 percent of national threshold and failing to secure seats in the parliament (Cagaptay, 2002).

AKP's came up with a grand foreign policy strategy that according to former prime minister Ahmet Davutoğlu "vision-oriented foreign policy", which aimed at repositioning Turkey from a periphery of international relations to the Centre as an actor sitting at the joint of multiple regions. To get out of the shadows of isolation and dependency, AKP considered two major advantages; Turkey as a unique geopolitical advantage based on its location as a country with a close land basin, the epicenter of the Balkans, the middle east and the Caucasus, the Centre of Eurasia in general and is in the middle of the Rim land cutting across the Mediterranean to the Pacific.

Another major advantage was related to its historical legacy as heir of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, Balkan and Caucasus coupled with shared common culture makes it suitable for Turkey as trans-regional power with ability to once to become a leader of the Muslim world. The AKP change in Turkish foreign policy driven by Turkey's domestic transformation and decentralization. For example, the upsurge of new rural Anatolian businesses that are led by devout Muslims competing with traditional metropolitan Aegean businesses merged strong advocates for Turkish expansion to sub-Sahara Africa to search for market. The Economic interests of these groups is responsible for the AKP's government's efforts to promote greater business trade and economic cooperation through diversification.

On the other hand, decentralization transformed institutions that acquired a growing role in Turkey's foreign policy made her include state bodies like the ministry of energy, environment, interior and transportation and under-secretariat for foreign trade. Civil society in particular business associations like Turkish foreign economic relations board DEIK) and the Turkish exporter's Assembly (TIM) constantly lobbied the government on the foreign policy question. These led to an improved economic relation between Turkey and countries

like Russia, Egypt, Syria, Sudan, Iraq, and Iran. Turkey's grand foreign policy was for the first time extended to sub-Saharan Africa.

1.2. Explanation of Foreign Policy and Strategic Diversity

To understand Turkey's foreign policy shift to sub-Saharan Africa, one has to analyze the concept of foreign policy. This calls for a critical look at how foreign policy is conducted in relation to different actors, primarily sovereign states, in the international system. Foreign policy apparatuses include; diplomacy, intelligence, trade negotiations and cultural exchanges. By virtue of this approach, foreign policy necessitates one to focus on the boundaries between the external environment of one nation state and its internal or domestic environment and analyze how the two influence each other.

The analysis of Foreign policy developed as a separate area of inquiry within the domain of international relations, the initial exclusive focus was on the actual conduct of the interstate relations due to its normative impulse. International relations scholars mastered their role to interpret the broad structures of the international relations, various specialists draw their attention to the international system as actual state conduct and the sources of decisions themselves. Moreover, scholars working within FPA saw their task to be normative, the aim of improving foreign policy decision making so that states could achieve better outcomes through enhancing the possibility of peaceful relations between states.

According to David Singer's scheme of international relations, while grappling with world politics, he believes; "that one should focus on either the study of phenomena at the international system level, the state (or national) level or the individual level". Since many centuries ago, the study of foreign policy traditionally stressed the state and individual levels as the key areas for understanding the style of the international system. However, the new error of globalization has transformed the international system into interconnectivity with high diffusion of traditional state-to-state conduct. It is now clear that states are expanding their own outlook to account for an increasingly diverse range of non-state actors such as global environmental activists and multinational corporations. Foreign policy as a branch of social science is now divided into two influential structural factors based on the "structure agency debate" for instance, the limitations imposed by the international system or human

agency and the role of individual choice in shaping the international system while analyzing the environment of foreign policy decisions and decision-making.

The study of foreign policy involves, states interaction with other states where the starting point can be either through direct bilateral relations or multilateral institutions like the United Nations (UN). According to the realist paradigm, “a state is a unitary actor of foreign policy analysis, that is to say, one in which it is not necessary to analyze the role of the discrete components of government (be it the executive or the legislature) in order to assess a state's foreign policy. Here the major concept is ‘National interest’. National interest remains a central preoccupation of foreign policy decision makers and a reference point for foreign policy analysis, therefore, interpreting a state's action”.

According to Morgenthau Hans; "Politics of Nations", National interest is as synonymous with power and both the proper object of a state's foreign policy and the best measure of its capacity to achieve its aims” (Morgenthau, 2005). What establishes national interest and how it is determined and ultimately implemented is a crucial subject to understanding the choices and responses pursued by states in international affairs.

As Realists assert that, “the character of the international system is fundamentally anarchic in nature and the pursuit of security and efforts to enhance material wealth place states in competition with other states, limiting the scope for cooperation to a series of selective, self-interested strategies”(Randall and Schweller 2016:90-101). In this context, the centrality of power, especially manifested as the military power, is seen to be the key determinant of a state's ability to sustain a successful foreign policy although this realist argument may not be not vivid Turkey-sub-Saharan cooperation.

Geographic position, material resources, and demography are other important elements in this equation. Realists consider all states' foreign policies to conform to these basic parameters mentioned above and that, above all, therefore, there is a need by different scholars to investigate the influences of the structure of the international system and the relative power of states in order to understand the outcomes of foreign policy decisions. National interest is self-evident and can be rationally arrived at through a careful analysis of material conditions of states as well as the particulars of a given foreign policy dilemma confronting states.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the major aim of the study of foreign policy focused on challenging the realist assumptions which had dominated the approach of International Relations. Behaviorists sought to understand the process of foreign policy decision making itself instead of examining the outcomes of foreign policy decisions. (Robert, Harold and Sprout, 1976: 50) investigated the role of the individual decision maker and their conveying influences on foreign policy decision. This emphasis put on the individual decision maker was psychological and cognitive factors as descriptive sources of foreign policy choice. For example, the cognitive limits imposed by the sheer volume of information available to decision makers and the inclination to select policy options were patently second-best all contributed to imperfect foreign policy outcomes.

To add on this, the decision-making process was itself subject to the vagaries of group dynamics, while the constraints imposed by crises introduced further misrepresentations to foreign policy choice, the result to this was a comprehensive disagreements by many scholars the key findings on foreign policy found in the traditional realist perspective. The emphasis on individual decision makers, despite its insights, was seen by some scholars to be excessively slim. Even within states, the conflicting attitudes and demands of foreign policy bureaucracies such as the ministry of trade and the ministry of defense clearly influence foreign policy decisions in ways that reflect parochial concerns first over considerations of national interest. From the views of (Allison, Graham, Zelikow and Phillip, 1999) an analysis of foreign policy decision making had to start with these bureaucracies and the various factors that caused them to play what was in their view, the determining role in shaping foreign policy outcomes.

To understand foreign policy, this method put more emphasis on the interplay between leaders, bureaucratic actors, organizational culture to some level, and political actors outside formal apparatus of the state. Broader than the behaviorists' singular focus on the individual decision maker, advocates of the bureaucratic politics approach to FPA began a process of examining into sources of influence on foreign policy beyond the state which was to climax in a radical rethinking of the importance of the state itself in international relations. The previous methodologies sought to understand FPA through, respectively, recourse to the structure of the international system and the decision-making process within states, a third approach introduced a new means of interpreting foreign policy.

According to the Pluralists, “states formed the only significant actors in international politics and believed that since the 1970s, linkages between a variety of state, sub-state, and non-state actors were eroding the traditional primacy of the state in foreign policy” (David .R.. 2005:101). Indeed, the possibility of multinational companies exercising de facto foreign policy through their financial resources or non-governmental organizations through their ability to mobilize votes was recognized as a central feature of the globalizing world. Thus for pluralists, an analysis of the influences on foreign policy which are derived from domestic and transnational sources, and which were not necessarily tied to the state, is crucial to understanding foreign policy outcomes.

This environment of complex interdependency effectively reduces the scope of state action in foreign policy making to that of a manager of a diversity of forces inside the domestic sphere, including government, and outside the boundaries of the state. Robert Putnam's two level game attempts to capture the challenges imposed by complex interdependence on foreign policy decision makers. He suggests that the decision-making process involves both a domestic arena, where one set of rules and interests govern, as well as an international arena, where a different set of rules and interests prevail. Balancing the logic and demands of the two areas, which are often in conflict, forms the central dilemma of foreign policy making as seen by pluralists.

As can be seen from this brief overview of the field, the study of foreign policy gives many different ways on how to understand the conduct and significance of state, sub state and non-state actors in foreign policy making. Though there is no consensus among these approaches because each is seen to contribute to a fuller picture of the workings of states and ultimately the international system. Foreign policy indeed illuminates much that is otherwise left obscure in the study of international relations. While international relations encourages the role and influence of structural constraints on the international system, foreign policy analysis focuses on the inherent possibilities of human agency to affect and the change in the international system.

In short, as Valerie Hudson says: “The single most important contribution of analyzing foreign policy in international relation theory is to identify the point of theoretical intersection between the primary determinants of state behavior: material and conceptual factors, the point of intersection is not the state, it is human decision makers. If our IR

theories contain no human beings, they will erroneously paint for us a world of no change, no creativity, no persuasion, and accountability” (Valerie M. Hudson; 2006).

Christopher Hill’s definition of Foreign policy is purposive action with the view towards promoting the interests of a single political community or state. The study of foreign policy is referred to as foreign policy analysis, and its focus is the intentions and actions of (primarily) states aimed at the external world and the response of other actors (again, primarily states) to these actions. It is from this context of foreign policy analysis literature that the shift in Turkey's foreign policy to sub-Saharan Africa is understood, the impact of foreign policy of both middle and small powers can be understood through this comparative study of the cooperation between Turkey and sub-Saharan African countries which create a ground to interpret and understand the dynamics of foreign policy which might apply to the study of the role of states in international affairs.

It is important to note that, the successful foreign policy is measured in terms of a state's ability to assert its influence on others and promote its interests with consistency within the international system. Crucial to this success is an understanding of power, its sources and an assessment of the means needed to achieve state aims. The ability to forge these dimensions into a coherent foreign policy appropriate to the state in question, its particular material conditions as well as its position within the international system.

Many International relations scholars recognized national interest as a forefront of foreign policy, Security and wealth maximization is crucial to determining policy choice. In any case, as all states reside within the same international setting in which the conditions of anarchy tend to structure the ‘rules of the game’ in a similar way for all states, coming to an interpretation of action and reaction should not be out of reach for foreign policy analysts. Game theory, with its application to nuclear strategy, is one concrete expression of this approach to foreign policy. From this perspective, developing foreign policy goals and implementing them, this involves a relatively straightforward assessment of the situation and other actors' potential actions based on their status and material endowment within the international system. Optimal outcomes, albeit within the framework of available choices, are both the goal and the guide for foreign policy choice. Good foreign policy may be achievable through presumably, a realistic source for ordering the international system through some form of balancing or trade off mechanism.

Taking into consideration the above foreign policy analysis, Turkey's economic interest in sub-Saharan Africa is based more on the liberal school of thought in approaching international system and cooperation. The notion of maximizing prosperity and minimizing conflicts, this can be observed through Turkey's continued support to peace keeping missions in Africa especially in trying to bring peace in Somalia and the effort to promote trade with sub-Saharan African countries which is not only aimed at promoting its national interest but also promote economic prosperity in the sub-Saharan Africa.





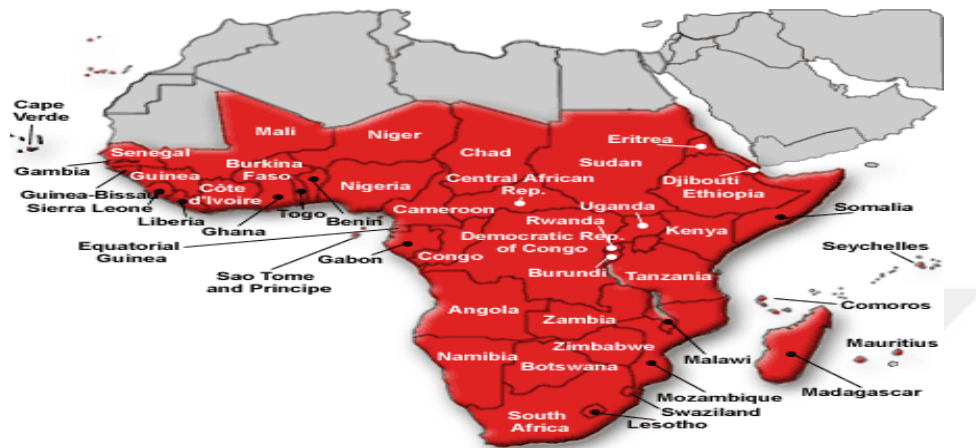
2. RELEVANT HISTORICAL PROCESS

Turkey's rapid strategic economic engagement in Sub-Sahara Africa has been to some extent misrepresented, although Turkey declared 2005 as the year of Africa, many scholars are ignoring the fact that Turkey has for a long time had selective considerations on its dealing with Africa. The North African countries which are also considered as Middle Eastern countries have since the Ottoman era had a historical relationship with Turkey. Some sub-Sahara African countries like Ethiopia had a diplomatic relationship with Turkey since 1926. Nigeria and South Africa are the other countries in sub-Sahara Africa Turkey bilateral cooperation since time memorial. Many scholars on this topic ignored looking Turkey's sudden interest in the other part of Africa (Sub-Sahara Africa). The reasons behind this foreign policy change towards sub-Sahara Africa has become the new focus of the new academicians (Uchehara, 2008).

Many contemporary scholars discuss the relationship based on the Ottoman legacy that Turkey and sub-Sahara African countries share and that the two partners are trying to re-install the old relationship that was lost due to the collapse of Ottoman Empire (Adams, 2014). The economic cooperation between Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa is widely recognized as the best way to boost the relationship between Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa through trade and commerce. The factors responsible for Turkey's foreign policy shift to sub-Saharan Africa and how economic cooperation will strengthen Turkey's position in Europe and Asia in the long run as an economic power house to influence the world. Some scholars have placed emphasis on geopolitical change in the Middle East especially the incidences after September 11th and the outbreak of the Arab-spring revolution and how it changed the nature of politics in the Middle East, the key point here will be discussing the economic effects of this revolution to Turkey as economic partners. (Shinn, 2015). The other factor to discuss is the Turkey's failed membership and denial to join EU and how Turkey's engagement to sub-Sahara Africa is seen as an alternative. Also central to the research study is exhausting the role and responsibility played by both Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa in benefiting each other for the economic cooperation to be a success. This will entail the utilized and unutilized opportunities from both sides.

Tellingly, trade cooperation is more to Turkey's immense advantage than Africa's. For example, Turkey's trade volume with was \$3.6bn in 2003 before the start of Turkey's Africa

Partnership Policy and later increased to \$20bn by 2016. Yet Africa's exports to Turkey on the other hand was only in 2003 was 3% of Turkey's overall global trade. In 2014, the amount had increased marginally to 5% (Ankomah, 2016). The concern is how to encourage more African traders to come to Turkey so that this economic relation benefits both partners.



Map 2.1. Map shows sub-Saharan African countries

Source: Google maps

Sub-Saharan Africa is not a country, rather, it is a heterogeneous part of the African continent comprising of 48 nations with great variations in physical, economic, political, and social dimensions the regions have both similarities and differences. Many of the countries in the African Transition Zone are included in the realm of Sub-Saharan Africa. The realm can be further broken down into regional components: Central Africa, East Africa, West Africa, and Southern Africa. The cultural geography varies widely from country to country and from one ethnic group to another, but at the same time, there are shared cultural patterns across all Sub-Sahara African regions, for example, colonialism has been a major historical factor in the shaping of the countries. Families are large, and a rapid rural-to-urban shift is occurring in all regions. Every region has large urban centers often port cities that act as central core locations supported by a large peripheral rural hinter. Sub-Sahara Africa is currently in an impressive surge of growth, development, and transformation.

The natural and human resources are abundant and diverse. This indicates that sub-Sahara Africa is re-emerging with many promising developments. The misconception that regards sub-Sahara Africa as the byword for ethnic conflict, disease and natural disaster is now changing, Africa is now getting associated with a high level of foreign visits for trade,

construction, and natural resource deals. Duncan indicated that; “The continent's annual growth rate is estimated to be 5 percent over the last decade and this trend is expected to continue in the coming years. 6 out of 10 fastest growing economies in the world are now in Africa. Economic predictions indicate that Africa will be a 29 trillion USD economy in 2050 larger than the 2012 combined GDP of the US and Eurozone. 70 percent of the Continent’s people live in countries that posted average growth rates in excess of 4 percent over the past decade there is a middle class of about 313 million people, 34 per cent of the population. Trade between Africa and the rest of the world has increased by 200 percent since 2000” (Duncan, 2014).

Most part of this new wealth is because of economic reforms, increased productivity, urbanization and good governance while only a small part of the revenue is derived from usual commodities. In social arena as well rapid developments. In 1980, “only about 28 percent of Africans lived in cities. Today, 40 per cent dwells in urban areas. It is expected to rise to 47 percent by 2025, in the education sector, school enrolment in Africa has increased by 50 percent” (Duncan, 2014).

The Continent has made a remarkable progress in its efforts to deepen literacy. Last decade has witnessed a series of successful elections and peaceful transitions of power. African countries have recorded significant progress in the field of regional cooperation and integration in pursuit of conflict prevention and economic development. The African Union, which celebrated, in 2013, 50th anniversary of its establishment, stands out as a regional and international player. The world witnessed significant accomplishments of the African Union in promoting and enhancing good governance, democracy and economic integration across the Continent, and setting higher standards in these areas.

Along with the African Union, the sub-regional organizations in the continent have proven themselves as important bodies in regional cooperation, mediation and conflict prevention. It's important to note that African countries, today, are increasing their efforts to overcome their challenges with their own resources and through their own mechanisms, in solidarity. All these economic and social trends, which permanently change the economic and political landscape of the Continent demonstrate the real potential of Africa and the ability to attract foreign direct investment which Turkey is involved.



3. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

Turkish foreign policy towards African continent has for a long period of time been based on geographical divisions: North Africa and Sub-Sahara Africa. Except the later, Turkey's relation with North Africa draws back from the historical development mainly from the Ottoman times in the 15th and 16th century. Relation with Sub-Sahara Africa, on the other hand, is a recent development dating back to the 19th century (Özkan, 2010). In early 1990, Turkish government drafted a plan, called "Opening up to Africa". And by 1998, Turkey's interest in Africa developed rapidly. Although Turkey's strategic interest in sub-Sahara first came to the lime light in 1998, the process of its implementation started when the AKP came to power in 2002.

During this period, efforts were made by a former prime minister and current president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Ahmet Davutoğlu to develop relations with sub-Sahara part of the African continent which was previously neglected by Ankara. In 2003, Turkey's strategy of developing economic relations with Africa was established. This was followed by the government's announcement of 2005 as the "Year of Africa". And in 2008, the first ever Turkey- Africa cooperation summit was held in Istanbul where fifty representatives from different African countries participated (Çavuşoğlu, 2015).

The relations with sub-Sahara Africa constitutes one of the prime orientations of Turkish foreign policy. Being a Eurasian state, Turkey's policy of opening up to Africa is not just the reflection of a transient political and economic expectation. On the contrary, it is the product of a process with strong historical and cultural aspects. It is also an expression of natural results of the firm feelings of friendship and partnership between Turkish and African people. Turkey sub-Saharan Africa relations gained a substantial momentum since the declaration of Turkey as a strategic partner of the continent by the African Union in January 2008 (Bırol, 2010)

The strategic partnership was put into action when the first ever Turkey-Africa summit, entitled Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future, sealed the Turkey's new relationship with the African continent particularly sub-Sahara Africa in August 2008 which was held in Istanbul in the presence of President Abdullah Gül, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, the President of the Commission of the African Union Jean Ping and

representatives from all over Africa, two important documents were signed, while in Istanbul, the declaration of Turkish-African Partnership defined the principles reciprocity through mutual benefits considered as basic pillars of the relationship, and indicated the segments that targeted long-term cooperation. These were after elaborated in the Framework of Turkish-African Partnership (G.Kizilarlan, 2007): as follow;

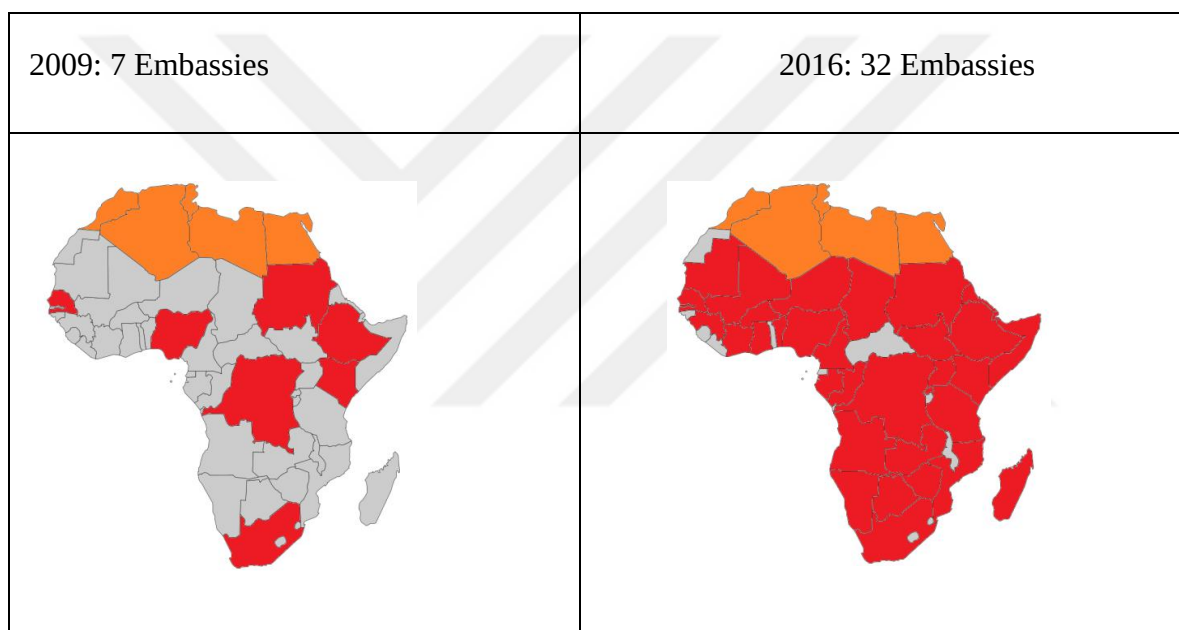
- Intergovernmental cooperation and development assistance
- The diversification of African exports and free trade agreements
- Cooperation between banks and private investors through joint business councils
- The transfer of expertise in the agribusiness sector
- Health campaigns
- Military training and support for the African Standby Force
- Cultural agreements, youth exchange programs and scholarships for African students.
- The promotion of tourism and media coordination.

In 2013, Turkey gave further boost to its Africa policy. And during this period, there was a reported tremendous increase in relations which transformed into a mutually reinforced political-economic partnership. In this context, Turkey follows a comprehensive and multilayered policy in sub-Sahara Africa. The main tenets of this policy can be summarized as follows:

- I. Establishing closer political relations by intensifying bilateral high-level visits and, by acting as the voice of Africa, defending the legitimate rights and interests of African countries in our bilateral and multilateral talks.
- II. Supporting them in the economic sphere to overcome their difficulties through trade, investment, and humanitarian assistance.
- III. When requested, playing a role through diplomacy in the peaceful settlement of disputes in the Continent.
- IV. Providing assistance to the Continent to make further progress in the areas of democracy and good governance.
- V. Giving support to the international and regional organizations of the Continent to increase dialogue, understanding, and peace in the region.

- VI. Participating actively in peacekeeping missions in Africa while upholding the principle of “African solutions for African problems” in accordance with the policy of the African Union (Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2013).

Turkey in order to strengthen its economic partnership with sub-Sahara Africa, it increased its diplomatic presence in the region, currently, there are 32 Turkish diplomatic missions that are also in charge of Commercial affairs in the capitals cities of different sub-Sahara African countries. In addition, Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Council established business councils with 19 Sub-Saharan Africa countries.



Map 3.1. Shows increase in Turkish embassies in sub-Sahara Africa(2009-2016)

Source: Ministry of foreign affairs (Turkey 2016)

Turkish Foreign aid and humanitarianism has become a soft power tool and strategy to gain influence in sub-Saharan region, this is accompanied by the clean-state slogan of no colonial history and the same time the “Trading State”, the sole purpose of this is to make sure that Turkey's presence in sub-Sahara Africa is felt by both governments and sub-Saharan Africa people. This approach is conducted through Turkey's non-governmental Humanitarian Relief Foundations like; Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA), International Humanitarian and Relief Organization (IHH) or İnsani Yardım Vakfı, Kimse Yok mu Derneği (KYM) which offers Iftar (fast breaking meals) during Ramathan period.

These Turkish humanitarian organizations are however prominent in the muslim communities of sub-sahara african countries especially in central and west Africa like ; Nigeria, Somalia, and Sudan. TIKA for instance "announced the distribution of 1million copies of Quran to 37 countries across the continent. Turkey's humanitarian expenditure to africa was \$1.6 billion making it the world's third donor behind the United States and the United Kingdom in 2013" (Shinn, 2015).

However, this is beleived to have reduced due to the pressure from the AKP government's after the failed millitary coup that sub-Sahara African leaders to close the Güllenist affiliated projects especially schools and other relief based activities since it was declared as a terrorist organization. This has led to misunderstandings between President Erdoğan and some African leaders like Filip Nyusi of Mozambique and Ivory coast deputy education minister who described president Erdoğan stance as "similar to colonial states in seeking an educationally backward continent".

Turkey's foreign policy model towards sub-Sahara Africa is a south-south model of cooperation. According to World Health Organization, "south model refers to the exchange of expertise between actors(Government, Organization, and Individuals) to help each other with knowledge, technical assistance, and investment, this model moves away from the paradigm of cooperation as one-way assistance from a donor to recipient towards a model where emphasis is firmly placed on capacity building, self-reliance and sustainable development" (Chan, 2010). So far, Turkey is implementing this model by offering health training through TIKA, building vocational training institutes like in Sudan, Somalia, Senegal and so on. Security cooperations where training services where Turkey offers technical training to both Army and police offers from different sub-Sahara African countries and signing of double taxation exemption agreement with individual member states to ensure equal benefits of accessing markets.

Generally speaking, Turkey's foreign policy towards sub-Sahara African countries can be described as in inter-state relations, where states interests are divided into economic and political. However, in the present settings of international affairs, it is believed that, economic interest of a country cannot be pursued in isolation from its political interest or vice versa. This is because, in the globalization era, economic and political interest are complementary to one another, in most cases economic power may determine political

power and vice versa. Similarly, the economic influence of Turkey to sub-Sahara African countries impinges on its political influence. This is particularly valid in sub-Sahara African countries as they attach the utmost importance and priority to their economic development. What matters is to find the right combination to channel economic power in the service of political interest.

3.1. Origins of Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Sub-Sahara Africa

The origin of Turkey's relation with sub-Sahara Africa can be divided into three periods. The first period involves the Ottoman empires' relations with Africa until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, during this period the, Ottomans had considerable relations with Africa in terms of trade and the fact that some African countries belonged to the Ottoman territory were a strong factor behind the cooperation. The second period was 1923 – 1998 from independence to the initiation of Africa action plan. The third period is from 2002- date, the start of AKP regime and its foreign policy shift from unilateral to cooperation, during the first period, the relationship between Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa was the lowest level and almost never existed due to the fact the Ottoman Empire had considerable relations with North Africa.

This was aided by the fact that North African states such as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria were subject to Ottoman rule. It is also important to note that the Ottoman Empire played an important role to prevent Spanish incursions in North Africa, as they sent their emissaries when needed In Sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand, countries, such as Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Niger, and Chad were part of the Ottoman territory and during the wave of colonialism, the Ottoman Empire was active in eastern Africa, they managed to balance the power by averting the Portuguese penetration. In northern Sub-Sahara, the Ottomans were also part of the balance of powers system, having friendship and alliance with the Kanem Bornu Empire in the present day Northern Nigeria, Niger and Chad. In 1575 the Kanem Bornu Empire signed a defense pact with the Ottomans during the time of Sultan Murad III, upon which the Sultan sent military equipment and trainers to Kanem Burnu.

In South Africa, the Ottomans had diplomatic representation from 1861 onwards. The appointment of the first honorary consul-general in Cape Town on 18 February 1861,

followed by a series of honorary consul-general appointments in subsequent years. Adding a religious dimension to these relations, the Ottoman State also sent mothers to the Muslims of the Cape of Good Hope (now in South Africa) in 1863, via honorary Consul-General de Roubaix, upon the request of the Muslim community. With the arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi as imam, a strong bridge was built between the Muslims of the Cape of Good Hope and the Ottoman State, due to his contribution to South Africa. As a sign of this, the Muslims of South Africa had actively participated in the Hijaz railway construction campaigns and raised funds. In 1894 the first mosque was built in Lagos, the Ottoman Empire sent a special emissary to Nigeria conferring the staff of office, the decoration of the Order of Medjidie as well as the title of Bey, a higher civilian rank in the Ottoman Empire to the leader of the Southern Nigeria's Muslim Community, Mohammed Shitta Bey. The Shitta Bey family is currently a large family with numerous members playing an important role in Nigerian social and political life. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Turkey-Africa relations were downgraded to the lowest level. This was due to the domestic situations of both sides, such as establishing the new state structure and securing the independence as well as colonialism. During Cold War years, Turkey started to attach greater importance to Africa, developing relations with North African states economically and politically.

However, these relations were shaped by the conditions of the Cold-War bipolarity, and thus at times were at odds with the historical public sentiment toward the continent. When Ghana became independent in 1957. Turkey recognized Ghana and opened a resident embassy at a later stage. With the decolonization process in Africa had begun in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Turkey recognized all the newly independent countries, established diplomatic relations, and opened resident embassies in a number of them. However, this was not based on any significant long-term relationship and Turkey was not seriously involved in African affairs. However, it is vital to note that since the 1970s, Turkey's relationship with North African countries has been strengthened, although in a limited way, due to Turkey's efforts to diversify its economic and political relations. In spite of this development, Sub-Saharan Africa did not gain a position of special importance within the Turkish foreign policy of the time. The only exception was Turkey's minor role in the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe. When the decolonization process unveiled in Africa, Turkey missed the opportunity to develop permanent political, economic and commercial relations with Africa, although it had designed an opening plan in the 1970s as part of an attempt in diversifying its foreign policy. The plan was tabled due to the conflict in Cyprus issue, which

left Turkey in a difficult position in its interactions with its Western allies. Although the lack of action in regards to establishing stronger relations with Africa could be seen partly as a result of other issues persisting on the Turkish agenda of the time, the main reason was the lack of Turkey's interest, knowledge, and strategy about what to do in Africa.

In 1998 the Turkish "Opening to Africa Action Plan" was formally declared, this was specifically aimed at cultivating the political, economic, development, and cultural relations between Turkey and sub-Saharan African countries. "The major goals of this plan included increasing the number of Turkish diplomatic missions in sub-Saharan Africa with high-level of diplomatic exchanges with the region, the other goal was to increase humanitarian and development aid including Turkey's potential membership of the Africa Exim Bank" (Nascimento, 2014) and also encouraging the exchange of business trips from both partners, and becoming a contributor to the African Development Bank (ABD). All these goals were more or less achieved in the following years, mostly reflected in the opening of new embassies in various sub-Saharan African countries.

Turkey's foreign policy shift to sub-Saharan Africa since the early 2000s can be explained as having occurred in five stages, these stages laid a foundation for each other.

The third stage was in 2002 when Justice and Development Party (AKP) government came with a plan to continue and strengthen the process launched by previous Turkish governments, and in the period 2003 the undersecretary of foreign trade Mr. İbrahim Şenel prepared a strategy for improving economic relations with African countries. The rise of Justice and Development Party to power represented a preliminary stage of Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa. It was during these years that initial assessments of Africa's potential were made and lower-level meetings were held between Turkish officials and their African counterparts. When, as a sign of the success of this process of deliberation.

Turkey declared 2005 as the Year of Africa, African governments were not taken by surprise. Announcing 2005 as the Year of Africa in practice generated a debate about Africa in Turkey and was followed by concrete actions in subsequent years. At the same time, the move represented an unmistakable sign of Turkey's commitment to building stronger relations with sub-Saharan Africa. (Özkan, Turkey's African Experience, 2016). In January 2008 Turkey was officially AU's "strategic partner". This was through obtaining observer status at the

African Union (AU) In addition to this, Turkey was also accepted as a no regional member of the African Development Bank and as a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum which paved the way for the Turkey-sub-Saharan Africa Economic Cooperation. This ended with the first Turkey-Africa Summit. The main purpose of the 2008 Turkey-Africa Summit was to develop a mutual perspective on cooperation, and this was highly achieved. This registered a number of diverse relations in a range of areas, including politics and the economy. During this period, Turkey-sub-Sahara Africa economic relations made more progress than the Turkish authorities had initially predicted, while both sides became more familiar with their counterparts. Turkish government opened embassies in various African countries in almost every region of Africa, the nation's trade volume with Africa tripled from 6 billion dollars to approximately 18 billion dollars. As such, according to (Özkan, Turkey's African Experience, 2016), 2005 and 2008 represent a key period of growing complexity in Turkey's Africa policy.

President Erdogan's official visit to Somalia in 2011 assumed a different political nature in Turkey-Africa relations Turkish government's Somalia Initiative represented the nation's committed focus on high politics, for example. Political matters and security issues, in addition to mere economic cooperation and humanitarian or development aid. As a matter of fact, Turkey's involvement in Somalia constitutes a second experience of state-building for Ankara, after the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, although they differ both in scope and in nature. The efforts to restore relative public order in Somalia and the world's renewed interest in the conflict rendered Turkey a prominent stakeholder whose opinions were widely appreciated. As a result, Turkish authorities met with representatives from the European Union, Great Britain, Spain, Norway and the United States, among others, on African issues, mostly in bilateral formats. Most of these meetings took place within a framework of exchanging ideas and understanding Turkey's position and policy towards Africa. This was the first time that the international community started to see Turkey as a potential partner in Africa.

In 2014 Turkish-African relation marked the beginning of the fifth chapter in this cooperation. The coming years will be particularly important, as they will present opportunities to consolidate existing achievements and develop a more systematic approach. At an institutional level, for example, the 2014 Malabo Summit paved the way for the full normalization of the Turkish government's relations with countries in Africa, as most

African leaders attending the 2008 Turkey-Africa Summit retained some doubts about the sincerity of Turkey's interest in the continent. However, such sentiments were absent at the Malabo Summit; on the contrary, the summit advanced relations still further, as stated in the 2015-2019 Joint Implementation Plan. However, the Malabo Summit agenda focused on the possibility of more comprehensive cooperation and maximizing mutual benefits for the future. In the 2015-2019 Joint Implementation Plan, Turkey and the African Union (AU) agreed on the development of political, social and economic relations, with a special focus on health, communication, tourism, peace, security, and mediation.

3.2. Turkey's Foreign Policy as a Case of Shifting Alliance

The concept of an alliance is referred to as the relationship between people, groups, or states that join together for mutual benefit or purpose to achieve some common goal, whether or not explicit agreement has been worked out among them. Alliances form in many settings, include political alliances, military alliances, and business alliances. When the term is used in the context of war or armed struggle, such associations may also be called allied powers, especially when discussing World War I or World War II. A formal military alliance is not required for being perceived as an ally co-belligerence, fighting alongside someone, is enough. According to this usage, allies become so not when concluding an alliance treaty but when struck by war.

Before discussing Turkey's foreign policy and whether a case of shifting alliance it is better to look at the geographical position of Turkey. Turkey is a Euro-Asian country located in Anatolia (97%) and the Balkans (3%), bordering the Black Sea, between Bulgaria and Georgia, and bordering the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, between Greece and Syria. Turkey is located in the Middle East and the geographical description of Middle East is categorized in the following way; the Maghreb North Africa which is made up of countries like, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Egypt. The Mashreq; which include countries like Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Israel, and Jordan. The Arabian Peninsula; Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Bahrain, and Yemen. The other countries are Iran and Turkey.



Map 3.2. Map showing Turkey and its neighbors

Source: Google maps

In the 1880s, the Middle East countries lost power after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. This was due to the invasion of Napoleon in Egypt. This later called for san-Remo-conference where France and Britain through the mandate system would share former Ottoman states.

To understand the question of Turkey's foreign policy shift to sub-Sahara Africa and whether it can be seen as a shift of alliance or economic diversification, one must critically understand historical relations of Turkey with rest of Middle East from independence to date. After Independence, Turkish Foreign Policy was driven by Kemalist state ideology to eradicate the Ottoman Past through creating Western oriented, develop mentalist, Realist and Secularism approach. During the cold war, Turkey in order to balance power with the Soviet Union, it acquired NATO membership.

Turkey's approach to the Middle East was through the prism of Cold War politics (Western vs Eastern bloc). For example, during in the period of Baghdad Pact (1955), Turkey and Iraq then Iran, Pakistan joined with the support of USA and Britain. In 1948, Turkey was one of

the first countries to recognize the state of Israel. This became an issue of conflict between Turkey and Arab countries. Turkey also pursued a foreign policy towards the Middle East during Cold War years based on the notion of Non-interference between Arab states and Neutrality vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Post-Cold War Years was the era when Turgut Özal, then the PM and the President of Turkey, came to power after the 1980-1983 coup d'Etat. During his rule, there was a return of a civilian government and relative democratization together with reduced control of State over religion. He designed the rapprochement with the Arab countries. This was observed through Turkey's more significant role in the Islamic conference organization. Özal also claimed that Turkey could solve the regional problems due to the Ottoman past. The need for Turkey to regain a sphere of influence in the Balkans and the Middle East in order for Turkey to play the role of a "pivotal state". In fact, the policies conducted by AKP have had many elements in common with Özal's policy.

In 2002 AKP government came to power and its foreign policy towards the Middle East was Multi-dimensional foreign policy. This involved Soft power, not just security oriented but also economy oriented, cultural exchange, Strategic depth doctrine, ensuring secure neighborhood, Pro-active with the high level of political dialogue with neighbors., Fostering regional economic interdependence, Promoting multi-cultural, multi-sectarian peace and harmony. AKP government Initiatives in the Middle East are observed when Turkey played as a moderator between Israel and Palestine Moderator in Iranian nuclear negotiations, Pro-active foreign policy in Iraq High Cooperation Council with Syria, Ministers as representatives, Trade, cultural exchange and the removal of Visas.

However, the Regional turbulence started with the Arab spring revolutions and Turkey's policy of Zero-problems policy collapsed. This is because Turkey supported the revolutions in the region except for Syria. Turkey was on the brink of war with Syria. Turkey decided to support anti-Assad groups hence the end of the relationship with Syria.

Another economic partner that Turkey lost was Egypt, this happened when President Erdogan harshly criticized Adl EL Fattah's military coup. He believed that civilians democratically elected government of the Muslim brotherhood and condemned the arrest of first democratically elected president Mohammed Morsi, whose power was ousted in 2013,

Ankara refused to recognize the legitimacy of the regime in Cairo led by Abdel Fatah el-Sisi. Ideologically, the governments of Turkey and Egypt had different views on how to deal with the crises in Syria and Yemen. In particular, the Turkish government is strongly opposed to the Iranian and Russian backed regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria and Houthi insurgents in Yemen. Egypt, on the other hand, considers Sunni extremism to be its main threat, and views Assad as a useful bulwark against the advance of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), although el-Sisi cannot be seen to be supporting Iranian interests for fear of upsetting its Gulf creditors.

However, Turkey's previously frosty relations with Saudi Arabia have warmed significantly since the ascent of King Salman to the throne at the beginning of 2015, with Riyadh's view of the geopolitical situation in the Middle East becoming more aligned with Ankara's. The ever more fluid geopolitical situation in the Middle East and North Africa, with its resultant shifting alliances, Turkey is likely to continue its intensive diplomatic efforts in SSA as the country seeks a more secure partner base. The presence of Turkey's military base in Somalia which is aimed at becoming a military academy to train most sub-Saharan military personnel since Turkey has signed security agreement and cooperation with many African countries. There is also a need to have an alliance with African countries to fight terrorism and sea pirates to enable easy flow of merchants to Africa and far Asia.

Turkey's desire to claim support from African states when it comes to UN majority votes, for example, UNSC non-permanent membership in 2003 which required a massive and intensive lobbying for votes from African countries since they are the largest regional group in the UN with 54 member states perhaps carry some elements of alliance, sub-Saharan African countries take Turkey to be their voice on international level.

Looking at the history of Middle East, Turkey's failed access to the Persian Gulf since 1990 due to the UN harsh economic embargo on Iraq (mandated by chapter vii of the United Nations Charter (UN Charter, 1945) and the American war on terror that led to the ending of oil export through Turkish Mediterranean port of Kirkuk Yumurtalik pipeline fee affected Turkey's economy. Before the Gulf War (1991 Saddam Hussein invasion of Kuwait), except Jordan, Iraq was the close ally of Turkey in the region. And the two countries cooperated on a number of issues, the Mediterranean port of Kirkuk Yumurtalik pipeline, and the effort to contain the Kurdish (PKK) question, however, on the onset of Gulf War, to Iraq's surprise,

Turkey supported the UN security council resolution 665 and allowed the UN forces fly mission on its air base, this also caused the closure of the oil pipeline due to the UN oil embargo and the two countries faced economic crisis.

Another cause of Turkey's foreign policy shift to sub-Sahara Africa is the impact of Arab spring revolution on Turkish foreign investors. It is important to note that Turkey had close trade relationship with North Africa and the Middle east at large, however, when the democratic wave (Arab spring revolution) swiped North Africa, the Middle East Turkey inclusive experienced some level economic crisis, the Arab-spring revolution out Turkish exports and market at stake leading to the strengthening of both bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation in sub-Sahara Africa.

Turkey is currently in the second position after China when it comes to contraction as of 2014. These contractors acquired experience from Libya and grew hence expanding their horizons. "Projects worth \$28 billion that Turkish companies executed in Libya contributed significantly to Turkey's economy through profit repatriation" (Doğan, 2015), in particular to its contraction sector. Although Turkey relation with Libya had ups and downs since 1972. After the United States clamped an arms embargo on Turkey in the 1974 Cyprus Operation, support for Turkish armed forces, from spare airplane parts to fuel, had come from Libya. Turkish companies and contractors provided the most input to the reconstruction of Libya, which is now seen as a failed state. However during the toppling of Gadhafi which Turkey got involved in creating an aftermath of serious problems for Turkey and its hundreds of construction companies. "The National Congress Parliament and the transitional government established in Tripoli in 2011 got dominated by Islamists and pro-Sharia elements. Under the new election law, 25% of Libyans voted in the June 25 elections. But after the election board nullified some votes on charges of fraud, this figure went down to 15%, the Parliament at Tobruk formed after the election was largely made up of secularists and retired Gen. Khalifa Hifter, who announced a war on radical Islamic terrorism. The Libyan High Court, which functions as the Constitutional Court, declared the Tobruk parliament elected by a 15% vote was not legitimate and decided the former parliament in Tripoli remained legitimate. It is still difficult to achieve stability in a Libya with two parliaments, two governments, and two capitals, and Turkey's business survival and foreign direct investment in Libya is still hard to maneuver. For it survives, Turkey, in the beginning, did not recognize the Tobruk parliament and administration. In fact, President Erdogan commented that; "It is

not possible to accept the assembling of the Libyan parliament at Tobruk.”(Zülfikar Dogan 2015) this was contradictory to the UN Security Council, the United States and EU countries, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates that had recognized the Libyan parliament at Tobruk. Libyan Foreign Ministry interpreted Erdogan’s comment, as interference in Libya’s internal affairs and recalled its ambassador from Ankara. And when Erdogan reacted to the electoral loss by segments closer to Turkey, relations with Libya became even tenser. Turkey adopted the political outlook of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Misrata region. There is no doubt that its policy of supporting Sunni Islamist politicians and the Brotherhood cost Turkey heavily in Libya.

When the Tobruk government declared that Turkish citizens in Libya should leave Libya because of Ankara's policy, it appeared to be a rupture of diplomatic ties, and Turkey had to close down its embassy in Libya. The assessments of experienced Turkish businessmen and contractors speaking to Al-Monitor conclude that Turkey's decision to support the Misrata Group (Muslim Brotherhood) and the Tripoli parliament unlike key Arab and Western countries and the UN, which recognized the Tobruk Parliament caused severe resentment against Turkey and Turks. The machinery, work sites, and assets of hundreds of Turkish firms were set on fire and looted. The Turkish investors lost \$5 billion, and there is no political authority to recover this loss since the working administration and the central bank in Libya is independent and decide who much to give each government with no plans of reimbursing this date, so they can't get paid. Thousands of Turkish workers were also repatriated from Libya. The Egyptian government, on the other hand, is struggling with the Muslim Brotherhood and has expanded its efforts to prevent the empowerment of Islamists and to degrade Turkey's position in Libya. The situation in Libya, therefore, is both politically and economically complicated.

Another economic partner that Turkey lost is Syria. Turkey-Syria economic relation registered a huge economic boom since 2007 when a free trade agreement between the two countries was signed followed by a visa-free system in 2009. However 2011 when Syria’s civil conflict began to spread, Trade with Syria then dropped. There were trucks crossing into Syria from Turkey with merchandise were reported to have stopped because of the war.

“Over 6,000 trucks stopped exporting goods to Syria by 2012. As a result, rows of idle trucks were seen parked in the Turkish city of Hatay. This was a direct impact on the economy of

Turkey. Syria, however, was only taking around five percent of its total exports. Even then, exports to Syria are reported to have fallen 38 percent from 102 million dollars in 2011 to 63 million dollars in 2012” (Didem, 2013). Syria was one of the top six countries in the Middle East that received Turkey's exports in the Middle East.

Turkey’s tourism sector was also affected by the crisis in Syria, this where the local business owners and hotels lost frequent tourists from both Syria and foreigners to Hatay could not visit due to security reasons. But these developments did not doom the tourism industry: the number of domestic tourists, who make up the majority of the province’s visitors, actually rose in 2012 and tourist sites recorded more visits overall.

Syrian crisis also affected Turkey in the way that its relationship with Russia was on tension since late 2015 when Turkish military authorities downed Russian fighter jet at the Turkish-Syrian air space. Russia responded by cutting her economic ties with Turkey yet Russian is one of the largest markets for Turkish exports. Imposed sanctions against Turkey resulted in the banning of trucks carrying Turkish-made products from crossing its borders. Russian visitors were also crucial to Turkey's tourism sector in recent years. Although the leaders of the two countries have tried to solve their differences, Russia- Turkey relationship seem to run by suspicion of revenge. According to Hikmet Tanriverdi, the head of the Istanbul Ready-Made Garment Exporters' Association at a press conference in Istanbul that kicked off Turkey-Africa summit, the new strategy was direct textile exports originally destined for Russia to the African market.

To understand Turkey's economic shift towards sub-Sahara Africa, it is necessary not to forget to look at the details in the Turkey- sub-Sahara Africa agreements, the summits that were conducted and the major key areas that were agreed on. Trade especially export is the most import driver of Turkey- sub-Sahara relation. Although Turkey's strategy in sub-Sahara Africa aims at enhancing influence on the international stage. Turkey counts on sub-Sahara Africa for international support on issues like the permanent seat on the UN council, Cyprus, counterterrorism, measures to counter sea piracy, the hosting of Expo 2020 and disputes at the World Trade Organization. Turkey’s key sub-Saharan African strategic country is Somalia. The point that connects the Gulf of Eden from the Red Sea to the Indiana Ocean is Mogadishu port which is the longest in Africa (30300 km), this port is the gate way for the world's imports and exports were 60percent of the World's trade pass. Recently, Turkish firm

(Sematech) won a 10 million project deal to construct and upgrade the port of Mogadishu to the maximum standard, Although this port will help Turkey access sub-Saharan African market through Somalia, there is still a challenge of the sea pirates given the fact that Turkey has the seventh highest number of naval vessels in the world, and these vessels are becoming more frequent visitors at SSA ports is a clear indicator that Turkey needs to position itself in strategic places like Somalia, It's estimated that in the first half of 2014 the Turkish navy conducted port visits to 28 African countries, which included the first rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by a Turkish vessel.

In 148 years. This was described by the prime minister's office as a display of Turkey's 'hard-power elements in a soft-power mission. Another convoy of Turkish warships docked at Port Sudan in April 2015 for joint exercises with the Sudanese navy. Turkey has since 2009 contributed frigates to the US-led, multinational Combined Task Force 151 (CTF-151) anti-piracy operation in the Gulf of Aden. Turkey commanded CTF-151 for part of 2009, and its ships call regularly at SSA ports.



Map 3.3. The Map Showing Turkey's desire to have strategic sea port of Mogadishu

Source: Google maps

The Mogadishu port is the longest in Africa (30300km) and transmits 60% of world's trade pass through

Middle Eastern countries have since the Arab spring developed a conflicting interest towards sub-Saharan African countries. These countries include; Turkey, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Iran are these are the key players' completion to control or have an influence in the horn of Africa, Charles Onyango-Obbo in his article Middle East leaders are crossing the Red Sea to woo East Africa", he asserts that although for a long time US, China, and other nations have been seen as important players in the region (Sub-Saharan Africa), the Middle East is gaining influence in the region and this is observed in the increasing number of state visits to East Africa, their visits underlining a dramatic twist in the centuries-old battle between foreign powers for influence, trade, resources and military assets in a strategically sensitive part of the world Kenya received Iranian ministers, delegations from Gulf monarchies and the leaders of both Turkey and Israel. Other states in east Africa have seen a similar flow of high-level officials. Analysts are struggling to understand the potential impact of the new wave of interest from the Middle East, but it is already clear it will disrupt local diplomacy and politics as much as it has disrupted traffic, resetting alliances in new formulations determined as much by conflicts, rivalries and geopolitical interests thousands of miles away from the interests of local communities. It has the potential, too, to undermine western influence and agendas.

Turkey's shift in an alliance is a result of many factors. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, the Syrian civil war, and particularly the conflict in Yemen have all combined to push Middle Eastern states to seek advantage through alliance, trade and cultural outreach beyond their immediate neighborhood. There has been intensifying rivalry between Sunni Muslim Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran, economic pressures on individual states and the arrival of new leaders keen to make their mark.

At the same time, experts say, China is more cautious than before, the US distracted, the United Nations overstretched, and the European Union weak. This has opened up new space, with commercial opportunities ranging from melon farming to port development adding to the attraction. This change, however, is not necessarily good news for the UK and other western nations. These countries are confronted by their own conflicts to secure their own interests in the sub-Saharan Africa especially the Horn of Africa. Whether the western interest

in counter-terrorism, good governance, and economic growth can find common ground ... so as to sustain a momentum towards stability and coherence is one of the great challenges that we collectively face," wrote Alexander Rondos, EU special representative for the Horn of Africa, recently.

In the case of Turkey, it has been seen as a champion of victimized people of the Islamic religion everywhere, especially in Somalia. Turkey is one of the major players in this new scramble for influence. Individually leading the effort, President Erdogan made Somalia a focus, visiting the battered failed state three times. Immediate rewards have included major contracts for Turkish firms leading in construction projects like roads, hospitals, schools, sea port, airport, and others. This has strengthened Turkey's close relationship with powerful politicians and officials in Somalia who share a moderate Islamist ideology with the Turkish leaders, as this can be observed through the compliance from Somali authorities when requested to shut schools linked to Fethullah Gülen, the US-based Islamist cleric blamed by Erdogan for the coup attempt on 15 July 2016. Sinan Ülgen, an expert at Carnegie Europe in Istanbul, said Turkey's ultimate aims were grander: Turkey has been the champion of victimized people of the Islamic religion everywhere. It is about improving soft power and image. Turkey has become one of the biggest providers of humanitarian assistance in sub-Saharan Africa and the world at large. That is a valuable attribute. What's done in Somalia does not stay only in Somalia. However, Turkey's establishment of a military base in Somalia approved by the UN and the military school to train African peace keeping missions can be seen on the way as a long term strategy for Turkey to use Somalia as key point to secure sea trade routes that will help to access both sub-Saharan Africa and Asian market, also to counter control the interest of Saudi Arabia, UAE and Iran from having influence in the horn of Africa.

Turkey lays a claim to the right based on the extensive support it gave to the beleaguered administration in Mogadishu in a number of forms including technical and hardware support to Somalia's military. Turkey trained hundreds of military and other security officers for Mogadishu in both Turkish military institutions and in Somalia itself. It also helped it by pumping millions worth of Dollars in rebuilding the country's infrastructure, health, and educational facilities.

The presence of a Turkish military base in Somalia aimed at the training ground for Somalia military personnel of in between 5000 to 10000 soldiers would certainly rattle the Egyptian military leaders, making the whole Arab psyche jittery than ever. Certainly, Egyptian interests in Somalia, it is believed may be more compromised than initially meets the eye. The Turkish Somalia base is explained by a statement on the Turkish Haber website, follows a similar presence in Qatar too, primarily to ensure Turkish economic and strategic interests in the region are not adversely diverted.

This planned Turkish military command is viewed by the Gulf States especially the UAE as Turkey's plan to control Indian and the Red Sea, this engagement is declared harmful to the buffer zone for the security of the Gulf oil fields. Turkey also faces competition from The United Arab Emirates (UAE) where Turkey is backing the ruling government and UAE is backing the opposition, this is spurred by these countries' own security concerns hence moving fast to establish influence in East Africa. In another development shaking up the regional status quo, the UAE is building physical bridgeheads too, opening a major military base in long-isolated Eritrea.

Another country seeking to influence East Africa is Saudi Arabia, now under the leadership of King Salman. The kingdom's decades-old relationship with the US has chilled and its rivalry with Iran intensified in recent years. When assembling a military alliance against Houthi rebels in Yemen, who are backed by Iran, the kingdom enlisted the support of a series of East African states.

Somalia and Sudan both dumped alliances with Iran earlier this year in favor of new ties with Saudi Arabia. Somalia received pledges from Riyadh of aid worth \$50m within hours of the decision. Heavily sanctioned Sudan may have gained billions which are a crucial financial lifeline.

What we are seeing is a shift in agendas of major players in the Gulf. There's a historical context to the relationship but the region is now being seen as part of their 'near abroad', and an important sphere of influence. Saudi businessmen also play an important role, with several prominent in Ethiopia, the regional economic powerhouse, while the number of east African students studying in Saudi Arabia has risen dramatically in recent years.

Gulf States' engagements in specific countries like Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea has generated a reaction in countries like Ethiopia and Kenya which see this as a tilt towards the Gulf's loss of their relative influence as well as a growing threat of Wahhabi-driven radicalization in the region.

Israel has also become one of the most active players in East Africa. With Benjamin Netanyahu, push for better relations across Africa, particularly in the east, where he has reinforced ties with old allies such as Kenya. However, his 2016 visit to Uganda left less hope to Israel since Uganda's president Museveni kept his stand in favor of Palestinians. Netanyahu also visited Rwanda one of the influential countries in the region. Nimrod Goren, of the Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies, said that Israel's efforts in sub-Saharan Africa are part of a broader desire to look for "non-traditional" allies. A recent recognition that African nations could be a source of support not inevitable opposition at the UN is one key factor. "It is not a new phenomenon that (Middle Eastern powers) are engaged in sub-Saharan Africa.

Above indicators of several middle eastern countries engaging and competing for the sub-Saharan African countries tells how much they are important in the international politics even when they are militarily strong but other issues like majority vote in the security council make them significant allies to countries like Turkey.

3.3. Turkey's Foreign policy as a Case of Economic Diversification

Economic diversification is the process in which a growing range of economic outputs is produced. It can also refer to the diversification of markets for exports or the diversification of income sources away from domestic economic activities (i.e. income from overseas investment). The concept of economic diversification in its standard usage, either in terms of the diversity of economic activities or markets, is a significant issue for many developing countries, as their economies are generally characterized by the lack of it. They have traditionally relied heavily on the production of primary commodities that are predominantly vulnerable to climate variability and change.

On the other hand, economic diversification can also mean different things depending on the context within which it's discussed. The predominant way of thinking about it is what is

known as economic complexity, which is the idea that countries should not be dependent upon a small number of products for their economic livelihoods. For example, a country that has an economy based predominantly on oil production is neither particularly complex nor economically diverse. On the other hand, a country that has a strong manufacturing base, a vibrant services sector, a burgeoning natural resource sector, and a booming agricultural sector is quite complex and diverse.

The more economically complex a country is, the more likely that it will have a low level of volatility in its GDP. This is not unlike the idea of financial diversification in an investment portfolio. In an investment portfolio, the idea is to reduce the unsystematic risk in your portfolio by having asset classes that tend to move in opposite directions to one another. This will end up reducing overall volatility. Not "putting all of one's eggs in one basket" is a good strategy for long-term capital appreciation. From the standpoint of an economy, a similar argument holds. However, if the entire global system goes down even a highly diversified portfolio of the complex economy will be taken down with it. This type of risk is called systematic risk and there is no good way of guarding against it. A diversified economy therefore; is an economy that has a number of different revenue streams and provides nations with the ability for sustainable growth because there is not a reliance on one particular type of revenue. This diversification provides nations with the security and reliability that they need so that if one economic revenue stream should fail, the nation knows that they have several other options for revenue.

Turkey also signed Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreements with 39 African countries, in its efforts to establish a sound contractual basis for the mutual economic relations.” In 2016, Turkey’s bilateral trade volume with Africa has reached 17, 5 billion USD. This is a three-fold increase in volume compared to the records of 2003. Trade volume with Sub-Saharan Africa was realized at 6 billion USD level in 2015” (Joe Hammoura 2016). This indicates a drop in Turkey’s trade with the continent, in line with the decrease in global trade. Despite this fact, Turkey’s share in Africa’s total trade has remained the almost same.

The question of Turkey’s economic interest in sub-Sahara is a case of economic diversification can be understood through trade agreements and summits carried out between Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa countries with an objective to enhance and strengthen trade partnership between the two partners. One of the main reasons behind Turkey's growing

economic engagement in sub-Sahara Africa is the desire to distribute its geopolitical eggs in as many baskets as possible

It is important to note that the chaos in Iraq, which used to be Turkey's second largest export market, and Syria; the near deadlock relations with its traditional regional ally, Egypt, after the overthrow of the Muslim Brotherhood; and the lukewarm love hate relationship with the European Union has compelled Ankara to diversify the geopolitical lay of the land under its radar. Therefore, its involvement in sub-Sahara Africa is a function of its broad objective to position itself as a global player with multiple fall back options in addition to shaping the global affairs. In this light, it expects to form congenial relations with Sub-Sahara African countries to result in their support for its global policies and its competition with both Western and emerging powers. In fact, this improved the relationship between African states and Turkey exemplified in the total backing that Turkey's from African countries in its bid to be a non-permanent member of the United Nation Security Council in 2008. Turkish officials have expressed strong interest in boosting economic and trade relations with sub-Sahara Africa. Joint forum in Istanbul where African counterparts welcomed the economic call. Turkey's approach has always been based on the philosophy of brotherhood and lack of colonial legacy.

Turkish Economy Minister Nihat Zeybekci in 2016 Turkey-Africa Economic and Business Forum was quoted regarding our African friends as our brothers. Our policy of opening up to Africa is not just the reflection of a transient political and economic expectation. On the contrary, it is the product of a process with strong historical and cultural aspects. Turkey's main constituents of comprehensive interest in Africa is composed of economic and trade relations. In this vein, Turkey's trade and economic cooperation agreements created mixed economic commission mechanisms with a total of 40 African countries. This economic move is backed by diplomatic move where Turkey has been able to open 39 embassies in African countries with a vision of having an embassy in every African country. The trade cooperation is conducted by Turkey's Economy Ministry, the African Union Commission, Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) and Turkish Exporters Assembly (TİM), these institutions are responsible for providing a unique platform for business circles of Turkey and sub-Sahara African countries to create long-lasting cooperation.

The signed agreement between Turkey with 19 African countries to mutually encourage and preserve investments, free trade deals with four countries and other agreements to prevent double taxation and the business councils established in 33 African countries under DEİK's leadership, "Trade with sub-Saharan Africa was around \$7 billion in 2005, this figure surged to \$17.5 billion in 2015. Trade volume with sub-Saharan Africa soared to \$6.6 billion in 2015 from around \$2.7 billion in 2005" (Daily News 2016). The trade boost between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa is promoted by Turkish Airlines' flight to the highest number of destinations in the continent. Turkey being the 18th largest economy in the world, seventh largest in Europe and a member of the G-20 with free-trade agreements with 23 countries around the world make sub-Saharan Africa welcome Turkey with the aim of learning from Turkey development model and experience. The fact that Sub-Saharan African countries believe that the private sector is the motor force of the economy has made this part of the continent investment friendly since areas such as energy, infrastructure, communication, and infrastructures are key areas that Turkish companies are targeting and conducting business within different sub-Saharan African countries.

Turkey's exports to Sub-Saharan African countries are manufactured goods like iron and steel products, food and consumer products, textiles, cement, plastics and a range of industrial products. Imports from SSA, on the other hand, consist of primary products such as cotton, minerals, precious stones, coal, leather, oilseeds, timber, and foods. Not much of Turkey's crude oil is sourced in sub-Saharan Africa, but the country is becoming increasingly active in SSA's burgeoning energy sector. In recent years, Turkey has signed energy cooperation agreements with countries such as Cameroon, Kenya, Niger, and Sudan. In August 2014 the energy and natural resources ministry stated that Angola was among the Turkish Petroleum Corporation's (TPAO) priorities for investment in crude oil extraction. Also in 2014 "Turkey's Karadeniz Holding reached an agreement with the state-owned Electricity Company of Ghana for the construction of two floating power stations that would supply approximately 450 megawatts which will be 20 per cent of Ghana's electricity requirements over a 10-year period As of mid-2015" (Shinn, 2015). Although the arrangement was subject to a constitutional challenge at Ghana's Supreme Court.

The trade volume between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa surged" to \$20 billion in volume in the last decade from just around \$4 billion. This is due to the fact that many countries have been working on improving the investment climate in line with its accelerated, stable and

inclusive growth target, which has been envisioned in Africa 2063 Agenda. The boosting Turkish- sub-Sahara Africa cooperation is also compatible with this key agenda. Sub-Saharan Africa, according to Standard Chartered, will witness a growth boom of 7% annually between now and 2030. The rise is due to political stability increasing throughout the region, the other reason is a surge in population growth estimated to be 50% between 2010 and 2030, and lastly, changes in the way countries count their GDP numbers” (Gregory White, 2011)

Although the region’s share of exports to Turkey may be relatively small compared to that West, Turkey demand should continue to help sub-Sahara Africa via higher commodity prices. Moreover, Turkey is providing development aid to sub-Sahara Africa through build infrastructure development. Turkey's plan is to find the vacuum in this virgin continent to secure future economic partners. The chart below shows how sub-Sahara African GDP has been progressing since 1980-2030, this chart according to standard chartered research conducted in 2011 is an indicator of how strong economies are competing for African market of which Turkey is taking part.

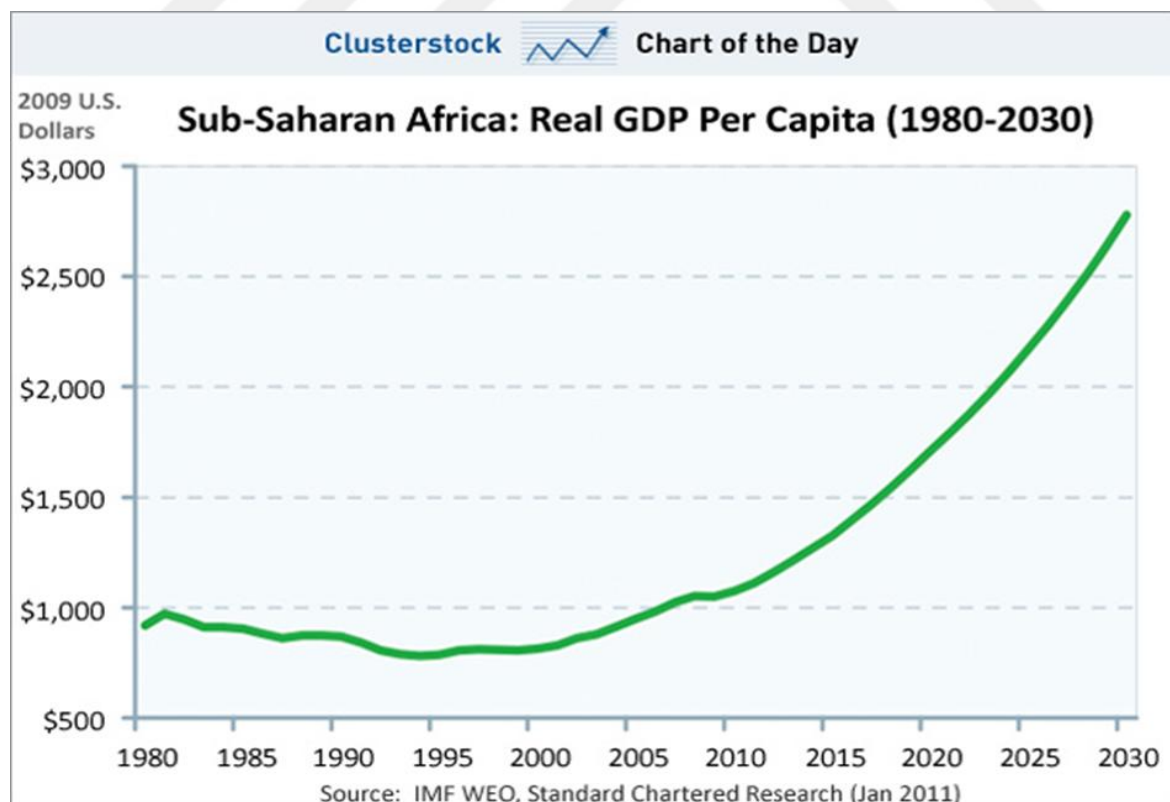


Figure 3.1. Sub-Sahara Africa; real GDP per capita (1980-2030)

Economists predict a significant growth in sub-Saharan Africa's real GDP by 2030 making it the major center of attraction of foreign direct investment to Turkey. To access sub-Saharan African market, Turkey signed bilateral investment treaties and Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with over 12 sub-Saharan Africa countries. The agreements started in 2011 with Mauritius, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo and Seychelles. Turkey is also negotiating with East African Community (EAC) to sign a free trade agreement by 2019 which will be aimed at avoiding double taxation between the two partners. The EAC is comprised of 6 countries with the potential market for Turkey, they include Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and South Sudan.





4. BENEFITS OF TURKEY'S ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

4.1. Turkish Point of View

There is no doubt that 16 out of 26 fastest growing economies are in Africa with an estimated highest population in the world compared to any other continent. This makes the continent a potential market for Turkish export. The biggest percentage of the world's export goods are transported through water and the Gulf of Eden which is a strategic sea route through the port of Mogadishu. However, piracy activities in the Aden-bay are dangerous for each trader in the region which calls for counter piracy measure to ensure the security trade activities. Turkish navy is therefore corroborating with the regional anti-piracy forces to play an important role in ensuring the safety of traders and safe movement of merchandise to far Asia and sub-Sahara Africa. Turkey, benefit from sub-Sahara African countries through security cooperation that is aimed at ensuring safe trade routes.

The African Union has become Turkey's strategic partner not only on political, but military cooperation with a goal for combating terrorism both in Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa. For example in 1999 Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT) together with CIA in Nairobi collaborated with security organs in Kenya to arrest Abdullah Öcalan the leader of PKK a terror group ground formed in 1865. This indicated that Turkey and sub-Sahara Africa countries need to cooperate in the effort to fight terrorism.

“Turkish firms are now posing tough competition against the Chinese firms in the field of construction in sub-Sahara Africa and Turkish contractors are among the major construction undertakers in the continent. This is indicated by the share of sub-Sahara African countries in the overall international business volume of Turkish contractors which is around 21percent and Turkish contractors so far have undertaken over 1.150 projects which worth 55 billion USD in sub-Sahara Africa “ (Boguslavskiy, 2016).

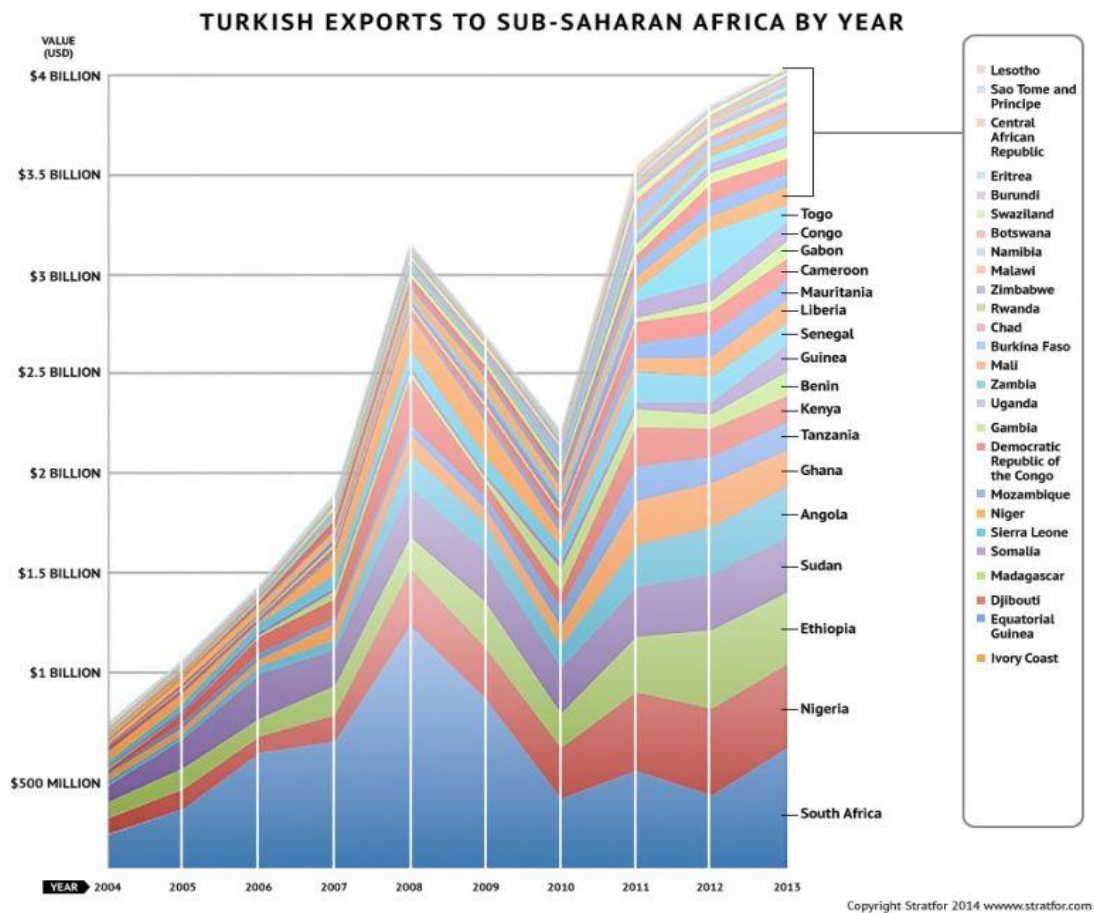


Figure 4.1. Graph shows Turkish exports to sub-Sahara Africa as of 2013

Source: Stratfor

Turkish investments in sub-Sahara Africa is growing at a rapid speed, many being exemplary of their kind in a number of sub-Sahara African countries since they employ local labor force, use home-produced resources and export final products to third countries. In this regard, total Turkish investment in sub-Sahara Africa is estimated to be around 6, 2 billion USD. According to a report published by Financial Times 2015, Turkish investment creates the largest number of jobs in Africa (16.593 in 2014) compared to the other foreign investments in the continent. In the past, the idea of trade with most sub-Sahara African states was impossible in Turkish society but today a number of Turkish businessmen are investing in sub-Sahara African countries with good economic earnings for Turkey.

In the energy and mining sector, Turkish contractors are winning tenders from Chinese contractors, in Rwanda for example, “the Government and HAKAN Mining and Electricity

Generation Industry and Trade signed an exploration deal to kick-start feasibility studies on peat prospects in Gisagara. This new project is expected to produce 80MW which will be delivered effectively on time and expected to start operating by 2020, this project will also provide 700 jobs to Rwandans” (Construction Review, 2016), unlike the Chinese who come with their own labor leaving the locals with no employment opportunities. Turkish firms are in the near future to be the most liked foreign investors in many parts of sub-Sahara Africa due to their unique approach to inclusive investment. Sub-Sahara African countries are becoming royal economic partners of Turkey, Ethiopia so far is the biggest destination for Turkish foreign direct investment and has consolidated the current economic partnership through successful dialogues that are underway with the government of Ethiopia to attract more Turkish investment. Currently, Turkish investors in Ethiopia are engaged in textile, as well as in construction sectors.

The two countries are working together in the energy sector with Turkish companies engaged in installing electric transmission lines and supplying transformers. Turkey is also supporting Ethiopia's infrastructural development projects including railway. Turkey officially announced that it would provide \$300 million loans for the Awash-Woldiya railway project and many others are also on a process to invest in power generation, food processing, and the manufacturing sector. According to Ethiopian government huge human resources, investor friendly atmosphere, broad market alternatives as well as conducive policy and stable atmosphere are factors that are attracting foreign investors. These are indicators that Turkey is taking a lead in the economic and developmental project gaining influence in the sub-Sahara Africa.

The number of already existing technical, scientific and military training related treaties (Ethiopia, Mali, Ghana, Gambia) will most probably increase in the near future. Recently the Turkish military industry noticed the sub-Sahara African markets. For instance, at the bi-yearly organized military exhibitions, a lot of sub-Sahara African countries deputize their homeland. Among the approximately Turkish companies dealing with protecting military sector. Summa company managed to construct the 13,000-square-metre complex in time for the 2011 AU summit in Malabo and this shows how Turkish constructors benefit from this cooperation as it follows China, Brazil, and India in seeking to secure economic and political influence on the continent. Ankara looks to diversify away from the stuttering European economy by searching not only for new markets but also a more prominent role on the world

stage. On the other hand, Turkish officials identify Somalia as its future economic hub for trade because of its location.

This has resulted in Turkey's establishment of a large presence in Somalia as a measure of their commitment and the aim is to develop ties, to close gaps, to go to places where we have never been. Traveling to the region is becoming easier. Since Turkish Airlines, the 49 per cent state-owned company, announced the start of direct flights to Niamey, Ouagadougou, Yaoundé, and Douala, bringing the number of destinations in almost all sub-Saharan Africa, this has made it easy for Turkish business men to travel to different parts of the continent for business purposes.

Turkish construction sector is expanding to the gas-rich countries of western Africa. He highlights Turkish executives' willingness to work in challenging or unusual circumstances, including for regimes such as Equatorial Guinea, which was criticized for spending more than €500m on the summit complex and carried out arrests before the event. Turkey has since a long time proved to be the master when it comes to taking risks for investment with limited fear for political instabilities and climatic condition. The aim is to get the work done no matter what.

The economic cooperation between Turkey and the sub-Saharan African countries benefits Turkey on the international level when especially for UN membership, For example, 2005-2007 Turkey began its successful campaign to be elected to the UN Security Council with 55 countries, Africa represents more than a quarter of UN members: a potential repository of votes for a state willing to invest politically in the region.

Turkey's president Erdogan during his visit to Senegal together with Senegalese President Macky Sall attended a joint press conference, organized after one-on-one and committee meetings that took place at Leopold Sedar Senghor Airport in Dakar during the brief visit improved the collaboration between the two countries in the area of development. In addition, "Turkish businessmen assumed major projects and investment in Senegal, President Sall noted that they were particularly proud of the Diamniadio International Conference Hall a multipurpose complex, including a stadium for 15,000 people, sports facilities, and a 5-star hotel the was being constructed by Turkey's SUMMA İnşaat. SUMMA and LİMAK companies also won a tender to complete the construction of the new international airport in

Senegal” (Mehmet Özkan, 2014). and once completed, will also be involved in its operation, this shows how Turkey's economic relation with individual states in sub-Saharan Africa is yielding a lot of profits to the Turkish economy through profit repatriation

4.2. Sub-Saharan Africa Point of View

From Sub-Saharan African point of view, the economic cooperation with Turkey is a tremendous success to both citizens and governments. This is because Turkish companies have been able to contribute to employment opportunities for the sub-Saharan African countries for example. Ethiopia's ambassador to Turkey while speaking to Anadolu Agency in 2016 expressed how Turkish investors have created more than 10,000 permanent jobs, with companies up and running in the east African nation often dubbed the "Cradle of Mankind". The other benefit is that Africa has been the continent where Turkish international aid and development projects have steadily increased over the last several years.

The Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA) expanded its area of operation after 2003, the most notable expansion of its activities has taken place in Africa. TIKA currently has three offices in Africa, namely in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Senegal. TIKA offices support development projects in their respective regions and from these three offices it operates in 37 countries in Africa. With the opening of new Embassies all over the continent, one can expect that the number of TIKA offices in Africa will increase as well, thus increasing Turkish aid flow to the continent. The projects and activities of TIKA in Africa are designed to serve such long term purposes as the development of social and economic infrastructure on the continent and, to a lesser extent, to provide support in urgent and humanitarian issues when needed in crisis times. In August 2008, TIKA initiated an African Agricultural Development Program in order to help develop agriculture in Africa.

In 2008 – 2010, the report released by TIKA in 2016 indicated that, agriculture development projects were implemented in thirteen sub-Saharan African countries, namely in Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Comoros, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda. Turkey is also working in cooperation with international organizations for the development of Africa where it has allocated 50 million USD for the financing of development projects in sub-Saharan African countries.

“Turkey has donated 7.5 million dollars to various African countries via international organizations such as the World Health Organization, the World Food Program (WFP) and the Red Crescent to help them in coping with the negative effects of drought like famine and lack of clean water and other natural disasters. The latest donation amounts to 3.5 million USD in humanitarian aid through the World Food Program” (WFP 2016).

Sub-Sahara African countries on the political realm expect Turkey's support through its membership in several international organizations. For example, Turkey promised that if it gets elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period of 2009-2010 which it deeds with the majority support from African countries, it will pay special attention to African issues. Given that the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the UNDP have been headed by Turkish citizens. Sub-Sahara African countries also expect these forums to pay special attention to African issues and see its budding relations with Turkey in this light as an advantage for them.

Looking at Nigeria, “Turkey’s trade volume with Nigeria stood at \$426 million in 2015. With a population of nearly 200 million, Nigeria is hungry for Turkish export goods. There is a high demand for Turkish textiles. Seventy tons of Turkish textiles make their way to Nigeria every week in the form of luggage (carried by travelers) trade, while in Ivory Coast and Ghana, the trade volumes were \$390 million and \$399 million respectively” (Mehmet Cetingulec, 2016). Even a two-fold increase in trade with those countries would mean less than \$3 billion in total. “In Ivory Coast Turkish companies have benefited more on, mining, energy and construction sectors, these sectors have earned Turkish companies with a trading volume of \$46 billion. Ivory Coast, meanwhile, registered an economic growth of nearly 10% in 2016. Twenty-five Turkish companies are currently active in the country, with investment concentrated mainly in the construction sector. The country has a housing deficit of 400,000 homes, and they are well-disposed to Turkish contractors. In Ghana, the industry sector is growing faster than agriculture, and the energy sector tops the development agenda. Ghana also offers opportunities to Turkish companies in the fields of railway transport, renewable energy, and citrus fruits” (Mehmet Cetingulec, 2016).

Although the Chinese pose a tough competition to Turkish investors especially in construction sector and manufacturing sector, many sub-Sahara African countries are resorting to Turkish contractors because of their quality. much Chinese construction are

losing tenders in the construction industry because of using substandard construction material, for example, in Rwanda, Turkish engineering firm Summa was hired to complete the construction of the multimillion dollar Kigali Convention Centre (\$300m) after the government of Rwanda terminated the contract of the Chinese company Beijing Construction Engineering Group (BCEG) that was working on the project due to use of sub-standard building materials contrary to the contract.

In Tanzania, President John Magufuli canceled \$7 billion for a 400-kilometer gauge Railways project from the Chinese contraction firm and the project will be worked on by a Turkish construction firm at almost half price (Allan Olingo, 2016). This happened when President Erdogan visited Tanzania according to the Daily News January 24, 2017. Tanzanian president sealed a deal with the Turkish president to provide a concessional loan for the construction of the above-mentioned gauge Railways project. It should also be noted that trade volume between Turkey and Tanzania has significantly doubled from \$66m in 2011 to \$190m as of 2016 and Turkish investors have created 2950 jobs in Tanzania.

This, therefore, indicates how sub-Sahara African countries are turning their back to Chinese contractors favoring Turkish contractors. Many sub-Saharan African countries have gained confidence in Turkey's medical survives sector calling it cheap and up to standards hence considered as an option to India, Europe, and China. Health sector constitutes another important aspect of Turkey's humanitarian assistance to sub-Sahara African countries. Turkey has signed health cooperation agreements with around 20 African countries. in the period 2007-2010, Turkish doctors took part in numerous health screening campaigns, organized by Turkish NGOs in cooperation with our Ministry of Health and TIKA (According to estimation figures we received from Turkey's ministry of health, "500 Turkish doctors and over 100 health personnel provided health care in around 20 countries by the end of 2014. Turkey's ministry of foreign affairs reported that, over 280.000 Africans underwent health screenings and operated 53.000 cataract patients). As an example, within the framework of "Africa Cataract Project" which was implemented in 4 countries (Niger, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan), in collaboration with a Turkish NGO, a total of 21.600 patients were operated" (TIKA 2015). The government of Turkey also provide treatment for sub-Sahara African patients who cannot access treated in their own country. So far over 1000 patients are treated in accordance with the bilateral agreements as well as emergency humanitarian aid program.

Besides treatment services, the government through Turkish Ministry of Health provide vocational training to some sub-Sahara African countries. For example, The Turkish-Sudanese Research and Training Hospital (150-bed) in Nyala were built by TIKA. The hospital has been operational since February 2014, will be run jointly with the Sudanese Ministry of Health, In Somalia, Turkey has built and equipped the biggest hospital in Mogadishu. The 200- bed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital (Dilfer) was officially opened by the President Erdoğan on 25th of January 2015 during his visit to Somalia, ¹The Educational Hospital in Juba (South Sudan) and the Black Lion Hospital in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) are among the health institutions to which the Turkish Ministry of Health has made significant contributions. As an endorsement of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy which is also one of the basic tenets of Turkey's Africa policy, the UN authorities decided to hold the First World Humanitarian Summit in 2016 in Istanbul.

Sub-Sahara African countries have since the cooperation benefited from Turkey attached importance to ensuring peace and stability in the continent by contributing to the United Nations missions deployed in the continent. Turkey is currently providing personnel and contributing financially to seven (MONUSCO/DRC, MINUSMA/Mali, MINUSCA/CAR, UNAMID/Darfur, UNMISS/South Sudan, UNOCI/Cote d'Ivoire and UNMIL/Liberia) of the existing nine peacekeeping missions in Africa. In addition, Turkish National Police provides training in various fields to the personnel of its counterparts in African countries. Turkey has also been providing training to the military personnel from sub-Sahara Africa. By the end of 2014, 2202 African trainees received in Turkey. The training programs and the number of trainees have increased significantly in the recent years. In this regard, there were 570 trainees received in Turkey only in 2015. The security cooperation between turkey and sub-Sahara African countries is a key factor to keep the continent out of instabilities and hence a favorable condition for investment.

Inter-Airlines connectivity Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Africa was also enhanced by increasing the number Turkish Airlines flights to the continent. Turkey has been positioning abundant efforts, through the presence of embassies and private sector investors, to generate a comprehensive network of air connections to new African destinations. Having been ranked to be among the top five airlines in the world, Turkish Airlines is targeting a turnover

of 24 billion dollars by 2023 and the airline succeeded in implementing a strict development strategy with respect to Africa (Turkish airlines annual report 2014). Turkish airlines compete with European carriers in Africa by offering an alternate itinerary to Europe via Istanbul, which is, of course, longer but cost effective.

Turkish airlines currently operate to 48 destinations in 31 African countries and connects the continent to the rest of the world. Few of African countries' airlines like South African Airlines and Egyptair fly to Turkey mostly with their destination being Istanbul, though many other airlines will soon open their flights to Turkey like Rwandair. Cultural Cooperation Turkey has opened different cultural centers in Africa such as Yunus Emre in Khartoum, Sudan, and the new centers will soon be opened in Pretoria, Djibouti, the Gambia and Niger. Intercultural marriages also contributed a lot in improving relations between Turkey and the African countries. There is a small number of Turkish communities in Africa compared to the big number of African community dominated by students in Turkish Universities and some of them have married Turkish citizens and some have either acquired Turkish or African citizenship.

African students are now beneficiaries of Turkish government scholarship and are learning Turkish, through YTB, Turkey offered considerable number of scholarships to African students for example, “from 1991-2015, total number of scholarships provided to African students was estimated to be around 5000 and this number significantly increased to 1239 slots by 2016” (YTB , 2016).

4.3. Opportunities

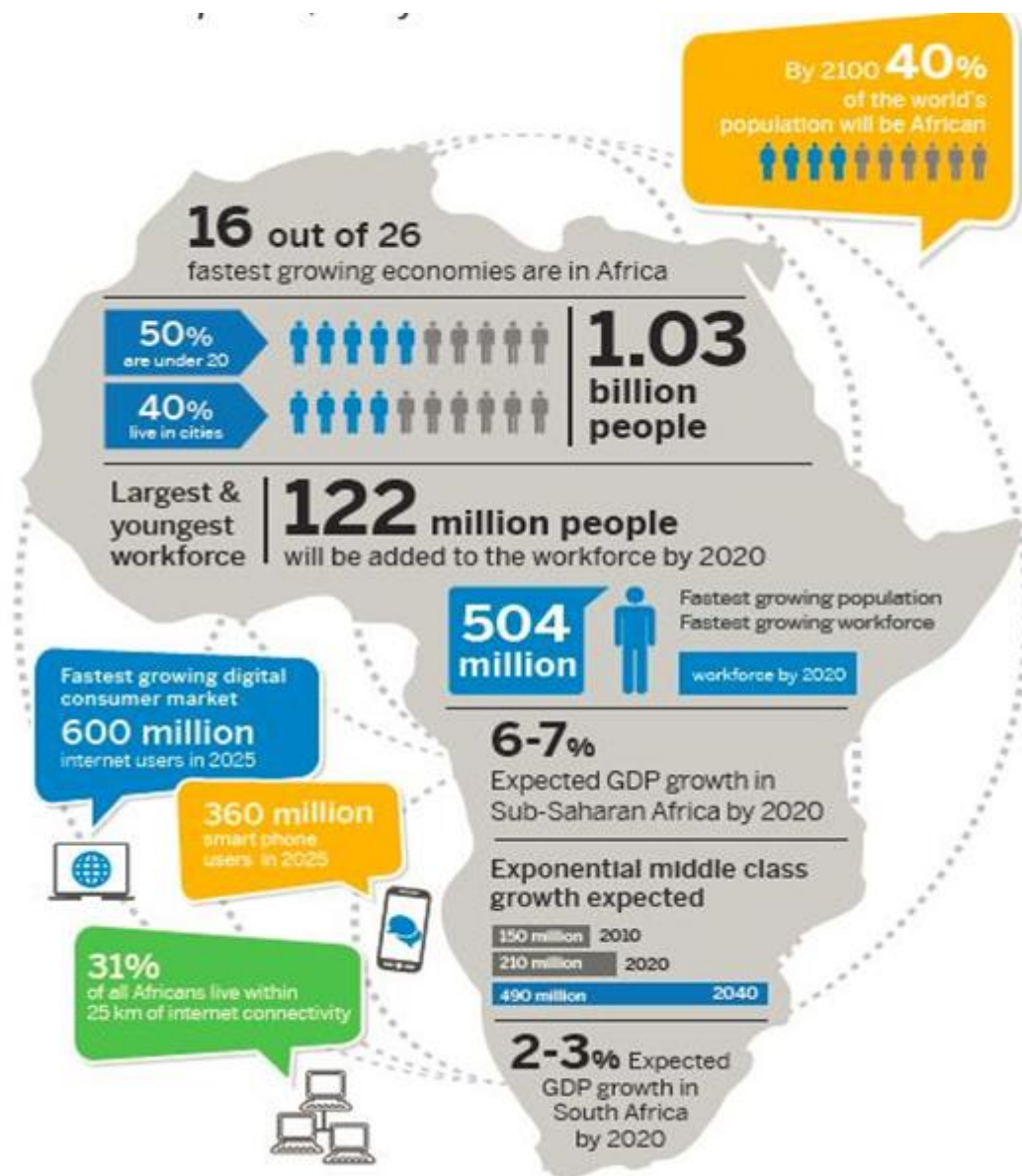


Figure 4.2 Sub-Sahara Africa's population growth and work force growth predictions

Source; International Monetary Fund

Imagine the fact that sub-Sahara Africa controls 88percent of the world's platinum resources, 84percent of chromium, 60percent of diamonds, 49percent of cobalt and 40percent of gold, yet today most of these mineral mined are exported in raw form living little benefits for Africans who either own or mine them. While Africa owns 60percent of the world's arable land, the continent is famished.in particular, an estimated 35-50percent of the Africa

agricultural produce goes to waste due to lack of processing expertise technology and infrastructure.

The other key issue is that Africa sleeps in darkness in spite of its huge “hydropower, petroleum, gas and solar installed capacity at 147 gigawatts is equal to the installed capacity of a small country like Belgium with a population of 11.2 million people, investment estimated at \$90 billion must be pumped into power generating for the foreseeable future if Africa, current energy deficit is to be fixed” (Nkurunziza, 2016). This deficit represents a significant opportunity for private capital. Turkey can invest in correcting this flaw while strengthening the profitability of its energy companies and sustainability of its economy.

There are many opportunities that both Turkey and sub-Saharan African countries can benefit from the ongoing economic cooperation. Looking at the natural resources, sub-Saharan Africa has a lot of natural resources and these resources include; diamonds, salt, gold, iron, cobalt, uranium, copper, bauxite, silver, petroleum and cocoa beans, woods and tropical fruits. There are sub-Saharan African countries that are famously known for certain natural resources. The copper belt in Katanga, the diamond mines in Sierra Leone, Angola, and Botswana are well known for their abundance and rich produce, although much of its natural resources are undiscovered or barely harnessed. Sub-Saharan Africa was colonized by more dynamic groups, exploiting her resources. Some economists have talked about the scourge of raw materials, large quantities of rare raw materials putting Africa under heavy pressures and tensions hence leading to wars and slow development. Despite these abundance of natural resources, claims suggest that many Western nations like the United States, Canada, France and the United Kingdom as well as emerging economic powerhouses like China often exploit Africa's natural resources today, causing most of the value and money from the natural resources to go to the West and East Asia rather than Africa, further causing the poverty in sub-Saharan Africa.

In sub-Saharan Africa, oil is responsible for economic growth and conflicts at the same time, for example, after the 2003 oil crisis and recent oil reserves discoveries. Sudan and Nigeria are two of the main oil producers. China owns 40% of Sudan's oil production. Oil is provided by both continental and offshore productions. Sudan's oil exports in 2010 are estimated by the United States Department of State at \$9 billion with United States dollars.

Sub-Sahara Africa oil producing countries are Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Congo, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Côte d'Ivoire. Exploration is taking place in a number of other countries that aim to increase their output or become first time producers. Included in this list are Chad, Sudan, Namibia, South Africa and Madagascar while Mozambique, Uganda, and Tanzania are potential oil producers. The opportunity from the Turkish perspective is to help sub-Saharan countries with the technology that will enable them to extract the oil through fair contracts that equally benefit both partners (Turkey- sub-Sahara Africa) as opposed to western exploitation.

There are abundant resources that are available for Turkish investors to take advantage of in sub-Sahara Africa for example; solar energy is one of sub-Sahara Africa's most abundant natural resources. Most parts of sub-Saharan Africa enjoy more than 300 days of free God-given sunlight every year. According to the World Bank, over 600 million people on the continent, especially in rural areas, don't have access to reliable electricity. In most cities and towns, power outages are the norm and people often have to rely on noisy petrol and diesel power generators. Solar energy is free, absolutely clean and abundant. And it provides the best alternative for people in remote parts of sub-Sahara Africa who are out of reach of electricity grids. The investors in the energy sectors in Turkey should take the advantage of this solar energy opportunity to invest in different parts of sub-Sahara African countries.

Another opportunity available in sub-Sahara for investment is Agribusiness sector. According to a World Bank report, Africa's agribusiness industry is expected to be worth \$1 trillion by 2030.” With up to 60 percent of the world's uncultivated arable land, fertile soils, abundant labor, and all-year sunshine although the level of starvation due to famine is high, sub-Saharan Africa surely has the potential to become the world's biggest exporter of food products. Even if sub-Sahara Africa decides to ignore export markets, the continent's one billion people provide a huge and ready market for agribusiness. Still, every year, African countries import more than 70 percent of wheat consumed, over 300,000 tons of chicken and spend more than \$10 billion on imported grains, especially rice” (The World Bank 2016). And with the continued harsh impacts of low crude oil prices in 2016, sleeping agribusiness giants like Nigeria and Angola are finally putting a strong focus on agribusiness as a means to diversifying their economies. This means that governments in these countries are now more open and supportive of agribusiness initiatives. Turkish investors and sub-Sahara African entrepreneurs should tap into the vast opportunities in agribusiness market.

Another opportunity in sub-Saharan Africa for Turkish investors is Smartphone sector. Sub-Saharan Africa and Africa at large is currently the second fastest growing market for mobile phones, after Asia. However, the first wave of Africa's mobile phone revolution is almost over. Sub-Saharan African consumers are looking to upgrade from 'first generation' feature phones to smartphones. It's no surprise that the continent's growing population of technology youth now presents a multi-billion dollar market for smartphones. However, most 'new-age' smartphone devices like iPhone, Blackberry and Samsung are quite expensive for the average consumers in Sub-Saharan Africa. This has created a huge opportunity for low-priced smartphones that are now hitting the African market. Better still, many of these smartphones are built on the Android operating system, have similar features to the 'high end' smartphones and most are just as stylishly designed. In the last eighteen months, over a dozen low-priced smartphone brands have debuted on the African market. Given the market potential for these phones, they'll very likely make more millionaires for the entrepreneurs behind them.

Furthermore, sub-Saharan Africa still lacks access to internet use. Internet market in Sahara Africa is worth billions of dollars. It's no surprise that tech giants like Google and Facebook are scrambling to improve internet access to millions of Africans. Google's Project Loon and Facebook's Free Basics are just two of several bold initiatives to connect Africa. However, some smart African entrepreneurs are already making impressive moves to conquer the internet access market. One example is 'BRCK' a start-up company in Kenya that has created a rugged internet modem device that's designed for harsh environments with limited internet connection and electricity. The modem can hop between Ethernet, WiFi, 3G, and 4G, and comes with eight hours of battery life. This African-inspired invention has already sold thousands of units in 54 countries, even in faraway places as India. Their biggest customers have been schools. Recently, BRCK raised \$3 million in funding from investors to extend the reach of this amazing device. Turkey, on the other hand, has progressed on providing internet access to its citizens, according to Turkish statistical institute, 8 out of 10 households in Turkey have access to the internet with this immeasurable success, and internet business in Turkey has a huge market in in sub-Saharan African countries.

Sub-Saharan Africa's human talent is one of its most ignored and under-explored assets. With one of the world's youngest populations (over 50 percent of Africans are younger than 31), the continent is rich with creative and innovative talent. However, poor access to quality

education is a serious threat to the continent's human capital. Currently, a couple of interesting businesses and initiatives are achieving remarkable successes as they tackle the continent's education problems head-on. Bridge Academies (in Kenya and East Africa) and Omega Schools (in Ghana and West Africa) have built an incredible education model of low-cost primary schools that allow pupils to pay as low as \$1 a day as school fees. The opportunity is, therefore, to fill the vacuum in talent and education development in sub-Saharan Africa by the potential investors. Turkish investors have discovered this opportunity since they have heavily invested in the education sector in Somalia and also constructed schools.

African Art and sculptures have proved to have quite a good market. In November 2014 for example, a collection of antique African art from Mali, Gabon, Congo, and Liberia was sold in New York at Sotheby's for a record-breaking price of \$41 million. This is the largest ever sum realized from the sale of African art in the USA. Not too long ago, a set of wooden sculptures by the Nigerian artist Ben Enwonwu sold in London for over \$500,000, three times the expected price.

New World Map, the aluminum and copper sculpture of El Anatsui, the Ghanaian artist, sold for roughly \$767,000, one of the highest prices ever fetched by the work of an indigenous African artist. After decades of neglect, both antique and contemporary works of African art are attracting high prices in the world's major art markets more investors and collectors should be upping the demand for African art.

The retail market is yet another opportunity in sub-Saharan Africa that Turkish investors should take note of, medium and mega super markets are so much needed in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In April 2016, the Mall of Africa opened in South Africa. This massive 131,000 square meters of retail space is the largest shopping mall in Africa ever to be built in one phase. There was also the two Rivers mall opened in Nairobi, Kenya. It's the largest shopping mall of its kind anywhere in East Africa. Across the continent, both local and international supermarket brands like Shoprite, Game, Checkers, Woolworths, Edgars and Spar are expanding as they scramble for every inch of available space in shopping and retail infrastructure developments. Interestingly, the battle for retail supremacy in Africa isn't only happening in physical retail chains. Commerce giants like Konga and Jumia have grown

quite impressively in the last few years. Both internet-based retail businesses now have a combined worth of over \$1 billion.

Turkish super market brands like Makro, Migros and Çağdaş should take part in the share of a sub-Saharan African retail market. In fact, the battle ground for sub-Saharan Africa's retail market is moving beyond the continent's shores. New Commerce entrants like Mall for Africa and Shop to my Door now make it possible for Africans to shop directly from retailers in the USA, UK, and China. Sub-Saharan Africa is now one of the fastest growing retail markets in the world with a large and growing middle class, increasing local spending power, and a boom in the number of expat workers are fueling the shopping trend on the continent.

Payment Solutions is one of the top Business Opportunities in the sub-Saharan Africa. Every year in sub-Saharan Africa, over \$100 billion in transactions are still done in cash (Jake.K, Jan, 2012). This presents a huge and lucrative financial services opportunity for potential investors. In Kenya for example, since M-Pesa was introduced and spread to East Africa, the transformational mobile-based money transfer and payment service have proved to be phenomenal in Kenya and Tanzania, where the platform handles over 200 million person-to-person transactions every year. In other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, there is a huge scramble for Africa's next big money transfer and payment service. In Nigeria alone, several promising businesses are jostling to dominate Africa's biggest economy. Some of the top contenders are Paga, Pay Attitude, Simple Pay and Pay with Capture among others. Paga attracted a \$13 million investment to expand its business within and outside Nigeria. It's a huge bet that has the potential to really pay off. Payment solutions should be a key area to be watched by those targeting to take opportunities from Turkey sub-Saharan Africa economic cooperation.

Among the major opportunities that any investor should consider is the Real Estate business. Real estate market is a multi-billion dollar opportunity. In almost every corner of the continent, real estate projects are emerging. "The biggest attractions are high-rise hotels and office buildings, residential homes and apartments, and shopping malls. In Nigeria alone, there is a shortfall of 17 million housing units with a funding requirement of \$363 billion. In Angola's capital, Luanda, prime office rents are among the highest in the world at US\$150 per sq. meter per month" (Kecia Rust, 2016:67). In Mozambique, property prices at the sea ports, particularly for warehouses, are one of Africa's most expensive. The key markets for

real estate on every investor's agenda are Angola, Nigeria, Mozambique, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, and Rwanda. All of these countries are experiencing a real estate boom like never before in history. Africa's large and youthful population, an expanding middle class, increasing urbanization, an influx of expatriates and multinational companies are the key drivers of demand for both commercial and residential real estate.

Turkey has one of the world's biggest demand for flowers. Sub-Sahara African business community from different countries should take the opportunity of this cooperation to grow and export flowers to Turkey. The Flower Show Turkey in Istanbul is one of the largest trade fairs for Horticulture in Turkey and will take place on 3 days from 23-25. November 2017 in Istanbul. This trade fair will be an excellent opportunity for experts from both Turkey and sub-Sahara African investment industries to meet and make business contacts to develop new markets. This will also be a great opportunity for sub-Sahara African entrepreneurs and discover their investment areas in the Turkish market.

Turkey is among the countries with good reputation and experience in agricultural sector since its self-sufficient when it comes to agriculture, there an opportunity for sub-Sahara African countries share Turkey's experiences in order to modernize their agriculture sector.

In Ghana, for instance, the Turkish government are partnering with Ghana to support the one district, one factory policy, and boost agriculture production, according to the Turkish Ambassador to Ghana, Nesrin Bayazit and she assured Ghanaians that Turkey has the expertise and vast experience in agriculture and would enhance its cooperation with Ghana so that both nations would leverage on each other for economic advancement. Turkey can invest in Greenhouse and other agribusinesses, and therefore its cooperation with sub-Sahara African countries in agriculture sector would be mutually beneficial.

The construction industry in sub-Sahara Africa is on a steady rise. Many contractors and investors have been keenly looking into ways of getting a share of the lucrative market. According to recent research conducted by Deloitte, many investors have been keenly putting their capital into the African market and the sweet part is they are ripping big from their investments. Both private and public companies are under pressure to identify key construction areas to invest in sub-Sahara Africa. Deloitte report forecasted for strong markets in the construction industry over the next five years since 2016 and the market

included: Single family residential was estimated to grow 17.9 percent in 2016, but it will taper down to an average 15 percent growth each year through 2017, Infrastructure is estimated to be key in many construction companies as most of the sub-Saharan African countries are looking into improving the livelihoods of their citizens, more industries are being established, this will, therefore, create the need for those established industries to look into supplying key needs for the high demand that will be expected.

According to the European construction monitor report 2016-2017, raw materials, Lodging grew to grow 9.8 percent in 2016, and it will average 7.6 percent growth each year through 2020, Manufacturing growth was 6.5 percent in 2016, and it will average 6.9 percent growth through 2020, Health care growth was 3.9 percent in 2016, but it is forecast to ramp up 8.4 percent and 9.1 percent by 2020 growth each year respectively with an average five-year growth rate of 6.7 percent through 2017, Power and energy growth was 4.6 percent in 2016, but it is also expected to ramp up to 9.4 percent growth in 2020 with an average five-year growth rate of 7.4 percent through 2017, The weak markets in the construction industry are still those that depend mostly on government spending, such as streets and highways, water and wastewater, and conservation and development. Each of those sectors is forecasted to grow less than 3 percent on average each year over the next five years, the office building market was forecasted to grow 3 percent in 2014 and ramping to 6.8 percent growth in 2016. Although Turkish construction firms are aggressive and competitive in sub-Saharan Africa, there are still more opportunities in the construction sector to benefit from and bring the profits to keep Turkey's economy strong.

4.4. Challenges

Although Turkey's efforts have been appreciated by many of sub-Saharan African countries, it does not mean there are no shortcomings encountered in the relationship between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these challenges are related to making of Turkey's efforts matter on both regional and global scale. Turkey seem to put more emphasis on trade rather than enhancing investments in the continent which may be considered as exploitation by SSA countries. This approach cause imbalance between trade and investment. The export oriented approach the Turkey peruse in its economic relations with sub-Saharan Africa might be perceived as exploitation. Although Turkish companies and investors have tried to establish the ground investment in some countries like Somalia, most of the others partners

are surviving on imports. This is a challenge since the sub-Saharan African countries have little to offer as exports in the Turkish market.

The technologic level of Turkish exports has been decreasing. “The share of advanced technology goods in manufacturing industry exports was by 6.2 percent in 2002, while it is down to 3.2 percent” (Mehmet Cetingulec, 2016). In other words, Turkey is failing to export goods that are light in weight but heavy in value, which is forcing it to turn to markets where it can sell low-technology goods. This is a challenge since the retail market offers little hope for Turkey’s traders, but its contractors and investors stand a chance in the long term.

Another challenge faced by the Turks in sub-Saharan Africa is the long existence of aggressive China in many sectors, from construction, mining, technology export and other retail business. In fact, Chinese export volume to sub-Saharan Africa is bigger than any other country. United Arab Emirates contractors and the French pose a tough competition to Turkey in the area of construction. They have experience about operating in sub-Saharan Africa and have won the reputation. Although many African countries are turning their back to the Chinese construction firms due to their substantial services, they are still famous and a threat to the Turks in the continent.

The political and security situation in Turkey and the security challenges in the region particularly the Syrian crisis which stretches the financial capabilities of Turkey mainly in the war against terrorism and refugee crisis has negatively impacted Turkey's socioeconomic support towards sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the Turkish government scholarship funding to Sub-Saharan African countries have declined since 2012 with preference and focus of attention shifting to Syria and Palestine. In addition, some African businessmen are scared of the continued terror threats in Turkey and have resorted to direct their business interests to other countries like China, UAE, and Europe.

Another challenge on Turkey's relations with the African continent is related to the evolving Africa fatigue in the country, which has developed due to a lack of sophisticated vision by Turkey. The vision of opening period since 2005 is now over, and it requires a much larger vision and planning. This difficulty, which presents itself inside certain government agencies today, could possibly reduce the African initiative from an effort to reposition Turkey in the global economic and political system to an impermanent diversion in foreign policy.

The other biggest challenge is the lack of understanding of sub-Saharan Africa in both policy circles and academia, which remains the case despite Turkey's decades of engagement with the continent. There continues to be the shortage of sub-Saharan African affairs in the in Turkey's think tanks and academia. Although various institutions have now launched Africa research centers in the recent years, they still remain both ill-equipped prone to reproducing extremely orientalist approaches that remain on the verge of becoming obsolete in the West. The fact that Turkish institutions falsely present former western arguments, as new and original findings do not live up to the Turkey's ever-prominent position in sub-Saharan Africa.

Turkey's opening up to Africa also included the involvement of the Presidency for Religious Affairs, known as Diyanet. It should be remembered that November 2006, the International meeting for religious leaders of Muslim countries and communities of the African continent was hosted in Istanbul in the presence of Ekmelettin İhsanoğlu, the Secretary General of the organization for Islamic cooperation (OIC). The outcome was a request to establish an international theological school in Turkey. Hundreds of young Muslims from all over Africa have thus been invited each year to attend theology courses. Receiving enthusiastic requests to restore the Former Ottoman influence, Diyanet hosted the same meeting for a second time in November 2011 with the goal of strengthening Islamic education in Africa, establishing joint research centers, coordinating NGOs and creating business environments that are sensitive to the situation and priorities of African Muslims. This kind of approach is most likely to create debates and doubts on Turkey sub-Saharan African economic cooperation since most countries are viewing it and the effort for the Turkey to create revive former ottoman empire, the continued investment by TİKA to build and renovate mosques in sub-Saharan Africa has brought a sense of suspicion to Turkey's religious interest in Africa.

Another key challenge is related to the potential influence of domestic developments on Turkey's sub-Saharan Africa policy. Since the 17-25 December 2013 graft operations, and more precisely the failed military coup led by FETO movement on the 15 July 2016 which was intended to overthrow the AKP regime from power, FETO has also gone ahead to seek to compensate for their losses at home by discrediting the Turkish government inside sub-Saharan African countries. The fact that the end of power struggle in Turkey cannot be predicted these developments could possibly endanger cooperation between Turkey and sub-Saharan African countries since the Turkish authorities are increasingly likely to develop a more direct and comprehensive policy toward the continent to counter the negative campaign

conducted by the FETO movement against Turkey. Turkey's approach to repeal and replace business empires owned by the FETO movement in some sub-Sahara Africa countries has been considered aggressive by some African leaders. This might put the relationship with SSA at stake, closure of FETO investments like school which seems to provide the best education quality in the continent might affect both employment and the other beneficiaries.

The Turkish government has urged foreign governments, including those in SSA, to close down FETO-affiliated projects. Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit that was held in November 2014, President Erdoğan warned the assembled African leaders of the 'hidden agendas' of the FETO. Pro-government media sources have reported that Erdoğan has managed to convince Gabon and Senegal to shut down FETO-run schools and that the Republic of the Congo and Somalia have implemented processes for their closure, although these schools appear to remain open. However, President Filipe Nyusi of Mozambique expressed his support for the movement, announcing in mid-2015 that he intended to visit the FETO School in Maputo from which his son had graduated. Côte d'Ivoire's deputy education minister was reported as having informed one news agency that Erdoğan's stance against Africa was 'similar to colonial states in seeking an 'educationally backward' continent. In this sense, various aspects of Turkish- sub-Sahara African relations will continue to remain at the forefront of public attention in the foreseeable future.

Political instabilities in some parts of sub-Sahara Africa is making it hard for Turkey to meet its dream in the continent, although the political situation in sub-Sahara African countries has greatly improved in last decades, there are countries that still face and affected by the conflicts for example south Sudan, Central African Republic and Burundi. Terror groups like Al-Shahab in Somalia and Boko Haram in Nigeria are greatly scaring foreign direct investors from Turkey hence limiting business boost between Turkey and its economic partners faced with such challenges. In fact, Turkey has to invest more in creating political stability first through contributing to peace keeping missions. The money that would be used for business ventures is partly spent on peace and stability which is in some way a set back to the economic advancement of this cooperation.

Inadequate communication and road networks in sub-Sahara is still a big challenge for foreign investors including those from Turkey. Although Turkish construction industry is earning heavily from infrastructure development, the smooth movement of goods and

services within a country and from one country to another has highly limited the business sector. Turkish investors in sub-Saharan Africa would benefit more if the road networks connecting the continent was up to the high standard.





5. CONCLUSION

Like any other country, Turkey's foreign policy has had ups and down since the formation of Turkish republic in 1923, Turkey tried to keep itself neutral in the world politics in order not to risk its territorial integrity and sovereignty both internally and externally. However, the principle of zero problem with the neighbors through the principle of continuity, conservatism and caution could no longer guarantee Turkey's status quo. This is because the wave of incidences in the world politics and change of global political order called for Turkey's change and take part in global politics from world war two to the era of cold war. The continued threat from the Soviet Union brought Turkey to the need of the west and America making Turkey a member of NATO and the European economic commission and a beneficiary of Americas Marshall plan.

The series of events like arms embargo on Turkey after the invasion of Cyprus and America's anti-missile defense system during the Cuban missile crisis called for Turkey's need for Mon-centric foreign policy rather than multi-lateral. The American war on terrorism in the middle after the September 11 destabilized the Middle East and led to the rise of new terror groups which became a threat to global security. The Arab spring especially Syrian war worsened the relationship between Turkey and its western allies and perhaps made it harder for Turkey to attain its bid to join the European Union. Europe only wanted Turkey to be a place to contain Middle Eastern problems especially immigrants.

The former Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu once said, "Those who fail to understand the flow of history and do not position themselves in the world accordingly will be overtaken by the rapid pace of events and will end up paying a heavy price for it"(Davutoglu. A, 2012). It is from this view that Turkey understood history and AKP's grand foreign policy was aimed strategic and diversified foreign policy extended to sub-sahara africa. In this new era, the battle for African market and resources still continue among the global powers.

Turkey's approach towards Africa is based on the slogan of "clean state" i.e. lack of colonial history, brotherhood, humanitarianism, culture, and education through scholarship schemes to prevail its presence on African ground and win the hearts of African leaders. Therefore

Turkey's strategic diversification and economic prosperity in sub-Saharan Africa is determined by its soft power tool.

To pursue this objective of strategic diversification, Turkey's foreign policy approach considered political, economic, and development and desires and inspirations, framed through close economic ties with sub-Saharan countries (in the form of diplomatic activity, trade and aid). To some extent Turkey's new economic engagement in Africa particularly sub-Saharan Africa can be seen as a consequence of its domestic transformation in the sense that it has moved away from the traditional brand by the west as a "Sick man of Europe" to a prosperous economy that not only cleared IMF debts or loans but also a lender to the International Monetary Fund in 2016.

There was also a move by Turkey to stop risking its "eggs in one basket" which called for diversification through looking beyond the old economic partners especially the North Africa, this move was also engineered by the change in the global political economy that requires the diversification of Turkey's trade alternatives, through development aid policies and discourses. Turkey's response to these shifts has been to define a multidimensional foreign policy based on the development of economic and political relations with new partners. Turkey's opening to Africa is a major part of this new redefinition of the country's foreign policy. From the standpoint of the targets of these policies and approaches, some recommend that sub-Saharan Africa reactions to Turkey's initiative thus far have been a "mixture of mild expectation and confusion". Following China and India, the question of why Turkey has shown what some consider being an unexpected interest in the continent still does not have a clear answer for Turkey's African partners. Nevertheless, Turkey's lack of a colonial history in the continent and its emphasis on an equal partnership with African countries has spread optimism about the future of the relationship among African leaders.

The relations more so in the economic sector between Turkey and African countries was selective and on individual African country's basis, Turkey is trying to improve her political and economic relations with the entire African continent at the level of African Union which is likely that forces of globalization influence Turkey to establish relations with the African countries. Although trade relations between Turkey and sub-Saharan African countries is in progress, Turkey's target is to increase trade volume with the African countries which in my opinion can be achieved if only Turkey considers investing in African countries than just

focusing on export. Or else competing with the Chinese might be hard for Turkey. Turkish foreign policy towards African countries is believed to be nationally driven also guided by historical legacies and the continued challenge for Turkey to join the European Union (EU), it considers her relations with African countries as an alternative to those challenges. Therefore, the future and success of Turkey's economic engagement in sub-Saharan part of African continent shall not only be determined by how effective and clear Turkey's foreign policy will out-compete other powers like west and China but also the stability in its political and economic affairs home.

In order for this relationship to be more beneficial to both sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey, the certain challenges should be dealt with, for example; Turkey's knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa is inadequate and still, there is not a lot of effort directed to understand sub-Saharan Africa in terms of independent countries, cultures, histories, and, most importantly aspirations and challenges of its peoples are very discouraging compared to the efforts of other western nations. To my understanding, there is limited research center that exclusively studies and researches Africa particularly sub-Saharan Africa, in fact, even the subject of Turkish foreign policy taught in universities, foreign policy towards Africa is never given attention hence limiting the students understanding of Turkey's relationship with the continent. Although there many research institutions, think-tanks, and "area study" centers, they generally consider Africa as a sideline or secondary agenda, perhaps next to the Middle East or Asia.

This inadequacy is also compounded by the complete reliance of these research institutions (Turkish media outlets included) and think-tank groups on knowledge produced for some other purposes by other competing forces in the world especially the west. In other words, in the absence of locally produced primary knowledge about what constitutes Africa particularly sub-Saharan Africa (which will inform how Turkey engages Africa), these entities are "forced" to employ data or knowledge produced by foreign media (such as BBC, CNN, among others), Orientalist-colonial scholars about Africa, and more generally, western (Europe and North America) produced knowledge with its manifest and latent purpose (under "African" history, sociology, anthropology, economics, cultural, and religious studies). Now, it is here where the inadequacy turns misleading. Turkish universities should establish Africa Research Centers that will provide less manipulated information that is not misleading and open partnerships with universities from sub-Saharan

African countries, this will enable them to host academicians from prominent African academics in order to familiarize the continent's leading minds with Turkey's intuitions of higher learning. In addition, exchange programs should be conducted by Turkish and African universities and internship programs as well to enable students from both sides to learn and understand these experiences.

The problem of "Synecdoche" when a part of something is used to allegedly "represent" the whole. A researcher writing and lecturing about a particular ethnic group residing in some part of one of the countries in Africa is portrayed as symbolizing the entire continent. This is indeed one of the most recycled instances, especially among Western Media. Fourthly, the tendency to abuse specific concepts and words related in some ways to Africa. When writing and presenting Africa, there is an excessive exploitation and extension of such words and concepts as "tribal, savage, Dark Continent, primitive and so on. This also includes the general tendency to recycle "Africans" for people of different color, culture, history, and identity. Finally, these days it has become a mundane reality to portray Africa as a "resourceful" and "underutilized" continent. Academic journals, from political science, sociology, to economics, are all infested with articles obsessively trying to figure out which country is going to "Africa" and how it is going to benefit from its "engagement" with "Africa"? Is it China, India, Turkey, Japan, America or France? In some obvious and sometimes subtle ways, these social scientific discourses send a signal that conforms to the already running attitude that views Africa as an "innocent-rich-heaven-land" for the smart and calculative others.

If Turkey is to truly succeed in its developmental engagements with sub-Sahara Africa, then the first necessary step would be to know the countries in the region in its own terms, in its past and present circumstances. This calls for both reformative and transformative moves on the part of Turkey. On the one hand, Turkey must work hard to effectively and carefully refine and judge between relevant and irrelevant data or knowledge available about sub-Sahara Africa. By reforming, this way, the already available knowledge-base, Turkey may protect its engagements with sub-Sahara Africa, and as such, pass this challenge with little or no friction which many interested countries did not. The transformative move, on the other hand, is the ultimate panacea to this problem. Being comprehensive, this step requires a complete paradigm shift in Turkey's approach to sub-Sahara Africa. It demands, among other things, a knowledge production which entails new words, concepts, and ideas that are

relevant and good enough to facilitate mutual engagement with Africa that will inform Turkey's attitude, and thus, productive policies toward sub-Saharan Africa.

Although the fight against terrorism tops current Turkey's security priorities, consistent efforts to fight against terrorism should continue with a global collective. Turkey should fully integrate with the Intelligence Community on both local and international level to bring efforts on preventing terrorism with important tools to pursue this mission. Turkey should also invest in overall direction for and coordination of overseas human intelligence operations of Intelligence Community elements. In sub-Saharan African countries that are affected by terror threats and attack should keep the struggle and use a coalition of foreign partners to secure a peaceful environment for that will attract foreign investment and smooth running of the business.

Turkey should invest in technology based industrial and manufacturing companies to reduce Africa's reliance on exports, it will also help to reduce export cost and promote Turkish brands in the continent. African students in Turkey should be allowed to work in Turkish factories so that they go to their respective countries with experience and can work in the Turkish companies in Africa. This policy will also create employment opportunities with experience to sub-Saharan Africa's labor market and also help Turkey to out-compete other competitors like China, India, Brazil, USA and European countries. The notion of relying on exports weakens Turkey's position in the continent against its competitors. Turkey should also reduce the restrictions on goods from sub-Saharan Africa, to enable African business men freely access Turkish market and make the cooperation mutually benefiting all the partners. Turkey should also take advantage of integrated regions of sub-Saharan Africa to broaden its market base in the continent.

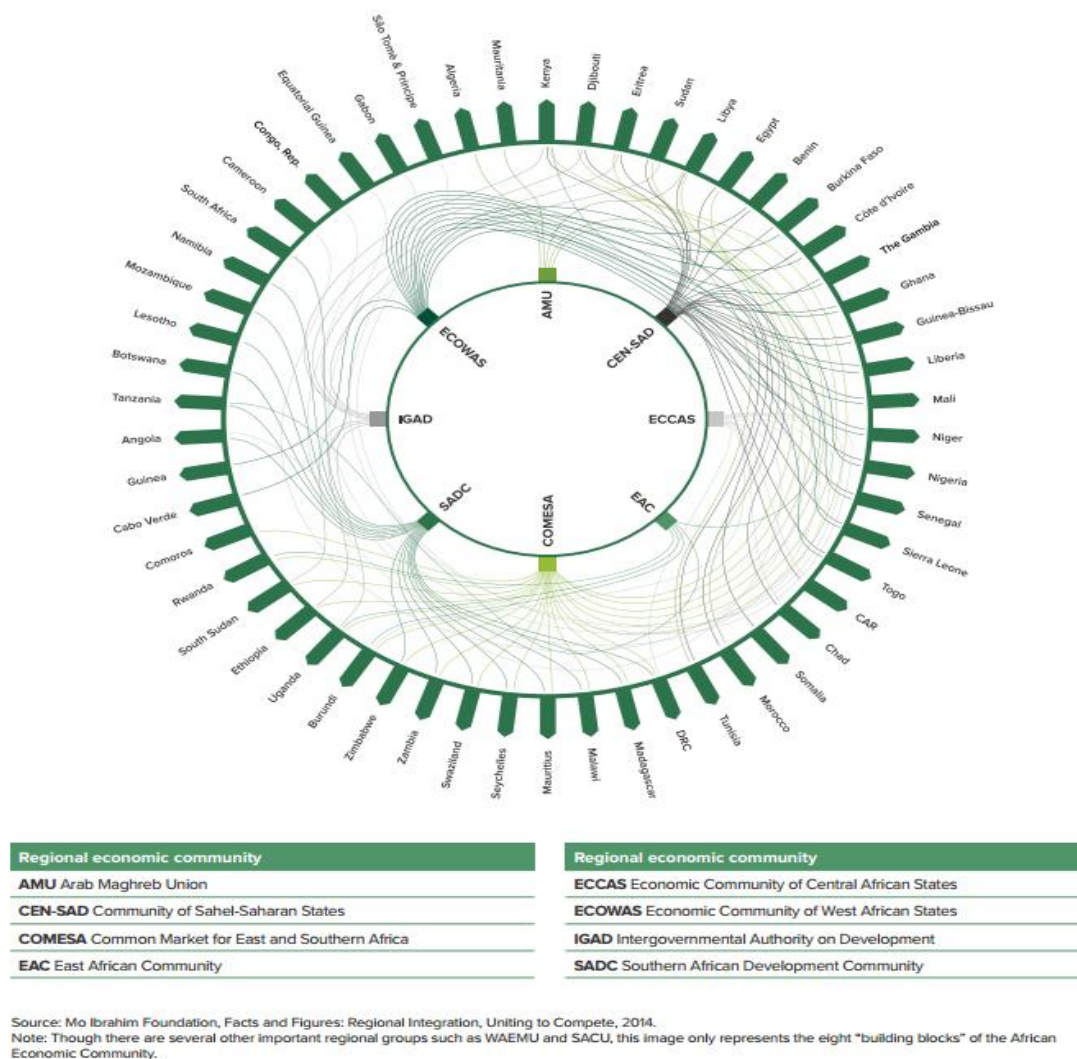


Figure 4.3. *The figure below shows regional community memberships in Africa*

Many regions of Africa have seen a lot of success in integration. For example, the East African Community (EAC) has implemented several joint infrastructure projects. The most notable one is the Arusha-Namanga-Athi River Road, a road which runs from southern Tanzania to northern Kenya. The road has facilitated movement of traffic in the region. It has also enhanced the import/export traffic from the port of Mombasa. The EAC has many other upcoming infrastructure projects, including the rehabilitation of the Kenya-Uganda railway. In addition, in 2015 three of the RECs signed the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement, Turkey should, therefore, take advantage of this to advance business cooperation on the regional level.

For the cooperation to be mutually beneficial, business individuals from sub-Sahara African countries should become aggressive in the Turkish market through trying to find out the

opportunities available. This, however, should be through proper negotiation between Turkish and representatives from sub-Sahara Africa to agree and create conditions that benefit traders from both sides to access markets at a less cost. Although much has been done to improve trade relationship, the existence of restrictions on the African imports by the Turkish government might create a bad impression to the African counterparts.





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GAZİLİ OLMAK AYRICALIKTIR..

Spencerian

