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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



THE ASSESSMENT OF TURKEY AS A SOFT POWER:
2009-2014

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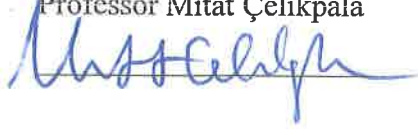
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“I, Gül Oral, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis”



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ABSTRACT

THE ASSESSMENT OF TURKEY AS A SOFT POWER: 2009-2014

Gül Oral

Master of Social Sciences in International Relations

Advisor: Associate Professor Dimitrios Triantaphyllou

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Soft power has been an influential concept in the field of international relations since it was developed by Joseph Jr. Nye in the 1990s. Even though the term was coined in order to assess American power in terms of its soft power resources such as values, culture, and policies, it has been extensively used by politicians and scholars in different countries. The concept has also come into prominence in Turkey during the JDP period by highlighting a new foreign policy approach presented by Ahmet Davutoğlu based on his Strategic Depth doctrine. Turkey has been evaluated as a rising soft power which can play an active role in the regional and global arena due to its various soft power resources such as its culture, values, foreign policy, and economic success. The thesis aims at analyzing Turkey's soft power between 2009-2014 when Davutoğlu served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs by creating an analytical framework based on its soft power resources and practices. The main research question arises as: “whether Turkey

has achieved to enhance its soft power during the 2009-2014 period as asserted?” The foremost argument of this study could be expressed as follows: though Turkey has had a substantial amount of soft power owing to its diverse resources, its soft power seems to be diminishing due to its lack of success in promoting universal values in its domestic and foreign policy.

Keywords: Joseph Jr. Nye, Soft Power, Turkey, Justice and Development Party, Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Strategic Depth doctrine

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE’NİN 2009-2014 DÖNEMİNDE YUMUŞAK GÜÇ BAĞLAMINDA DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

Gül Oral

Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Yüksek Lisans

Danışman: Doç. Dr.Dimitrios Triantaphyllou

Haziran, 2016

Yumuşak güç, Joseph Jr. Nye tarafından geliştirildiği 1990’lardan itibaren uluslararası ilişkiler disiplinin önemli kavramlarından biri olmuştur. Kavram, Amerikan gücünü değerler, kültür ve politikalar gibi yumuşak güç kaynakları bağlamında değerlendirmek için ortaya atılmış olsa da farklı ülkelerde politikacılar ve akademisyenler tarafından yaygın bir şekilde kullanılmaktadır. Yumuşak güç kavramı, AKP döneminde Ahmet Davutoğlu’nun Stratejik Derinlik doktrinine bağlı olarak geliştirilen yeni dış politika anlayışının öne çıkarılmasıyla Türkiye’de de önem kazanmıştır.

Türkiye; kültür, değerler, dış politika ve ekonomik başarısı gibi çeşitli yumuşak güç kaynakları sayesinde bölgesel ve küresel bağlamda aktif bir rol oynayabilecek yükselen

bir yumuřak gc olarak deęerlendirilmiřtir. Bu tezin amacı da, Davutoęlu'nun Dıřiřleri Bakanı olarak grev yaptıęı 2009-2014 arası dneminde Trkiye'nin yumuřak gcn, kaynakları ve uygulamalarını temel olarak oluřturulan analitik bir çerçeve baęlamında analiz etmeye çalıřmaktır. Bu baęlamda tezin arařtırma sorusu da řu řekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır: "Trkiye, 2009-2014 dneminde yumuřak gcn artırmayı bařarabilmiř midir?" Tezin temel argmanı da řu řekilde ifade edilebilir: Trkiye nemli yumuřak gc kaynaklarına sahip olmasına raęmen, iç ve dıř politikada evrensel deęerleri savunmadaki bařarısızlıklarına baęlı olarak yumuřak gcnn azaldıęı grlmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Joseph Jr. Nye, Yumuřak Gc, Trkiye, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Ahmet Davutoęlu, Stratejik Derinlik



This thesis is dedicated to my family

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LIST of ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| EU | European Union |
| G-20 | Group of Twenty |
| JDP Partisi) | Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| ODA | Official Development Assistance |
| OIC | Organization of the Islamic Conference |
| TESEV | Turkish Foundation on Economic and Social Studies |
| TOBB | Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges |
| TÜSİAD | Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association |
| TIKA Agency | Turkish International Cooperation and Development |
| TRT | Turkish Radio and Television Corporation |
| UN | United Nations |
| YÖK | The Turkish Council of Higher Education |

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Soft power has been a prominent concept in the discipline of international relations since it was presented by Joseph S. Nye. The term was used in order to assess the transforming nature of power in the 1990s. Although Nye has coined the term so as to evaluate this transformation in the context of America, it has become a substantial tool for scholars and policy makers around the world for analyzing power relations concerning their countries and their power resources. It has also come into prominence as a popular concept in Turkey while assessing new foreign policy approach presented by Ahmet Davutoğlu based on his strategic depth doctrine in which geography, culture, and history are considered substantial for forming foreign policy which could enhance Turkey's influence in regional and international affairs by relying on soft power. The concept has been used in order to present Turkey as a friendly and peaceful country while changing perceptions towards the country by expressing its increasing activism in the regional and global arena as a peaceful transformation and rise. Even though Davutoğlu had been a scholar of international relations, he firstly served as an advisor to the prime minister and then as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, he became an influential figure in Turkish foreign policy while having opportunities for implementing his doctrine in practices during his tenure of the ministry (2009-2014), so this period will be the main focus of this research. In order to assess Turkey's soft power during this period, the

research will mostly deal with this main question: “Has Turkey achieved to enhance its soft power during the 2009-2014 period as asserted?” In addition to this main question, there are also some sub-questions needed to be evaluated within this research which could be specified as following:

“Why has soft power been considered as an influential concept in international relations? “

“Why has the concept become important in Turkish foreign policy?”

“What are the sources of Turkish soft power? “

“Could Davutoğlu’s ideas be evaluated in the context of soft power? “

“How foreign policy understanding has changed during the JDP period due to new foreign policy principles of Davutoğlu?”

It is essential to acknowledge that ideas of Davutoğlu might be evaluated in different contexts, such as geopolitics due to his emphasis on geography, however in this research, his ideas will be evaluated in terms of soft power, by also taking into account new principles of foreign policy presented by himself. Furthermore, in order to make a coherent analysis, considering events in continuity could be important while evaluating transformation of circumstances. For this reason, while assessing values and policies, some examples which have taken place in the previous period will be mentioned so as to explain their influence on this period.

This research intends to create an analytical framework in order to specify Turkey’s soft power resources by paying attention to opinions of different scholars such as

Nye, Davutoğlu and other Turkish scholars such as Kemal Kirişçi and Ziya Öniş, which would be beneficial for making a consistent, relevant, and meaningful analysis while evaluating Turkey's soft power. In other words, soft power was coined by Nye so as to analyze power in the context of America, which makes it hard to apply the term for evaluating other countries without paying attention to those countries and their diversity in terms of power resources. It has been considered as an important concept for scholars while assessing Turkey with their diverse perspectives paying attention to different sources, which has created ambiguity and difficulty regarding the concept itself. Therefore, it would be substantial to form an analytical framework in the context of Turkey by emphasizing on its own resources so as to examine its soft power. Moreover, this analytical framework could be used for evaluating soft power within different time periods in a more specific and comprehensible way.

This research will consist of five chapters and in the first chapter which is also the introduction chapter, the subject and aim of the research will be specified while expressing main and sub-questions. In the second chapter, to have a better understanding of soft power, firstly the concept of power will be analyzed based on different disciplines such as sociology and international politics and theories of international relations such as realism, neoliberalism, and constructivism. Then, soft and hard power will be assessed briefly by paying attention to ideas of various scholars. Afterwards, soft power will be evaluated by analyzing its resources such as political values, culture, and policies and also its characteristics. Lastly, how the concept has been criticized by different scholars such as Alexander Vuving and Todd Hall will be evaluated.

In the third chapter, the concept of soft power will be reviewed while assessing diverse perspectives of Turkish scholars such as Bülent Aras, Kemal Kirişçi, and Ziya Öniş in terms of different sources of soft power. Then, how Nye regards Turkey's soft power concerning its resources will be viewed briefly. Finally, a special attention will be given to Davutoğlu and his doctrine by taking into account new principles of foreign policy so as to express changing foreign policy approach.

After assessing the theoretical aspect of soft power in the second and third chapters, soft power will be reviewed based on practices in the context of various sources of Turkey's soft power in the fourth chapter. In order to do so, an analytical framework will be presented for displaying on which resources the evaluation will be based and in which type of practices will be included. In addition to the mostly used resources such as policies, values, and culture, economy will also be examined as an important source of soft power by emphasizing Turkey's economic success in recent years.

Moreover, the institutionalization of soft power will be viewed briefly, regarding the establishment of the Office of Public Diplomacy. Lastly, the practical dimension of soft power will be assessed within changes in regional and global contexts.

In the fifth chapter which is also the conclusion chapter, a general assessment of soft power in the 2009-2014 period will be presented based on the analytical framework created in the previous chapter while evaluating results which could be drawn from the research. Further, limitations regarding the research will be mentioned.

In terms of methodology, the research is mainly qualitative, though the quantitative method has also been used while assessing economic growth and changing perceptions towards Turkey through statistical data. Moreover, it depends on

theoretical analysis of soft power including perspectives of Nye, Davutođlu, and other scholars and its implementation to Turkey during the 2009-2014 period as the main focus of the research. Mostly secondary resources and to the lesser extent primary resources have been utilized while making research through academic articles, books, books chapters, newspaper articles, reports, online resources, official documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and emails.



CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Review

Soft power as an influential concept is widely used by scholars and politicians for explaining foreign policy behavior of states while taking into account the changing nature of power in global affairs. Within this research, soft power will be used as the main concept so as to analyze Turkish foreign policy when Ahmet Davutoğlu served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 2009-2014 era of the JDP government. In order to do so, in this chapter, firstly the concept of power will be examined while paying attention to various contexts such as sociology and international politics and also theories of international relations such as realism, neoliberalism, and constructivism. Secondly, how hard and soft power are evaluated by different scholars will be analyzed briefly by paying a special attention to Joseph Nye's ideas on power and his concept of soft power. Thirdly, how soft power is defined will be assessed while taking into account its features and resources such as culture, values, and policies. Finally, the critics of soft power will be viewed based on questions such as how and why the concept has been criticized by scholars such as Todd Hall, Lee Gun, and Alexander Vuving.

2.1 Power

Power is one of the most important concepts of international relations while analyzing various actors such as leaders and states in the international system. This

important concept is highly complex and contested due to the diverse understanding of social relations influencing choices and preferences of actors. Therefore, in order to have a better understanding of the concept, it could be helpful to view different conceptions of power.

Max Weber defines power as the chance of an actor to pursue his own aims in spite of any resistance that he will encounter from other actors while evaluating actors within social relations (1978). Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall also explain power based on social relations while considering it as the production of those relations which impress actors' capabilities (2005). David D. Raphael pays attention to social circumstances while evaluating power as "the ability to make other people do what one wants them to do" (1990: 165-166). These three aforementioned definitions are quite substantial for displaying social aspects of power by focusing on actors within social affairs and circumstances. Further, Hans Morgenthau highlights another aspect of power while examining power firstly in terms of human relations based on control, then extending the concept to politics. He simply expresses power as "man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (1948: 13). When those reciprocal relations carry out within the framework of public authority in which the power holder influence people, those power relations acquire political dimension (Morgenthau 1948). Moreover, Karl Deutsch discusses power as "the ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome the obstacles" in the context of international politics (1967: 236).

In addition to defining power in terms of sociology, social and international politics, power has also been evaluated based on the idea of various faces of power in

international relations which are mainly about ordering change, controlling agenda, and forming preferences (Nye 2011a). The first dimension of power was developed by Robert Dahl in the 1950s. He mainly discussed power as relations among various actors such as individuals, groups, nation-states, and governments and defined it by simply analyzing two different actors which could be symbolized as A and B. He assessed power as A's capability to influence B to "do something that B would not otherwise do" (1957: 202-203). In accordance with his definition, power was considered as A's capabilities to achieve its preferred outcomes by causing changes in B's preferences and behaviors in line with the former's own aims. In this way, this first dimension was basically related to the decision-making process and its outcomes.

Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz put forward a second dimension of power in the 1960s while criticizing the first face of power for taking into account only decision-making process and missing the significance of agenda-setting and framing. That is not to say that decision-making process is not important for examining power relations among various actors. Bachrach and Baratz have also acknowledged the importance of decision-making and have thought that power is exerted when A takes part in the decision-making process by influencing B's decisions and preferences. However, power is also exerted when A uses its power in order to create and consolidate political and social values that restrict the range of the political procedure for public significance (Bachrach and Baratz 1962). In other words, it may be possible for A to form B's preferences by influencing the latter's expectations of what is significant and possible to accomplish while using institutions and ideas for

framing the agenda (Nye 2011a). If A achieve to do that, B may be hindered to put forward any matters which may not be suitable for A's preferences with their solutions. In this way, A can control and limit B's preferences while impressing political procedures, and values so as to restrict decision making to safe issues (Bachrach and Baratz 1962). That is why, not only decision-making process, but also non-decision making process are considered as important in this dimension while paying attention to agenda-setting and framing issues.

Lukes proposed a third dimension of power in the 1970s which exceeded relational and behavioral aspects of power while emphasizing on both how the decision-making process works and how political agenda is controlled by structural factors and also providing a more diverse explanation including both individual and structural factors (2005). This dimension is related to structural existence that explains how actors are influenced and restricted by social, cultural and power relations. The second dimension of power also provides some explanations concerning structural factors such as politics, and economics while analyzing how some decisions are kept out and how agenda-setting works (Nye 2011a). However, the second dimension is inadequate for comprehending how structural factors (social forces and institutional practices) can impress minds and ideas of people while forming their perceptions, and manipulating their preferences (Lukes 2005).

After briefly evaluating power regarding international politics and social contexts and also different dimensions of power, it is also important to view how power is examined in theories of international relations such as realism, neoliberalism, and constructivism. All these theories acknowledge power as a prominent concept for the

discipline, though they have different opinions regarding its significance and mission in the international system (Sancak 2016). For a realist such as Morgenthau, states as the main actors in international relations intend to increase their power so as to ensure their survival which is the main aim of states. The anarchic nature of system leads states to depend on their capacities for their own survival and maximize their power. Therefore, power is considered at the very center of international politics. As expressed by Morgenthau “international politics is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is usually the intermediate aim“ (1948: 13). While mentioning intentions of states for increasing their power, realists have assumed power as an entity mostly in terms of tangible resources such as military and economic capabilities, though they have acknowledged the existence of other resources (Mattern 2009; Sancak 2016). For instance, when Morgenthau assesses power related to national resources, he pays attention to both tangible elements such as geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, and intangible elements such as national character, and national morale, and the quality of diplomacy (1948). In this way, it could be said that realist presumptions are closed to the first dimension of power based on their similar perception of power in behavioralist and materialist terms (Mattern 2008).

Neoliberalists also acknowledge power as a significant concept, though they have not positioned power at the center of their theories as realists had done. They also assume states as the most prominent actors while also paying attention to non-state actors as other actors involving in global affairs. They focus on interdependence by taking into account increasing dependence of states and non-state actors and also

believe that states can cooperate instead of acting alone so as to accomplish their common interests such as global welfare and security through international institutions (Baylis, Smith and Owens 2011). In other words, institutions are endorsed as tools which could accomplish cooperation among actors in the global order (Liberfeld 2005; Baylis, Smith and Owens 2011). Accordingly, power is regarded by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye concerning the notion of institutions and interdependence in international politics which displays circumstances symbolized by mutual dependence of different actors. In order to comprehend the role of power in the context of interdependence, they have made a distinction between vulnerability and sensitivity. Sensitivity interdependence is connected to responses of other actors and is established by interactions within a structure of policies. Vulnerability is related to a state's accountability to tolerate costs which are charged by external circumstances due to changing policies. Whereas policy changes influence sensitivity dependence in short terms, it impresses vulnerability dependence in longer terms due to the costliness of adaptation to altered circumstances. Therefore, vulnerability is quite substantial so as to grasp the political formation of relations based on interdependence while paying attention to important questions such as who is forming the rules and setting the agenda (Keohane and Nye 2011). In this way, the second and third face of power could be substantial so as to understand power relations in an era of interdependence with its emphasis on agenda-setting, framing, and structural factors.

Whereas realists assume power as the main interest of states while evaluating interests in a more objective and tangible context, constructivists evaluate power

within a more subjective and intangible understanding by viewing interests as unfixed and changeable. In order to understand interests of various actors, it is noteworthy to pay attention to their social environment, their historical experiences and also their identities which impress their preferences and perceptions (Conteh-Morgan 2005; Wendt 1992). In other words, for constructivists, it is essential to pay attention to actors' interests, identities, preferences, and also perceptions so as to comprehend the concept of power. Identities and interests are shaped by social contexts throughout specific historical processes and can change over time. They also express that a state's intention of enhancing its power for its own interest may not always produce conflict as realists have advocated, but can even sustain cooperation among different states (Wendt 1992). In this way, the third face of power could provide substantial explanations with its emphasize on how social factors can influence actors by shaping their preferences and perceptions for constructivism.

Power is also examined in terms of resource power and behavioral power. Resource power is stated by Keohane and Nye as the possession of particular sources such as military forces, economic size, natural resources, territory, and population which are considered as the capability to achieve the preferred outcomes. In behavioral terms, power could be expressed as the capability to acquire intended outcomes. Behavioral power could be separated into two different categories as hard and soft power (Keohane and Nye 2011). In order to impress the behavior of others, states can rely on its economic and military power as its use of hard power or soft power based on various resources and behaviors employed through their policies. Hard power is defined by Keohane and Nye as "the ability to get others to do what they otherwise

would not do through threat of punishment or promise of reward.“ (2011: 216)

Otherwise, soft power is described as the capability to “get desired outcomes because others want what you want; it is the ability to achieve desired outcomes through attraction rather than coercion“ (Keohane and Nye 2011: 216). States can rely on its military power due to coercion, protection, and deterrence by using force and threatening others through war, alliance and coercive diplomacy or its economic power due to inducement and coercion while imposing sanctions and making payments through diverse government policies such as bribes and aids. States can also depend on its capacity for agenda setting and attractiveness by encouraging institutions, values, cultures, and policies through bilateral and multilateral and also public diplomacy in order to form the preferences of other actors so as to acquire preferred outcomes (Keohane and Nye 2011; Nye 2004a). In this way, the concept of soft power provides a new understanding in terms of power which was evaluated mainly based on military capacity and economic success for a long time. Further, the concept displays another dimension of power while emphasizing different power behaviors other than coercion, threat, and inducement that could be used by states to get what they want (Sancak 2016).

As claimed by Nye and Welch, this behavioral definition of power might be substantial for historians and analysts who intend to reconstruct the past, though policy makers and politicians usually prefer the definition of power as the possession of sources for practical reasons such as their intentions of impressing other actors and making predictions about the future so as to lead their actions. Moreover, the capacity to influence other actors is often associated with the possession of specific

resources which also makes the description more predictable, measurable, and perceptible (Nye and Welch 2011). However, definitions may have problems in practice and possession of best sources may not always produce the desired outcomes for an actor. For instance, having the best military capacity may not always cause achieving military victory. While evaluating power in terms of resources, it is also substantial to know which resources are more convenient in specific circumstances so as to accomplish preferred outcomes. Power conversion which means the ability to transform potential power assessed by resources into realized power assessed by transformed behaviors of other actors is also another problem that emerges when power is defined concerning possession of particular resources (Nye 1990; 2011a).

After assessing power briefly based on different conceptions, it is essential to explore how hard and soft power have been analyzed by scholars while paying a special attention to Nye and his concept of soft power.

2.2 Hard Power and Soft Power

Hard power and soft power have been evaluated as two important concepts by Keohane and Nye while analyzing power in terms of behavioral power (2011). Hard power has been widely used while explaining states' reliance on military and economic power so as to influence other actors by means of various behaviors such as coercion, inducement, and command. Soft power as a new concept coined by Nye has provided a new perspective while highlighting another dimension of power by pointing out diverse behaviors such as attraction and agenda-setting.

The concept was developed by Joseph S. Nye in order to express Nye's different opinion about changing nature of power in his well-known book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* in 1990. Contrary to the common assumption of American declinism in the academia and public arena at the end of the 1980s which means that the enhancing power of Japan and European countries tested American power and also its status as the global leader, he was confident in American power not only in its form as hard command power but also in its co-optive or soft power while analyzing those countries (Nye 1990a; 1990b).

Nye has further developed the concept especially in his seminal book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* in order to clarify it with more details for avoiding any misunderstandings in its common usage. He has examined soft power behaviors and its resources broadly while taking into account not only states but also non-state actors such as the UN and the AI Qaeda. He has also looked at the relationship between soft power and American foreign policy while paying special attention to the Iraq War (2003) and the unilateralist approach of the Bush Administration before and after the war as the major cause of decreasing American soft power. Nye has also emphasized the significance of soft power in his influential book *The Paradox of American Power* while criticizing that unilateralist approach and the risk of rising triumphalism in America in the beginning of the 21st century. He has assumed that values, cultures and policies, which support and promote democracy and human rights at domestic and international level (while listening to others' opinions) could increase soft power of a country. On the other hand acting in a

unilateralist way while taking into account only national benefits and not listening to others could weaken the soft power (Nye 2002a; 2004a).

Nye has continued to use the concept of soft power as a substantial tool for analyzing the evolving power relations in the 21st century while paying attention to states and non-state actors in his following books such as *The Future of Power* and *Is the American Century Over?*. When he refers to the term, he mostly emphasizes the importance of multilateralism while considering the concept in the context of a non-zero sum game which means an actor's gain does not always cause other actor's loss and global affairs could be a win-win situation for both actors. The success of soft power can be beneficial for all countries if countries can achieve working together especially on transnational issues such as international crime, climate change, the spread of infectious diseases and terrorism. Furthermore, he has even used the concepts of soft and hard power in order to evaluate the relationship between power and leadership in his book called *The Powers to Lead* (Nye 2008a; 2011a; 2015).

The concept of soft power has been assessed as an important concept with its emphasize on attraction and persuasion while also paying attention to cooperation so as to solve common problems. However, the concept has been criticized as being inadequate, vague, and inefficient by many scholars, and decision-makers in various ways. For instance, Niall Ferguson has regarded it as an ineffective concept for acquiring preferred outcomes while assessing soft power in terms of commercial and cultural products. On the other hand, he assumes that hard power is more influential for achieving actors' aims while defining power in the context of material sources such as military capabilities (2009). Further, the concept with its emphasize on

American power is viewed by Lee Geun as a significant tool to sustain and enhance American leadership position in global affairs while attracting others in order to maintain its hegemonic position (2009). As expressed by Hall, the concept is widely applied without criticizing this aspect so as to advocate specific values and policies of various states (2010). Moreover, as criticized by Bilgin and Eliş, values mainly representing American way of life are considered and encouraged as universal values without giving any explanations why and how those values have become universal (2008). Lastly, Alexander Vuving has made a significant contribution while analyzing the concept by making a distinction between power resources and power currencies which are mainly related to power resources. Those currencies are specified as beauty, benignity, and brilliance which are about actors' values, aims, and visions, actors' relations with others and actors' connections with their works. Vuving has expressed that those currencies produce soft power through inspiration, sympathy, appreciation, and admiration (2009).

After evaluating hard and soft power briefly, now it is important to look at how soft power is defined and differentiated by Joseph Nye from hard power based on their qualities and resources which are used so as to wield the soft power of a country in a more detailed way for understanding its significance.

2.2.2 Soft Power

Soft power can be defined an actor's capability to influence other actors for acquiring desired outcomes through attraction rather than coercion and payments. A state may acquire its desired outcomes in global affairs if others would like to follow it by imitating its example, aspiring its high standard of openness and wealth, and

appreciating its values. In this way, soft power can depend on attraction and also agenda setting while supporting resources of soft power such as culture, policies, values, and institutions for influencing other actors (Nye 2004a).

Soft power depends on an actor's capability to form preferences of others through influence, persuasion, and attraction. However, soft power can not be solely defined as influence that can also emerge as a result of hard power. Although persuasion is significant for exerting soft power by moving other actors with ideas, it is more than persuasion. It is also about attraction which frequently lead to compliance by impressing preferences of others. As claimed by Nye, soft power is more likely to be used by democratic countries which rest on attraction to get what they want. Further, democratic countries have perceived power as less compelling and tangible than it was before. That is why, they are more likely to depend on soft power resources for influencing other actors. For instance, if a leader with an attractive personality pursues values and policies which are considered as legitimate and moral by others, it will cost less to form preferences of other actors (Nye 2004a).

However, all countries in the world are not democratic which restrains the global transformation of power while making not only soft power but also hard power as still relevant in current global affairs. Nye explains the distribution of power by comparing it to a three-dimensional chess game which includes political-military matters on the top, economic issues in the middle and transnational matters on the bottom level. Hard power is quite relevant for impressing actions of others so as to get preferred outcomes in all those issues. However, soft power is also quite essential for solving transnational matters such as terrorism and international crimes which

necessitate cooperation and collective action for their resolutions (Nye 2004a; 2011a).

Hard and soft power are actually connected to each other with their similar aims of influencing others, but they are also different because of the qualities of their resources as tangible or intangible and the nature of the behavior whether it is related to co-optive or command power. While command power can be defined as the capability of changing other actors' behaviors by using hard power resources, co-optive power can be described as the capability of forming others' preferences by means of soft power resources. Therefore, whereas command power mainly relies on tangible resources such as payments, threats, bribes, and sanctions, co-optive power is more attached to intangible resources such as values, policies, and cultures for influencing preferences of others and attracting them. The correlation between types of power and resources may not always be perfect yet. Hard power resources such as a successful economy or a well-run military could be a source of appeal and reputation and also produce soft power behavior while attracting others to follow their effective examples. Moreover, if a state experiences crises regarding its economy and military, it can lose its hard power resources and also its attractiveness as a soft power while losing some of its capability to set the global agenda. It is also noteworthy to highlight that soft power does not mainly rely on hard power, though hard power could be significant for exerting soft power (Nye 1990a; 2004a).

Nye indicates soft power which could be used for good or bad aims as a descriptive concept, but not as a normative one. He also evaluates soft power as an attractive power in terms of behavior and as resources which could exert attraction in terms of

resources. Therefore, soft power is considered as the capacity to acquire desired outcomes through attraction rather than inducements and threats. It emerges from the desirability of a country's values, culture, ideas and policies and also from the capability of agenda-setting while manipulating the agenda of political options and shaping the preferences of others by representing them as realistic or unrealistic. It is also notable to mention that soft power is dependent on the context as the other kinds of power and accordingly changes within time and space. Soft power resources such as freedom may be perceived as attractive in one place, but may be considered as repulsive in another. So it is not just about having the resources, but also how those resources as perceived by receivers under which conditions matters (Nye 2004a; 2007b).

2.2.3 Sources of Soft Power

Nye points out that the soft power of a country mainly arises from three resources: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)" (2004a: 11). Culture is described as "the set of values and practices that create meaning for a society" (Nye 2004a: 11). It is usually divided into two categories as popular culture expressing mass entertainment and high culture regarding education, literature, and art. Popular culture produces soft power behavior, but it would be a mistake to perceive soft power as the consequences of popular culture simply (Nye 2004a). As soft power expressed by Niall Ferguson and Josef Joffe mainly as cultural power, it is considered that the relations between culture and attraction might be imperfect and even produce

repulsion instead of attraction (2009; 2006). It is also important to acknowledge that culture may not attract all people in similar ways and may not produce attraction in desired ways, however, culture is one of the resources for wielding soft power. If we only focus on this resource, we are likely to fail to comprehend the concept as a whole.

Values as one of the sources of soft power are the ones proclaimed in domestic and foreign policies of a state. States would like to sustain their own benefits, but the main question is which power sources will be used when states would like to sustain their interests through their policies. Policies as the other source of soft power are related to strategies on which governments describe their aims and intend to sustain them. If they describe their policies narrowly based on their national interests and maintain those kinds of policies, they would seem less attractive compared to states whose policies are more inclusive (Nye 2004a).

If a country's culture embraces universal values and its policies support those values while taking into account interests of others, it enhances the possibility of achieving the preferred outcomes for commitment and attraction that it builds. However promoting narrow-minded values and considering solely national interests while not paying attention to universal values could diminish the probability of acquiring the desired outcomes (Nye 2004a).

Government policies which have been pursued in the national and international level could be an important source of soft power. If a country is able to encourage implementing universally shared values such as democracy, freedom, and human rights in its domestic and foreign policy by working with others in international

institutions, it will advance its soft power while influencing the others. Further, if a country can form international institutions consistent with its values, it can also wield its soft power and enhance its legitimacy in the eyes of other countries which means it can experience less hostile attitudes moving towards achieving its aims. For instance, the US which created institutions leading the global economy as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization consistent with its liberal ideology and values can increase its soft power while creating spaces for states in order to work together for mutual interests such as economic stability and development. Moreover, transnational issues such as climate change or terrorism display the necessity of working with others so as to resolve common problems. Even though those issues have domestic origins, they pass international borders which make it hard for states to solve them alone and require multilateral actions (Nye 1990b; 2002a; 2004a).

Credibility is also essential for attracting others, but the involvement of a government in the process could be perceived as propaganda while decreasing its credibility and also its appeal. It is also essential to underline that considering government as the primary mechanism of soft power could be problematic yet. Many of soft power resources are not related to a government as hard power resources are. For instance, military forces are absolutely governmental and are exposed to government control. Whereas the implementation of foreign policy and values such as human rights and democracy is more open to government control, popular culture is more independent which makes it difficult to control and manipulate for the government. It is also noteworthy to mention that soft power is considered as more preferable for its

impression of being less risky, though it is easier to lose and difficult to reestablish. Moreover, soft power could need a longer time so as to provide intended outcomes for a government which needs to pay attention not only to other states, but also to non-state actors as multinational companies, transnational terrorist organizations, and institutions in order to advance its soft power (Nye 2002a; 2004a; 2011a).

After evaluating sources of soft power, it is also essential to mention which measures could be assessed as potential attraction so as to exert soft power. According to Nye, foreign immigrants, international students, foreign scholars, book sales and music sales, Nobel prize winners, popular sports, asylum applications, the number of Internet hosts could be considered as measures of potential attraction. However, it should be highlighted that those potential measures may not always actualize their potential and produce the desired results (2004a).

2.2.4 The Critiques of Soft Power

The concept of soft power introduced by Joseph Nye has been extensively used by not only academicians but also political leaders. It has been considered as a substantial term especially for leading human rights efforts and diplomatic initiatives by focusing on universal values such as human rights and promoting the necessity of acting together so as to solve transnational problems while taking into account others. The term also underlines the importance of persuasion and attraction instead of coercion and payments while paying attention to non-coercive ways for appealing others such as culture, values, and policies. Nonetheless, soft power has been widely criticized because of its lack of well-developed theoretical explanation and its ambiguity (Geun 2009; Kudryavtsev 2014; Vuving 2009; Beng 2008). It has been

also reviewed as being ineffective by Niall Ferguson. He assumes soft power mostly connected to cultural and commercial goods and considers that loving cultural products created by America does not make people more attracted to America directly. For that reason, he mainly defines power regarding material sources such as money and guns and perceives hard power more effective to achieve preferred outcomes by making the US as the greatest power (Ferguson 2009).

Nye expresses various factors such as cultural programs, educational exchange programs, and technology in order to wield soft power while increasing the attractiveness of a country, however, considering those different factors under the only category of “attractiveness“ could be problematic while underestimating their differences (Kudryavtsev 2014). Further, as indicated by Pınar Bilgin and Berivan Eliş, Nye reflects attraction as pre-given while focusing on how to increase it instead of understanding the historical context and the social interaction in which it occurs. As he also encourages universal values, he fails to explain some questions such as how those values are considered as universal and based on which circumstances (Bilgin and Eliş 2008).

The concept of soft power is quite substantial for promoting multilateralism and diplomacy while supporting specific values which promote liberal American way of life. Whilst Nye talks about the significance of persuasion and attraction, he mostly refers to the US as the favorable example owing to its values and culture (Beng 2008). However, the term has been widely used not only in America but also in Europe and Asia and academicians and politicians who have adopted the term have presented their cultures, policies and values as more attractive instead of questioning

the term in itself. That is why, soft power has been utilized as a way to justify particular policies and values by politicians (Hall 2010). Further, it gives more opportunities for middle powers which do not intend to or do not have the capacity to increase their hard power resources in order to compete with the US such as Japan and Canada for expanding their foreign policies through soft power resources (Geun 2009).

Nye's opinions on soft power have also been criticized by Lee Geun for mostly concerning the essence of power instead of the power sources. Although Nye mentions culture, values, and policies as resources of co-optive power, he mainly deals with the essence of power. For instance, even though the military is a source of hard power, it can produce attractiveness and soft power. If the nature of the power is attractive and co-optive, it turns into soft power. On the other hand, Geun pays more attention to soft power resources for producing soft power, not to the essence of power. As stated by him, whenever soft power resources are utilized in order to attract others, the result is soft power. Soft power could be also coercive and co-optive in its nature yet (Geun 2009).

Evaluating soft power in terms of resources makes power measurable and tangible (Vuving 2009; Nye 2008a). Power resources are important so as to exert power, though power is not same as its resources. As mentioned above, hard power resources such as military not only produce hard power, but can also produce soft power. In order to clear the confusion emerged as a result of considering power as resources, Vuving makes a differentiation between power currencies and power

resources. Power currencies which are beauty, benignity, and brilliance as defined by Vuving exert soft power and usually belong to power resources (2009).

As claimed by Vuving, beauty is related to the actors' connection with visions, values, aims, and reasons and creates soft power thanks to inspiration. If actors share similar values, aims, and visions, they consider each other in positive ways and intend to act together so as to sustain their shared aims and values. Benignity is connected to the actors' relations with others, especially with the client which is used by Vuving in order to express the willingness of the client in the soft power processes and leads to soft power owing to the creation of sympathy and appreciation. While benignity represents kind and peaceful purposes of the agents, it increases the possibility of cooperation by attracting the others. Governments can advance their benignity if they listen to others and increase their dialogues with others by also supporting peace. Diplomatic assistance, economic aid, and humanitarian support are the most familiar ways of promoting benignity. Moreover, the governance of foreign policy via international institutions is another way to exert soft power by creating an area for taking collective steps based on shared values and aims and the necessity of following international norms and paying attention to interests of others. Brilliance is about the actors' connection with their works and creates soft power through admiration. It displays itself in different shapes such as a successful economy, a powerful military or a peaceful society by inspiring others to imitate some or all of the policies, values, exercises and ideologies of successful states. Vuving also evaluates that educational exchange programs, cultural events, promotion of culture, and language are important for making the first prominent

move so as to support understanding and encouraging positive images of a country, though he does not think that those activities generate soft power behavior frankly (2009).

After looking at the theory of soft power presented by Nye and critics made by scholars such as Vuving, Hall, and Bilgin, theoretical aspect of soft power in Turkish foreign policy will be analyzed in the next chapter. In order to do so, how Turkish scholars have perceived the term and made contributions will be evaluated. After that Ahmet Davutoğlu and his strategic depth Doctrine will be assessed.

CHAPTER 3

Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

Soft power has been an important concept for scholars such as Bülent Aras, Kemal Kirişçi, Ziya Öniş, and Ahmet Davutoğlu directly or indirectly whilst arguing Turkish foreign policy during the JDP government. In order to understand how this concept has been examined based on practices of soft power, firstly it is essential to mention how Nye evaluates Turkey's soft power based on its resources. Then, it is important to review how these scholars have assessed the concept concerning various resources such as values, policies, and culture. Lastly, how Davutoğlu views the concept related to the strategic depth doctrine will be mentioned by paying attention to his new principles of foreign policy such as the zero-problems with neighbors so as to highlight the changing nature of foreign policy understanding.

3.1 Theoretical Discussion

Soft power could be considered as a substantial concept for Bülent Aras who has written many articles on Turkey's foreign policy, Turkey's mediation and peace-building efforts in the Balkans and in the Middle East and also Ahmet Davutoğlu's new foreign policy understanding. He has applied this concept in order to explain changing Turkish foreign policy and its practices in diverse regions during the JDP government. He assesses that Turkish foreign policy has been conducted with a new

understanding based on soft power together with a more constructive, active and peace-oriented manner towards its neighbors by taking into account international values and legitimacy instead of the former understanding depending on mere security. Further, he considers Turkey as a soft power concerning its social, economic, and political abilities and its influence on the ground (Aras 2008; 2009b; 2009c; 2012).

Tarik Oğuzlu has also analyzed Turkey's new foreign policy approach based on soft power regarding its relations with the West within changing historical context while paying attention to new principles of foreign policy such as zero-problems with neighbors. He has reviewed new foreign policy approach as dynamic and visionary especially towards the Middle East compared to the old one which was mainly Western-oriented and was based on security while perceiving the Middle East as a threat to its security and to its Western identity. Moreover, he has also discussed whether Turkey could be a potential model for the Middle Eastern countries, regarding the Arab uprisings which started in late 2010 in Tunisia and spread to the other Arabic states such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. According to Oğuzlu, the uprisings displayed discontent of people regarding economic, social, and economic issues of the region and their need for liberalization and democratization. In this way, Turkey has been considered as a potential model which has synthesized democracy, modernism, and secularism while having a largely Muslim population for those countries which have intended to maintain their cultural and religious values, though they would like to accomplish political, economic, and social changes (Oğuzlu 2007; 2011b; 2012b; 2014).

Kemal Kirişçi has discussed how Turkey's image has transformed from being a country which mainly relies on security to a country intending to become a soft power while emphasizing on the concept of the trading state in order to explain how economic relations and Turkey's increasing involvement in the region has shaped new foreign policy understanding. He has reviewed how foreign policy approach has changed with the new government, owing to the principles of Ahmet Davutoğlu, which encourage better relations with neighbors, economic integration, mediation, and diplomacy. While analyzing changing Turkish foreign policy under the JDP government, he also acknowledges that there had been some changes implemented by former governments in the 1980s and the 1990s, such as improving economic relations with neighbors without much effect on foreign policy (Kirişçi 2009, 2011, 2012).

Ziya Öniş has analyzed Turkey's new active foreign policy during the JDP period regarding the political and economic reforms sustained for the EU membership, while also discussing how the economic and political achievements of the former governments created opportunities for pursuing an active foreign policy and how economic instability restricted the previous governments to maintain that policy. He views Turkey as a benign regional power which can play a constructive role in various regions by deploying soft power resources effectively while evaluating increasing relations with neighbor countries due to improving political, economic and trade links (Öniş 2003; 2009; Öniş and Kutlay 2013).

Even though Şaban Kardaş does not mainly use the concept of soft power, he needs to be mentioned regarding his significant analysis of Turkish foreign policy in the

Middle East and Turkey's response to the Arab uprisings based on its support for liberal values such as democracy and human rights. He mostly uses the concept of regional power, while taking into account Turkey's attempts for forming a regional order and also for its intention of initiating a course of regional integration in the Middle East. He evaluates Turkey's democratization experience and the new economic and political reforms initiated by the new government which has enhanced Turkey's image as a source of inspiration, regarding Turkey's increasing regional involvement. Further, he emphasizes the proactive feature of foreign policy while explaining Turkey's increasing involvement in regional and global issues by employing diverse liberal tools in the Middle East such as mediation, diplomacy, economic interdependence, and soft power (Kardaş 2010; 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

Soft power could be also assumed as a prominent concept for İbrahim Kalın¹, who has been an influential figure since 2009, firstly as a senior advisor to the prime minister and the director of public diplomacy and then as the deputy undersecretary. Therefore, in order to understand how Turkish foreign policy transformed during the JDP period and how soft power applied through public diplomacy so as to achieve transformation, Kalın will be mentioned briefly taking into account his scholarly articles and newspapers articles. He emphasizes the transformation of foreign policy by expressing three principles, such as economic improvement, the balance between security and freedom, and political and economic justice. Turkey needs to advance its soft power so as to become a regional power and form a regional order based on freedom and security while enhancing its influence in the international arena.

¹ He has been serving as the spokesperson for the Turkish presidency since December 2014.

Further, he considers that Turkey needs to display its political legitimacy for highlighting its democratic credentials which are the main features of Turkey's soft power (Kalin 2011a; 2011b).

Ahmet Davutoğlu firstly as a scholar of international relations and then as an advisor to the prime minister and a foreign minister has been a prominent figure in Turkish foreign policy. He has developed the theory of strategic depth while analyzing Turkey's relations with its surrounding regions regarding its geographical and historical depth. He has also written about new foreign policy vision and new principles of foreign policy such as the balance between security and democracy, zero problem with neighbors, pro-active and pre-emptive foreign policy, rhythmic diplomacy, and maintaining a multidimensional foreign policy. He advocates that Turkey needs to pursue an active and multidimensional foreign policy approach by improving its relations with its neighbors, which could expand its soft power (Davutoğlu 2008; 2010; 2012b).

3.2 Different Perspectives about the Concept of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

Soft power is the ability to acquire the desired outcomes by relying on attraction rather than coercion and inducement. As mentioned by Nye, countries can depend on their various resources such as cultures, values, and policies so as to exert their soft power through attraction. Turkey has been analyzed concerning its resources and its use of soft power by some scholars and politicians. Before evaluating how soft power has been assessed within Turkey, it is essential to mention how Nye expresses Turkish soft power regarding its resources. According to Nye (2016), Turkey has a

significant amount of soft power depending on its resources such as its traditional culture and its inheritance as a Muslim country which has consolidated Islam with democracy and human rights. In this way, Turkey could be considered as a soft power regarding its culture, values, and policies which are consistent with liberal values such as human rights and democracy.

Bülent Aras also acknowledges Turkey as a rising soft power concerning its economic, political and social capabilities and its effectiveness on the ground. Turkey has intended to advance its relations with its neighbors and achieve regional cooperation in the Balkans, in the Middle East and also in the Caucasus by improving economic, diplomatic and political relations. As explained by Aras, Turkish foreign policy which aims at fostering cooperation and integration among countries in the region rests on four principles: “high-level political dialogue, economic interdependence, promoting multicultural co-existence, and an inclusive understanding of security“ (2012:3). Turkey has tried to encourage political and strategic dialogue among its neighbors and create economic interdependence by abolishing visa requirements for its neighbors and establishing a free-trade zone with them. Furthermore, multicultural and multi-religious co-existence have been highlighted as two prominent social aspects of cooperation and advocated so as to achieve regional cooperation. The formation of common security environment including all actors based on equality has been also encouraged for establishing a peaceful and stable regional order (Aras and Akarçeşme 2011).

As argued by Aras, Turkey’s rising soft power needs to be evaluated based on regional circumstances while taking into account its peacemaking efforts through

diplomacy. Turkey has maintained an active foreign policy so as to facilitate solving long-standing problems by acting as a mediator and showing accomplishments on the ground in the course of crisis such as the Gaza crisis and the Russia-Georgia crisis. Turkey's role as a mediator in regional problems is also considerable for presenting an alternative voice from the region itself. That is why; Turkey has advanced its appeal not only in the West and in the US, but also in its surrounding regions by putting regional problems forward to the international area (Aras 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2012).

As claimed by Aras, three causes could be mentioned for considering Turkey as a rising soft power. The first cause is connected to Turkey's democratization, its economic success and stability, its cultural, political and social accomplishments that have enhanced Turkey's appeal. The second cause is related to its capacity for sustaining an active foreign policy aiming at resolving regional issues by paying attention to regional concerns and international reliability, which enhances its reputation while gaining hearts and minds of people of the region. The third and last cause is about the diplomacy which has been pursued in a moderate and cautious way by involving all connected actors to the process in order to resolve problems and start initiatives without taking sides in any regional coalitions (Aras 2009a). Aras evaluates Turkey's soft power in a more broad perspective while paying attention not only to values and foreign policies which promote cooperation, dialogue and use of diplomacy for creating a more peaceful region, but also to culture in terms of multicultural co-existence and economic achievements which can enhance Turkey's appeal by improving its image and attracting other actors.

Oğuzlu has also analyzed new foreign policy approach which promotes economic integration while relying on diplomacy and mediation attempts to solve regional disputes for establishing a new regional order. Owing to this new approach, Turkey has changed its perception towards the Middle East positively and regarded the region in a different perspective while enhancing its relations with its neighbors in order to enhance its credibility and its reputation for the Western countries and also for the Middle Eastern countries. Turkey has started to transform gradually from a hard power depending on its military capabilities to a trading state which relies on soft power resources. In this way, Turkey has intended to advance not only its economic, social and political relations with its neighbors but also its cultural appeal in the region by encouraging liberal and democratic values. A dynamic foreign policy has been pursued by the new government taking into account common historical and cultural ties with the people of the region in order to create a peaceful and stable regional order (Oğuzlu 2007; 2010; 2012a; 2014).

Oğuzlu also evaluates the new foreign policy approach in the context of Europeanization process. The EU is mainly viewed as a civilian power which depends on multilateralism, diplomacy, and international law to be seen legitimate and intends to resolve conflicts in peaceful ways. The new government has preferred a cooperative and multilateral foreign policy approach which has increased Turkey's soft power. Moreover, with the de-securitization process, many issues has been interpreted in terms of politics as an alternative to the former understanding based on security while encouraging negotiation and consensus-building and advancing civilian primacy during the procedure of conflict resolution. However, he claims that

domestic problems which cause chaos and instability in the country could damage Turkey's identity as a soft power by diminishing its attractive image and legitimacy in the eyes of its neighbors. Further, the idea of soft power could be challenged due to the changing security environments in the Black Sea and also in the Middle East which show that realpolitik might be coming back (Oğuzlu 2007; 2010; 2014).

While Oğuzlu regards Turkey as a soft power concerning its culture, history, values, and policies which encourage the use of diplomacy, mediation efforts and multilateralism. He also assesses Turkey as a model country for the Middle Eastern countries. He considers that the uprisings in the Arab world have highlighted dissatisfaction of people concerning political, social and economic problems such as corruption, unemployment, authoritarian governments of the region and their increasing demands for democratization and liberalization. Turkey which successfully consolidates democracy and Islam as a secular state could be considered as a model for the countries of the region which have aimed at obtaining democratization and economic development while protecting their religious and cultural values in the meantime. His expression of the model country also displays some similarities with Nye's ideas on Turkey's soft power taking into account their emphasizes on Turkey's consolidation of democracy and Islam as a secular state. According to Oğuzlu, Turkey's relations with the West, especially with the EU and NATO and its rising soft power in the Middle East in recent years owing to its democratic achievements, its economic growth and its diplomatic efforts are also substantial for evaluating Turkey as a model country. It is also essential to emphasize that although the idea of the model country is important at a theoretical level, it may

not produce similar outcomes in practice in different countries due to their diverse features (Oğuzlu 2011b; 2013a).

Şaban Kardaş also highlights that Turkey has improved its image in the region and also in the global arena owing to new foreign policy approach applied by the JDP government since 2002, when they first came to power. Turkey has enhanced its relations with its neighbors such as Iraq and Armenia so as to resolve bilateral problems and has also acted as a mediator to solve regional problems through diplomacy between various countries such as Russia and Georgia and also Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. With the purpose of forming a peaceful order in the region, economic cooperation and integration have been promoted extensively through such implementations as the abolishment of visa requirement, the establishment of a free trade zone, and the formation of strategic cooperation councils with neighbors such as Syria for accomplishing political rapprochement. Moreover, Turkey has opened to new regions such as Africa, East Asia, and Latin America by developing new political, social and economic relations with countries of those regions (Kardaş 2012a; 2012b).

Kemal Kirişçi evaluates changing foreign policy understanding from a different perspective while emphasizing Turkey's economic success in order to understand the promotion of democratic values and the use of soft power. He also acknowledges that domestic developments such as the rise of a new political elite, with a new agenda under the new JDP government (who supports the EU's political and economic reforms and a more active foreign policy approach by developing closer economic ties with regional countries) have been prominent for explaining changing

Turkish foreign policy approach towards soft power and further democratization (Kirişçi 2011).

Kirişçi regards Turkey as a trading state within a historical context by paying attention to developments of the 1980s, such as the process of economic liberalization and the changing foreign policy attitudes, which pay more attention to economy and trade instead of political and military issues by encouraging interdependence and involvement in conflict resolution. He considers Turgut Özal as an important political figure who made a great contribution regarding the emergence of the trading state in the 1980s, even though the process was interrupted due to the former foreign policy approach which had attached more importance to politics and military. With the new foreign policy elite who have promoted economic interdependence, the trading state came back in a remarkable way with tangible outcomes, such as increasing involvement of business associations such as the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) and the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) in impressing and forming foreign policy and public opinion. However, with the new government and its principle of zero problems with neighbors which could be evaluated as an appearance of the foreign policy of a trading state, Turkey's relations with its neighbors from the Middle East to the Balkans have enhanced, while economy has become an important component of Turkish foreign policy. Turkey did not only achieved to improve its own relations with its neighbors, but also aimed at getting more involved in regional problems by acting as a mediator so as to solve long-standing problems. Moreover, the movement of people which creates

interdependence not only in terms of business but also in terms of politics and culture can be considered as another factor which increases Turkey's transformation into a trading state. In this transformation process, foreign policy makers are changing as well while taking into economic matters as important as national security issues (Kirişçi 2009; 2011).

Öniş discusses changing Turkish foreign policy concerning the improving relations with the EU and increasing political and economic reforms, which have enhanced Turkey's economic success and democratic credentials, by endorsing the rule of law and improving civil and human rights with the recognition of minorities' identities and improvements of cultural rights. Turkey has intended to act as a benign power while using soft power resources in order to achieve closer relations with neighbors, such as Syria while developing a more balanced approach towards its Middle Eastern neighbors and also playing a mediator role in regional disputes. In addition to its changing approach and diplomatic attempts, economy has been an important component for pursuing an assertive foreign policy and explaining Turkey's rising status as an effective regional power. The JDP government achieved a sustainable economic growth by displaying a strong dedication to finance, which created new opportunities for maintaining an active policy based on growing investment and trade links with neighbor countries. Even though the former coalition government also tried to make changes, such as reconstruction of financial system after the 2001 economic crisis and improving relations with the EU after Turkey's recognition as a candidate for EU membership in 1999 at the Helsinki Summit, that government suffered from economic instability and chronic financial crisis, which limited its

capabilities for pursuing an active foreign policy. As a result, the increasing economic interactions and success of the Turkish economy have advanced Turkey's capacity for acting as a benign regional power by applying its soft power resources successfully (Öniş 2003; 2009; Öniş and Yılmaz 2009; Öniş and Kutlay 2013).

Ziya Öniş emphasizes the concept of benign regional power by analyzing Turkey's capability for playing a constructive role not only in the Central Asia but also in the Middle East. He considers that in order to act as a benign power, Turkey needs to cooperate with its neighbors, by forming a system of political and economic relations, including state actors as well as non-state actors and present itself as a model based on its democratization process and economic success. Moreover, it needs to choose a balanced manner regarding bilateral regional disputes by taking into account different sides while taking part in conflict resolution process by means of diplomacy. He also evaluates Turkey's capacity as a role model for the countries of the Central Asia and in the Middle East by considering Turkey as a democratic and a secular country with an overwhelmingly Muslim population and also with its Western orientation which is similar to Oğuzlu's understanding of the model country. He states that if Turkey could be able to pursue democratization process based on full EU memberships, while increasing religious and minority rights, it could act as a model with its great potential (Öniş 2003).

The democratization of foreign policy and domestic politics are also substantial so as to understand transforming foreign policy within the new government. Non-state actors, such as business groups and civil society organizations, have gained importance in foreign policy, meanwhile, public opinion has become important in

foreign policy decisions. Further, Turkey has enhanced its appeal in the international area as a country pursuing an active foreign policy related to soft power owing to the expansion of civil and cultural rights towards Kurdish minorities. It is also essential to mention Davutoğlu, who influences new policy approach based on the use of soft power and diplomacy with its strategic depth doctrine in which Turkey's historical legacy and geopolitical position have been emphasized regarding its capability to play a global role (Öniş 2003; 2009; Öniş and Yılmaz 2009).

İbrahim Kalin also focuses on the transformation of foreign policy and also its new principles taking into account the JDP period. He states three principles as the balance between security and freedom, economic improvement and political and economic justice. Sustaining the balance between security and freedom has advanced Turkey's capability for strengthening its democracy and endorsing political freedoms in the country, which has increased Turkey's attractiveness as a soft power. The same principle has also transformed Turkey's relations with its neighbors by changing its perceptions of neighbors from foes to friends as it has happened with Syria, Iran, and Russia. Moreover, Turkey has intended to enhance its economic relations in a wide area from Africa to Latin America as a way of developing political relations with the countries of those regions. In order to achieve economic integration, some practices such as the removal of visa requirements and the establishment of free-trade zones have been promoted. Turkey's new economic manner related to changing foreign policy approach has been analyzed with new concepts such as the trading state by scholars such as Kemal Kirişçi as mentioned above. In addition to its economic success, Turkey's supportive approach to justice

concerning the promotion of democracy, freedom and human rights has enhanced its soft power. Turkey has chosen a values-based style, while advocating democracy, civil liberties, freedom, peace and justice in order to achieve a secure and peaceful regional system (Kalin 2010; 2011a).

Kalin assesses Turkey's soft power in a more diverse way while taking into account not only its culture, history, economic success, democratization experience, and its political stability, but also its young population and its geography. In accordance with Kalin, what makes Turkey's soft power different is its historical and cultural experiences which create a sense of attachment to various groups who live in the former Ottoman territory. Ottoman heritage brings together different ethnic and religious groups such as Arabs, Azeris, Jews and Armenians based on their shared experiences. Therefore, he considers Turkey's increasing global and regional engagement from the Middle East to the Balkans and even to Africa as a way of reconciliation between history and geography for the people of the region, but not as an imperial romance of the Neo-Ottomanism. Moreover, he also considers Turkey as a model for the political and social movements of the Middle East regarding its democratization attempts and economic achievements (Kalin 2009; 2011a; 2011b).

After viewing how soft power has been evaluated by some scholars concerning various resources, it is essential to review how Davutoğlu considers the concept related to his strategic depth doctrine and principles of new foreign policy.

3.2.3 Ahmet Davutoğlu and the Strategic Depth Doctrine

Ahmet Davutoğlu has developed the strategic depth doctrine while analyzing Turkish foreign policy by taking into account Turkey's relations with its surrounding regions. He has considered that Turkey needs to maintain a more multidimensional and proactive foreign policy approach based on its strategic depth, which is related to its historical and geographical depth, while forming better relations with its neighbors and enhancing its soft power. He has also criticized the western oriented foreign policy approach pursued during the Cold War and has assessed that approach made Turkey vulnerable during the time of crisis by displaying the necessity of a new foreign policy understanding (Davutoğlu 2010; 2012b).

Turkey's historical ties with its surrounding regions based on Ottoman heritage and its geographical positions as a country at the center of a wide geography comprising proximity to various regions such as Asia, Europe and even to Africa, composing its strategic depth create great opportunities for playing a leading role in those regions while advancing its global importance. Therefore, Turkey needs to play a central role owing to its special geographical position at the center of Afro-Eurasia landmass and also its historical heritage by forming a new foreign policy vision regarding changing historical context. Strategic depth is also substantial for achieving global and regional peace, stability and security by encouraging regional cooperation and interdependence, which will provide occasions to regional countries for resolving their disputes on their own (Davutoğlu 2008; 2010; 2012b).

While mentioning Turkey's capabilities for playing a central role, he also highlights three assets of Turkish foreign policy. First of all, Turkey forms its foreign policy

regarding global and regional problems by taking into account its strategic depth. Secondly, Turkey has accomplished economic and political success, which has increased Turkey confidence about its international status and also its appeal by enhancing its credibility among its neighbors and international community. Last, but not the least Turkey has improved its relations with its neighbor countries by reconnecting with people of the region regarding the common historical heritage, which will create more opportunities for Turkey in order to act as a responsible country at the international level (Davutoğlu 2012a).

Davutoğlu also points out three methodological and five operational principles forming new foreign policy in his article “Turkey’s zero-problems foreign policy“ which was published in Foreign Policy in 2010. The first methodological principle is connected to Turkey’s visionary approach, applied to regional issues instead of a crisis-oriented one. Turkey develops its foreign policy based on its special comprehension of a certain region and its diplomatic existence for working efficiently on the ground. The second one is related to forming the foreign policy in a systematic and consistent way by paying attention to global issues. Turkey intends to develop its relations with countries in its surrounding regions such as the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Central Asia for promoting common interests and regional cooperation while having a similar approach towards all those regions. The third principle is about the implementation of new diplomatic and discourse manner in order to enhance Turkish soft power by increasing its appeal in the region as a civil-economic power. He expresses other principles, while explaining the principles of foreign policy in his article “Principles of Turkish foreign policy and

regional political structuring“ which was published in 2012. He has emphasized the importance of pursuing a value-based foreign policy, while paying attention to universal values such as democracy, fundamental freedoms, and human rights in addition to national interests. Therefore, Turkey as a country which aims at acting as a global actor will get involved mediation efforts and conflict resolution, so as to find solutions for regional and global issues. Furthermore, he remarks that foreign policy will be pursued autonomously while formulating priorities regarding both national interests and universal values and also will be based on acting with self-confidence by playing a global role (Davutoğlu 2010; 2012a).

Davutoğlu also indicates five operational principles which are mainly about achieving security for all, initiating political dialogue, creating cultural harmony and economic interdependence regarding different regions in addition to methodological principles for shaping foreign policy. The first principle is about sustaining the balance between democracy and security, which enhances a country’s influence in its surrounding regions. Political regimes gain their legitimacy by maintaining both freedom and security for their citizens without undermining freedoms, civil rights and democracy in their countries. According to Davutoğlu, Turkey has tried to advocate civil rights and freedom by pursuing a democratization process without weakening security, which has enhanced Turkish soft power (2008; 2010).

The second one is based on the principle of zero problems with neighbors which encourages closer relations by establishing an economic interdependence among regional countries in order to achieve regional cooperation. Turkey has intended to enhance its relations with its neighbors and has advanced economic interdependence

with countries such as Georgia and Syria. Moreover, for achieving further cooperation, new initiatives such as high-level strategic council meetings with Syria, Russia and Greece have been formed so as to discuss bilateral problems regarding security, politics and economy (Davutoğlu 2008; 2010).

The third principle is related to proactive and pre-emptive peace policy, by acting as a mediator in the regional crisis so as to increase integration, cooperation, and political dialogue. The fourth one is about pursuing a multidimensional foreign policy based on complementary procedures. Turkey intends to advance its relations with its neighbors and also global powers such as the US, NATO, and the EU while considering those relations as complementary. Turkey tries to create harmony, taking into account its developing relations with its neighbors and also its strategic relations with the West. That is why, Turkey's increasing involvement in its surrounding regions is compatible with its relations with the West (Davutoğlu 2008; 2010).

The last one is about sustaining a rhythmic diplomacy, which encourages Turkey's active involvement in global problems and also in international institutions such as G20 and U.N. Security Council. For instance, Turkey has intended to advance its presence in U.N. Security Council as a non-permanent member concerning the global issues such as terrorism and also in the African Union by having an observer status. All those changes achieved based on new principles have displayed a new view of Turkey depending on soft power while using universal language and applying coherent foreign policies for all regions (Davutoğlu 2008; 2010).

Davutoğlu has evaluated Turkish foreign policy based on his strategic depth doctrine, while mentioning the significance of forming a proactive and multidimensional

foreign policy approach by enhancing Turkey's soft power in the meanwhile. He has paid attention to various resources such as culture in terms of harmony and history related to Ottoman legacy which could enhance Turkey's attractiveness in the eyes of other actors in its surrounding regions based on common cultural and historical ties. Geography which enables Turkey to play an active role in various regions also holds a special position in his analysis of foreign policy. Further economic success and political stability are considered significant for enhancing Turkey's credibility, while also increasing its attractiveness. Policies and values, which are consistent with universal values are also substantial for improving Turkey's image and attractiveness by encouraging cooperation, integration and dialogue so as to solve common problems and achieve common interests such as security. Turkey's increasing involvement in international institutions, which is promoted with the principle of rhythmic diplomacy is evaluated as important for advancing its legitimacy and credibility in the regional and international arena while enhancing its soft power.

Before analyzing Turkey in the context of its practices during the 2009-2014 period when Davutoğlu served as Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is also essential to mention the increasing popularity of the concept in many countries in order to understand why it has become a prominent concept in Turkish foreign policy. Soft power has been widely used by newly emerging middle powers such as India, China, and Brazil as well as countries intending to change their image in a more positive way in their regions where they had not been considered as friendly such as Japan. (Lam 2007; Li 2008) In the case of Turkey, its economic growth and improving relations with its neighbors, especially with the Middle Eastern countries, might have made the

concept more substantial and essential in terms of foreign policy for scholars and policy makers such as Davutoğlu. For instance, Davutoğlu mainly focused on history and geography as the main sources which could advance Turkey's power at the regional and global levels in his book *Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position* published in 2001. In his articles written during the JDP period, he refers to soft power while connecting the concept to his doctrine indirectly. In this way, it could be said that the popularity of soft power in academia and politics might have influenced his ideas while reassessing his doctrine by taking into account changes in the international arena in which soft power is evaluated as more preferable and popular in foreign policy making especially for newly emerging powers like Turkey. Moreover, the concept seems essential for Turkey in order to create a friendly and positive image while enhancing its influence in the regional and international arena by developing closer relations with its neighbors. Therefore, as expressed by Davutoğlu, Turkey has intended to rely on soft power by taking into account its national interests, as well as universal values such as democracy and human rights while increasing its participation in the regional and global contexts through conflict resolution and mediation attempts (2010; 2012a).

After assessing diverse views about the concept of soft power in Turkish foreign policy by paying a special attention to the strategic depth doctrine of Davutoğlu and principles of new foreign policy briefly, now it is substantial to review practices of soft power in terms of resources such as culture, values, policies, and economy so as to understand whether Turkey has achieved to advance its soft power while using those resources.

CHAPTER 4

The Practices of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

After evaluating the theoretical dimension of soft power in the previous chapters, soft power will be analyzed in terms of its practices in this chapter. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Nye evaluates Turkey as a soft power due to its culture, values, and policies which are based on liberal values. Nye also argues that economy could be substantial for advancing a country's soft power by increasing its appeal as a successful example. Therefore, in order to review Turkey's soft power and its differences; culture, values, policies, and economic success will be evaluated as four main resources. Firstly, culture will be assessed regarding education, cultural institutions, and media for promoting culture, language, and values and also impressing the perceptions of other actors. This will then be followed by an evaluation of values concerning democratization and advancement of human rights in line with the EU reforms. Afterwards, policies will be examined based on the new foreign policy understanding which encourages mediation, political dialogue, diplomacy, and participation in international institutions while taking into account universal values. The economy will also be evaluated as an important resource for exerting soft power by focusing on the concept of the trading state. Then, how soft power has been institutionalized with the foundation of the Office of Public Diplomacy will be mentioned briefly. Finally, the practical aspect of soft power will

be examined while taking into account Turkey's soft power within changing contexts.

4.1 Culture

Culture as the practices and values of a certain society is assessed as one of the most important resources for exerting soft power. As mentioned before, a country can increase its soft power through high culture regarding its activities based on art, literature and education and also popular culture which is related to mass entertainment. If its culture seems attractive for others and also favors universal values such as human rights and democracy, this country is likely to augment its soft power (Nye 2004a). Culture has been considered as a prominent resource of Turkish soft power by Nye and also some of Turkish scholars such as Aras and Oğuzlu, though they review it in slightly different contexts. While Nye regards it as the traditional culture by assessing culture in terms of tradition, Oğuzlu evaluates it with regard to common cultural and historical connections, which are substantial for developing closer relations with neighbors.

Cultural institutions and educational activities are crucial for enhancing a country's appeal and attractiveness by creating cultural contacts among elites and promoting culture and language². For instance, Turkish culture has been promoted through

² Not only states, but also non-state actors could be effective in enhancing soft power by means of cultural institutions and education. In the case of Turkey, the Gülen Movement as a social and religious movement was quite influential for exerting Turkey's soft power until 2013 while increasing its influence and presence by establishing schools, universities, and cultural institutions and also developing economic relations through business associations in different regions. Moreover, media had been an important resource for the movement so as to encourage common cultural, historical, and religious ties with the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Therefore, the movement was relevant for promoting Turkish culture, language, and values and improving trade relations with other countries around the world, as well as for establishing educational institutions with the aim of influencing new elite groups and increasing its social influence in various regions. Especially in terms

cultural institutions such as the Yunus Emre Institution in various regions including Europe, the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Central Asia, and the Middle East. The Yunus Emre Institution was initiated to operate in 2009 so as to promote the Turkish language, its culture and history, and also Turkey by advancing cultural exchanges and relations with other states (Öner 2013). The Institution has opened more than 40 cultural centers in many countries³ of different regions in which Turkish language courses, cultural events, and art activities are endorsed for increasing Turkish soft power. In addition to language courses and other activities, Turkish teaching and Turkology departments are encouraged through associations formed with different institutions in many countries⁴ (yee.org.tr).

Exchange programs also enhance soft power of a country by influencing elites and forming a better image of the country. Countries intend to educate people who can be in favor of their values and cultures by promoting those programs through scholarships. Although those programs affect less amount of people compared to

of education, the movement could be considered as more effective in promoting culture and language than the state. It has extensively contributed to the state's efforts owing to its close relation with the JDP government. However, relations between the government and the movement have deteriorated severely since 2013 due to a power struggle between these two actors. (Balci 2014a; 2014b). Therefore, while considering the movement mainly as a non-state actor and taking into account its deteriorating relations with the government since 2013, the influence of the movement in the context of soft power will not be assessed within this study, though the movement had once very close relation with the government and contributed to enhancing Turkey's soft power.

³The countries which have Yunus Emre Cultural Centers are Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Georgia, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Lebanon, Macedonia, Malaysia, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Serbia, South Africa, Sudan, the Netherlands, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (yee.org.tr).

⁴ According to the report published in 2014, the Yunus Emre Institution signed agreements with 58 universities in 36 countries for establishing Turkology departments so as to promote teaching the Turkish language. The countries which have signed agreements are Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia- Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Algeria, China, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Morocco, Georgia, Croatia, India, Iraq, Italia, Japan, Montenegro, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuanian, Egypt, Mongolia, Macedonia, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Ukraine, Jordan and Yemen (Yunus Emre Entitüsü 2014 Faaliyet Raporu).

popular culture which can influence a wider audience, some of those people may have chances to influence political life in their countries, which enhances the significance of those programs (Nye 2004a). Turkey also initiated an educational program known as Mevlana Exchange Programme in 2011 by means of the Turkish Council of Higher Education (YÖK) so as to create exchange opportunities for students and academic staff while comprising all higher education institutions in the world without excluding any regions⁵. The program aims at promoting Turkish culture and history in the world and strengthening the culture of tolerance and respect by supporting intercultural dialogue among various cultures. Moreover, it intends to transform Turkey into a center of attraction in education while improving the academic capabilities of Turkish higher education institutions (yok.gov.tr).

The establishment of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities also needs to be mentioned regarding Turkey's intention of enhancing its appeal and attractiveness in the international arena by connecting with Turkish communities living abroad. It was formed in 2010 for such purposes as finding solutions for their problems and also consolidating cultural, social, and economic relations with those groups living abroad (Öktem 2014, ytb.gov.tr). The Presidency offers different types of programs such as thematic, cultural, social, and educational so as to improve relations among various groups by maintaining common cultural and historical values and encourage learning their cultures and identities while also promoting

⁵ However, the EU states which get involved in Erasmus program have been excluded from attending the Mevlana Programme with a new decision applied in the 2014-2015 academic year (yok.gov.tr).

multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue. It also provides Türkiye Scholarships⁶ for international students from around the world who would like to study and make research in Turkey. Moreover, the Presidency sustains cultural activities and thematic programs for those students so as to strengthen cooperation and enhance professional, cultural, and social relations after they return to their countries (ytb.gov.tr).

The media has become an important component of Turkish soft power by spreading popular culture and values to a wider audience and also influencing their perceptions towards the country. For instance, a survey done by TESEV in 2010 to show the perception of Turkey in the Middle East highlighted that Turkish TV series gained huge popularity in the Middle Eastern countries. The survey showed that 78% of respondents watched a Turkish TV series and also Turkey's positive image enhanced from 75% in 2009 to 85% in 2010. The number of people watching Turkish TV series was quite high, which indicates that Turkey has increased its cultural influence in the region by improving its positive image in addition to its political and economic influence (Akgün, et al., 2010). While analyzing Turkey's advancing appeal in the region, Aras and Akarçeşme mention that the life represented in the series, which combines democracy and religion peacefully has made Turkey more attractive for people of the region (2011). In other words, TV series display Turkey as a modern and developed country representing lifestyles which are freer, Westernized and also

⁶ It offers diverse types of scholarships such as graduate, undergraduate, branch, and short-term scholarships for researchers, undergraduate and graduate students. (See Appendix A for more information about the scholarships)

in better economic conditions that has transformed its image for the Arab audience by influencing social and cultural spheres (Uysal 2011). They also show another aspect while emphasizing on cultural and religious similarities through traditional practices such as family relations, which has contributed increasing Turkey's appeal and soft power (Yiğit 2013).

Turkish TV Series have enhanced Turkey's popularity not only in the Middle East, but also in the Caucasus, the Central Asia, and the Balkans while improving Turkish image and soft power in those regions by advancing interest in the country, Turkish language, and culture (Arbatlı and Kurar 2015). The important point is that Turkish popular culture through the series can reach a wide audience by influencing both ethnic Turkish minorities and majorities living in the Balkan countries such as Serbia and Bulgaria by transforming negative attitudes towards the country while displaying modern lifestyle in the country (Bechev 2012). Moreover, in addition to the modern lifestyle represented in the series which has advanced Turkey's appeal, linguistic and cultural similarities in terms of family relations and traditions in the series might be substantial in order to understand increasing popularity of the series while enhancing Turkey's attractiveness in those regions.

According to Yağız Özercan, Turkey has achieved to become the second largest TV series exporter after the United States in 2014 based on Turkish Exports Assembly (TİM) data by extending to new regions such as South and Central America, which highlights the raising popularity of the series (2015). In addition to the private sector, the government has been also encouraging this process, while evaluating the series as significant tools for increasing the country's visibility and improving its positive

image in the global arena which can contribute to its soft power. The outcomes are yet to be seen regarding increasing involvement of the government in the process and its extension to new regions. Owing to the fact that popular culture is a more independent area compared to other resources such as values and policies, the involvement of government could diminish the country's attractiveness and question its credibility while evaluating the process in terms of propaganda and manipulation. Further, although cultural similarities may increase soft power through attraction, popular culture may not always generate attraction in preferred ways regarding cultural differences such as different lifestyles in various regions.

In addition to television series, broadcasting in different languages⁷ are substantial for influencing perceptions of other actors, framing issues and setting agenda by communicating directly with various regions (Sancak 2016). For instance, many non-Arab states such as Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Iran, and China have television and radio channels broadcasting in Arabic. Turkey also took a crucial step to do the same by launching its first Arabic broadcasting television channel TRT Arabic which is the Arabic language channel of Turkey's public broadcaster for directly communicating with the Middle East in 2010 (Dinçer and Kutlay 2012). This new channel highlights Turkey's intention for increasing its visibility and its appeal in the Arab world by broadcasting 24 hours news, entertainment programs, and soap operas related to Turkey. Furthermore, another channel TRT Avaz was launched in 2009 so as to broadcast in various languages such as Azeri, Uzbek, Kazakh, Bosnian, and Turkmen in a wide area including the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the Central Asia in

⁷ Within this study, the impact of TV Series and channels will not be evaluated in details.

order to spread culture, language, and values by means of music and culture programs, documentaries, TV series and news (TRT Avaz, 2016).

4.2 Values

Values which are asserted in the foreign and domestic policy of a country is assessed by Nye as another prominent soft power resources. In order to produce soft power, values need to be seen legitimate by others while promoting universal values such as democracy and human rights (Nye 2004a). As mentioned before, Nye has regarded Turkish soft power in terms of values while highlighting its heritage as a predominantly Muslim country, which combines Islam with democracy and human rights. Turkish scholars such as Aras, Oğuzlu and Öniş also emphasize democratization and promotion of liberal values while analyzing Turkey's increasing appeal and attractiveness.

In addition to culture, Turkey's democratization process improved Turkey's image and reputation as a rising soft power. As mentioned above, Turkey has been considered by Nye as a country with a prominent amount of soft power regarding its attachment to universal values such as democracy and human rights while successfully consolidating democracy and Islam as a secular country. In this way, promoting universal values can enhance Turkey's soft power while also increasing its legitimacy in the regional and global arena. Further, Turkish democracy has been assessed by Kirişçi as a work in progress which means the country has been making efforts for strengthening and improving its democracy, so Turkey can connect with countries which have problems regarding democratization such as the Middle Eastern states while understanding their problems (2011).

Owing to the fact that the EU has been assessed as the most influential actor for the consolidation of democracy in Turkey, the democratization process will be evaluated related to the EU dimension (Aydın-Düzgit and Keyman 2013; Öniş 2013). According to Aydın-Düzgit and Keyman, solving the Kurdish issue is the main element for strengthening Turkish democracy, while creating a more multicultural, peaceful and tolerant society and also achieving a more sustainable economy (2013). The government has taken significant steps while implying democratic reforms on minority and human rights such as abolishing the death penalty and acknowledging the Kurdish identity by advancing their cultural rights such as learning Kurdish language and broadcasting in Kurdish. For instance, TRT 6 was launched by the state in 2009 as the first national channel in order to broadcast in Kurdish language as a domestic channel of TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) which is the national public broadcaster of Turkey. Further, the right to broadcast in Kurdish was extended firstly to local levels by removing all limitations on broadcasting in other languages through public and private channels in 2010 and then to the national level while approving broadcasting in Kurdish and other languages through television and radio channels in 2011.

Moreover, Kurdish language was permitted to be taught as elective courses in state schools and also to be offered as university degrees in some universities in the southeastern part of Turkey in 2012. A peace process was also initiated in 2013 so as to find peaceful solutions regarding the Kurdish issue, though the process was collapsed later without reaching its aim⁸. The reforms have also made some influence

⁸ The process collapsed completely in 2015, which has caused intensification of violence in the southeastern part of the country and violation of human rights (Human Rights Watch World Report

on other important issues regarding the religious freedom and rights of religious minorities including non-Muslim minorities and the Alevi community which are the biggest religious minority in the country. The government launched an initiative known as “Alevi opening” in 2009 for bringing together the Alevi community and the state through workshops and religious ceremony, however, neither reforms nor this initiative have achieved to create sufficient outcomes for increasing their rights or protecting their religious freedom (Aydın-Düzgit and Keyman 2013). Those reforms not only made changes regarding minority and human rights but also transformed the civil-military relations concerning their influence on the political sphere. The civilian control over the military has increased by diminishing the power of the military in the decision-making process through a number of substantial reforms for making implementations in line with the EU standards. For instance, the National Security Council (NSC) was degraded to a straightly advisory body while increasing the numbers of civilian members of the Council with the new reform package launched in 2003⁹, which made it hard for the military to put pressure on the government regarding decision-making process through the NSC (Larrabee 2010). While the military was losing its influence on foreign policy, new actors such as business groups have found new opportunities to increase their impact on foreign policy issues, which not only relieve the foreign policy but also advanced the significance of economy in foreign policy by developing economic relations (Önis and Yılmaz 2009).

2016). However, these current events will not be assessed in this study which mainly focuses on analyzing events between 2009 and 2014.

⁹ Even though this reform was implied before 2009, it was mentioned regarding its influence on foreign policy in the following years.

4.3 Policies

Policies display how countries act in the national and international level so as to accomplish their own objectives. In terms of policies, it is important to pursue foreign policies, which seem legitimate in the eyes of other actors and also support universal values such as human rights and democracy for a country which aims at enhancing its soft power. Involvement in international institutions is substantial for providing legitimacy by building trust and enhancing credibility of other actors. It is also essential to act in a multilateral way taking into account various actors in order to resolve regional and global issues while playing a mediator role (Nye 1990b; 2004a). Policies are regarded by scholars such as Aras and Davutoğlu as prominent resources of Turkish soft power in the context of new foreign policy approach which encourages diplomacy, dialogue, and cooperation while increasing its involvement in mediation efforts and international institutions.

Mediation is considered by Davutoğlu as a crucial tool for accomplishing stability and peace by playing a central role in regional and global affairs (2013). In this way, Turkey aimed at involving in different mediation efforts in regional disputes between Israel and Syria, Iraq and Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan, Bosnia and Serbia and supporting conflict resolution in Iraq taking into account diverse factions so as to act as a soft power. Further, Turkey initiated the “Mediation for Peace“ together with Finland in 2010 under the auspices of the United Nations so as to establish an international platform to bring together various actors such as states, NGOs, and international organizations for enhancing the importance of mediation, conflict resolution, and preventive diplomacy (Davutoğlu 2013; mfa.gov.tr). This initiative

has brought together 43 states and 8 substantial regional and international organizations with the membership in the “The Group of Friends of Mediation”¹⁰ which have intended to encourage a culture of mediation through policies pursued in national, regional, and international level by increasing awareness and displaying necessity of mediation for conflict resolution. In order to enhance the effectiveness of mediation, they also promote cooperation among various actors while gathering together not only states but also sub-regional and regional organizations in the process of mediation (peacemaker.un.org). Under the frame of the initiative, Turkey hosted two “Istanbul Conferences on Mediation” in 2012 and 2013 so as to increase its involvement in mediation and peace-making efforts in the regional and global arena by bringing together various actors from different countries (mfa.gov.tr). Institutions as being another significant resources are crucial for acquiring legitimacy and credibility for actors relying on soft power by encouraging cooperation for finding common solutions. Therefore, Turkey increased its participation in regional and international organizations such as the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), G20 and the UN Security Council while being a non-permanent member of the Council during the 2009-10 period (Kirişçi 2011; Öner 2013).

¹⁰ It currently has 43 member countries which are Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Malaysia, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Nepal, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, the USA, Turkey, Uganda. It has also 8 member organizations which are African Union (AU), League of Arab States (LAS), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), European Union (EU), Organization of American States (OAS), Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the UN (peacemaker.un.org).

Foreign aids could be used as an element of soft power in terms of foreign policies by countries which intend to improve their reputations as peaceful and friendly actors for not only countries receiving aids, but also in the international arena (Nye 2004a). Turkey has also aimed at enhancing its prestige in line with its proactive foreign policy, depending on soft power by increasing its involvement in global development assistance while contributing to humanitarian assistance and UN peacekeeping (globalhumanitarianassistance.org). In other words, Turkey has tried to enhance its development assistance in various regions so as to encourage regional and international stability while being one of the largest donors in terms of official development assistance. In accordance with a report published by Global Humanitarian Assistance in 2013, Turkey significantly enhanced its Official Development Assistance (ODA) by being the 15th biggest government donor and its official humanitarian assistance between 2011 and 2012 while reaching to US\$1.0 billion in 2012 as the 4th largest donor of the year in terms of humanitarian assistance (Buston and Smith 2013). In 2013, Turkey became the third largest donor by reaching to US\$1.6 billion while enhancing its humanitarian assistance by US\$591 million¹¹ (Swithern 2014). Further, the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay in Turkish) which is the biggest humanitarian organization in Turkey lends assistance not only in the national arena, but also in the international arena through international aids and also immigration and refugee services. It has been more active in last ten years by enhancing its capabilities for providing help in 78 different states such as

¹¹ In 2015 report, Turkey was evaluated regarding Syrian refugee crisis due to its decreasing assistance. It was highlighted in the report that if the country's spending on refugees in 2013 which was US\$1,6 billion in total was considered in terms of global humanitarian assistance, Turkey could be the third largest donor regarding its volume (Swithern 2015).

Pakistan, Palestine, Kosovo, and Somali during natural or man-made disasters. In addition to humanitarian aids, the Turkish Red Crescent also sustains services to refugees by supporting public authorities so as to fulfill their needs such as health, nourishment and education while running 23 camps for Syrian refugees (kizilay.org.tr).

TIKA has been an influential organization for providing development assistance to different regions from the Central Asia to Africa. It was established in 1992 to sustain development assistance to the Turkic countries in the Central Asia, such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, with which Turkey has linguistic, historical and cultural ties. Many projects in the social, cultural and economic fields have been developed with intentions of finding solutions related to technical infrastructures of these countries, creating their identities in sustainable manners and helping them to form their own social structures. Turkey has intended to use TIKAs as a tool to pursue based on soft power and consequently TIKAs advanced its presence and its activities in different regions since 2009 by increasing its development assistances from 100 Millions of USD to 3,591 Billion USD in 2014¹². It also

¹² The annual report for 2014 has not published yet, therefore data regarding 2009-2013 period will be taken into account for the evaluation

In 2009, the Caucasus and the Central Asia received 44,44 %, the Balkans and the Eastern Europe 26,85 %, the Middle East and Africa 24,68 %, and East Asia 3,87 % of development assistance distributed by TIKAs (TIKAs Faaliyet Raporu 2009).

In 2010, the South and Central Asia received 36,65 %, the Balkans and the Eastern Europe 29,79 %, the Middle East 22,92 %, Africa 8,71 %, East Asia 0,99 %, and other countries 0,94 % of development assistance (TIKAs Faaliyet Raporu 2010).

In 2011, the South and Central Asia got 49,7 %, Africa 16,8 %, the Middle East 15,5 %, the Balkans and the Eastern Europe 12,9 %, and East Asia 3,1 % of the assistance allocated by TIKAs (TIKAs Faaliyet Raporu 2011).

enhanced numbers of overseas offices from 26 established in 23 states to 50 working in 48 states since 2009. It has been working almost in 140 countries including diverse regions such as the Balkans, the Middle East, the Africa, the Caucasia, the South America, and also the Central Asia while emphasizing on development collaboration (tika.gov.tr).

Aras assumes that Turkey has pursued three various kinds of policies in the regional level. Firstly, Turkey has attempted to improve its bilateral relations via political visits, diplomacy, and also organizations such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), and the Yunus Emre Foundation (Aras 2012b). In addition to increasing its activism through organizations, Turkey also intended to be active at the political level and initiated High Level Strategic Cooperation Councils with different countries such as Iraq¹³, Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, Syria, Pakistan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Azerbaijan, and Egypt, with the aim of expanding cooperation by forming a structure for systematic dialogue and joint cabinet meetings in order to advance strategic dialogue among political leaders. Secondly, trilateral mechanisms such as Turkey-Azerbaijan-Iran, Turkey-Azerbaijan-Turkmenistan, Turkey-Azerbaijan-Georgia, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia were formed for improving regional

In 2012, Africa received 31,37 %, the South and Central Asia 29,17 %, the Balkans and the Eastern Europe 22,81 %, and the Middle East 15,48 % of development assistance (TIKA Faaliyet Raporu 2012).

In 2013, Africa got 33,7 %, the South and Central Asia 21,8 %, the Middle East 21,7 the Balkans and the Eastern Europe 21,4 % of development assistance distributed by TIKA (TIKA Faaliyet Raporu 2013).

¹³ The Council was established in 2008, though the signings were accomplished in this regard in 2009 (mfa.gov.tr).

cooperation and dialogue in the Balkans. For instance, one of the trilateral mechanisms including Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Turkey was established to represent mutual concerns of political leaders, which contributed to the rapprochement among Croat and Bosniac entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while enabling the political dialogue between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Turkey also established a quartet high-level strategic cooperation council with Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. Lastly, Turkey has aimed to accomplish regional cooperation and increase economic interdependence for advancing political relations for a peaceful and stable region (Aras 2012b; mfa.gov.tr).

Lastly, international air travels are evaluated in the context of potential soft power resources by Nye (2004a). In terms of international travel, Turkish Airlines could be assumed as an important tool for advancing Turkey's image and soft power in the regional and global arena. In other words, national airlines could help states for acquiring their aims in terms of foreign policy, culture, and trade while increasing their prestige and attractiveness, which makes them assessable in terms of soft power (Selçuk 2013). For example, according to the Turkish Airlines Annual Report, Turkish Airlines has increased its international flying destinations from 119 in 2009 to 219 in 2014 while being the largest airline flying worldwide, which seems to be connected with the government purpose of implying proactive foreign policy by enhancing its presence in regional and international arena (Turkish Airlines Annual Report 2014). Moreover, Turkish Airlines has enabled the aims of foreign policy in the Middle East concerning forming a peaceful and stable regional order, owing to free trade agreements and also a liberal visa regime. While free trade agreements

have improved commercial ties with the neighbors, a liberal visa regime which has eased the movement of tourists and business people has advanced tourism potential (Selçuk 2013). Turkish Airlines increased its flying destinations from 19 to 33 in 2014 in five years in line with Turkey's increasing involvement in the Middle East, which has affected Turkey's commercial potential with its neighbors¹⁴

(turkishairlines.com). Further, it has influenced tourism potential while advancing cultural interaction and also impressing perceptions towards Turkey positively.

Turkish Airlines has also taken part in humanitarian aid programs in various countries such as Libya and Somalia, which has enhanced Turkey's image and prestige as a rising soft power (Selçuk 2013). In addition to the Middle East, Turkish Airlines has excessively increased numbers of flying destinations to Africa from 13 to 42 in just five years, which can be understood in the context of enhancing significance of Africa for Turkey. It seems that Turkish Airlines has been considered as an important tool for opening to the region in addition to other soft power tools used by the government such as TIKA which has progressively advanced its involvement in Africa since 2009 through implementations of diverse projects regarding education, health, and technical infrastructures¹⁵ (Rudincová 2014; Shinn 2015).

¹⁴ Although there has been an increase in the numbers of international flying destinations, it needs to be mentioned that 10 flying destinations are suspended in Syria, Yemen, Libya, and Iraq due to political instability in those countries. Taken into account deterioration relations with countries such as Syria and Libya, the suspension of flights might also display Turkey's diminishing influence and appeal while losing its chance for reaching those countries.

¹⁵ During his speech at the Fifth Annual Ambassadors Conference, Davutoğlu stated that TIKA, the Turkish Red Crescent and also Turkish Airlines through its direct flights were effective for increasing Turkey's influence in the region successfully (mfa.gov.tr).

4.4 Economy

As mentioned by Nye, economic success can enhance a country's soft power while improving its attractiveness and appeal for other countries by being considered as an influential example (2004a). In the example of Turkey, economy is evaluated as an important resource for exerting soft power by scholars, such as, Kirişçi and Aras. Especially Kirişçi has assessed Turkey through mainly economic dimension by analyzing the country in the concept of the trading state (2009). Davutoğlu has also considered that in addition to political success, economic success has enhanced the country's confidence and appeal while improving its credibility in the regional and global sphere (2012a).

The economy has come into prominence for Turkey due to being the world's 18th largest economy and also an important member of the G-20 which symbolizes the world's major economies. Turkish economy displayed a great performance taking into account its economic growth especially in 2010 and 2011 by accomplishing a growth rate of 9,1 % and 8,7 %, respectively, though it contracted to 4,8 % in 2009.

The economy continued to grow while accomplishing an average growth rate of 5,4% during 2010-2014 period and per capita income enhanced from 8,560 to 10,394 USD in 2014 (mfa.gov.tr; Turkstat). As a result, economy has become an important component of Turkish foreign policy while acting as a trading state. Owing to the fact that advancing foreign trade is substantial for a trading state, Turkey has attempted to advance its economic relations not only with its classic partners in Europe and with its neighbors in the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, but

also with the countries of Africa, East Asia, and Latin America (Kirişçi 2011). New developments such as the abolishment of visa requirements firstly for the Middle Eastern countries and then for the Balkan countries and also for Russia have displayed Turkey's attempts for improving economic relations, which have also advanced Turkey's soft power while improving interactions with those states (Aras and Akarçesme 2011; Öner 2013). Moreover, establishing free-trade zones including its Middle Eastern neighbors such as Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria in line with the zero problem policy were influential for increasing economic success in the Middle East. In this way, Turkey has successfully enhanced its economic relations with those countries by promoting economic cooperation and integration based on this policy without questioning the problems related democracy and human rights and the legitimacy of those authoritarian regimes in the region (Özel and Özkan 2011; Özkan 2014).

The survey conducted by TESEV in 2010 has displayed that Turkey was considered as a model for this region while 66% of respondents supported the idea of Turkish model concerning mostly its religious background, its democratization experience and also its economic success. Especially, economy was seen as an important factor for 14% of respondents by evaluating Turkey as the most powerful economy in the region. Further, 27% of respondents had positive opinions regarding Turkey's increasing economic presence in the region by considering Turkey as the probable regional leader in terms of economy in 10 years (Akgün, et al., 2010).

After evaluating culture, values, policies, and economy as four important sources of Turkish soft power, it is important to view how soft power has been institutionalized

with the formation of the Office of Public Diplomacy by sustaining the coordination among different institutions intending to enhance soft power and pursuing various activities for enhancing appeal and attractiveness of the country.

4.5 The Institutionalization of Turkish Soft Power

The establishment of the Office of Public Diplomacy in 2010 could also be considered as an attempt in order to institutionalize Turkish soft power. Many public institutions such as TİKA, TRT (The Turkish National TV), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, and the Yunus Emre Institution have contributed to Turkey's soft power by pursuing economic, cultural, social, political, and diplomatic activities. The office was launched to maintain the coordination among those institutions so as to advance their influence (Kalin 2011b). Activities based on arts, education, culture, media, and foreign aids were pursued so as to increase Turkey's visibility in the international arena by displaying its soft power capability. For instance, events such as the foreign policy workshops, public diplomacy panels, youth programs, wise people conference series, culture and promotion activities, and journalist groups were held with the participation of writers, scholars, artists, university students, and journalists (kdk.gov.tr).

The foreign policy workshops were organized in various cities such as Konya and Mardin in order to bring Ph.D. candidates together with foreign policy makers and scholars. Public diplomacy panels were also held monthly in different cities such as Bursa, Kırıkkale, and Gaziantep so as to notify the public, particularly academics, and university students about Turkish foreign policy and public diplomacy and also acquire their contributions. The Wise People Conference series has aimed at bringing

prominent politicians, journalists, intellectuals, and experts such as George Friedman, Roger Cohen, Hans Blix, and Jeremy Greenstock for analyzing regional and international developments, challenges, and problems. In addition to informing the public, the workshops, conference series, and panels might be important for influencing elite groups in the country for forming a new political cadre. The youth programs have intended to increase awareness about Turkey's active role in its surrounding regions and also in the world by bringing successful foreign students from different countries with various backgrounds. The journalist groups program has aimed at inviting journalists from various countries to Turkey in order to provide opportunities for learning about Turkey directly by meeting with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Ministry, and also Presidency. By now, journalists from Spain, America, Iran, Turkmenistan, Syria, and Lebanon have taken part in this program (kdk.gov.tr).

Table 1 Resources of Soft Power and Practices

| Resources | Joseph Jr. Nye | Turkish Scholars | Practices |
|-----------|--|---|---|
| Culture | Culture is described as practices and values composing a significance for a society. | In accordance with Oğuzlu, Turkey has enhanced its cultural attractiveness by | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural institutions (such as the Yunus Emre Institutions) |

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|
| | <p>It exerts soft power depending on its attractiveness and connection to universal values (2004a).</p> | <p>promoting liberal and democratic values. Culture is also important for establishing better relations with neighbors based on cultural and historical ties (2007; 2011b).</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational activities (Such as Mevlana Exchange Programme) • The establishment of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities • Media (TV channels) • Popular Culture (TV series) |
| <p>Values</p> | <p>Values are sources which are asserted in foreign and domestic policies of a state. They produces soft power by seen legitimate while encouraging universal values (2004a).</p> | <p>Promotion of universal values such as human rights and democracy regarding EU reforms have been evaluated as an important source of soft power by Öniş (2003; 2009).</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of universal values through democratization process related to EU reforms |
| <p>Policies</p> | <p>Policies are about how governments define their interests and aim at accomplishing them by acting in the</p> | <p>Policies have been assessed as prominent resources by Davutoğlu for increasing Turkey’s appeal by promoting cooperation and dialogue in the regional and global level</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mediation efforts • Involvement in international institutions (such as the UN and Mediation for Peace) |

| | | | |
|---------|--|--|---|
| | national and international level. States generate soft power by implementing universal values in their policies, increasing their participations in international institutions and mediation efforts (1990b; 2004a). | while also paying attention to universal values and increasing its participation in institutions (2010; 2012a). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign aids (through organizations such as Turkish Red Crescent, TIKA) |
| Economy | Economic success can advance soft power of a state by enhancing its appeal and attractiveness a successful example for others (2004a). | Davutoğlu also considers that Turkey's economic success has enhanced the country's confidence about its global status and also its appeal (2012a). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a member of G-20 • 18th largest economy in the world |

4.6 The Assessment of Practical Aspect of Soft Power

The establishment of cultural institutions is substantial for promoting cultures, languages and values while enhancing countries' appeal for other actors. Many states such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France and China have formed those kinds of cultural institutions as a way for increasing their soft power in other countries. In

this way, the establishment of the Yunus Emre Institution could be considered as an essential step for increasing Turkey's soft power through cultural centers in various regions while presenting Turkish culture, language, history and the country. Forming Turkology departments in more than 50 universities could be also substantial for supporting teaching Turkish language through formal education while attracting people and influencing their perceptions towards Turkey. Moreover, the Institution was named after Yunus Emre who was a Turkish poet symbolizes social peace, human values, and humanism that could be prominent for forming a positive image of the country while encouraging peace and universal values through his principles. However, it is a more recent initiative compared to the other examples such as the British Council and the Goethe Institute which were established in 1934 and 1952, respectively. Therefore, more concrete results are yet to be seen in the future.

Educational programs such as exchange programs also show their influence in a longer term compared to popular culture, so the results regarding the recently initiated Mevlana Exchange Programme might be more visible in a more concrete way in the future. This program could be assessed as an important step for improving Turkey's image and appeal, while encouraging cultural dialogue, respect, and tolerance towards other cultures. Further, this program was named after another important poet Mevlana who is very well-known around the world, which could increase the attractiveness of the program. However, excluding the EU countries as a candidate country from participating the program is likely to limit the influence of the program while leaving these countries out in this process which is substantial for Turkey to present its values and culture and also influence elite groups for

establishing a positive image. It seems also contradictory with its aim of forming exchange opportunities around the world so as to encourage intercultural dialogue among diverse cultures without excluding any regions.

The establishment of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities could be also substantial for engaging with those communities while advancing relations with them and supporting multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue.

Moreover, providing different types of scholarships for international students could be important for attracting elite groups and consolidating relations and enhancing cooperation afterwards through thematic and cultural programs.

The media could reach a wider audience in various regions by means of TV channels and TV series. Establishing TV channels such as TRT Arabic and TRT Avaz could be assessed as important steps for increasing Turkey's presence in different regions by forming perceptions of actors and framing issues. However, credibility might be a problem for these kinds of channels which are more open to the influence of governments by being connected to the national public broadcasters. TV series could also enhance Turkey's attractiveness and appeal for other actors. As mentioned by Nye, popular culture is most like to generate soft power by attracting people so as to acquire desired results in such circumstances where culture are similar in some ways (2004a). However, it is substantial to acknowledge that soft power also depends on the context, which means soft power sources may not always provide similar results within different groups of a society. For instance, as mentioned by Ahmet Uysal regarding his analysis on Egypt's perception towards Turkey, displaying Turkey as a secular country which combines democracy and Islam has resulted in a more positive

way for secular intellectuals by advancing its attractiveness, but has been heavily criticized by more conservative groups for being too secular and Westernized (2011).

Turkey also derives some of its soft power from its support for liberal values as a Muslim country by combining them. The key point seems the consolidation of democracy and Islam in a successful way which necessitates a sort of balance. Even though it is hard to express how to achieve that balance, promoting liberal and democratic values are substantial for strengthening democracy. In the case of Turkey, the democratization process has slowed down since 2005 due to the government's decreasing enthusiasm and commitment to the EU reform process, though some reforms regarding minority rights were implied (Önis and Yılmaz 2009; Aydın-Düzgit and Keyman 2013). The deterioration of relations with the EU related to its decreasing soft power in Turkey might be the main reason for influencing the process in a negative way. Further, as highlighted by Öniş, a sort of limited or majoritarian interpretation of democracy has come forward by excluding some groups such as Western-oriented secularists and minority groups in the society for revealing their identities. Religion has also gained a significant role in the public sphere while society moving towards a more conservative way due to the government policies, which has increased exclusion of secularists and religious minorities (Öniş 2013). Moreover, Nye (2006) assesses that Turkey could reduce its soft power if it restricts freedom of speech and press. According to Freedom House reports, Turkey has fallen back to 62 from 50 in terms of press freedom score in five years and changed from partly free to not free in 2014 in terms of press freedom, which displays that

Turkey has been failing to promote fundamental freedoms lately and risking decreasing its soft power (freedomhouse.org).

Involvement in mediation efforts related to the principle of proactive and pre-emptive peace policy and improving relations with neighbors based on the policy of zero problems with neighbors could be considered as significant attempts for enhancing Turkey's soft power. Being part of initiatives such as the Mediation for Peace is important for promoting mediation, peace-making attempts by bringing different actors together and also forming a friendly and peaceful image in the global arena. However, its increasing involvement in regional disputes has resulted in decreasing its neutrality towards actors participating in the process and decreasing its legitimacy and credibility (Perthes 2010). For instance, taking into account Turkey's mediation attempts between Syria and Israel, Turkey's critical attitude towards Israel caused deterioration of relations with Israel¹⁶, which resulted in diminishing trust of Israel towards the process. Therefore, Turkey lost its legitimacy for one of the parties to the conflict by losing its ability to act in a neutral way while having good relations with both parties, which also resulted in failure of the process (Mitchell 2015). Moreover, Turkey's mediation efforts with Brazil regarding Iranian nuclear issue did not end in a successful way as expected while Turkey's manner perceived as pro-Iranian due to its acting in a pro-active and independent way with Brazil by signing a trilateral agreement in May 2010 known as Tehran Declaration¹⁷

¹⁶ Turkey's relations worsened not only with Israel, but also with Syria due to the Syrian Civil War in 2011 when Turkey has intended to remove the president Bashar al-Assad from the power by supporting the opposition forces, which also decreased its influence as a mediator in regional disputes (Mitchell 2015; Grigoriadis 2014).

¹⁷ The Tehran Declaration acknowledged that Iran had nuclear rights as other states and could use nuclear energy for peaceful aims such as research. Iran agreed to deposit 1200 kilograms of low-

with Brazil and Iran and voting against new sanctions towards Iran proposed in the UN Security Council in June 2010 (Öniş 2011). The agreement received mixed signals and was dismissed while being assessed as unsatisfactory by the West. Therefore, this mediation effort not only asserted Turkey's different approach towards this issue, but also displayed its limitation as a mediator (Mitchell 2015). It has also showed that Turkey needs to have a more balanced manner while acting with the international community as a neutral actor by not taking sides (Öniş 2011). On the other hand, it might be hard to comprehend diverse interests of actors in different disputes while acting as a mediator, which could also limit Turkey's effectiveness on the ground. Changes in regional and global contexts could also restrain the use of soft power while transforming relations among different actors. For instance, especially after the Arab Spring, Turkey's relations with many of its neighbors such as Syria¹⁸ and Libya deteriorated, which not only decreased Turkey's legitimacy, but also showed the limit of its influence and power in the Middle East. Further, its increasing involvement in the region changed perceptions towards Turkey while being considered as a country pursuing assertive and sectarian policies by taking sides, which caused diminishing its credibility and impact in the region (Öner 2014). In other words, those changes have displayed that in order to be successful in mediation efforts, it is essential for Turkey to review its capabilities so

enriched uranium (LEU) in Turkey in the exchange of 120 kg which needed to be delivered to Iran for research purposes in Tehran Research Reactor (mfa.gov.tr).

¹⁸ Especially, Turkey's relations with Syria experienced a dramatic change while changing its perceptions towards Syria from friend to foe. Whereas their increasing relations before the Arab Spring could be evaluated in terms of Turkey's enhancing soft power in the region, afterwards their relations could be assessed in the context of Turkey's decreasing soft power (Öner 2014).

as to achieve its aims, while understanding different interests of other actors and changing regional and global contexts (Altunışık 2010).

Providing foreign aids and development assistance also enhance Turkey's presence in the regional and global arena by displaying Turkey as a peaceful and friendly actor. However, if the foreign policy seems assertive, those programs may not reach its aim of creating a positive image. Taking into account TIKA's annual reports from 2009 to 2013, there are distinctive transformations in terms of regional allocation of development assistance, which also highlights how Turkey has changed its attitude towards different regions. In other words, TIKA firstly was founded so as to provide assistance to the countries of the Caucasus and the Central Asia regarding cultural and linguistic ties in 1992. Then it has enhanced its activities by sustaining development assistance to new regions such as Africa and the Middle East while increasing its sphere of influence throughout years. Even though Central Asia seems still an important region where TIKA is actively involved in development assistance, Africa has also come into prominence by being the region receiving the most development assistance allocated by TIKA in 2012 and 2013, which highlights that Turkey has intended to reach this region and increase its visibility while advancing its influence through TIKA's increasing activities. Turkish Airlines' increasing involvement in the region concerning its enhancing flying destinations in the region also displays that Africa has become a prominent region where Turkey has aimed at pursuing an active foreign policy by improving its reputation and influence. Further, gaining an observer status in the African Union, opening new embassies in the

region¹⁹ and increasing political visits to the region also show the government's purpose regarding its opening to Africa (Rudincová 2014; Shinn 2015).

Turkey not only intended to improve its image by increasing its involvement in mediation attempts and providing development and humanitarian assistance, but also by participating in international institutions related to the principle of pursuing rhythmic diplomacy. For this reason, Turkey has acted as a non-permanent member in the UN Security Council during the 2009-10 period by getting 151 votes from member states in 2008. However, Turkey could not achieve to be reelected while getting only 60 votes from 193 members in 2014 for being a non-permanent member for the 2015-16 period (bbc.com). It seems that Turkey has lost an important amount of support in the international arena, which might be connected to values and policies applied at domestic and international level. Policy practices which have been assessed as assertive seem diminishing the country's legitimacy and appeal while also deteriorating its relations with its neighbors such as Syria and Egypt. In the domestic arena, Turkey has been failing to show its adherence to universal values while limiting fundamental freedoms such as freedom of speech and press, which could also decrease its attractiveness and appeal in the eyes of other actors (huffingtonpost.com).

Economic success has increased Turkey's appeal and attractiveness by growing with an average rate of 5,4, though it seems that it has lost its pace after 2011. In other words, the growth rates were higher in 2010 and 2011, though Turkey has

¹⁹ Turkey increased its numbers of embassies in this region from 12 to 39 in five years. (mfa.gov.tr)

accomplished lower growth rates of 2,1 %, 4,1 %, and 3,0 % in 2012, 2013 and 2014, respectively (Turkstat).

Another survey made by TESEV in 2013 for evaluating perceptions in the Middle East displays that Turkey has been considered as an important regional power along with Saudi Arabia in terms of politics (12%), economy (16%), and culture (12%). It is still assessed as a model by 51% of the respondents for the region mainly related to its economic success, democratization, and the Muslim background, though support for the Turkish model has decreased substantially from 66% to 51% in three years. The survey also highlights that positive perceptions towards Turkey has diminished significantly while falling back to third place from the first one as the most favorable country in the region due to reasons such as Turkey's foreign policy approach towards the regional countries such as Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, which is assessed as unfriendly by more than half of the respondents. Moreover, Turkey is reviewed as maintaining a sectarian foreign policy approach towards regional countries by 39% of respondents, which basically means that Turkey is regarded by an important amount of respondents as not neutral which is assessed by Davutoğlu as an essential quality for an actor intending to become a successful mediator (Akgün and Gündoğar 2014; Davutoğlu 2013). As a result, this changing perception shows that not only Turkey's appeal and reputation but also its credibility and legitimacy for other actors have been decreasing.

To sum up, Turkey has had significant soft power resources in terms of culture, values, policies, and economy during the 2009-2014 term. However, having soft power resources may not always result in producing soft power as expected. In order

to exert soft power, those resources need to depend on legitimacy and credibility while encouraging universal values and paying attention to multilateralism, mediation, and cooperation. Even though Turkey has had substantial amount of resources, it has been decreasing its soft power due to its diminishing legitimacy and credibility in the regional and international arena.



CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Within this research, soft power has been viewed in the context of Turkey during the 2009-2014 period when Davutoğlu served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In order to make a coherent and meaningful evaluation regarding this period, a framework has been formed while taking into account different perspectives of Nye, Davutoğlu, and other Turkish scholars.

In the second chapter, the concept of power, hard and soft power have been examined by evaluating opinions of different scholars. As it has been mentioned in this chapter, the concept of soft power has been presented so as to analyze the transformation of power while emphasizing on America and its resources such as values, policies, and culture. The concept is substantial for encouraging diplomacy, mediation attempts, and multilateralism in order to solve common problems whether they occur in the regional or international arena while also advocating human rights. However, it is mainly related to America and its resources, which makes it difficult to implement in other countries in spite of its popularity in international relations. In order to apply the concept, it is essential to evaluate countries and their differences regarding their resources. For this reason, in the third chapter, the concept has been reviewed in the context of Turkey while giving special attention to Nye and

Davutoğlu regarding resources so as to provide a specific and comprehensible way for evaluating Turkey's soft power.

In the third chapter, it has been mentioned that there has been a transformation in Turkish foreign policy which became more active and multidimensional due to the increasing significance of Turkey's historical and geographic depth while paying attention to historical ties and geography for playing an active role in the regional and global arena. Further, supporting mediation and diplomacy and involvement in regional and international institutions have been considered as substantial for Turkey so as to enhance its soft power while also promoting universal values. In addition to Davutoğlu's ideas, also other factors including the EU reforms and increasing economic growth have been mentioned in order to explain new foreign policy understanding. Turkey has also been assessed as a model due to its achievement for consolidating democracy and secularism in a Muslim society, especially for the Middle Eastern countries after the Arab Spring.

Owing to theoretical discussion pursued in the second and third chapter, an analytical framework has been formed so as to review Turkey's soft power. In this framework, soft power has been considered as a capability to attract and influence other actors by impressing their perceptions and forming a positive image in the eyes of those actors. Further, legitimacy and credibility have been regarded as substantial in order to advance soft power concerning actions in the regional and international area while promoting universal values such as democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. In order to evaluate Turkey's soft power in terms of resources and practices, in addition to values, policies, and culture, economic success has been also

taken into account as an important source which could increase Turkey's attractiveness as a successful instance. Within this framework, educational activities, cultural institutions, media, and the establishment of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities have been evaluated in terms of culture. The EU reforms have been assessed related to promotion of universal values in the context of values and mediation attempts, participation in international institutions and foreign aids through various organizations such as TIKA and the Turkish Red Crescent have been reviewed concerning policies. In terms of economy, its economic growth has been mentioned regarding Turkey's becoming the world's 18th largest economy and a member of G-20. This research has been based on this framework while analyzing circumstances during the 2009-2014 period.

The following conclusions might be drawn from the research due to the analysis made in the fourth chapter. In terms of culture, the formation of the Yunus Emre Institution could be assessed as a substantial step so as to enhance Turkey's soft power while promoting its language, culture, history, and the country in various countries in different regions and also creating a positive image by impressing perceptions in a positive way towards Turkey, though it is a new initiative compared to its examples such as the British Council. The Mevlana Exchange Programme could be also significant for increasing the country's visibility and enhancing its attractiveness and reputation by advocating cultural tolerance and dialogue. Further, it could influence perceptions of elite groups of different countries which could be influential in politics of their countries in the future. On the other hand, excluding the EU countries as a candidate country which needs to improve its image in the eyes of

those countries to be a member is likely to limit the sphere of influence of this program. Forming TV channels such as TRT Avaz and TRT Arabic are substantial for directly communicating with people living in the Middle East, the Balkans, the Central Asia, and the Caucasus. These channels are open to the influence of the government, so it should not be utilized as a way for promoting foreign policy decisions that could cause credibility problems. Turkish TV series are also quite popular in various regions, which enhance the country's attractiveness and appeal regarding the similarities represented in series in terms of culture, tradition, and language. However, it produces not only positive outcomes, but also negative ones due to heavy criticism received from more conservative groups.

In terms of values, Turkey has been assessed concerning its adherence to universal values such as human rights and democracy as a Muslim country. Reforms pursued related to the EU reform process were essential for advocating civil rights and decreasing military's impact on foreign policy. On the other hand, adherence to democratization process seems like diminishing since 2005 while democracy has been presented in a more limited manner by sustaining more conservative policies which have increasingly excluded minorities and secularists groups.

Participation in mediation attempts based on the principle of proactive and pre-emptive peace policy, developing better relations with neighbors related to the policy of zero problems with neighbors and also increasing its involvement in international institutions regarding maintaining rhythmic diplomacy display a peaceful foreign policy understanding in theory, the problems occur in practices yet. In other words, though Turkey has involved in different mediation attempts, some of those attempts

did not accomplish their aims because Turkey has lost its credibility and legitimacy while failing to act in a neutral manner as it happened in its mediation efforts between Syria and Israel. Further, its relations with most of its neighbors deteriorated after the Arab Spring, which has resulted in decreasing its appeal and image as a peaceful country relying on soft power and consequently its influence in this region. Turkey also acted as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in the 2009-10 term and participated in regional institutions such as OIC and the African Union. However, it lost its chance to be a non-permanent member for the second time in the 2015-16 period by receiving a small amount of support from member states. Moreover, Turkey has increased its development assistance and foreign aids by becoming an important donor country. If the country seems to be pursuing assertive foreign policy while failing to promote human rights and democracy in domestic and foreign policy, it may not reach its aim of creating a positive image yet. For instance, as mentioned before, the survey conducted by TESEV in 2013 for assessing the perception of Turkey in the Middle East displayed that Turkey's positive image in the region has decreased considerably because of reasons such as its foreign policy approach towards regional states which has been evaluated as not friendly by more than half of the respondents in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq and as sectarian by 39% of respondents (Akgün and Gündoğar 2014). Further, though the economy has been an important resource while displaying Turkey as an attractive model, it has lost its pace in terms of growth rate in recent years, which might also decrease its attractiveness.

Even though Turkey's attitude towards the Arab Spring was mentioned briefly in the context of soft power, it could be also evaluated with different views other than Turkey's reliance on soft power. The promotion of democracy and human rights has been considered as an important aspect of Turkish foreign policy regarding the Arab upheavals and also its adherence to soft power. However, it seems that Turkey has pursued a selective approach by supporting protests and opposition groups in some countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Libya by emphasizing liberal values. On the other hand, the government chose to stay silent in other protests including the protests in Iran, Bahrain, and Yemen. This illustrates that Turkey did not always promote liberal values while pursuing diverse foreign policies towards various countries in the Middle East. Even though Turkey's relations with those countries have not been assessed in this study in which soft power has been considered as the main concept, it could be said that Turkey made different foreign policy choices while responding to the Arab upheavals. Therefore, different explanations including regional factors such as the changing power balance and the increasing influence of Islamic non-state actors could be substantial while analyzing Turkish foreign policy during this period. In other words, the use of soft power and the promotion of liberal values may not be the only reasons influencing Turkish foreign policy in the region. Furthermore, the relation between foreign policy and values might be connected to Turkey's domestic politics, which also means that Turkey's relations with its neighbors might have been influenced by different factors including soft power, domestic politics and changing regional dynamics (Özel and Özcan 2011).

There are also some limitations need to be mentioned regarding this research. Firstly, the concept of power was mentioned briefly while reviewing other disciplines and theories of international relations so as to display the significance of soft power and did not cover an extensive discussion about power. Further, while analyzing sources of soft power in the context of Turkey, policies, values, and economic dimension have evaluated in a more detailed way compared to values assessed concerning the EU reforms which has been slowed down since 2005. Therefore, reforms implied in the pre-2005 period have also been taken into account so as to express their impact on this new era. Even though TV Series and channels have been considered as substantial for enhancing Turkey's soft power and influence in different regions, their impact was not assessed within this study.

In future research, culture could be analyzed in the context of its impact by measuring how its practices influence other actors. Mapping²⁰ could be important for analyzing different aspects of soft power by explaining data in a visual way. It could provide exploratory analysis and highlight new patterns while displaying interconnectedness and even correlation between different aspects of the concept (Tufte 1997). For instance, while creating a specialized map regarding TIKA's presence in diverse regions and also Turkey's diplomatic initiatives could show a possible connection related to Turkey's increasing activism in specific regions such as Africa. Moreover, Turkey's activism related to its increasing use of soft power

²⁰ Mapping could be described as a way for visualizing data in order to evaluate and comprehend connections and relations of different elements. Geographical elements could be displayed in created maps while putting symbols for highlighting the intensity or existence of those elements (CSISS Report 2016).

resources could be assessed concerning its influence on its relations with the West, especially with the EU.

As a consequence of this research, it could be said that Turkey has had a significant amount of soft power due to its various resources. However, having resources might not always generate soft power behavior if the country fails to use those resources effectively. Turkey seems like decreasing its soft power due to different reasons such as its failure to promote values in domestic and foreign policy. It has been struggling with internal problems regarding minorities and failing to promote their rights and also multiculturalism in the society, which also limits its attractiveness by damaging its image. Further, Turkey increasingly seems authoritarian concerning its failure for promoting fundamental rights while limiting freedom of speech and press in recent years. Not only internal problems, but also changing circumstances in various regions such as the Middle East and the Black Sea also diminish the significance of soft power by testing its effectiveness at the macro level. For instance, the Middle East has become more insecure after the Arab Spring, which has resulted in increasing reliance on hard power in order to assure security while decreasing importance of soft power in the regional level. Especially, increasing impact of extremist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and al-Nusra Front, which has also made Turkey's neighborhood more risky (Öner 2014; Third Report of the Independent Commission on Turkey 2014).

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Appendix A

Types of Scholarships

Graduate Scholarship Programs

İbni Haldun Social Sciences Scholarship

Ali Kuşçu Science and Technology Scholarship

Undergraduate Scholarship Programs

Türkiye Africa Scholarship Program

Balkans Scholarship Program

Black Sea Scholarship Program

Harran Scholarship Program

Bosphorus Scholarship Program

Turkic Speaking Countries Scholarship Program

Branch Scholarships

Yunus Emre Turkish Language Scholarship Program

İbni Sina Medical Sciences Scholarship Program

Islamic Studies Scholarship Program

Arts Scholarship Programme

Sports Scholarship Programme

Short Term Scholarships

Research Scholarships

Success Scholarship Program

Support Scholarship Program

Turkish Language Program for Public Officials and Academicians

(Türkiye Scholarships)

