

**SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY:  
YUNUS EMRE INSTITUTE**



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SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY:  
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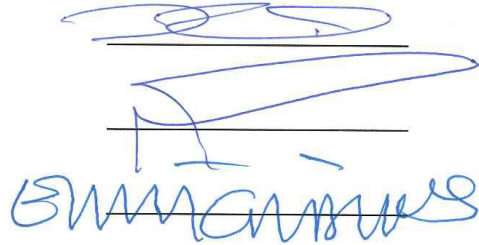
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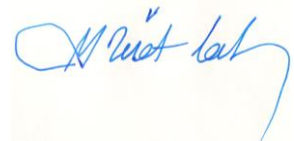
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MEMET KÜRŞAD ÇORLU



## ABSTRACT

Turkish foreign policy started to transform from realism to constructivism as of the year 1999. New organizations and institutions were established in order to support this new perspective of the Turkish foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this direction, Turkey started to use soft power as an element of its foreign policy, while elements of soft power were being diversified in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as well.

In this context, the Republic of Turkey initiated establishment of new institutions in various regions of the country in order to have increased soft power. Among such new institutions are Yunus Emre Institute, Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy and the Directorate General for Turks and other Communities Living Abroad. In addition, Turkey revised its institutions in order to adapt them to new paradigms of the Turkish foreign policy. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation and Turkish Airlines were revised under this framework and they have become significant institutions for Turkey in increasing its soft power and enlarging the country's influence. Furthermore, Turkey started to support non-governmental organizations in various regions as an element of soft power.

In this regard, Yunus Emre Institute is one of the newly-established institutions which aims to promote the Turkish culture, language, and arts, while developing consolidated friendship relations with other countries. Although this institution was founded in 2007 and it is a relatively young establishment, its sphere of influence has been observed to be extensively wide.

From this perspective, the aim of this dissertation is to elaborate on the mission and vision of Yunus Emre Institute with a focus on its activities. The following questions are specified to seek answers: Is Yunus Emre Institute a result of the Turkish foreign policy's transformation? What sort of activities are carried out by Yunus Emre Institute? Is Yunus Emre Institute an element of the Turkish foreign policy?

***Key Words: Constructivism, Turkish foreign policy, Yunus Emre Institute***



## ÖZET

Türk Dış Politikası 1999 yılından beri realizmden konstrüktivizme dönüşüm yaşamıştır. Bu süreçte Türk Dış Politikasının 21. Yüzyıldaki yeni perspektifini desteklemek için yeni kurum ve kuruluşlar kurulmuştur. Türkiye bu kurum ve kuruluşlar ile birlikte yumuşak gücü de dış politikasının unsurlarından birisi olarak kullanmaya başlamıştır. Diğer bir deyişle Türk Dış Politikası yumuşak güç ile birlikte farklı alanlara da yönelenerek çeşitlenmiştir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti bu yeni kurumları dünyanın değişik bölgelerinde yumuşak gücü arttırmak için kullanmıştır. Yunus emre Enstitüsü, Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü, Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akrabalar Topluluğu yeni kurulan kurumlardan birisidir. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye daha önceden kurulmuş olan mevcut kurumlarını da Türk Dış Politikasının yeni paradigmalarına uyum sağlaması için revize etmiştir. Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı, Türk Radyo ve Televizyonu ve Türk Havayolları bu çerçevede yenilenen kurumlar olmuştur. Bu kurumların türkiye'nin yumuşak gücünü arttırmış ve etki alanlarını genişletmiştir. Bu kurum ve kuruluşlara ek olarak, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti yumuşak gücünü arttırmak için dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde faaliyet gösteren sivil toplum örgütlerini de desteklemiştir.

Yunus Emre Enstitüsü de Türk kültürünü, dilini, sanatını yurtdışında tanıtmak ve yabancı ülkelerle dostluklar geliştirmek için kurulmuştur. Henüz 2007 yılında kurulmuş olmasına rağmen yarattığı etki oldukça geniş ve fazla olmuştur.

Bu tezde, Yunus Emre Enstitüsünün, faaliyetleri, misyonu ve vizyonu detaylı bir şekilde incelenecektir. Bununla birlikte, şu soruların cevaplanması hedeflenmektedir:

Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türk Dış Politikasındaki dönüşümün ürünü müdür? Yunus Emre Enstitüsünün faaliyetleri nelerdir? Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türk Dış Politikasının unsurlarından biri midir?

*Anahtar Kelimeler: İnşacılık, Türk Dış Politikası, Yunus Emre Enstitüsü*



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## 1. Introduction

Yunus Emre Institute is one of the most significant institutions for Turkey in the 21st century. Although it was founded in 2007, its influence upon different regions is pretty big since its foundations. In a short span of time, Yunus Emre Institute became important elements of Turkish Foreign Policy.

However, Yunus Emre Institute is not alone to become an element of soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy. Success of Yunus Emre Institute is also result of transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy.

When we focus on Turkish Foreign Policy within the scope of theories of international relations, we easily say that realism has dominancy theory for Turkish Foreign Policy during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. However, constructivist perspective started to rise at the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

In this thesis, either realism or constructivism will be analyzed in the second chapter. Explaining and analyzing realism and constructivism will assist to me in the next chapters in order to analyze transformation of Turkish foreign policy.

In the third chapter soft power and its sources and tools will be explained in detail. Values, foreign policy, culture, history and geopolitical location of Turkey will be analyzed within the scope of sources of soft power. Soft power of Republic of Turkey will be evaluated under this perspective. In the second part of third chapter, tools of soft power will be analyzed under three topics which are governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and public diplomacy.

In the fourth chapter, sources and elements of soft power of Turkey will be analyzed in detail. Turkey's soft power will be evaluated in conjunction with previous chapter.

In the fifth chapter, Yunus emre Institute will be explained. Its activities will be analyzed and explained in detail in the framework of constructivism and soft power. In this chapter, main focus will be activities of Yunus Emre Institute.

In the sixth chapter Yunus Emre Institute will be analyzed with its equivalent institutions in the world. Their and Yunus Emre Institute's mission will be analyzed with respect to their activities and perspective of soft power.

A number of research methods will be commonly benefited during this study. The case study is basic method for thesis and Yunus Emre Institute will be scrutinized as the case. Along with this, comparative method is also used supportive of the case study.

## 2. International Relations Theories

### 2.1. Realism

#### 2.1.1. Realism in General Terms

Realism is one of the most influential theories of the international relations discipline. This theory has helped many politicians shape the foreign policies of their states and has reinforced numerous academics in explaining politicians' tendencies as well as conjunctural inclinations arising from international relations. Various scholars are observed to produce several realist approaches in the history of international policies and among such scholars are Thucydides and Machiavelli, who are the well-known founding fathers of realism with their basic realist propositions.

Realism emerged after the World War I as a reaction to political failures in state affairs. Indeed, the majority of reactions were against idealism since idealist presumptions did not work during the war which paved the way for labelling of idealists as utopians. On the other hand, the wild nature of international relations essentially fits the rigid principles of realism. First of the basic principles of realism is the assumption that human nature is evil, nasty, and selfish (see Thomas Hobbes). Therefore, the first and foremost priority of humans is self-wellbeing. In this line, realists argue that it is possible to implement those characteristics of human nature on states. In this regard, realists purport that states resemble humans while inter-state relations are also similar to relations among persons.

Realism has certain ramifications such as offensive and defensive realism and is different from neo-realist arguments in certain ways, however realists are generally prone to uphold certain overarching presumptions. Those particularly containing the “self” such as self-help or self-interest are common presumptions shared by realists. In this regard, power and power relations enlighten a lot of issues for realists. Similarly, maximization of power is the ultimate goal of a state. This can sometimes manifest itself as balance of power and relative gains at other times. Due to the fact that the main actor in the international field is (nation) state, military power of a state is deemed crucial according to realist assumptions. With the aim of becoming a powerful state in the international arena, states should always be on alert and struggle for survival. Furthermore, security is one of the key words for realism and thus states may face a security dilemma through the realist lenses in a system they define as anarchical. Morality or moral values are not given much place as they may cause weakness. Status quo and stability are significant while state interests are regarded as fixed objectives for nation states. Some of notable realist scholars who contributed to the international relations literature are Thucydides, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger, and Kenneth Waltz.

## 2.2. Classical Realism

Classical realism is the first version of realism which emerged in the post-World War I period by means of the arguments of Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes. In fact, classical realism is hence regarded to feature the initial phase of the realist evolution. Indeed, the Westphalian system suggested the concept of sovereign states

and realists believe that sovereign nation states had been transformed into main actors of the international field over time. After the failure of idealist principles in the World War I, the realist arguments turned into a counter-ideology against idealism in the post-war atmosphere. Similarly, realism was the most influential way of politics during World War II. Yet, it is fair to argue that the history of diplomacy witnessed several versions of the realist approach (such as neo-realism) in tune with current international conditions and conjuncture. Various critics – most importantly constructivists – also addressed the realist front with counter arguments on the other hand.

Since classical realism represents the initial period of the realist ideology, its most noteworthy aspect is to highlight the human nature more than in other versions of realism. There is also a clear emphasis on nation states. In this context, survival-security-power-interests are unavoidable for states. Identity is also important, but what identity? The answer to this question definitely the state identity which is surrounded by “national” items. In this frame, the international system composed of states as main actors is anarchic and thus states – as rational and supreme actors – endeavor to enhance their self-interests and self-protection.

Looking from a chronological perspective to the founding fathers of realism, Thucydides comes to the forefront as one of the leading realists. A historian in ancient Greece, Thucydides depicted in his world-renowned work the famous *BC Peloponnesian War* (Thucydides, 1974) fought between Sparta and Athens. His aim with this depiction was to enlighten future generations through historical facts.

Thucydides basically advocated the importance of power. Another founder of realism, Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) was an Italian philosopher working on state and state administration. His most famous book in this regard is the *Prince* (Machiavelli, 2016). The Prince is Machiavelli's ideal image not only as a monarch, but also a new type of administrator and politician. This new formula is well-known around the world especially with the legitimacy of means to reach the end since means are instrumental.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was a British philosopher famous for his pessimistic point of view for both individuals and states who share egoism. Hobbes argued that such negative characteristics and material factors would eventually cause a "war of all against all". As a result of this war, human nature would need a social contract to be able to get rid of the "state of nature". His book, *Leviathan* (Hobbes, Flathman, & Johnston, 1997) as an artificial, powerful image of the "modern state" urges avoidance from anarchy.

Hans J. Morgenthau, on the other hand, (1904-1980) was a German philosopher, whose work, *Politics Among Nations* (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1985) had a great impact on the realist worldview. He particularly focused on power and national interests of states as the main actors of the international system. Hobbes' effect on Morgenthau regarding negative human nature is clear and Morgenthau especially influenced post-World War II foreign policies. He argued that power is able to change political reality of a state or a group of states, however conflicts arising out of pursuit of power in an international anarchic order are unavoidable. Differently from his

predecessors, he formulated a frame of an international relations theory as the most important contribution of Morgenthau.

Henry Alfred Kissinger (1923-) was an American politician and political scientist who affected American foreign policies – especially during the Cold War and Vietnam War – with a rigid realist perspective. He gave priority to American interests and supremacy over an “anarchical” world. Kissinger’s major studies also have had a great impact across the world. *World Order* (Kissinger, World Order, 2015) and *Diplomacy* (Kissinger, Diplomacy, 1995) are his most famous books that have broad influence on political studies. All these scholars given above in a chronological order indicate that the first realist scholars were more prone to explain the issues of the international system via theoretical perspectives. However, later realists are generally observed to try to adapt their arguments to current needs in international relations, conjuncture and changing circumstances in the world system. It is due to such differing inclinations that led to the emergence of other versions of realism such as neo-realism or structural realism.

### 2.2.1. Neo-Realism

Neo-realism or structural realism is the second main version of realist theory emerging as a result of the need to re-explain new dynamics of international relations. The so-called new dynamics in the international system required involvement of other actors in the international area in addition to states and these actors are international institutions/organizations. With this new understanding of realism, economic and

technological compounds beyond political power also gained significance. Thus, more than one mechanism has determinative effect on international relations. In this regard, neo-realism purports that economic and technological powers have the capacity to transform into military power as well. Similar to classical realists, neo-realists criticize idealists as well and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> versions of realism both put forward international system as anarchical. On the other hand, the latter highlights the structure of the international relations system differently from the former (which emphasizes human nature). And struggle for power is basic in this international structure. In the eyes of neo-realists, the relationship between power and interests is crucial as well.

Kenneth Neal Waltz (1924-2013) is the first name coming into the forefront when it comes to neo-realism. Waltz is an American political scientist and politician. His famous study, *Theory of International Politics* (Waltz K. N., 2010) is regarded by majority of politicians as the beginning point of neo-realism. In this study, Waltz categorizes reductionist theories and systemic theories while referring to political structures as well as economic and military effects of structural phenomena. He analyzed realism from a systematic perspective through various concepts from anarchy to balance of power. Waltz evaluated states as main rational actors to follow rational foreign policies. Additionally, he argued that the first and foremost priority of states is security within an anarchical arena (absence of a higher authority).

As a successor of classical realism, neo-realism also attempted to seek and find the reasons behind state behaviors which eventually reaches anarchy. Neo-

realism advocates that due to the existence of a certain structure of international relations, there are certain types of state behaviors, nonetheless a state cannot be sure about another state's behaviors. And then, instead of absolute power, neo-realists urge on relative power depending on practical advantages to survive. There are two general categorizations of states or state behaviors from the neo-realist perspective: defensive and offensive. Certain defensive and offensive neorealist scholars claim that their arguments are the best way to explain the phenomena international arena. As a matter of fact, these scholars can be regarded to come from the same root as they address the same issues only with different suggested solutions.

Certain key words valid for both of the versions of realism are highlighted in the literature: First of all, they share one basic common concept which is survival. Offensive realism prioritizes maximization of power and security, seeks influence and domination over other states – global or regional domination. “States quickly understand that the best way to ensure their survival is to be the most powerful state in the system” (Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 33). Furthermore, offensive realists employ more aggressive methods. For example, a qualified military power is an important advantage for a state in terms of anarchical international system. Yet, this poses a vicious circle as not any state may be certain about other states' intentions or behaviors and this is a common struggle for all states.

Defensive realism, on the other hand, is prone to implement more moderate rather than radical policies and is based on defensive methods. The defensive block argues that moderate state policies are necessary to live in a safe and secure

international area. In fact, defensive realists put effort to protect their existing position in the system rather than having hegemonic or expansionist ambitions as they believe such attempts may threaten the survival of the state, which is why protection and moderate policies are more credible.

In defensive realism, a noteworthy term that shapes policies is the security dilemma which is explained to increase by aggression of states. Defensive realists accept this dilemma to result from anarchy. Although the ultimate goal of states is to ensure state security, security dilemma exacerbates the perception of lack of security. This exacerbation continues as one front increases its security measures with more military power causing its rival front to take a step further. One of the reasons for the formation of the anarchical international arena is conflicting interests of states since it is almost impossible for them to agree on everything and this indicates that conflicts of interests are unavoidable in international relations.

Distribution of power is also an important factor from the perspective of neo-realism. The world map points out to an uneven or unequal world system, though. In this atmosphere, neo-realists utter that relative gains gain ever-increasing importance. Under certain circumstances, states should consent to a lack of absolute gains. To add to that, it is known that the world witnessed a bipolar system for many years. In this regard, neo-realists offer balance of power as one of the key concepts as well propounding that balance of power provides a more secure environment and thus serves the basic drive of the states which is survival.

Offensive realists seem to be more revisionists, while defensive realists appear to be status quo-oriented. Despite this difference, the existence of anarchy causes adverse results for both types of realists: The former needs to take offensive precautions, however the latter stays defensive. The former's ultimate goal is power maximization due to the background ambition of survival. Thus, a powerful state can achieve domination or hegemony in its own region. However, the latter regards hegemony as a harmful and dangerous position in terms of state security, since it may trigger other states to take action due to their security needs against this hegemonic state, therefore hegemony may lead to more extensive insecurity in international relations. Kenneth Waltz is the most well-known defensive realist, while John Mearsheimer mostly defended offensive version of realism. The basic principles of realism are state, security and power.

### 2.3. Basic Principles of Realist Arguments

#### 2.3.1. State

State is the most significant keyword for realism. Although later versions emphasize it more slightly compared to classical realism, state is always a crucial component of realism. First of all, classical realism accepts state as the sole actor in international relations. State is the basic organization which has national interests, seeks ultimate power, and pursues its own security. There are several routes to adequately build all these pillars at the same time. Beyond widespread theories,

probably the best way is to first follow state priorities in international relations under any condition or conjuncture.

Although different theories present different formulations, realism points out to state-based solutions for any case. Firstly, classical realism elaborates state as the sole, real or absolute actor that must always do the best for its own survival, always try to find more power than other states, and take all measures (mostly military) to have and protect security, and implement (mostly long-term) interests. Classical realism generally considers that “the ends justify the means” and agree on many harsh methods (which are sometimes unacceptable to the rest of the world) for the sake of state well-being.

When it comes to neo-realist phase, different statements depending on existing conjunctural needs or conditions are encountered. Yet, such differing statements are separated into two blocks: Defensive and offensive neo-realists. In this context, defensive neo-realists prioritize state security and pursue moderate policies. They examine state as the first and foremost actor compared to others, despite recognizing the existence of other organizations. On the other hand, offensive neo-realism focuses on conquest and eliminating other states along with dominance or hegemony. They aim to achieve power maximization as much as possible by use of whatever means are necessary. For example, they deem wars or conflicts as justified means if they are necessary for state survival. All in all, states have the most important status in realist rhetoric, although all versions evaluate its role differently.

### 2.3.2. Security

Security is the second noteworthy concept of realist arguments and is an indispensable objective for states to attain and maintain. In consideration of state survival with its borders and territory, it is observed that states always strive to ensure their security against other states, potential threats, and especially enemies. In the case of realism and its versions, security becomes predominantly important. Thus, certain realist scholars analyze security within the frame of its prior role in state affairs. From the realist perspective, security (generally) means state security. The most security-oriented version is definitely the classical realism which suggests harsh precautions and/or methods by focusing on “war of all against all”.

Although there are different realist explanations with regard to the reason why state security is necessary or why states need to protect their security, one common answer to these questions is that states strive for their own security via pointing out to the formulation of self-help. Furthermore, many other theories from democratic peace theory to neo-liberalism other than realism have presented their peculiar solutions for the global security problem. Similarly, several new alternatives (such as new institutions, non-governmental organizations, cooperation of politics with economy and culture, soft power methods, etc.) have begun to appear on the international scene for several decades. Despite all such solution suggestions to ensure security, however, states are observed to bear concerns due to regional or global security issues.

A significant landmark on the diplomatic history of the world, the Cold War has had a tremendous effect on states (not only those with leading roles but also proxy states), theories, security measures, economies, technologies and even arts. Upon this fact, “the Cold War effect” has continued to be read as a topic of political philosophy. It is observed today that hegemonic states and their allies wait on alert against potential security threats, while enhancing their military power. Therefore, the current international area is deemed to pose a kind of zigzag between defensive realism and offensive realism. Although many states declare their peaceful intentions without conflicts or wars, they also tend to issue warnings against their neighbors or enemies about their readiness for a struggle.

The uncertainty of state intentions towards one another – especially of those in conflictual areas – reciprocally triggers concerns over a potential attack and this vicious cycle leads to security dilemma. From the first realist arguments claiming the presence of absolute monarchy to up to today’s claim of security dilemma shaped by conjunctural conditions, the entire picture of realism manifests a confrontational situation. This picture overall depicted many conflicts or wars for the sake of national interests since “how realistically we perceive our national interest is a core security concern” (Kissinger, *Documentation: Foreign Policy and National Security*, 1976, p. 182)

### 2.3.3. Power

Power is one of the key terms of all versions of realism and even other theories or approaches with its key role to open many doors for a state or its sub-organs. This key term has a comprehensive dimension beyond politics covering several disciplines. An abundant amount of academic works in the literature of Political Science and International Relations reflected many significant studies on power. Realism is probably the theory that referred to power at the highest level and classical realism paved the way for the emergence of researches to explain power relations.

From the perspective of state administration, a government has to be powerful by being surrounded by supportive branches in its organizational structure. Power is the first condition for the survival of such an administration as well as state survival. All states construct their own (foreign) policies and international relations with neighbors or the rest of the world in a way that will ensure their survival. It is not possible to witness or experience equal power of states, as a matter of fact, some states are more dominant and even hegemonic due to their overwhelming power. Powerful states have the highest means to provide state security, act more 'independently', follow more national interests and perform more successful economic activities.

In historical order, classical realism is famous with its emphasis on power and human nature. To give an example, Thomas Hobbes' argument "war of all against all" is actually the war for power and survival. It is the war where only the powerful can

survive. Hobbes claimed that states resemble human nature as well, hence powerful states can survive, and more power means more sovereignty in the international arena. Another classical realist, Hans Morgenthau addressed power as an indispensable part of his theory, even his book's name is *Politics Among Nations* (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1985). He particularly focused on power and national interests of states as the main actors of the system. He argued that power is able to change political reality of a state or a group of states, however conflicts for power in an international anarchic order are unavoidable.

From classical realism to neo-realism, the latter believes the possibility of other powers, such as economic and technological power, beyond military power of a state. Also, relative power is an advantageous option for neorealists. Indeed, Waltz said 'the ultimate concern for states is not for power but for security' (Waltz K. , 1988, p. 616). Hence, the importance of power was observed to manifest a declining trend during the history of realism. In general, national interests imply an aggregate of various interests of a sovereign state, however they imply rational foreign policies in favor of states which pursue means-end relationships from a realist perspective. Within this scope, the first interest would be state survival.

## 2.4. Constructivism

### 2.4.1. Constructivism in General Terms

Constructivism is a widespread theory among several disciplines. Several scholars even claim that it is not a theory but an approach, although it emerged as a

critical theory addressing mainstream international relations theories. On the other hand, social constructivism has been subject to harsh criticism in that constructivism only criticized old arguments and did not point out to any new suggestion as an alternative to such outdated arguments. In general, constructivism is well-known with its analysis and assessment of international relations through one basic principle: International relations were and are all constructed. Another principle is a triangle of constructivism's main components: Power, interests, and identity.

Since these elements of the triangle affect each other, they must be elaborated individually. Power is indispensable for domestic and foreign administration / policies. "[T]he fact that worlds of power politics are socially constructed" is similar to other pillars of constructivism (Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of it*, 1992, p. 411). Interests, especially national interests are deeply entrenched to power. Power is necessary to adequately implement national interests. Moreover, power is constructed and dynamic, so it is changeable. For instance, power of a state may change in time and thus, its interests may change in tune with the former. "States, of course, often do define their interests in egoistic terms. Constructivists would emphasize that these are always in process" (Wendt, *Identity Formation and the International State*, 1994, p. 387). Within this scope, process is one of the key words of constructivism. In terms of the last component, there are various identities from personal identity to state identity and "identity is never unilateral" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 42). Several academics and authors have written about identity as follows:

“Identity is the most important terminology of contemporary politics’ word reservoir” (Brubaker & Cooper, 2014: 403). In Preston’s (1997: 4, 49) words, “identity is the outcome of a complex series of social processes and does not arise spontaneously but is learned and re-learned over time.” According to Castells (2010: 6, 7), “[i]dentity is people’s source of meaning and experience [...] for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation.” Erhan (n.d.: 2) suggests that “[i]dentity is a naming. Identity is giving or attributing names to a part or whole of a relationship and/or a set of relationships.” For Parekh (2014: 53), besides all other factors, identity is a concept, which expresses phenomena that differentiate a person from others. Özdemir (2012: 172) and Gleason (2014: 34) note that “identity is a matter of being described with a definite name, accepting this description, adopting the appropriate roles and behaving according to its rules.” Weeks (1998: 85) suggests that “identity is a belonging problem regarding what are in common or are not with other people.” In the same line, Melucci (2014: 84) points out that identity implies a unity notion, which constructs the limits of the subject and separates her/him from everyone; and a relationship, which makes two actors recognize each other. İmançer (2003: 234) asserts that identity is a form of reflecting the way of answering questions (such as who s/he is, how s/he is perceived, her/his role, needs and merit) to behaviors. (Kamacı, 2018: 219)

The role of process is vital for constructivism in that according to this rational chain, the constructed one must first be recognized. Then it is upheld by the advocators or supporters, and then it is learned and followed by the new ones (members). And finally, the constructed thing exists until its deconstruction and all of this sequence composes a constructional process, which is unavoidable. As a result of

this circumstance, the term identification becomes more compatible or accurate rather than identity, because the former implies a process. Constructivism's processes are open-ended and ongoing. No one can say that any process is closed or ended, since the construction or deconstruction continues everywhere and in every time period. There are several famous constructivist scholars with distinctive ideas. Although they share some common arguments, they differ in some details. Alexander Wendt is observed to be highly in middle-ground with his emphasis on state. With regard to states and their constructed international relations, now it is time to elaborate on *Constructivism and Power Politics*.

#### 2.4.2. Constructivism and Power Politics

In scrutinizing the relations between constructivism and power politics, it is essential to examine the concept of identity as well. In fact, identity is the most important part to comprehend as understanding the nature of identity makes it easier to picture the whole framework of constructivism. “[A]ll identities are constructed. The real issue is how, from what, by whom, and for what.” (Castells, 2010, p. 7) Therefore, constructed identities are dynamic, changeable, multidimensional, unfixed, learned and re-learned. At the same time, identity means a collectively shared belonging and there are several factors to strengthen or weaken the level of this belonging.

In the overall process of identity formation, power has a crucial role (Jenkins, 2008, p. 45) (Preston, 1997, p. 9). Here we take into consideration power of states.

“State is a powerful determiner” (Brubaker & Cooper, 2014: 430). And we live under globalized conditions that global became local and local became global. States have to adapt to ongoing conditions to protect and enhance their existing power. Similar to conditions or conjunctures, power is also subject to change. Although mainstream traditions pertaining to power in international area have been changed many times, power relations are still significant. Power means survival, security, prosperous economy, technology and overall a state with high level of welfare for its citizens. In case of constructivism, power most often means implemented national interests and accepted collective / national identities.

Ideas have constitutive effects on power and identity (Özev, 2013, p. 510) since an idea is the first step of the process of construction. Power holders have a great responsibility to assert, protect, and maintain the state identity. Constructivism gives importance to several types of powers (from political to social) as influential elements of a prosperous state. It is argued that both war and peace is possible, as they are constructed by the actors. The magic formula here is the way or preference of actors to use their power. Despite the fact that realism’s power dimension is more fixed and stable, constructivism suggests a wide spectrum of possibilities. Today, constructivist arguments seem to be more valid than realist ones as a result of fast changes and dramatic zigzags in the world scene from politics to economy.

### 3. Soft Power After the Cold War

Power has variable and different definitions with regard to international relations with broad scope of meanings. The term power gained different meanings with regard to international relations particularly after the end of the Cold War. In this regard, hard power which means economic and military power had a huge importance during the Cold War since security was the main issue for states in that era. Hence, all states established their particular foreign policies and strategies to ensure their security during the Cold War. After the Cold War, however, soft power rose as one of the components of power. States started to attach greater importance to soft power on the grounds that it was cheaper than use of hard power and states which lacked huge military or economic capabilities were started to be deemed to have soft power with their influential policies.

Morgenthau located power at the center of international politics. According to him, national interests of states and status of states in the international arena had direct relations with state power. States use power in order to fulfill their demands from other actors (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1985, p. 139). Hence, states must have economic and military power in order to protect and increase their national interests against other states.

Realists argued that hard power is the best method to preserve and enlarge national interests (Oğuzlu, 2007, pp. 83-84). States use hard power to influence and persuade other actors in order to get or preserve their national interests according to

realists. Hence, realism attaches great importance to hard power and establishes direct relations between national interests and military as well as economic capability of states. From that perspective, realism and hard power dominated international relations during the Cold War due to the fact that security and national interests were two significant topics for states during the Cold War Era.

Realist scholars always referred to power in their perspectives. E. H. Carr, for instance, attached importance to the concept of power in international politics. Accordingly, power is an inevitable element of international political analysis. In other words, power is an important component to understand and interpret world politics and relations among states (Carr, 2001, pp. 66-69). An influential realist scholar, Morgenthau elaborated the concept of power as the second of his six principles of realism.

Hard power had been the most important concept for states and international system during the course of the Cold War. States attributed great importance to two components of hard power – economic and military power – to ensure their security. This situation, however, entered a transition period after the end of the Cold War. Although hard power maintains its existence and importance today, the concept of soft power has emerged, and states have opted for alternative methods instead of military and economic capacity in order to achieve their targets or impact another state.

This chapter of the dissertation dwells upon the concept of power and what it means as well as factors of soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy.

Power is an actor's capacity to make another actor do what they want by using various methods (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 82). This capacity was composed of two main components until the end of the Cold War: Military and economic power. Being the two basic elements of hard power, military and economic power have become an important criterion for administrators and states after their emergence.

States have attributed great importance to the concept of power due to protecting their own security and their desire for enlargement (Tanrısever, 2005, pp. 53-54). As of the moment when borders were determined, and state emerged as a political concept, power has been among the most significant instruments for states to continue their existence. Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, who can be referred to as the first realist authors in the modern literature of political science, underlined the concept of power and its importance with regard to state survival and preserving current positions of administrators in a state.

The concept of power is analyzed from two different perspectives in the literature of international relations. As it is known, hard power is defined as a state making another state do what it wants by using its economic and military capacity (Nye J. S., 2005, p. 14). As the main purpose of use of power is to protect state interests and achieve state goals, states which possess hard power are regarded to be

advantageous in this regard. Military and economic power as the subcomponents of hard power are used ipsofacto or as deterrence when a state's wishes are not realized.

The Cold War period was marked by the use of hard power both ipsofacto and for the purpose of deterrence and during this period, states sided with great powers to guarantee their security in the polarizing world and tried to increment their hard power capacity. Since increasing military power as an element of hard power requires more economic power and resources, a number of states entered into a security dilemma in this context.<sup>1</sup>

After the end of the Cold War, the elements of hard power started to partially disappear. As much as the absence of a direct threat from a counter front, countries started to re-shape their understanding of security. States acquired situational awareness in this regard and competed with one another to obtain available zones of influence at this stage. In this competitive environment, soft power gained importance and states started to attach more importance to this concept. Every state determined its components of soft power in a different way and used differing instruments. Even though these instruments are similar or different from country to country, the fundamental aim of using such instruments became to protect state interests via soft power and ensuring other states do as they wish.

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<sup>1</sup> During 1980s and 1990s, Turkey and Greece experienced the state of security dilemma per se. developing security parameters and perceptions of threats against each other, these states made tremendous amounts of military expenditures. Due to its lower economic growth compared to Turkey, Greece experienced economic problems in the second decade of 2000s. one of the reasons that Greece is suffering from economic problems today is the armament race against Turkey.

Although hard power maintains its place among state priorities, use of hard power causes three main problems for states. First problem is related to cost of using hard power. To use military power, it is necessary to possess military technologies or purchase such technologies. This is indubitably costly for states that lack high level military technologies and may result in lack of military technology, although states may have sufficient economic power. Countries which have advanced military technologies may not sell or share these technologies when they see a threat against themselves. In other words, a state which has economic power may not be able to use military power as an element of hard power if it does not have advanced military technology. Therefore, the first problem emerges as the issue of access to military technology. The second problem is high costs even though states may own or purchase military technology. Use of military power incurs high costs which is challenging the economic conditions of countries today. The cost of using and preserving military power has been increasing every day with the effect of developing technologies and this means additional budget for states. For this reason, states end up pushing aside the use of military power under these circumstances. Third problem is the issue of legitimacy. There must be legitimate reasons in international law for the use of military power. Even though the USA and Russia – as superpowers – have used their military power without strong legitimate reasons, legitimacy is a *sine qua non* concept for other states for use of military power.

The term soft power, on the other hand, was first used by Joseph Nye in 1990 (Özdemir, 2008, p. 136). Soft power was not thoroughly understood at first in the world immediately after the end of the Cold War. Due to the fact that it was impossible to measure soft power as opposed to hard power, it was very difficult to

understand what soft power was. Certain academicians regarded soft power as complementary to hard power, while others underlined that soft power was an ineffective and impotent concept. According to its basic definition, soft power is the capacity of a state to influence another state with its culture, values and image and to fulfill its wishes without the use of hard power. In other words, soft power emerges from states' political ideals, culture and foreign policy attraction (Nye J. , *Soft Power and American Foreign Policy*, 2004). Actors using soft power can reach their desired results without applying hard power or coercing other actors. Although soft power has many elements and instruments, the most evident ones are values, culture, policies and organizations. The largest change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, institutions and organizations are important for countries in increasing and using their soft power. Thanks to their organizations, states may attract other actors in the international area to their side and assure their support in line with their interests (Çavuş, 2012, p. 25).

Within this framework, soft power can also be defined as directing a country upon another country's request by making use of its attractive factors. States can be followed by others by means of cooperation, attraction factor or values and they may make themselves attractive. In this regard, coercive effect is not imposed on another state by using military and economic power when implementing soft power. A state may admire another state's values, welfare level, culture, leaders' policies, development aid, support provided or its history and thus may comply with this state's requests without any coercive factor. This situation may come true with public demand or through requests of decision-makers in states. Due to the fact that such power is not available for measurement, it may be rationally questioned why actors under the effect of soft power take the decision to comply with another state's

requests. Nevertheless, not implementing any coercive force and not encountering any material loss are among the reasons that make soft power attractive.

Bringing the concept of soft power in the literature, Joseph Nye mentioned its relationship with hard power when referring to soft power. Accordingly, soft power and hard power may complete each other, while economic and military power – which are elements of hard power- may become components of soft power as well. In other words, a country's military and economic size as attraction elements may be used within the frame of soft power. States may use their military and economic power as attraction elements to influence other states, keep them close for cooperation or fulfill their requests. Similarly, states may regard military and economic power of another state which owns hard power as attraction factors, and fulfill the requests of that state thanks to this attraction without the need for using hard power elements (Nye J. , *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu: Dünyanın Tek Süper Gücü Neden Tek Başına Davranamaz?*, 2003, pp. 12-13).

As much as hard power, there is a need for legitimacy to use soft power as well. As long as states do not provide legitimacy for using soft power, they lose the opportunity to use power effectively and efficiently. In this case, use of force goes for nothing and states fail to achieve their goals or face resistance from the state on which they implement force. It is for this reason that legitimacy must absolutely be provided for usage of both type of powers.

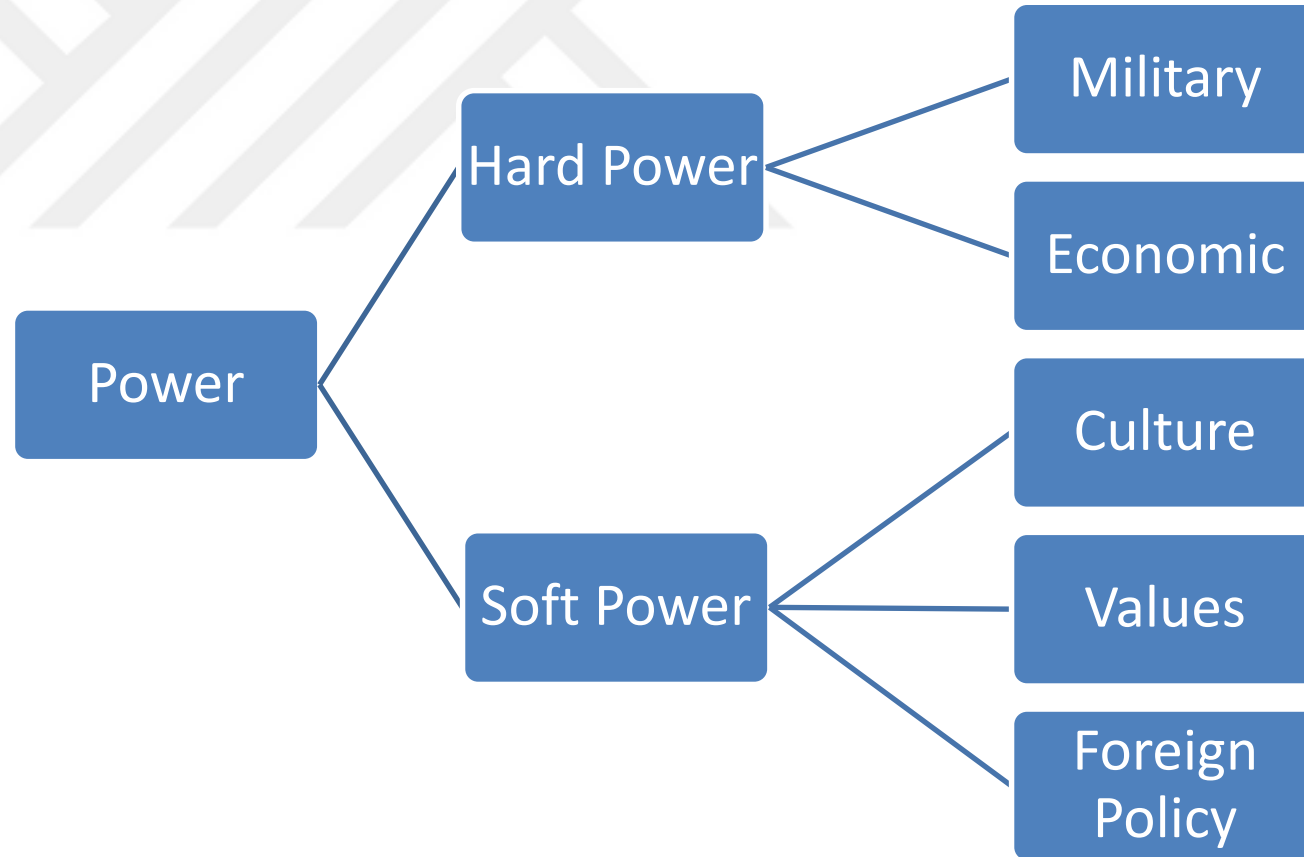


Figure 1: Elements of Power

### 3.1. Sources of Soft Power

According to Joseph Nye, a country's soft power elements are divided into three categories. These are values, culture and foreign policy. Geopolitical location may be added to these three factors as a supporting component.

#### 3.1.1. Values

Country values and factors attributed importance are among the components of soft power. Importance given to national citizens or foreign citizens represents values as one of soft power elements. A country may be accepted as an attraction center for other countries with value and importance given to citizens living in its territory, as well as the way of approaching citizens. Nonetheless, a state needs to show rather than just voice such importance and value given to citizens in order to become an attraction center and use this as an element of soft power. If a state does not implement the values it constantly gives utterance in its country, the soft power of that state gets damaged and its legitimacy falls under threat. For instance, a state which refers to use of democratic rights, ensuring a democratic environment for citizens, importance of implementing and protecting human rights must put all these principles into practice in its country. Otherwise, legitimacy of soft power will disappear, and illegitimate power cannot be effective.

### 3.1.2. Foreign Policy

Among elements that increase soft power of countries are to act righteously in foreign policy, looking after other states' interests together with their own interests and rejecting wrong policies or coercion against any other state as well as instrumentalizing this rejection in foreign policies. When states determine their foreign policies according to these parameters, they can cooperate in the international arena and find other states that will support their interests. As a matter of fact, when a state rejects wrong policies against any state, this will lead to an increase in its reputation in the eyes of both the state which was imposed wrong policies and other states as the actors of international relations. This reputation will similarly return as support from other states in case this state encounters a wrong policy in the future. This means indirect increase in soft power. For example, objection to oppression by a state, which owns hard power, on another state or group of states that lack hard power to achieve its interests means gaining reputation at the level of both the international field and states which are coerced through such hard power. Under such circumstances, oppressed states may provide support to those who object to oppression in the international field and they may turn open to cooperation to act together in every field.

### 3.1.3. Culture and History

Culture may be defined as behavioral patterns composed by a society across generations and adopted by the majority of the society. Lifestyle of people in a

country, their image, sum of their value systems as well as beliefs and traditions form the culture of that country. Although culture varies from region to region and country to country, it may also differ within a country. Nevertheless, culture is one of the key factors for countries in becoming an attraction center and opening up for cooperation. Culture has become an important attraction factor with the effect of country cultures becoming widespread by means of various media channels in the globalizing world. Countries opt to prefer countries that have similar cultures that they can adopt when they have to choose a country to cooperate or take a decision in favor of a country. In other words, cooperation resulting from intercultural interaction may become a foreign policy instrument. Scholarships provided by a country to foreign students or education opportunities in a country may also be given as examples to this situation. The aim here is to ensure sharing of cultures between two countries to ensure cultural cooperation and warm up to foreign cultures. Another example to use culture as soft power in foreign policy is organizations established in countries to carry out activities to make their culture attractive as well as support of such intercultural organizations in foreign countries. Use of cultural elements in foreign policy to achieve determined targets is an instrument of soft power. The capability of a country's culture to address universal values paves the way for cooperation with other countries and improving relations with these countries in the international system. In other words, as much as inclusive and universal cultures give the opportunity to generate soft power as a foreign policy instrument, it is not possible to use cultures that are not inclusive and universal as foreign policy instruments. Along with this, having an inclusive and universal culture does not suffice by itself to create soft power. To use culture as a soft power instrument and create soft power out of culture, it is important to introduce and promote that culture to other countries and the world. This promotional act can be

carried into effect by means of many modern or traditional factors in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Steps to spread and universalize a country's culture are to produce movies or series, promote cuisines, pioneer in successful scientific and technological developments in the international field, provide scholarships to foreign students, or open institutes to teach language and culture of that country. As a result of these steps, a country's culture may be adopted across the world through correct planning. And universalization of culture as well increases the attraction factor and makes the country more appealing. In this case, culture can enhance soft power as one of foreign policy instruments and contribute to total power of the country.

Country history is among other soft power sources than culture. For countries with strong historical roots and developed culture contributing to the world culture during the course of their histories, history and culture are among significant sources of soft power. Departing from the example of Italy, artists of the Renaissance period compose the core of the Italian culture. Although the country was unified later than other countries in the world, Italy showed fast development thanks to its cultural sources and turned into an attraction center for other societies and countries by blending its history and culture. Today, many Renaissance artists are known at every region of the world and this recognition makes Italy attractive for foreign countries and societies.

#### 3.1.4. Geopolitical Position

When a country's geopolitical position is used effectively, it becomes an important source of that country's soft power. Although geopolitical position is not a source that can be developed or changed, it is necessary to benefit from advantages of location at maximum level.

If many ancient civilizations had been established in the geopolitical position of a country, this contribute to a great extent to the history and culture of that country. In addition, countries can establish close relations with other countries thanks to their geopolitical position and become an attraction point.

Looking at the Turkish example, it can be seen that Turkey is quite an advantageous country with its geopolitical position thanks to being at the hub of the Afro-Eurasian continent, offering four seasons and having hosted many ancient civilizations in Anatolia. Being an intersection point of east and west promoting cultural diversity and offering easy transportation across three continents are also among critical features of the country's geopolitical position.

Italy is another example to the importance of geopolitical position due to large scale trade relations during 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many people visited and built trade relations with Italy by means of merchant vessels and this supported Italy's culture through its geopolitical position which paved the way for the country to achieve

becoming an attraction center. This also increased the impact of Italy over other societies in other countries.



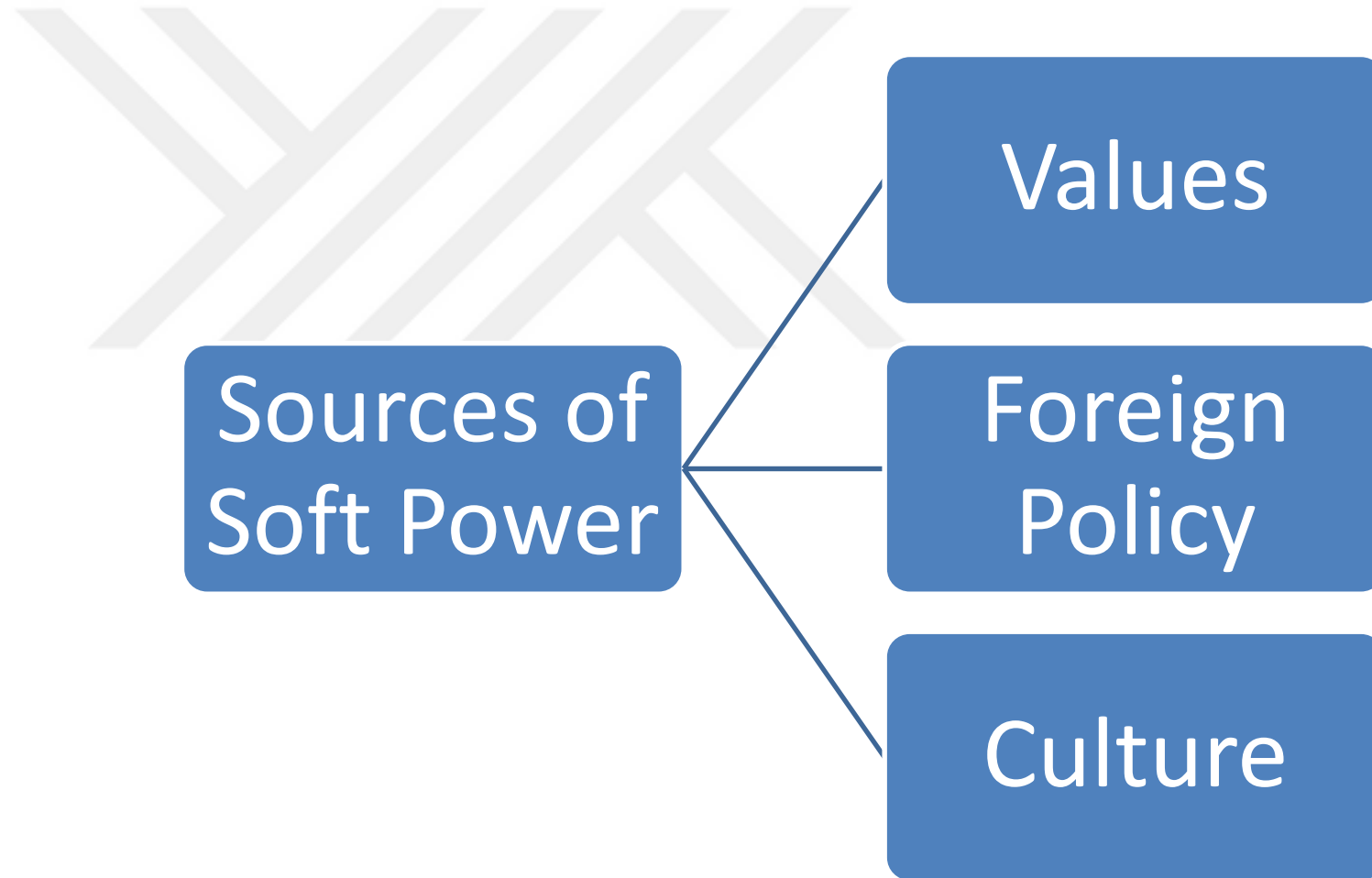


Figure 2: Sources of Soft Power

### 3.2. Instruments of Soft Power

In the aftermath of the Cold War, states tried to develop and increase their soft power through various instruments. Overseas institutes established by countries as well as their development assistance are examples to this fact. Nonetheless, soft power started to address an area so large that cannot be created by official organs of states in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In other words, the development of technology and transportation means as well as their widespread use non-state actors have started to take their place in the formation and increase of soft power. Since this has been in favor and to the interest of states, governments have been providing material or instrumental support to NGOs which strive to serve in line with their foreign policies, try to create or increase soft power.

First organizations to instrumentalize soft power have been states. In this regard, states have established organizations and institutions by means of sources they allocated from their budgets and such organizations have developed policies to increase countries' potential of soft power. As a result of the fact that globalization and transportation have made access to all regions of the world easy, such organizations have managed to open offices and develop relations at countries far from their countries. Another instrument of soft power is public diplomacy. Countries have started to use public diplomacy to create positive images in the eyes of other countries. Along with such efforts in the axis of legitimacy, the main purpose of creating a good image and establishing cooperation has been regarded as an important source of soft power. NGOs are another source of soft power. NGOs develop policies

in parallel to state policies and sometimes they influence state's foreign policies with the policies they develop. In this sense, NGOs are among the instruments of soft power of states.



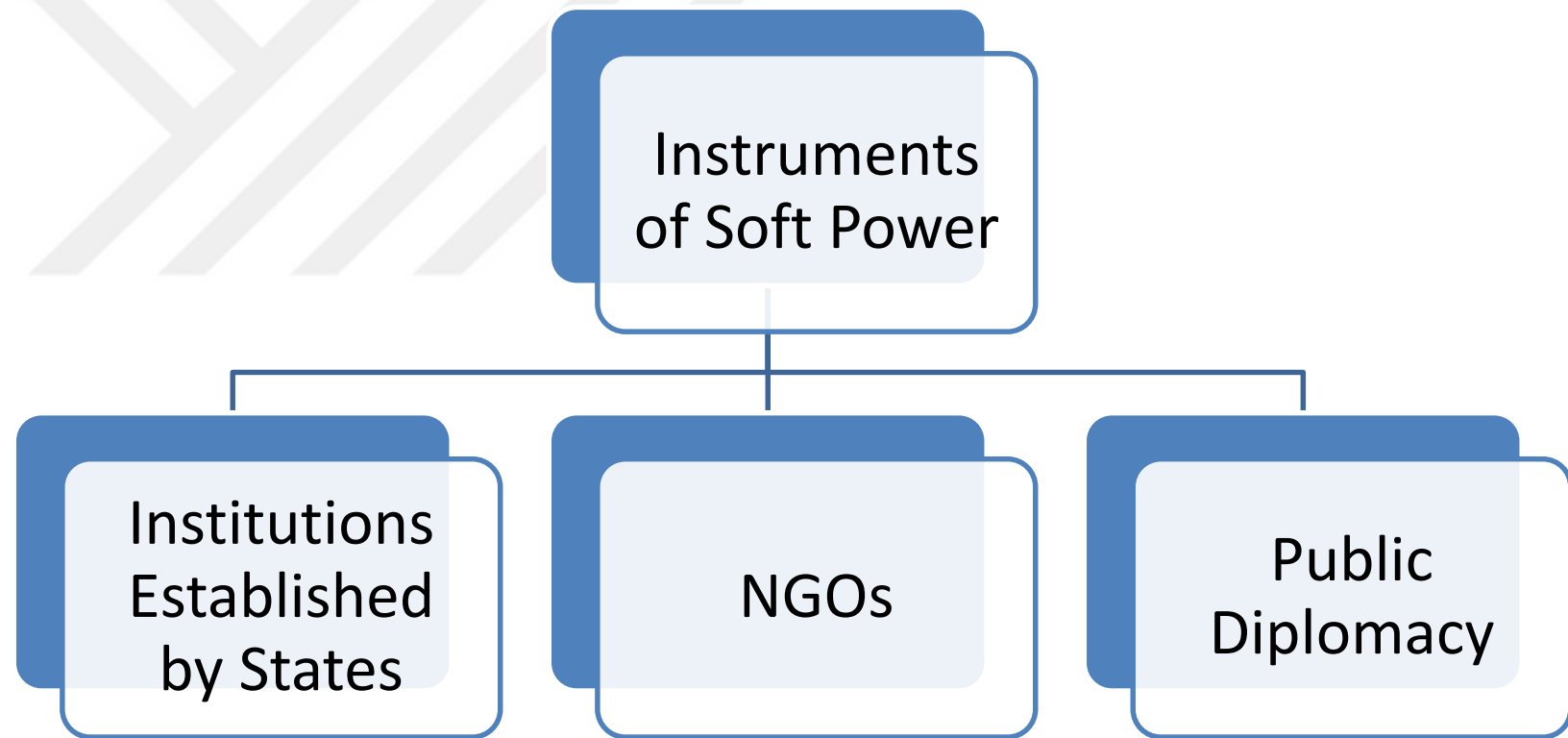


Figure 3: Instruments of Soft Power

### 3.2.1. Institutions Established by States

Since the moment states decide to use soft power as an instrument in the formation of their foreign policies, they need certain institutions to form, support and increase this power. No matter how NGOs can undertake this duty, they either fall short in their effect or have limited influence in foreign policy-making processes due to the fact that they lack material sources and power possessed by states.

States establish institutions and organizations to increase their soft power thanks to their structures under the body of various institutions, ministries, prime ministry or presidency. Such institutions coordinate with each other in the process of policy-making and take active roles in the formation of foreign policies in different areas or regions while also implementing their foreign policies in continuum. Especially after the end of the World War II, when hard power elements were very limited in use and importance given to soft power increased, states started to establish institutions and organizations to increase their soft power as well as integrating such institutions in their processes of foreign policy-making. In the case of Turkey, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) was established in early 1990s (TIKA, 2015) and became the first state institution to increase soft power. Turkey has increased its number of state institutions which endeavor to increase its soft power by establishing after TIKA the Community for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (TARC, 2016) Yunus Emre Institute (YEF, 2016).

With such organizations, states have put effort to form soft power in three main areas being development assistance, education activities and cultural activities. Scholarships to cultural activities are also deemed among elements of soft power. Foreign citizens visit countries that grant scholarship and get the chance to know and recognize their culture.

**Development Assistance:** Development assistance is a country's aid to developing countries to increase their economy and wealth (ODA, 2018). With such assistance, countries aim to improve their cooperation with countries they grant assistance, as well as trying to increase their influence and soft power.

**Education Activities:** Countries have started to provide language courses to foreign countries by means of establishing institutes. The most active country in the world in this regard, UK's British Council and Spain's Cervantes Institute are examples to such organizations. These institutions have undertaken to duty to spread the language and culture of their countries overseas. They contribute to increase their country's soft power by language courses and cultural organizations.

In addition to such activities, other institutions providing education in fields where there is need are also regarded among elements of increasing soft power. Many countries have established various organizations in foreign countries in this context and they have been providing education and training activities in order to ensure economic competency of developing and underdeveloped countries. Turkey's TIKA, the USA's

USAID and UK's DFID have been providing various trainings in such countries to ensure they become self-sufficient in their economy and open new business areas.

**Cultural Activities:** States organize various cultural activities by means of their institutions and try to increase their soft power through such activities. Making their countries attraction centers is among the duties of such institutions. The institutions endeavor to turn the culture of their countries into attraction centers by means of publishing journals, broadcasting documentaries and organizing events in foreign countries. As a consequence of promoting country culture at universal level and supporting this by various organizations, country culture becomes an element that increases soft power. And institutions that organize these events and activities become a source of soft power in foreign policy.

### 3.2.2. Non-governmental Actors

Non-governmental organizations have been operating in various fields since they emerged. Known as private voluntary organizations, civil society organizations and ve citizen associations at the beginning, these organizations started to be referred to as non-governmental organizations in time (Gupta, 2009, p. 1). Established initially to serve only for specific areas or purposes, NGOs have turned into important organizations in addition to state institutions over time. NGOs have become organizations which increase soft power with their increasing number, activities in foreign countries and extensive influence. They contribute to their countries' soft

power particularly with projects they have developed in parallel to state policies and regions they have reached.

Non-governmental organizations differ from state institutions primarily with three features. The first is that non-governmental organizations can develop their own policies in parallel to the state or independently. NGOs can establish connection with their state, governmental institutions of other states and other NGOs, and can be integrated into certain policies thanks to their flexible structure. The second feature is that NGOs do not directly benefit from state budgets since they follow up their own agendas. This returns as contribution to soft power without using any share from state budgets. Last but not least, NGOs differ from states in that their projects and events are welcomed more warmly by public opinion than organizations or projects put into practice by foreign states' governmental institutions to which public opinion tends to be more cautious. Policies and activities produced by non-profit organizations in foreign countries without expecting any interest are welcomed and accepted more sincerely in public opinion of foreign countries.

Although non-governmental actors are regarded as instruments of a country's soft power, they are auxiliary actors. In other words, contribution of NGOs to soft power is not direct but indirect. Although NGOs are not organizations established to directly contribute to soft power, they have become an instrument of soft power due to their fulfilled tasks. Contrary to multifunctional institutions of states which produce projects in many fields, NGOs orient themselves to more specific areas and transfer sources, labor force or qualified personnel to areas where the civil society needs.

Doctors Without Borders (DWB) is among the best examples of these organizations. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) was established by a group of doctors in France in 1968 in response to big scale disasters and to support victims of such disasters (Doctors Without Borders, 2018). With its French abbreviation, MSF was not established to directly contribute to the soft power of France, it has not progressed in line with the French foreign policy, but has developed its own projects and organizations, has sustained its projects independently and has indirectly contributed to the soft power of France as an instrument in its foreign policies.

### 3.2.3. Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is among vital instruments in the globalizing world to influence and direct the international society or in other words, to provide soft power to countries. The aim of public diplomacy is to increase the visibility, familiarity and effectiveness of a country in the international arena. Increasing visibility, familiarity and effectiveness will also increase soft power of countries (T.C. Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü, 2018).

Public diplomacy targets organizations except other countries' governmental organizations as well as public opinion. As a result of targeted public opinion, the real purpose of public diplomacy becomes to increase communication and cooperation between citizens of two countries. In other words, countries use public diplomacy to promote their image for other societies and convey their ideas through strengthening this image. When country image is promoted and consolidated, such countries will be

adopted more easily by foreign societies and gain sympathy more easily. As in every source of soft power, the basic factor to consider here is the legitimacy of policies implemented. Endeavors to implement illegitimate policies through public diplomacy or create a non-existing image will harm soft power let alone benefit. Therefore, countries may lose their existing soft power rather than increasing as a result of their efforts to create an illegitimate and unrealistic image.

Public diplomacy has been defined differently by various authors and academicians. According to Hans Tuch, public diplomacy is a sort of communication targeting to explain in the international field a state's institutions, culture, objectives, policies and opinions as well as ideals (Tuch, 1990, p. 3).

Public diplomacy, however, is not unidirectional. For a country to promote and explain itself, it first needs to know the other society, its habits and values. By this means, communication channels will start to work in real sense and promoting will truly be functional. In other words, if a country wishes to promote its policies, it first needs to understand other societies' history, culture, values and psychology (Malone, 1988, p. 12).

Public diplomacy should not be confused with propaganda. Even though both aim to inform and promote, there precise differences between the two methods. In public diplomacy, source of information is precise. Correctness is present since misinformation will damage country's reputation, which is why countries refrain from providing misinformation. The other difference is that public diplomacy is

bidirectional. In other words, two ends of the communication channel are open.

Propaganda, on the other hand, is unidirectional and the communication channel is limited to only what one side wants to convey. Finally, legitimacy is an obligation in public diplomacy. Countries must pay attention to the principle of legitimacy when promoting themselves and policies on mutual grounds. Propaganda, on the other hand, does not obligate legitimacy. The purpose may only be to inform the counter party about anything correctly or in a biased way.

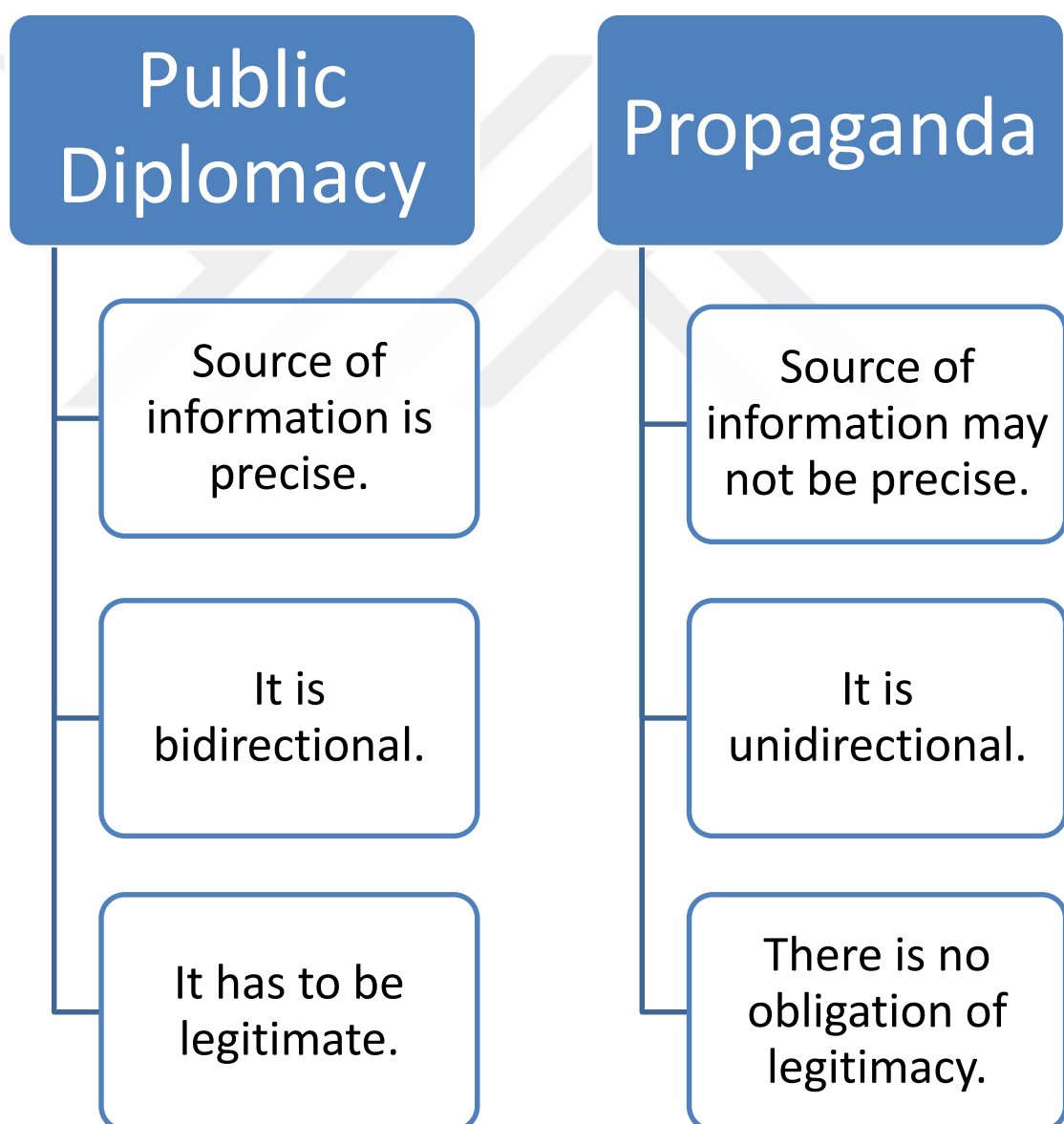


Figure 4: Differences Between Public Diplomacy and Propaganda

The main aim of public diplomacy is establishing deep relations between countries and societies. Understand needs, cultures, people and perspectives of other countries and finding common points are the ultimate target of public diplomacy (Leonard, 2002, pp. 8-9).

When we focus what public diplomacy is on either realism or constructivism, public diplomacy is giving demonstration of state interests with using information attractiveness and influence (P.Djerejian, 2003, p. 13).

Public diplomacy is an art of administration perception and foreign public sectors with respect to targets of state (Manheim, 2002, p. 75).

### *3.2.3.1. Target Audience*

In public diplomacy, states do not just want to influence ordinary people in the society. Main aim of states is to influence opinion leaders of states. If we explain who opinion leaders are, opinion leaders are people who has key roles in state, media members, significant NGOs, think-tanks and people who has participant political culture<sup>2</sup> in the society.

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<sup>2</sup> Political culture emerged after the research on Almond & Verba. According to Almond & Verba, people who have participant culture know and care political developments in the society. They know what politics is and they know his / her power in order to influence politicians (Almond & Verba, 1989).

## 4. Turkey's Sources and Instruments of Soft Power

Turkish Foreign Policy has not undergone a rapid evolution after the end of the Cold War. Although there was a transition from static policies in line with its leader in its own bloc to a period of following strict policies, the Turkish Foreign Policy did not evolve rapidly during this period (Erkan, 2015, p. 16). Having continued with habits of Cold War, the foreign policy of the country started to undergo radical changes with the 55, 56 and 57<sup>th</sup> Governments where İsmail Cem was the Minister of Foreign Affairs. "There were two central competitive forces in the past which competed against each other, protected their supports, revealed each other's weaknesses to push them into difficulty and thereby come to the forefront. If one of these forces fell weak, the other would immediately take action. That was not for rights, justice or freedom, but for humiliating the competition and exalts itself: When the USA supported the fascist coup in Chile, the Soviets screamed the place down. As they were impeccable themselves, and not for that they applied similar methods when necessary (...) everyone knew the underlying motivations behind these "moralist" behaviors or "humane" approaches. Yet, everyone was impacted by certain balance, deterrence, a sense of hesitation, after all. Parties had to calculate what others would do against them in response to any action of theirs. And the world had thereby kept itself under control to some extent. It had to. From past to the present, the balance which was based on opposing powers has changed; and since there is no concept of opposing powers left, nobody refrains from anybody. Everything has turned to be doable and every policy has been allowable. (...) Turkey needs to purify itself from all traditional isolations from rules of foreign policy and habit of self-deceiving in

order to be successful in international relations which resembles the lion's den” (Cem, 200, pp. 325-326).

As stated above, İsmail Cem was a Minister of Foreign Affairs who tried to ensure change in foreign policies and opted for amending certain status quo elements and behavioral patterns in the country’s foreign policies. Being already existent in a period when there was not enough economic power, TİKA could not spread to a vast geography, however it was used as an instrument in foreign policy and tried to increase the soft power of Turkey by drawing a country image striving to solve problems.

Turkey started to reveal its sources of soft power and develop its instruments through the transition from a unidirectional foreign policy toward a multidirectional foreign policy within the frame of reel politics under İsmail Cem’s leadership.

In 2000s, as well Turkey endeavored to increase its soft power sources and develop its existing sources.

## 4.1. Turkey’s Sources of Soft Power

### 4.1.1. Culture and History

According to Joseph Nye, if a country’s culture is able to address other states’ cultures, and if this addressing leads to an attraction, the opportunity for that country

to fulfill its requests by means of soft power increases to a great extent (Nye J. S., 2005, pp. 19-21).

With its geography and 16 great Turkish states<sup>3</sup> established in the history of this geography, Turkey has a deep culture and vast customs. All states established since the Great Hun Empire had been administered with certain traditions, customs and culture, and their culture had been an attraction factor in all geographies they expanded. Culture, traditions and customs in state administration were regarded to be even higher than the ruler and they were attributed great importance. Consequently, the Turkish culture – transferred from generation to generation – created a great impact and many other cultures has been affected by this culture to create a commonality. In terms of both development and values, the Republic of Turkey founded by Atatürk also is a rather advanced and modern country than surrounding countries. Thus, the Republic of Turkey absolutely has strong sources of soft power with its culture and history.

Turkey has been developing and implementing projects to renew artifacts in geographies where Turkish states lived, to revive their culture, to improve relations with countries where such artifacts are present and to increase cultural cooperation. Therefore, effective use of culture and history has been remarkable as a source of soft power with regard to developing cooperation with countries located in geographies of the ancient Turkish states and establishing good relations.

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<sup>3</sup> During the course of history, Turks established over 130 states, although the precise number is unknown. The reason for referring only to 16 of these states is that those states were at the scale large enough to be deemed as great states during their times of foundation.

Along with this, the Anatolian geography where Turkey is located had hosted many ancient civilizations. For this reason, Turkey attracts the attention of foreign citizens with historical venues, artifacts and ancient remnants. Sympathy emerging by means of this interest paves the way for development of mutual values. At the rate of attraction factors, historical artifacts and remnants of ancient states contribute to the history as one of the sources of the country's soft power.

#### 4.1.2. Values

Policies developed by a country and reflections of these policies in its territory and other countries compose one of the sources of that country's soft power (Nye J. S., 2005, pp. 21-22).

When the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, it was founded as a modern, democratic and secular republic contrary to many countries in the world. It was one of the first countries to grant women the right to vote and stand for election and moved in line with Atatürk's principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world." By this means, the Republic of Turkey internalized certain democratic values both when it was founded and today contrary to the countries in the region and has been country ahead of these countries in this regard. Especially from the perspective of Middle Eastern geography, it can be seen that democratic and secular values render Turkey attractive for the people of Middle Eastern countries. Similarly, interclass transitivity brought by the republican system seems to contribute to the value perception of Turkey. The most important value of Turkey in today's world is referred to as that it

is a democratic and secular country although the majority of its population is composed of Muslims (Keyman, 2010, pp. 10-11). Together with these values, the Republic of Turkey has the attraction of being a secular, democratic state of law for the people of Muslim countries in the Middle East.

One of the geopolitical theories put forward after the end of the Cold War is Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations and Turkey has been an antithesis of this theory since it is both a Muslim country and a democratic, secular state of law, which has contributed to increase its soft power through these values.

The variable situation here, on the other hand, is as follows: The country needs to ensure that its values in the forefront are accepted by other countries and provides legitimacy for policies implemented on the basis of these values. When this legitimacy is ensured, and its values are recognized by other countries, these values will become sources of the country's soft power (Nye J. S., 2005).

Turkey has increased its value by means of the democratic reforms carried out within the framework of law of harmonization code of the European Union. This increase manifested itself in the Soft Power Index where soft powers of countries are measured, and Turkey ranked 28<sup>th</sup> in the world's soft power list in 2015. Nonetheless, Turkey regressed to 30<sup>th</sup> place after the year 2015 due to various developments.

#### 4.1.3. Geopolitical Position

When İbn-i Haldun made his detection “Geography is destiny” (Haldun, 1988), he referred to geopolitical position of a country and argued that expansion, development, culture and many other variables of a country depend on its geography.

Countries today are identified with the geographies they were founded, and they have developed themselves in a way to adapt to the conditions imposed by their geographies. The classical geopolitical understanding accepts that geography is destiny and refers to hard powers of countries by measuring strength of countries in their geographies via quality and quantity of their hard power (Dittmer & Sharp, 2014, pp. 4-5).

In response to this, those who looked from the critical geopolitical perspective emerging after the end of the Cold War, argued that geography was no more destiny and underlined that borders in the globalizing world were only artificial factors, while attributing great importance to soft power (Dittmer & Sharp, 2014, pp. 5-8). This importance, at the same time, provided countries with the opportunity to increase their influence and effect in different regions of the world without being restrained to their geographies. In other words, space and territory should not be perceived as a passive stage of human actions. Meaning attributed to mountains, canals, straits and many other geographical places is only those given by people (Tezkan & Taşar, 2013, pp. 239-245).

Turkey uses tourism as a source of soft power by benefitting from its geographical features as well. Relations established with tourists visiting our country via our values coming with geopolitical position increase Turkey's reputation among foreign countries and contribute to the country's soft power by creating common values.

During the Cold War, the country's geopolitical position was qualified as an outpost line and a protector of the Middle East against the Soviet threat. In the world that was divided into blocks, Turkey followed policies parallel to the USA which was the head of the Western block and Turkey's geopolitical position was accepted as an outpost line and a part of the Green Belt.

After the Cold War entered the détente period and then terminated, Turkey's geopolitical position was started to be defined as a bridge between the East and the West. According to this understanding, Turkey became both a Western and Eastern country which could understand and build dialogue between both civilizations. Shaping its geopolitical position as a bridge, Turkey endeavored to build good relations with both West and East during this period, however could manage to be successful enough.

Together with the changing geopolitical understanding in time, Turkey added critical geopolitical understanding to its classical geopolitical conceptualization and started to attach more importance to soft power. Along with this situation, Turkey re-designed its geopolitical position as a source of its soft power.

Today, Turkey has many governmental and non-governmental organizations that operate in many countries of the world in order to increase the country's soft power. In addition to the geopolitical reality, Turkey preferred to increase its soft power without restraining itself to its geography as a necessity of the globalizing world.

Governmental organizations such as TARC, YEF and TIKA which are active in foreign countries develop numerous projects, activities and organizations in different regions of the world to increase Turkey's soft power. These organizations have become sources of soft power of the country thanks to their successful policies followed in designated areas of activity.

#### 4.1.4. Foreign Policy

As of its foundation, the Republic of Turkey has determined certain factors in its foreign policy. These are Occidentalism (Westernism) and status quo supporting (Oran, 1996, p. 353). Here, it is necessary to evaluate the principle of status quo supporting correctly. The principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world" forms the basis of the idea of status quo support. This principle does not mean rejection of change or getting stuck with certain components. Indeed, it is shown many times in the changing Turkish Foreign Policy that this principle does not come to mean resistance against change by means of the Montreux Convention, Hatay, Cyprus Peace Operation and deploying soldiers in foreign countries. The meaning of

supporting status quo in Turkish foreign policy should be understood as not trying to expand borders and ensure sustaining current agreements.

The other principle, Westernism, on the other hand, has been present ever since the Ottoman time and means the desire to reach or catch up with the West which is regarded to be quite advanced. Expressed in Atatürk's words as "reaching the level of contemporary civilizations", this principle paved the way for Turkey to direct towards the West and developed diplomatic relations in this area. Westernism at the same time is defined as acceptance of secular, democratic and legal values and implementation of these principles in foreign policies.

As long as the Turkish foreign policy continues to be non-expansionist as well as internalizing Western values, foreign policy can be used as a source of soft power. Instead of implementing expansionist or interest-driven understanding in foreign policies, Turkey has endeavored to follow a policy of sharing based on defending its right, but not violating the rights of others since the foundation of the Republic.

After the Cold War, the change starting with İsmail Cem paved the way for the Turkish foreign policy to follow active diplomacy and develop relations with many countries. The Turkish foreign policy was supported by many institutions and non-governmental organizations that may be qualified as instruments of soft power and foreign policies were developed in a way to increase soft power sources and effectively use its instruments.

Another advantage to the Turkish foreign policy brought by not implementing expansionist foreign policies that may threaten other countries is that not any problem of legitimacy was experienced. Even in the case of deploying soldiers in foreign countries, where the problem of legitimacy could be experienced to the highest level, Turkey aimed to correct the situation of the relevant country, ensure security and provide living space for the citizens of that country rather than pursuing self-interests.

In other words, the Turkish foreign policy has been a source of soft power with the features it has carried ever since the foundation of the Republic.

## 5. Yunus Emre Institute

Yunus Emre Foundation was established as per the law number 5653 in 2007 (5653 Nolu Kanun, 2007) to increase Turkey's cultural exchange with other countries, to promote Turkish language, history, culture and arts, to provide services in foreign countries to those who wish to receive education on the Turkish language, culture and arts and to develop friendship between Turkey and other countries in the world (Yunus Emre Foundation, 2007).

Yunus Emre Institute, on the other hand, established centers affiliated with the foundation in foreign countries in order to promote Turkey, teach Turkish language to foreign country citizens, and support culture and arts activities as well as scientific studies (Yunus Emre Foundation, 2007).

Starting its activities approximately two years after the establishment of Yunus Emre Foundation, Yunus Emre Institute has 56 cultural centers overseas. The Institute organizes many events and activities in order to introduce and promote the Turkish culture and arts (Yunus Emre Foundation, 2007).

Yunus Emre Institute's units are divided into 3 with regard to their functions. The first is Turkish Teaching Unit to foreigners and its fundamental aim is to teach Turkish language to foreign country citizens. This unit is further divided into 3 as Turkish Educational Directorate, Exam Center and Turkology. The second unit, Culture and

Arts is divided into two as Directorate of Culture and Arts and Directorate of Projects. The main purpose of this unit is to promote Turkish culture and arts in foreign countries. Formed to support these two units, the administrative bodies on the other hand are Directorate of Human Resources, Directorate of Financial Affairs, Directorate of Corporate Communication, Directorate of Logistics and Administrative Affairs, Directorate of Purchasing, Directorate of Strategy Development and Office of the Private Secretary (Yunus Emre Institute, 2018).



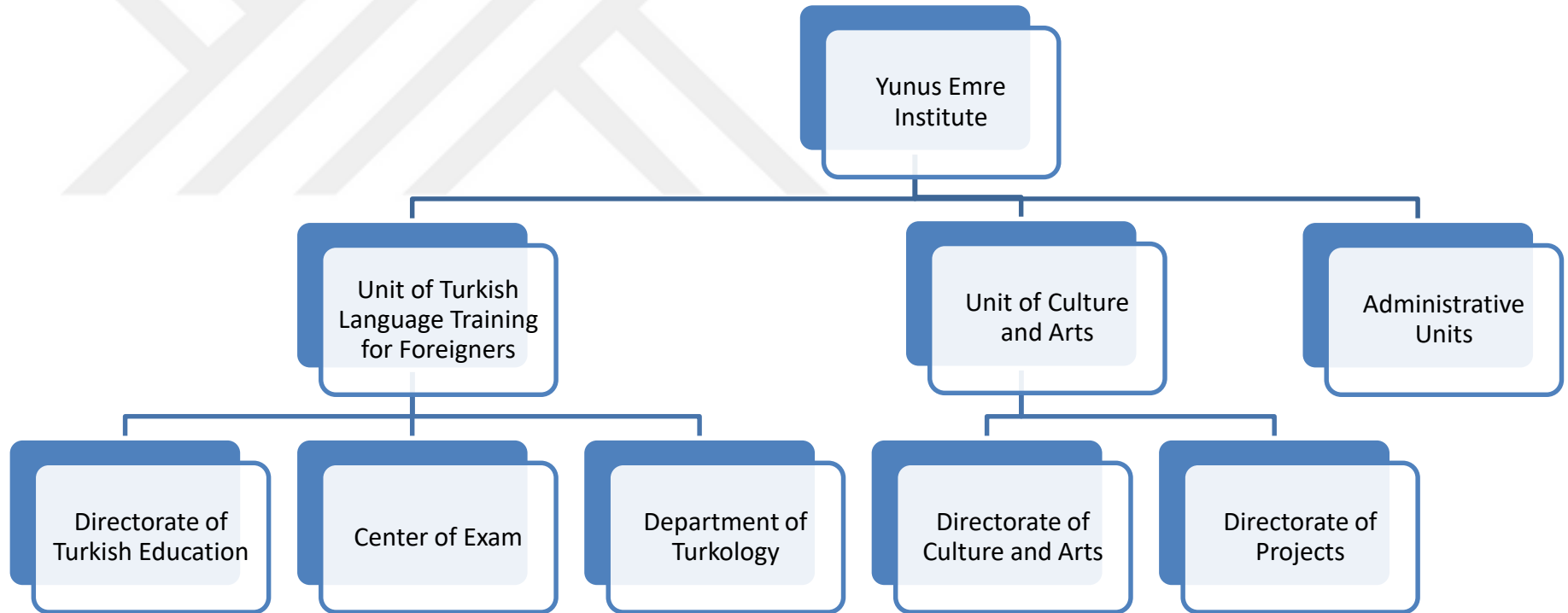


Figure 5: Institutional Structure of Yunus Emre Institute

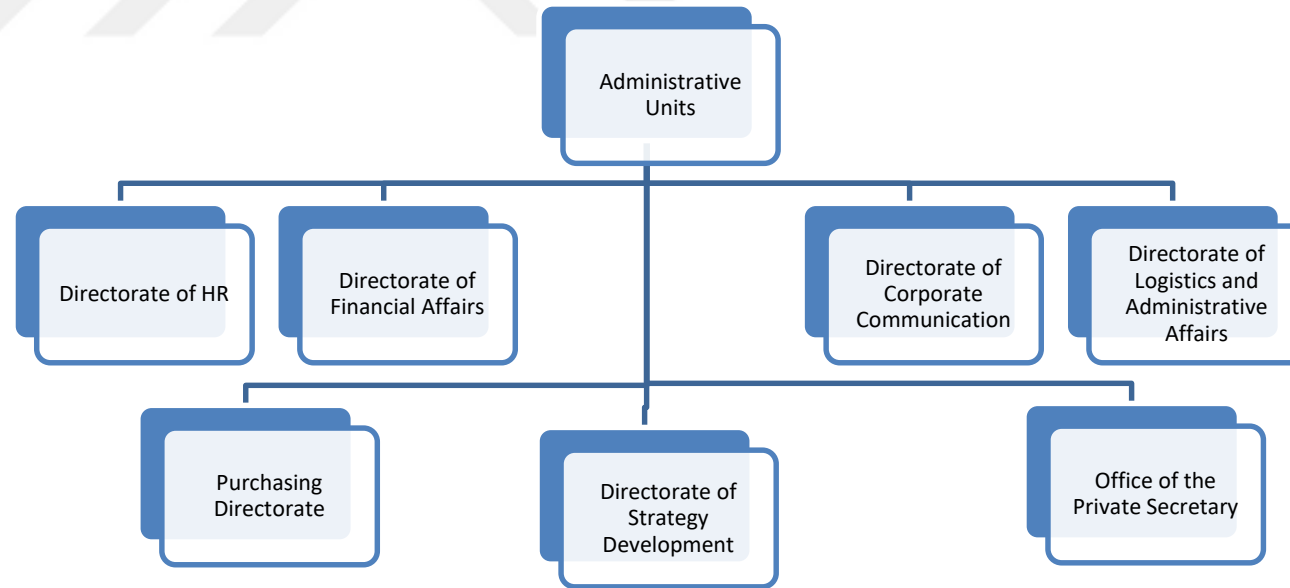


Figure 6: Administrative Units of Yunus Emre Institute

## 5.1. Projects By YEI

Starting its activities in 2009, the YEI (Yunus Emre Institute) established 42 cultural centers overseas and 53 in Turkey. In addition to cultural centers, the institute implements its project to provide Turkology education at 79 universities in 44 countries. Cultural centers also support Turkology projects in addition to Turkish education and cooperate with many governmental and non-governmental organizations (YEI, 2018, p. 11).

The number of people participating to Turkish language courses opened as of 2009 and learning Turkish is approximately 100 thousand (YEI, 2018, p. 11). According to the targets of the Directorate of Strategic Planning, it is projected that the number of institutes is aimed to be increased to 100 in the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic.

### 5.1.1. Turkish Language Teaching

Yunus Emre Institute has carried out many projects to disseminate Turkish language in the international field. In light of these works, the main purpose is to ensure Turkish is among widely-spoken languages across the world and to promote the Turkish language in many countries.

Projects carried out to achieve these targets are as follows:

- **Turkish Language Courses for Foreigners:** YEI aims to spread Turkish language with its language courses for foreign citizens and ensure that it is learned by many people. In order to actualize this, the institute opens Turkish language courses and teaches foreign citizens Turkish language under its body.
- **The Project of Teaching Turkish Language as an Elective Foreign Language Course:** YEI prepared this project so that Turkish language is taught as foreign language and children as well as young people learn this language at an early age. YEI has carried out activities such as festivals to attract students and teachers in this field (Tercihim Türkçe, 2018).
- **The Project to Prepare Turkish Teaching Sets and Complementary Materials:** The fundamental aim here is to ease learning the Turkish language and prepare complementary materials to help foreigners learn Turkish. Materials are prepared separately for three different age groups as 6-9, 10-15 and 15+ years (Yunus Emre Institute Yabancılara Türkçe Öğretimi Setleri, 2018).
- **The Remote Turkish Teaching Project:** YEI prepared this project to provide an opportunity to learn Turkish language to foreigners free of charge by using today's technologies (Portalı, 2017, p. 3). The project has been put into practice after 12 months of R&D conducted by experts in their fields (Portalı,

2017, p. 4). In order to ensure that the project is used everywhere and in any medium, software specialists wrote computer programs and developed mobile applications (Portalı, 2017, p. 6).

- **Training of Trainers:** The following trainings are provided within the framework of training of trainers: (Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe Öğretimi Eğiticilerin Eğitimi Programı, 2017);
  - New Approaches in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language and European Common Recommendations Framework for Languages
  - First Class and Intraclass Relations in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Grammar in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Transfer of Cultural Elements in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Assessment and Evaluation in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language Teaching
  - Use of Technology in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Use of Drama Technique in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Vocabulary in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Practical Examples in Teaching Children Turkish as a Foreign Language

- Improving Listening Skills and Classroom Activities in Teaching Children Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Development of Reading Skills and In-Class Activities, Material Development Workshop in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Improving Speaking Skills and Classroom Activities in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
  - Developing Writing Skills and Classroom Activities in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language
- 
- **Turkish Proficiency Exam (TYS):** With Yunus Emre Institute's works, Turkish proficiency exam gained a certain standard and it is ensured that all institutions providing education in this regard reach this standard. The purpose here is to standardize the Turkish Proficiency Exam on the basis of world examples of language exams. Everyone can apply to exams in 48 exam centers in 43 countries across the world (Türkçe Yeterlilik Sınavı TYS, 2018).
  - **Turkish Summer School:** As of 2012, Turkish Summer School has been providing services as 60 classes every 3 weeks. The Turkish Summer School aims to host youth from the world and offer intercultural interaction. Providing trips and cultural activities in addition to language courses, the Turkish Summer School targets teaching Turkish language and to inform foreign young people about Turkey as well as promoting Turkish culture as an opportunity (Türkçe Yaz Okulu, 2018).

### 5.1.2. Culture and Arts

Culture and arts projects are produced to create cultural interaction in the world and increase Turkey's recognizability by means of this interaction. Among such projects are:

- Preservation and Promotion of World Cultural Heritage
- Activities in All Branches of Art
- Supporting Production and Publicity Works in the Field of Culture and Arts
- Providing Mobility Opportunity for Artists across the World

As of 2016, 2941 culture and arts projects in total are carried out in 7 years.

- Number of Activities by Years

## Yıllara Göre Faaliyet Sayıları

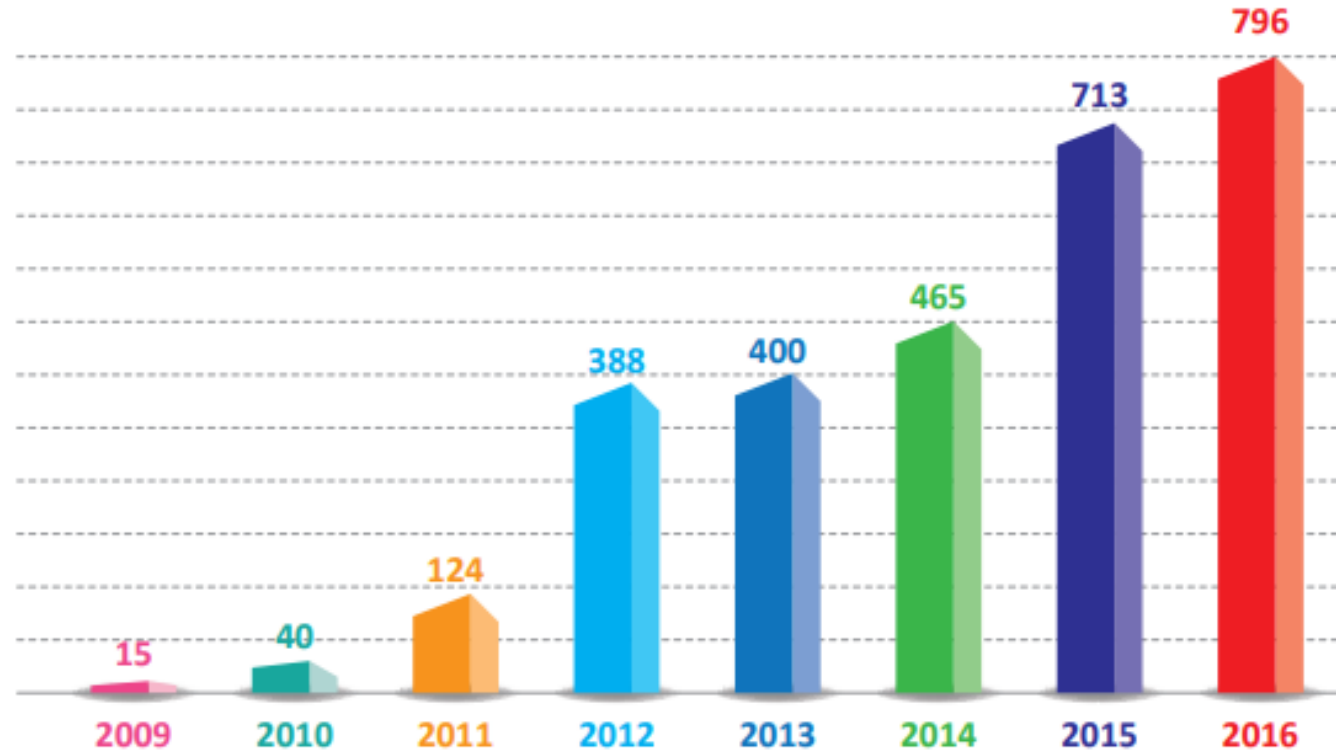


Figure 7: Number of Activities of Yunus Emre Institute

Projects are intensively distributed across the world primarily being Europe and the Balkans.

Out of 796 projects in 2016, 286 projects were carried out in Europe, 283 in the Balkans, 74 in the Middle East, 39 in Africa, 75 in Asia and 39 in the Far East (YEI 2016 Faaliyet Raporu, 2016 ).

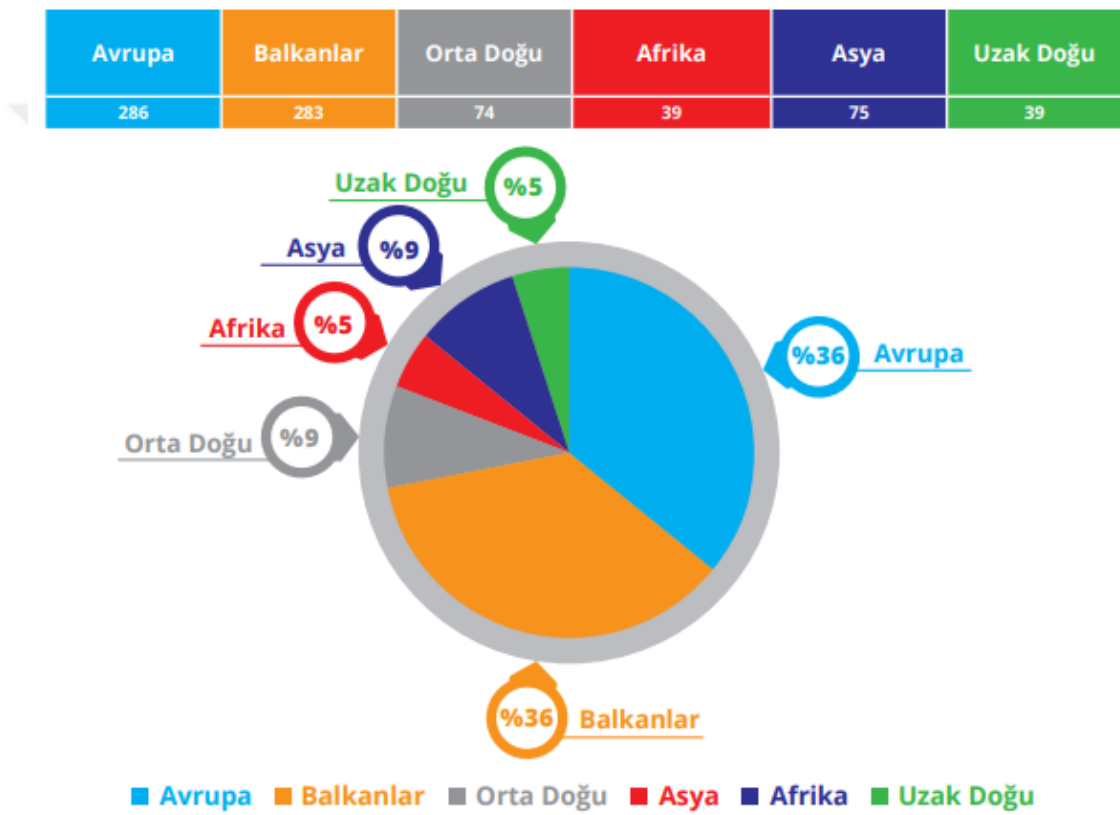


Figure 8: Distribution of Activities of Yunus Emre Institute With Respect to Regions

### 5.1.3. .tr Journal

In order to inform about arts events in Turkey and international arts activities, Yunus Emre Institute started to publish its journal with the March-April 2015 issue to be published biannually with an aim to become a journal of Turkish literature, culture and history. The journal includes arts events in Turkey, conversations with important names of Turkish literature as well as special people, events and organizations in special folders to bring the Turkish culture to the forefront in the world (Develi, 2015, p. 5).

Yunus Emre Institute published 21 .tr journals in total together with the issue of June-July 2018 and promoted the Turkish culture in these journals as well as providing information on culture and arts in Turkey (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü .tr Dergisi , 2018).

### 5.1.4. Yunus Emre Bulletin

Yunus Emre Bulletin is a periodic journal published to increase the recognizability of the Yunus Emre Institute, announce its projects across the world and provide detailed information about its activities. The first issue was published in September 2009 to announce its bulletin activities.

### 5.1.5. Yunus Emre Institute Promotional Catalogues

To introduce its projects and reach larger groups of people as well as making itself heard across the world, Yunus Emre Institute prepared promotional catalogues explaining its projects in detail. Together with these catalogues, completed projects were announced and it was projected that domestic and foreign public opinion would be informed about upcoming projects (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Tanıtım Katalogları, 2018).

### 5.1.6. Books and Publishing Houses

Yunus Emre Institute established two different publishing houses for its works to be published and disseminating these works across the world. The first of these publishing houses Yunus Emre Institute published the Seven Climates Turkish – Yunus Emre Institute Turkish Teaching Set as a result of 12 months of hard work by expert academicians. These books were designed according to European Language Standards and they are at the levels of A1-A2-B1-B2-C1 and C2. At the same time, teacher's books were also prepared and published by the same publishing house within the frame of the training of trainers' program (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2018).

A study late in the day, standardization of teaching Turkish language was ensured by these books, while they became powerful sources for those who want to learn and teach Turkish language (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2018).

The second publishing house under Yunus Emre Institute is the Yunus Emre Institute Cultural Diplomacy Academy Publications. Although there is not any book yet published by this house, it is critical to have this preparation for future works. Academicians met at the workshop on Thinking Outside Borders in Cultural Diplomacy and presented a report, which were later compiled as a book together with speeches of academicians.

#### 5.1.7. Yunus Emre Institute's Annual Reports

Yunus Emre Institute prepares annual reports to shed light on its works, organizations and cultural centers. Explaining both its targets and activities in these reports, Yunus Emre Institute has been regularly publishing these annual reports to promote its organization and announce its activities in domestic and foreign public opinion.

## 6. Yunus Emre Institute as an Instrument of Soft Power for Turkey

YEI (Yunus Emre Institute) started its activities in 2009, while counterpart organizations were established in the world including British Council in the United Kingdom, Cervantes in Spain, Goethe in Germany and The Institut Français in France. All of these institutes started their activities in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and have been carrying out works to spread the culture of their countries as well as providing language education services ever since.

The oldest and most rooted of these institutes, The Institut Français was established as the French Public, Industrial and Commercial Organization (EPIC) in 1907 by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the amended law in 2010, it was taken under the project of Culture France. Its main purpose is to raise the French culture in foreign countries and provide language courses and by this means, The Institut Français has been exemplary to its counterparts as the oldest institute in this area (Institut Français, 2018).

With its original name British Committee for Relations with other Countries, the British Council was established in 1934 and opened its first overseas representation office in 1938. Between the years 1940 and 1941, it received the name British Council with a report from the UK government and its purpose is formulated as follows: “To create in a foreign country a basis of friendly knowledge and

understanding of the people of this country, of their philosophy and way of life, which will lead to a sympathetic appreciation of British foreign policy, whatever for the moment that policy” (British Council, 2018). Having numerous documents and resources in its body pertaining to the British culture, the British Council provides language tests in many regions of the world today and endeavors to promote and spread the British culture.

Another institute which is among the oldest in this area, Goethe-Institut was established with the name Deutsche Akademie in 1925 and was renamed in 1951 as Goethe-Institut. The main purpose of this institute, as well, is stated as spreading the German language and promoting the German culture (Goethe-Institut, 2018).

Another institute equivalent to YEI is Instituto Cervantes. Although it was established at a later time than its equivalents, Cervantes has an 18-year old history compared to YEI. Together with its 87 centers in 44 countries, it aims to spread and promote the Spanish culture and language (Instituto Cervantes, 2018).

All these 4 institutes were established to spread the relevant countries’ language and culture and they have long been serving. Since the concept of soft power was formed for Turkey after the Cold War, Yunus Emre Institute was founded at a later period in Turkey.

After the concept of soft power was given importance in the Turkish foreign policy following the end of the Cold War and the economic strengthening after 2002,

Turkey's soft power started to increase with the support of other governmental organizations (TİKA and TARC) as well as NGOs. One of the rightest corporation movements during this period, Yunus Emre Institute as well as TİKA ensured promotion of Turkish culture and language in many parts of the world through development assistance and this contributed to the soft power of Turkey.

Since soft power gives the opportunity of impact and control over the traditional balance of power, countries have had to attach importance to soft power and consolidate their power in this area. The type of support that cannot be attained through traditional balance of power can easily be gained by means of soft power. However, development of hard power capacity takes a long time and it is rather costly, therefore soft power has become a significant component for many countries (Yılmaz, 2008, p. 53).

After the Cold War, the Turkish foreign policy tried to change the static structure. However, the structure which was formed via static policies during the course of the Cold War could not be changed all of a sudden. After the foundation of TİKA in 1992, the first incorporation action in Turkish soft power was taken. TİKA generally provided technical support in countries where it was active. Furthermore, the soft power created as a result of TİKA's activities required support by cultural activities in time as well (Göktolga & Gündoğmuş, 2015, p. 324).

Established in 2009 as per this need, YEI has become an important organization in spreading the Turkish language and culture through 56 cultural centers up to 2018. Inter-communal cultural relations had been carried out through official

channels throughout the 19th century. Today, on the other hand, these institutions have turned into autonomous structures, which has resulted in a broader area of movement to allow cooperation with numerous organizations.

Turkey's claim to become one of the strongest powers of the world must be supported and reinforced by YEI, as well. No matter how large the hard power is, it is impossible for a country to become one of the strongest powers of the world unless the country's language and culture are accepted and recognized by other countries. It is for this reason that leading countries in the world arrange certain organizations to spread their language and culture, produce series and movies as well as establishing various institutions.

YEI has taken a leap forward by standardizing language education and publishing sources for this purpose. The institute provides Turkish language teaching services with the same methodology in 56 centers across the world, while Turkish language education is shaped according to European standards and levels.

In the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Turkish series and movies started to attract many spectators around the world and Turkey's soft power proportionally increased. Great curiosity rose for Turkish culture and language in the countries where these series and films had been broadcast. Thus, YEI must aim to keep this curiosity and interest alive by various works in this field. And as long as this is actualized, Turkey's soft power will increase day by day.

YEI must consider the following issues when spreading the Turkish language and culture:

- To follow a policy that rejects expansionism and sustains peace
- To represent the Turkish culture in the best way possible
- To keep away from conflicts with country governments and organizations and to take steps to develop cooperation
- To be respectful to cultural values of countries where such works are carried out.

YEI has taken its place among important instruments of soft power for Turkish foreign policy thanks to actualizing all of the above-mentioned objectives.

YEI endeavors to make Turkish language accepted as a foreign language in terms of contributing to the country's soft power. Being successful in this regard in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Georgia, YEI provides Turkish language courses in schools of these countries as an elective language course and prepared the curriculum for teaching Turkish language in these countries per se.

In light of this information, YEI – as one of the basic instruments of Turkey's soft power – has used culture and history to contribute to Turkey's sources of soft power.

## 7. Conclusion

Turkish culture is one of ancient cultures with its history of traditions. With the great accumulation inherited from 16 Great Turkish States in the history, Turkey is the heir of a great culture. This legacy has a potential of offering great gaining when it is used and promoted in the correct manner.

Founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Republic of Turkey is at the end of this chain of culture. The principle of “Peace at home, peace in the world” is wrought in the country’s codes together with Atatürk’s principles and reforms and Turkey has culture as an important source of soft power. To make use of this culture, Yunus Emre Institute is a critical organization.

Yunus Emre Institute has implemented various projects together with TİKA to promote and protect artifacts produced by Turkish emperors in the geographies of ancient Turkish States. By these projects where cultural cooperation was ensured, historical artifacts were restored, and the ancient Turkish culture was emphasized together with effective use of history and cultural background.

Considering the fact that Turkey had hosted many ancient civilizations in the Anatolian geography, YEI organized many activities and events where it was underlined such civilizations had lived in these lands and left many historical artifacts in an attempt to create sympathy for the Turkish culture and language. Such

organizations make Turkish culture attractive and ensure that foreign citizens have sympathy for Turkey.

As a modern and secular republic, the Republic of Turkey is a country with the majority of its population being Muslim and one that is ruled by democracy. Turkey has been a country adopting democratic practices in its geography taking strength from the parliamentary structure as well as Atatürk's principles and reforms.

As a consequence, YEI is the product of change in the Turkish foreign policy. Taking position according to the new world order after the end of the Cold War, Turkey developed and established new institutions and organizations to be able to adapt to this new order and come forward in the international area. These organizations have started to turn the static soft power of Turkey into dynamic sources by using existing sources of soft power.

Turkey's most important source of soft power is its history and culture due to its ancient Turkish traditions and thereby, the country has increased its soft power by turning static soft power sources into dynamic ones after YEI was established and became functional.

YEI has turned into a remarkable organization for the Turkish foreign policy in a short time and developed various influential projects. With such projects, YEI has proven that it is one of the instruments of soft power and has been actively using Turkey's sources of soft power compatibly with its structure.

Among the important organizations of the Turkish foreign policy together with TİKA and TARC, YEI will contribute even to a greater extent to the Turkish soft power in the next years if the organization continues to work actively.



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