

**İSTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS
CULTURAL MANAGEMENT MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM**

**TURKEY'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES IN THE EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION PROCESS BETWEEN 2009 -2010**

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**İSTANBUL
2019**

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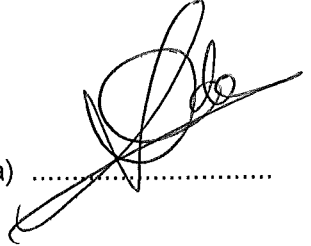
TÜRKİYE'NİN AVRUPA ENTEGRASYON SÜRECİNDE KÜLTÜREL DİPLOMASİ FAALİYETLERİ
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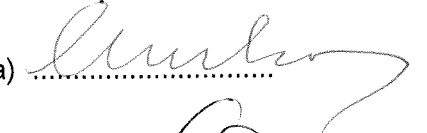
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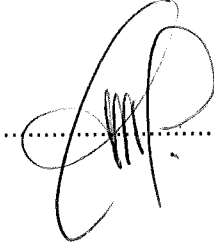
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İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi..... Üniversitesi

(İmza) 

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Kadir Has Üniversitesi..... Üniversitesi

(İmza) 

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : 17.09.2019
Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 81

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) AB Entegrasyonu
- 2) Yumuşak Güç
- 3) Kültürel Diplomasi
- 4) Türkiye-AB İlişkileri
- 5) Kültür Politikası

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) European Integration
- 2) Soft Power
- 3) Cultural Diplomacy
- 4) Turkey-the EU Relations
- 5) Cultural Policy

Acknowledgments

I would like to dedicate my thesis to my precious daughter, *Köpük* whom I lost on 21 March 2019. I and my family will always miss her through all our lives.

I would like to deeply thank to my mother Şermin Balatlıoğulları, my father Sinan Balatlıoğulları and my sister Nurhan Balatlıoğulları. I am grateful to them for their infinite love and trusts. My grandmother Nurten Kınayez, she is one of the big love of my life since my childhood. I am grateful to her love and supports in every step of my life. And, Bansiya Family, I am also grateful to them for their huge supports.

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Serhan Ada for his patience, support and above all, for his confidence in me since 2009. I wouldn't have completed this thesis without his guidance. Also, Dr. Ayşe Tecmen who always believed me... I am thankful to her because she repeatedly gave the light to me when I lost my way.

This thesis would not be complete without the encouragement of my dear friends, Cansın Caner Keskin, Eser Ece Altinkaya, Fatih Sel, Özlem Örçen, Selin Tümen, Sedef Akalın, Sezgi Sert, Tuba Telliöğlü Şeren, Yasemin Buket Ortalıkçı.

And lastly, I would like to thank Professor Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University, and Aslı Aydın Sancar. I will never forget their big supports.

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Özet

Bu tez çalışmasında Türkiye'nin Kültür diplomasisi kapsamında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı gibi devlet aktörlerinin desteği ile yurtiçi ve yurtdışında gerçekleştirilen kültürel etkinlikler incelenecektir. Bu tür kültürel etkinliklerin uzun zamandır problemlili bir biçimde devam eden Türkiye'nin AB'ye tam üyeliği ve Avrupa entegrasyonu sürecine ne gibi bir etkisi olduğu tartışılmaya açılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: AB Entegrasyonu, Yumuşak Güç, Kültürel Diplomasi, Türkiye-AB İlişkileri, Kültür Politikası

Abstract

This study aims to examine cultural activities carried out both domestically and abroad by the Republic of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, Republic of Ministry of Culture and Tourism within the scope of Turkish cultural diplomacy. Specifically, two big activities such as Turkey Season in France and Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture will be discussed as to what kind of impact Turkey has on the long-standing process of full membership and integration to the EU.

Anahtar kelimeler: European Integration, Soft Power, Cultural Diplomacy, Turkey-the EU Relations, Cultural Policy

List of Abbreviations

AKP: Justice and Development Party

EC: European Community

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EEC: European Economic Community

EU: European Union

EUNIC: European Union National Institutes for Culture

DG: Directorate General

IKSV: Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts

TIKA Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNeECC: The University Network of the European Capitals of Culture

MFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MCT: Ministry of Culture and Tourism

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

YEI: Yunus Emre Institute

YTB: Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

Introduction

With the globalisation of the world, the types and meanings of power used in foreign policy have changed, and governments around the world began adopting these new types of power in their foreign relations. Cultural diplomacy, which is accepted as the main asset for creating closer relationships between government actors and public. Many powerful countries and their governments are using cultural diplomacy and its functions to have an impact on other countries. This new approach has turned culture into a key instrument in public diplomacy for governments.

The European Union describes culture as a tool for social and political remodelling. The European Union Cultural Agenda gives immense importance to promoting their cultural values on a global level. In this context, promoting cultural values and developing cultural dialogues between countries are highly significant subjects for the EU.

In its full membership process to the EU, Turkey has gone through several changes. Following the 1999 Helsinki Summit, which is considered as a milestone in Turkey-EU relations, Turkey became an official candidate for membership. Following the Summit, the relations with the EU needed to be carried out according to a set calendar, and the terms and conditions determined by the EU. The Copenhagen Criteria, which still maintain their significance for Turkey, have been important in this process, as well.

Through its process of full membership to the EU, Turkey has failed to maintain a democratic approach in its politics with several military coups, numerous human rights violations, economic instability, the State Security Courts' general position, closing of political parties, ignoring minority rights, freedoms and their cultural values, and a general lack of freedom regarding the usage of cultural expressions in public spaces. All of these have negatively affected Turkey's image for the EU countries.

To eliminate this impression as an undemocratic country, Turkey began its efforts for establishing a proper harmonization process with the EU, which led to a need for diplomacy and implementing its instruments. In light of these, this thesis has been prepared by focusing

mainly on cultural diplomacy, one of the soft power strategies that globalisation has brought forth.

Research Question

Cultural diplomacy has become a rather widespread phenomenon throughout the world in the last two decades along with the discussions on soft power. In this thesis, cultural activities carried out both domestically and abroad by the Republic of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, Republic of Ministry of Culture and Tourism will be examined within the scope of Turkish cultural diplomacy. This kind of cultural activities will be discussed as to what kind of impact Turkey has on the long-standing process of full membership to the EU. In this regard, this study investigates the following question: How does/did Turkey's cultural diplomacy affect on the EU membership process of Turkey?

State of the Art

The field of cultural diplomacy, which looms large in present-day cultural policy and discourse, has not been insufficiently analysed. Because of this, I decided to examine this special subject and I tried to engage with the task of filling the gap. In the first chapter, the state of the art will be delineated in detail. Referring to the works of several different scholars, various theoretical approaches on diplomacy, power, hard power, soft power, public diplomacy, culture, cultural diplomacy will be discussed. In the following chapter, there will further literature on cultural diplomacy of the EU and Turkey.

Rationale of the Study

Cultural Diplomacy literature is an emerging one in the EU as well as the world. However, it is not yet elaborated in detail in Turkey. Hence, the main rationale of this study is to contribute to Turkey's cultural diplomacy literature. In this sense, specifically, I will examine some cultural events carried out by Turkish governments and some non-governmental organizations.

Methodology

I applied to the qualitative research for the scope of this study (McQueen and Knussen, 2002). Rather than following quantitative research techniques, I tried to use qualitative methods to trace the ways in which Turkey and the EU implement their cultural diplomacy methods. The study is composed of desk research, or literature review, and an archival research to elaborate the cultural diplomacy initiatives generated in Turkey during the period of 1999-2010. The literature review covers the concept of power, soft power, diplomacy, public diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy. The theoretical framework of the study, it created on cultural diplomacy of Turkey and foreign relations with the EU. Throughout this thesis, I tried to examine the effects of cultural diplomacy potential of Turkey, some important events which were lived since the 2000s.

Scope of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the dimensions of the cultural diplomacy of Turkey. Specifically, this study will focus on Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities which were organized by the government and supported by non-governmental actors. In this framework, I will examine the cultural diplomacy activities of Turkey and how it has affected the integration process of Turkey to the EU.

I will analyze the cultural events such as the Season of Turkey in France (2009), which were organized in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and the public actors, for the promotion of the culture of Turkey abroad. I will also examine the event, Istanbul European Capital of Culture (2010), which was held in Turkey. This study aims to show the mission and the objectives of these activities, in the scope of cultural diplomacy, and their effects on Turkey's image in the EU public opinion. Therefore, I will try to explain the background of the cultural diplomacy and the foreign relations of Turkey.

Chapter 1 of this study will include the terminology that is required to understand the relations between the concepts; 'Diplomacy', 'Soft Power', 'Public Diplomacy', and 'Cultural Diplomacy'. The focus of this study is cultural diplomacy, and therefore, I will try to explain the cultural diplomacy activities of Turkey in the third chapter.

In Chapter 2, I will briefly give information about EU history. Following that, I will discuss the perception of culture, cultural policy and the cultural diplomacy activities of the EU. Additionally, this chapter will also include the main actors who work for the cultural diplomacy of the EU.

In Chapter 3, the negative perception in Europe against Muslims and the cultural differences will be examined, which both affect the EU integration process of Turkey. Inside this chapter, the foundations (Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency, Yunus Emre Institute, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities), which work for the promotion of the Turkish culture in the EU member states, the positive contribution of Turkey's image in Europe, and for breaking the negative perception mentioned above, will also be studied.

Chapter 4 will include the events, Season of Turkey in France (2009-2010), and the Istanbul 2010 - European Capital of Culture, which in all have great potential as Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss the influences of Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities in the EU.

Chapter 1

1. THEORETICAL APPROACHES ON DIPLOMACY, POWER AND CULTURE

1.1. The Concept of Diplomacy

There are many definitions of diplomacy in the international relations literature created by scholars and politicians (İskit, 2012). For instance, when talking about traditional and public diplomacy, Cull stated that “traditional diplomacy is an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with another international actor [...]” (Cull, 2009: 15). According to Cull, diplomacy is the mechanisms used by state actors to keep a state's relations in the international arena in balance.

Diplomacy is a concept that encompasses the works, activities or skills employed while conducting international relations. States use it as an effective instrument for protecting their interests and defending their own views in their relations with other states (Gilboa, 2001). As diplomacy is shaped according to the political environment of the period, it has numerous different definitions.

According to Melissen, “diplomacy [...] is depicted as a game where the roles and responsibilities of actors in international relations are clearly delineated” (Melissen, 2005: 5).

On the other hand, according to Berridge, the main objective of diplomacy is to realize the interests of states in foreign policy without the use of force or written laws and rules. In a more general way, diplomacy can be described as the whole of efforts and negotiations without any written rules, which state actors use to establish close relations with each other for a common purpose (Cull, 2009: 12).

Today, in the international relations literature, the terms diplomacy and foreign policy are often used interchangeably. According to Temel İskit, the difference between diplomacy and policy is as follows: diplomacy is not the policy; it is the tool that implements the policy. Policy forms the strategy whereas diplomacy develops the tactics. In this respect, it would be useful to mention the important definitions made by Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. In his article, Kürkçüoğlu explains the following 4 important concepts (Kürkçüoğlu, 1980):

- **Foreign Policy:** A policy employed by a state against another state or states or, more broadly, in the international arena.
- **International relations:** Contacts and interactions between states and international organizations.
- **International Politics:** As a product of the post-1945 period when the discipline of international relations experienced major development, this concept can be summarized as the general phenomena in the field of international political relationships, where the foreign policies of individual states come into contact with each other, and both influence and be influenced by these foreign policies.
- **Diplomacy:** All of the rules for carrying out foreign relations and implementing foreign policies.

These definitions show us that diplomacy is a set of intangible principles that are applied in international relations and interrelations between international actors.

With the 21st century, the meaning of diplomacy started changing. As a result of the insufficiency and lack of effective results of traditional diplomacy in a globalized world, states had to change their ways. In addition to dealing directly with states and state actors, they now needed to take into consideration the opinions of their own citizens as well as the opinions of domestic and foreign organizations.

Thanks to this new diplomacy approach, winning public support has become indispensable for being successful in diplomatic relations. In this regard, diplomacy is no longer in the control of the state, but also with the different actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the public opinion and media. These developments caused states to start acting jointly with these new actors, which in turn led to the emergence of a new type of diplomacy called public diplomacy.

1.2. The Concept of Power

The concept of power has been used for centuries by states all over the world to influence other states or opposing groups (Wilson, 2008: 114). There are several discussions in international relations about the concept of power. Oxford Dictionary defines power as the “ability or capacity to do something or act in a particular way and the capacity or ability to direct or

influence the behaviour of others or the course of events, the latter also comprises of political or social authority or control, especially that exercised by a government” (Oxford Dictionary, <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/power>)

With the use of power, desired goals can be reached. However, because of the changing political environment, changing ideas and developing technology, the power strategies of states have transformed. As a result, the power strategies began to be categorized under two different definitions by scholars as hard power and soft power. There is also soft power, which is described by Joseph Nye as a combination of the first two powers (Nye, 2009: 160).

One of the most well-known use of power types is hard power. It consists of military power, economic means or other sanctioning forces, and has been used by states for a very long time. It is the strongest type of power as it is related to material forces like guns, wars, and economic and other coercive means. If a state is strong in terms of these abilities, it can claim hegemony over other states or groups using its hard power sources.

Hard power has been the main power strategy of states for many years. However, due to changes in international arena and diplomatic relations, states needed a new approach in their foreign relations, and a new type of power called ‘soft power’ emerged. There have been many discussions on the use of soft power. Particularly in the 21st century, the concept of hard power began to be replaced by ‘soft power’ with states using the latter more and more in the new international relations system. Over time, soft power began to be accepted as the best way to achieve goals among states.

As the world became globalized, distances became closer; and with the increasing use of digital media, news and developments from around the world started to spread directly and much more quickly. This meant that the flow of information, cultural relations, diplomatic relations etc. have become traceable all over the world.

With this new period, soft power has become one of the indispensable elements in foreign policy for influencing the public as well as states. The inclusion of public opinion, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), national and international organizations in the preparation and implementation of policies is considered a positive political development.

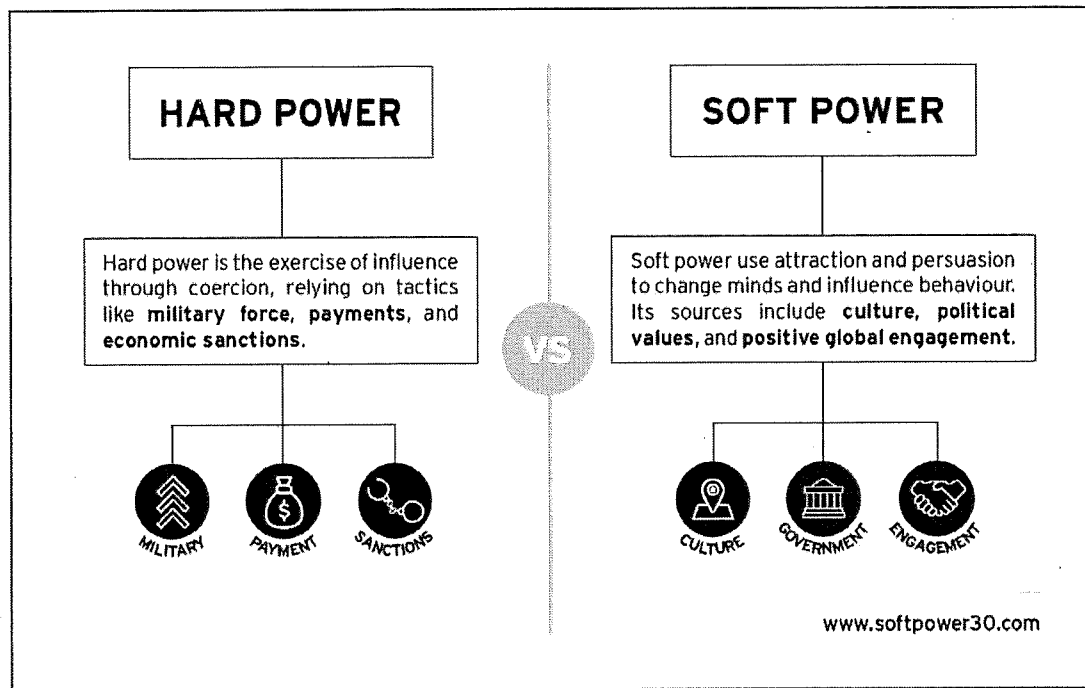


Figure 1: Differences between Soft Power and Hard Power

Source: www.softpower30.com

1.3. The Concept of Soft Power

Soft power is a form of power used to create powerful relationships by pursuing a soft route, as its name indicates, for the purpose of a country's artistic, cultural and traditional value in other nations. Soft Power includes new types of diplomacy such as public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. It is a new kind of power used with the aim of creating attraction and achieving goals in foreign policy without resorting to the traditional instruments of hard power such as military and economic means and threats.

Joseph Nye coined the term 'soft power' in 1990. According to Nye, soft power helps a country reach its goals and achieve desired results in international politics by having other countries who admire its values, regard it as a role model, and aspire to have its welfare level and opportunities, follow it. The most significant difference between soft and hard power is the different methods through which they are applied. While hard power requires military, economic or other sorts of coercive means, soft power works through creating attraction in a state or actor so that that particular state or actor can dominate other states/parties and make them adopt its ideas and ideals.

As we know, soft power is about creating a positive effect on another country. In his study on the concept of soft power, Nye mentions that there are three means to successfully achieve goals. He describes these as follows: “there are three ways to achieve one’s goal: threatening the other party and going to war if necessary; ‘buying out’ the other party; and persuading the other party through the use of soft power” (Kalin, 2011: 8). Nye also explains that “soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want” (Nye, 2004: 5). He explains the tools of soft power in three pillars as below:

“A country’s soft power can come 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)” (Nye, 2008: 94).

According to Nye’s definition, in order to achieve success by using soft power, it is necessary to move in the opposite direction of hard power. Soft power is about aiming to create dominance by changing the way of thinking of other parties; it is not about using the rough methods of hard power to achieve success. In this respect, in contrast to hard power, soft power is seen as a way of achieving political success and superiority without using any coercive means or threats.

Nye sees soft power as the capability to attain the desired purpose without the need for any pressure to obtain it, which is a great skill. In this respect, soft power is the most efficient approach in relations between countries. The distinction between the two types of power -hard power and soft power- can simply be summarised as follows: hard power includes military and financial influence, whereas soft power includes all of the interesting details relating to a country’s artistic, scientific and cultural activities and industries.

Another view about soft power is provided by Geun Lee. While theorizing soft power, Lee draws attention to a different way of using soft power, and approaches the topic rather differently than Nye. While Joseph Nye emphasized the elements of soft power as loyalty and mobilization, Lee argued notes that soft power could be based on a cooperation with hard power (Lee, 2009: 205).

1.4. The Concept of Public Diplomacy

Through the use of public diplomacy, states have moved away from traditional diplomacy and its state-to-state approach. With a more active system of diplomacy, non-state actors like NGOs and local actors also began to be involved in the relationships between countries.

Within this context, states, actors and policy methods have been reshaped and gained new dimensions in many parts of the world. The most important step of this change is seen as replacing the authoritarian state concept with a democratic one. Due to this change, the attitude and perceptions of the people started to gain importance in diplomatic relations. The clear-cut distinctions and “walls” between countries’ internal policies and foreign policies during the Cold War era were almost destroyed in the process of globalization; and domestic political developments have become a part of foreign policy.

The main reason for this change is directly related to globalization. Contrary to traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy is defined as being not from state to state, but from state to public; from civil society to states; from civil society to public.

Public diplomacy also differs from traditional diplomacy in its methods such as planned propaganda and pursuing a systematic way of trying to influence public opinion. In general terms, public diplomacy consists of all the efforts made by states to inform and influence internal or external public opinion in the desired direction. According to Cull;

“Public diplomacy...deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications” (cited in Cull, 2008: 19).

Gullion emphasizes the importance of countries' interaction with the public in other countries. As he describes, public diplomacy is a tool that can help influence other countries' and societies' opinions, attitudes and foreign policy decisions. According to Gullion, public diplomacy creates this influence through governments as well as special groups and individuals.

Public diplomacy does not only include state actors; it covers a large sphere of influence ranging from states to civil societies and citizens. Indeed, an aspect of public diplomacy that sets it apart from traditional diplomacy is the fact that it is implemented in cooperation with civil actors such as individuals and NGO's. Public diplomacy focuses on the communication process that governments establish in order to create sympathy in foreign public opinions for the ideas, ideals and interests of their own countries. As a kind of force, public diplomacy is known to create a favourable environment for such interactions.

According to Joseph Nye (Nye, 2005: 108-109), there are three dimensions of public diplomacy as follows: the first dimension Nye mentions is being careful with the state's communication and information flow as we proceed with our set target. This dimension underlines the need for making accurate calculations about how words are perceived from the outside. The second dimension is strategic planning. According to this dimension, creating a strong vision for the branding of the country, and acting within the framework of this vision is vital in terms of creating an accurate impression. The steps taken within this framework provide a reliable country image and a positive understanding of the country. The third dimension is long-term process. The aim in this process is to create strong relations through education, scholarships, seminars, conferences as well as through traditional and digital media in order to institutionalize the country, and to gain a significant brand value on an international scale.

However, there are certain differences between public and cultural diplomacy. The most obvious one is that public diplomacy uses the state's propaganda device to influence internal and external public opinion whereas in cultural diplomacy the focus is on the people who produce and carry culture. Therefore, cultural diplomacy can be explained as a human-to-human interaction method.

1.5. The Concept of Culture

Culture is a very difficult concept to explain. According to Kieldanowicz (2009:2), 168 different descriptions of culture were found in a study carried out by A. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn in 1952. Scholars that have studied the topic have described culture in various ways through different perspectives. However, the first scientific definition of the concept was made by anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor in 1871. Tylor defined culture "as a complex whole of

knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, morals, custom and traditions, habits and skills that one acquires as a member of a society” (Tylor, 1871: 1). According to Tylor’s explanation, culture changes and develops with the knowledge and interactions that a person goes through life.

Culture is defined as the whole of the material and spiritual values that shape a society and distinguish it from other societies. Culture covers the beliefs, customs and traditions, language, literature, ideas of a society as well as all of its written and non-written codes.

Culture is a concept that plays a multi-dimensional role in a wide range of areas from daily life to politics. It is also defined as the accumulation of knowledge and practices passed down from generation to generation. According to this definition, one of the factors that holds a society together and makes it unique is the concept of culture.

According to the description given in the Final Report of the World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City organised by UNESCO in 1982, “culture, in its widest sense, is a whole that consists of a mixture of distinctive material, spiritual, intellectual and emotional characteristics that define a society or a social group. It includes not only science and literature but also lifestyles, the fundamental rights of people, their values, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, 1982).

What makes a country different from others is its culture, the cultural activities it performs and the uniqueness of these activities. Together with the developing instruments of diplomacy, culture has become a widely used tool in diplomacy and in international relations discipline all over the world.

According to the EU, culture plays an essential role in EU’s relationship with the other countries to make it a strong world actor. In this context, culture is an influential instrument that is well-known by governments for building a bridge of communication and strengthening common understanding among people, especially the youth. Moreover, the EU member states can reinforce its foreign policy through their cultural richness (European Union External Action, 2018).

1.6. The Concept of Cultural Diplomacy

One of the effects that globalism has had on the world is that it led to the emergence of new concepts. The new order created by globalism requires a new set of innovations within the discipline of international relations. The methods that states use in their international relations develop and transform within this new system, as well.

The importance of culture in the international arena was realised, and culture took its place within the discipline of diplomacy in the last century. The concept of cultural diplomacy, which gained importance as a popular research topic after the 1990s in particular is seen as a result of globalism.

Cultural diplomacy is a type of relationship that helps the cultural values, sources and accomplishments of a society to be known by foreign peoples, enables mutual cultural exchanges, in doing so, leads to international recognition (Cull, 2009: 19). According to a more traditional definition, “cultural diplomacy is a soft power tool through which states and/or international organisations pursue foreign policy objectives” (Triandafyllidou & Szucs, 2017: 2).

According to Cull’s definition “Cultural diplomacy may be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad” (Cull, 2009: 19). According to “American political scientist Milton C. Cummings describes cultural democracy as the mutual exchange of ideas, knowledge, values, traditions and culture” (Cumming, 2009: 1).

According to de Vries's, “cultural diplomacy concerns more than art and cultural heritage. It encompasses the intellectual life of a nation in the broadest sense” (Ada et al.: 2009: 15). Cultural diplomacy can be expressed as the sum of all culture, education, science and arts that a society possesses. Cultural diplomacy aims to gain not only sympathy but also trust from the other party.

Cultural diplomacy uses all cultural and artistic elements as vector. Exhibitions, music, art, literature, media, cinema, performing arts (theatre, dance, opera, ballet), educational

programmes and, as a very effective method, language are presented as the most significant elements of cultural diplomacy.

Culture and arts were used for political purposes in Medieval Europe, as well. The concept of 'patronage', which is the first form of funding arts and culture, is an example to this. The word *mesen* in Turkish (*mécène* in French) used for these protectors of arts comes from the famous patron *Maecenas*, who acted as a minister of culture during the Augustus era.

One of the most significant families that acted as protectors of arts during this era was a banking family from Florence called the 'House of Medici' who later produced important religious and political figures (Elam, C. 1988: 814). This patronage model and tradition continues today through the foundations and collection activities by wealthy families. Culture and arts have been essential instruments of the political interests of aristocrats and politicians, and have been the simplest and most legitimate way of gaining respect and manipulating public opinion.

Cultural diplomacy also includes educational or artistic exchange programmes. Through scholarships to study abroad and programmes such as Jean Monnet, ERASMUS+, DAAD, in particular, cultural interaction and interest in the destination countries increase.

A state or community can influence other states or communities by presenting its cultural values to them. By using these methods, they would be able to sympathize with the other side's thoughts and perspectives, and could develop close relations with them.

Cultural diplomacy is not only a means of communication between societies, it also triggers social change and transformation. As a result of actions taken in the context of cultural diplomacy, the dignity of countries is increasing, and they promote themselves in the most efficient and economical way. Furthermore, cultural diplomacy actions bring in tangible returns like tourism and export growth.

According to Serhan Ada, "cultural diplomacy is an indispensable component in the organizational charts of foreign ministries. In other words, cultural diplomacy is, in large part, planned and carried out by diplomats in accordance with policies and trends established at these ministries" (Ada, 2017: 52). However, the recognition of culture as diplomacy is confused with public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is an instrument of soft power and it is important in

countries' abilities to influence other countries. "Many countries have taken steps to take advantage of their cultural attraction as a way of putting this soft power into play" (Ada et al., 2009: 15). In that way, cultural diplomacy has become a vital element in international relations to promote cultural values and disseminate national cultures in the global meaning (Pajtinka, 2014: 95). According to Pajtinka, cultural diplomacy includes the activities below:

- "assisting cultural subjects in the dissemination of national culture and cultural identity,
- promoting dissemination of the national language of the sending state in the receiving state,
- promoting and explaining the cultural values of the sending state in the receiving state,
- negotiating international treaties on cultural cooperation and,
- supporting and keeping up contact with expatriate communities in the receiving state" (Pajtinka, 2014: 95).

Contrary to traditional diplomacy, which is based on a state-to-state approach, cultural diplomacy focuses on state-to-foreign public opinion relations. In this way, cultural diplomacy enables states to preserve peace among nations as well as helping them maintain the power they currently hold. According to Serhan Ada, there are three main cultural diplomacy models:

"The first model is one of direct government supervision, of which the most well-known example is the French Institutes, which are directly linked to the Foreign Ministry of France. The directors of these institutes are appointed by *Culturesfrance*, which is itself under the supervision of the Foreign Ministry. Similarly, under this model, the Confucius Institutes – which are chiefly active in the field of education and research about the Chinese language and literature – operate through funds specifically set aside from the budget of the Ministry of Education. Such a hierarchized model makes it very difficult for cultural directors who are creating programmes and putting on events in different cultural environments to do anything contrary to the main preferences set by official/foreign policy (and, by extension, to the rules created by the embassies with which they are affiliated).

The second model could be termed the ‘non-governmental agency’ model, prominent examples being the British Council and the Japanese Foundation. The British Council was established through a Royal Charter and enjoys the status of a charity, yet is funded by the UK Foreign Ministry. The fact that it is not directly linked to the government does not necessarily mean that it does not adhere to the latter’s fundamental policy. All the same, British Council directors are allowed to take the initiative in the management of programming and content.

The third type, a ‘mixed’ model falling somewhere between the first two, is seen in examples like the Netherlands’ *DutchCulture*. This organization operates with the joint funding of three ministries in the Netherlands, namely those of education, culture, and foreign affairs. *DutchCulture* also receives support from the European Commission for its projects within Europe” (Ada, 2017: 52).

When we look at the three models explained by Ada, we infer that the direct involvement of the government in the activities of cultural diplomacy causes the problem of culture and arts to be managed by state actors. It is critical that culture and arts is managed by professional cultural managers and artists, not by governments, so that the sector can maintain its authenticity and diversity.

The advantages of cultural diplomacy are listed as below in the Cultural Diplomacy Report published by the U.S. Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy in 2005. According to the report, cultural diplomacy “creates relationships with peoples, which endure beyond changes in government; and can reach influential members of foreign societies, who cannot be reached through traditional embassy functions” (U.S. Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005).

As this report states, cultural diplomacy helps form a positive perspective on the culture, custom and traditions, and the social values of a country. Furthermore, it contributes to transnational cooperation and social solidarity; which in turn helps with economic situations. As it facilitates social peace and mutual understanding, cultural diplomacy will eliminate the need for wars between countries.

This new diplomacy model pushes aside the need for using hard power instruments. Indeed, using cultural diplomacy as soft power instead of using hard power has the potential to solve

problems that even hard power would fail to solve as well as being a peaceful method. Furthermore, soft power does not have the risks like financial loss, military damage that hard power can impose on a country or a society. In addition, its lack of harsh tone helps create sympathy on an international level.

Cultural diplomacy can be identified as the act of influencing an audience by sharing ideas, lifestyles, and aesthetics. According to Vries's (2009) cultural diplomacy has great potential for winning heart and minds. Thus, cultural diplomacy as a major factor for establishing a dialogue between different cultures it plays a big role towards the coexistence of peoples from different cultural backgrounds, as well as reducing security problems due to crime, extremism and radicalization. In the following chapter, cultural diplomacy will be explained in more detail in terms of the EU's perspective.

Chapter 2

2. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

“Our cultures are bound to meet. We have a duty to make the most out of this encounter”.

F. Mogherini

This chapter deals primarily with the relationship between EU, culture and cultural diplomacy. Culture, cultural diplomacy, EU’s relationship with culture and its cultural diplomacy approach will be examined in this chapter.

2.1. A Brief History of the European Union (EU)

The European Union emerged as an idea that needed to be realised urgently following a period when continental Europe experienced economic, social and political destruction after World War II (Gürsoy & Onursal-Beşgöl, 2013: 21). This idea was born with the aim of recovering from the calamities of the war, and helping the economies of countries like Italy, France and Germany in particular, which took the hardest blow from the war, develop.

Accordingly, a certain group of political and intellectual actors supported the idea that forming a federal structure which might be called ‘United States of Europe’ would be the most effective, humanistic and peaceful way of ending the big wars that had been waged in the continent, and sped up the activities that finally led to the establishment of the European Union (formerly the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC).

With the plan prepared by Jean Monnet, the former secretary-general of the League of Nations, and declared by Robert Schuman, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, it was proposed that the coal and steel resources owned by West Germany and France and their production processes would be taken care of in cooperation, by also enabling other European countries to join this cooperation if they demanded (Official website of the European Commission, 2017).

ECSC was an example of political and economic success implemented in 1951 through the Schuman Declaration with six member states: “Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands” (Official website of the European Commission, 2017). Coal and steel

which were the raw materials of war were transformed into the means of peace under the ECSC. It was the aim of ECSC to prevent any possibility of war between its member states.

In the following years, these six states came together and reached a consensus for the establishment of an economic community based on the free circulation of the labour force, goods and services and founded the European Economic Community (EEC) by signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957. The aim of the ECC was to create a market in which goods, labour force, services and capital would be released into free circulation, and to ensure political integrity through this free circulation.

Following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, and the process of democratization and restoration from Soviet control by the Central and Eastern European states, the political balances also underwent radical modifications. Member States were negotiating a treaty that would reinforce their connections with each other (Dinan, 2004:2).

As a result of these negotiations, the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992 and enacted in 1993 established the European Union. Therefore, it is also called the Treaty on the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty enabled a new legal structure to be prepared for the EU.

With the Maastricht Treaty, culture was given a legal basis (Shore, 1993, 2001; Delgado-Moreira 1997). The European Union began incorporating social and cultural works in its legal framework, even giving more importance to them as time passed on; it highlighted that culture needed a policy, as well; and prepared the European Union Cultural Policies.

The policies emphasise that the national and regional cultural diversities shall be protected and respected with the idea that the EU would have a common cultural heritage. The policies also underline that works contributing to member states' cultural development shall be supported (Maastricht Treaty, 1992). In other words, the EU stated that cultural diversity and preserving and advancing cultural heritage [in the following paragraphs of the treaty] will lead to the opportunity of establishing relations among member states and third countries.

The motto of the EU is "*unity in diversity*" (*in varietate concordia*) (Lahdesmaki, 2012: 59). The European Union is considered a peace project as it ended the hostility between France and

Germany that had been going on for years, and brought a permanent peace in the region by creating a European Union based collaboration between these two countries. For this reason, according to the remarks of French Prime Minister (2005-2007) Dominique De Villepin the European Union is known as “the most successful international organization model” (Official website of the EU, n.d.) of the last century, maybe even of human history.

As mentioned before, culture is a soft power instrument because of this, many countries use culture in their international relations due to its potential to help societies, as well as states, get closer to each other, and to create mutual understanding. It is stated by Vries, “culture has an important role in the bilateral diplomatic relations of the EU member states” (Vries, 2009: 16).

2.2. The EU’s Approach to Culture

“Having the world understand your culture is much greater security than another submarine”

J. William Fulbright

Although the main goal for founding the European Union was to create an economic union, in time, it had other goals, as well. The European Union realised the important role of social, cultural and economic development for member countries, and shaped the goals of the Union accordingly through its policies. The following statement summarises the importance that the European Union gives to culture:

“Culture as a vital element in international relations [...] In this context, it is also important to promote the richness of cultural diversity of our partners, to serve local identities, to promote access to culture of local populations and develop an economic resource which can have a direct impact on socio-economic development” (European Commission, 2007: 20, cited in Sarikakis).

The EU would support member states’ development, and national and regional cultural diversity, while it would also highlight shared cultural heritage (Maastricht Treaty, 1992). In other words, “the Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the

common cultural heritage to the fore... The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries” (Forrest, 1994: 11).

This cultural diversity and the harmony of these cultures in Europe can also be seen in the EU’s foreign policies. Therefore, one of the main policies of the European Union today is preserving and supporting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. In the 1st International Culture Summit was held in Edinburgh in 2012, Androulla Vassiliou, the European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth stated that by ratifying UNESCO’s Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions dated 2005, the EU has shown its intention to give culture a wider and more active role in its foreign relations. The EU believes that utilising the creativity and innovative capacity of culture would positively contribute to the EU’s relations with other countries and to the EU’s perception in the international arena.

As mentioned before, the EU is as much a social and cultural project as it is an economic one. The main reason that the EU uses cultural diplomacy, as an instrument of soft power, is to represent on a universal scale the Union’s image, power and supremacy against EU members and non-members alike. It is a significant reflection of the fact that representing the Union’s strong appeal on the international arena greatly helps strengthen the Union in terms of politics and economics. As Özdemir stated:

“While the realist power approach focuses on the skill of coercion, the necessary element for using soft power is appeal. For instance, both through its attractiveness stemming from its economic success and through its rules and procedures, the European Union has impacts on the candidate states that it could not have managed through military power. The European Union does not have a military power, yet through its accession process (procedures, criteria, reports and other documents), it causes radical changes in the domestic and foreign policies of candidate states, and can even demand unilateral concessions from these countries” (Özdemir, 2008: 139).

When it comes to the countries with no membership prospective, the European Union tries to get these countries in line with the EU policies through cultural means. Since the day it was founded, the European Union has given the necessary importance to culture. Being “united in

diversity”, harmonising different ethnic groups and cultures together and standing against all kinds of discrimination are legally protected in the EU.

The multicultural structure of the European Union thanks to the different cultures of its members states, preparing a cultural policy was added into the agenda of the EU. After the Maastricht Treaty, cultural policies have gained legal ground in the EU. Through various cultural programmes, the EU’s cultural policy supports this diversity.

2.3. The EU’s Cultural Policy

It has already been stated that the Treaty of Maastricht has accelerated the attempts of the EU to preserve, promote and develop culture in Europe. The Treaty of Maastricht, also known as the Treaty on European Union, entered into force in November 1993. One of the first things that the Treaty has brought about is the concept of European citizenship. Furthermore, the subject of culture was stated in Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty and it was decided that the Member States ' domestic and regional cultural diversities would be respected and fostered by also prioritizing common cultural heritage in order to foster European culture (The Treaty of Maastricht, 1992).

The EU’s role on culture is restricted to promoting collaboration among its members and improving the related activities. The EU’s cultural policy is implemented with the principle of subsidiarity. Each member state has its own cultural policy and cultural diplomacy approach. The EU gives incentives and funds cultural projects (for instance, cultural heritage, architecture, literature). It has given importance to the development of cultural and creative industries. Like the other policies of the EU, the subject of culture is handled through the support and cooperative activities of the EU.

When EU members determine their cultural policies, the European Commission’s role is to provide freedom to the professionals working in the field of culture, and to help overcome problems of financial restrictions and lack of skill. Aligned with the values laid down in the European Agenda for Culture, the European Commission is working to promote cultural diversity, protect cultural heritage and expedite the development of cultural and creative industries across Europe.

2.3.1. The Main Actors and Activities of the EU on Cultural Diplomacy

2.3.1.1. European Commission

The commission's duty is to bring forward proposals about transportation, social policies, environment, agriculture, energy, regional development, and trade relations as mentioned in the treaties; and to ensure that the existing treaties are implemented correctly and in line with the laws. The Commission does not receive orders from a specific country, region or sector. It is responsible for independently protecting the interests of the European Union and its citizens. Each member state has a representative in the Commission. The Commission consists of directorates-general where necessary administrative regulations are made on various issues.

2.3.1.2. Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (DG-EAC)

The Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture is responsible for the EU's policy on education and culture. In this regard, it deals with a set of programme that contribute to the preservation of the EU's values, providing welfare for the EU citizens, and furthering the participation in European integration. The Directorate-General is responsible for the following:

- Building knowledge in Europe (making lifelong learning programs and exchange programs easier),
- Protecting and promoting the cultural diversity in Europe
- Including citizens in the European integration process to contribute to mutual understanding, trust and tolerance (Official website of the DG – EAC).

The operations of the Department in this field are framed by the European Culture Agenda, which is aimed at strengthening the role and place of culture in an increasingly globalized world. In support of Europe's cultural priority, the DG creates evidence-based strategies and manages projects such as Creative Europe. The Commission has focused over the previous few years on applying the European Culture Agenda, which is frequently reviewed to provide a measure of advancement. Until the Creative Europe programme was launched, the department operated predominantly through: “the Culture Programme (2007-2013), which supported Europe's cultural diversity and heritage, the MEDIA Programme (2007-2013) and, the MEDIA Mundus Programme (2011-2013), both of which supported the audio-visual industry” (Official website of the DG – EAC).

The department has also commissioned a range of research, reports and statistical surveys to contribute to global cultural dialogue and collaboration; and it has made attempts to promote the cultural and audiovisual sectors in several fields.

The Creative Europe Program was introduced in early 2014 following the approval of the European Parliament. Set to last until 2020, it offers a range of possibilities for cultural industry organizations and experts. At the same time, the Directorate-General continues to provide policy assistance and advice to EU Member States. The DG's strategic structure outlines major objectives.

2.3.1.3. The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA)

As part of the European Commission, since 2007, the Executive Agency for Education, Audiovisual and Culture (EACEA) has played a role in managing financing for education, culture, audiovisual, sport, citizenship and volunteering problems in the EU (Official website of the EACEA).

In this context, EACEA's task is to arrange the circumstances and guidelines for financing possibilities; to assess requests and project arrangements; to maintain close contact with beneficiaries; to monitor projects; to provide data and support to candidates and beneficiaries; and to provide the European Commission with policy assistance.

As can be seen from the table below, the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture manages the programs ERASMUS+ and Creative Europe. However, Creative Europe's MEDIA division is managed by another Directorate-General.

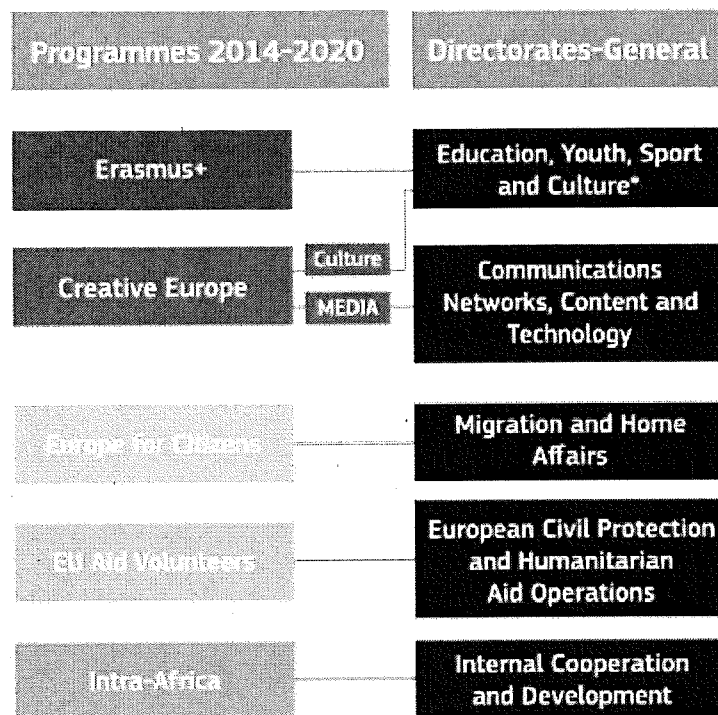


Figure 2: Which programmes do we manage?

Source: <https://publications.europa.eu/s/mE3K>

2.4. Main Cultural Programmes and Activities of the EU

In addition to respecting cultural diversity, calling attention to the common cultural heritage is also a priority for the EU. In this regard, the EU has many initiatives. Through these initiatives, the EU highlights its cultural richness in language, literature, theatre, cinema, dance, publishing, arts, architecture, handicraft and many more areas; and in doing so, it aims to protect its cultural values within the Union as well as making these cultural values known by the public in other countries. Since the 1990s, the EU was created a range of cultural programme such as; Kaleidoscope project [1996-1999] was related to performing arts and visual arts (multimedia projects); Raphael project [1997-2000] was related to cultural heritage; and Ariane project [1997-1999] to reading. These projects were later combined under Culture 2000 [2000-2006] (Mokre, 2007). With Culture 2007 [2007-2013], the EU tried to establish a common understanding of European citizenship by using media programs.

The foundations of the EUROMED programme was laid in 1995 as the Barcelona Process. This programme is important in terms of developing trade collaborations between EU member states and the Mediterranean states that are not EU members, as well as strengthening and promoting the trade relations among these countries. EUROMED is a process that aims to reinforce political unity, develop cultural dialogue, and maintain stable collaborations. Furthermore, EUROMED has been a pioneer in integrating the Mediterranean into Europe. The name of EUROMED was changed as Union for the Mediterranean in 2008.

EUROMED Heritage aims to develop projects that promote the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean region, to emphasise its importance, to increase public awareness about the topic, and to boost mutual understanding and dialogue between cultures. EUROMED Heritage Programme focuses on making the public own and value cultural heritage, and on providing access to information about cultural heritage (Euromed Heritage IV, 2008).

The EU's most significant initiatives in the field of culture are the Creative Europe Programme and the European Capitals of Culture. Started on 1 January 2014, the Creative Europe Programme will stay in effect from 2014 to 2020.

The Creative Europe Programme, which follows on from the Culture Programme and the MEDIA Programme, has been allocated a budget of €1,46 billion. The aim of the Creative Europe Programme is to support cultural initiatives that encourage cross border cooperation, literature translations and networking activities, and the initiatives regarding the development, access and distribution of media and audio-visual works.

2.4.1. European Capital of Culture (ECoC, 1985-onwards)

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) project initially started in 1985 based on the idea of the then Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri. Over time, it became one of the best-known cultural projects across Europe (Official website of the European Commission).

The European Capitals of Culture project basically enables the cultural values of the cities which receive this title to be represented on a global scale. It serves as a support mechanism for the preparation of the infrastructure needed for the success of its promotion. The ECoC project contributes to the interaction of different cultures, provides a ground that they can come

together, and helps develop cultural dialogue. In this sense, the ECoC is considered a crucial opportunity for the cities of both the EU member states and, lately candidate states.

At the beginning of its implementation, the ECoC within the framework of the cultural policy, one city is chosen every year as European Capitals of Culture. This title offers a chance for designated cities to celebrate their European identity, collaborate with domestic and international cultural organizations, and generally make their cultural scenes more appealing and vibrant. Different cultural activities are carried out in these chosen cities and, based on the experiences so far, becoming a European Capital of Culture contributes to long-term financial, social and cultural growth (Official website of the ECoC). The designated city would then represent its culture, cultural heritage and values to EU member states' citizens, and candidate states through one year. In this way, it was planned to develop a collaborative dialogue between the EU cities through culture.

The ECoC initiative is related to various fields such as; “art, culture, identity, urban planning, infrastructure, cultural management, governance, politics, branding, marketing, economy, tourism, social well-being, civil participation, intercultural encounters, and education” (Official website of the European Commission).

In 2000, for the first time ever, more than one city received the title for the same year. The name was changed from ‘European City of Culture’ to ‘European Capital of Culture’ in that year, as well. In 2005, selecting more than one city each year to hold this title became the rule (The University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC)).

2.4.2. European Union National Institutes for Culture – EUNIC (2006)

European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) is a network of the Europe’s national cultural institutes that is including “36 members from all 28 EU member states and offices in over 150 countries” (Official Website of the EUNIC). In scope of this network, the members work several subjects such as “arts, languages, youth, education, science, society, inter cultural dialogue and development” (Official Website of the EUNIC).

The EUNIC, as a partner of the European Commission, it is working with the other European institutions, for defining and implementing European cultural policy. The main aim of the EUNIC, is “to become the delivery, research and training partner of choice for cultural

diplomacy and cultural relations at European and International level by 2025” (Official Website of the EUNIC).

The EUNIC has several programmes for implementing cultural policy of the EU as follows, Crossroads for Culture, Cultural Diplomacy Platform, Cluster Development Programme, Knowledge Sharing Workshops, Cluster Projects.

2.4.3. European Agenda for Culture (2007)

Each Member State of the European Union is accountable for its own cultural policies. The European Commission's main role is to assist member states with the common challenges they face, such as the impact of digital technologies, changing cultural governance models and the need for support in the cultural and creative industries' innovation potential (Official Website of the European Commission)

The European Agenda for Culture considers increasing intercultural dialogue, encouraging cultural diversity and using cultural and creative industries as effective instruments in the EU's growth, employment and cooperation as well as in its international relations; and emphasises the importance of culture in these areas.

Following the 2007 European Culture Agenda, the Commission introduced a new agenda in May 2018 to take into consideration the cultural industry's evolution.

2.4.4. EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations (2007)

Culture was centred of the EU's international relations since *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards an EU strategy for International Cultural Relations* was adopted on 8 June 2016.

The Joint Communication proposes three primary guidances for the EU International Cultural Relations Strategy: supporting culture as a mechanism for viable social and economic growth; encouraging culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful international relations; and strengthening cultural heritage collaboration (Official website of the EUR-Lex).

The primary focus of the EU's global cultural relations policy is to build cultural collaboration on diplomatic relations across the globe with the other nations. As we see on the EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations, culture is part of the Commission's priority to make the EU a greater global player worldwide.

It also aims to foster cultural cooperation and promote a global order based on peace, rule of law, freedom of expression, mutual understanding and respect for fundamental values between the EU and the partner countries of the EU (<https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/culture/18306/culture-towards-eu-strategy-international-cultural-relations-en>).

2.4.5. New European Agenda for Culture (2018)

“Europe is facing multiple challenges, such as growing social inequalities, diverse populations, populism, radicalisation, and security threats that shake the foundations of European integration and call into question the solidarity between Member States. In these challenging times, it is important to rediscover the bonds that connect us all. To this end, culture has a vital role to play, as it creates a sense of belonging, promotes active citizenship and defines our basic values and identity” (Report on the New European Agenda for Culture, 2018/2091).

This Agenda was a revised version of the previous strategies taking into account the rise of populism and nationalism in EU member states, and the refugee crisis which led to increased ethnic and religious tensions in various countries (Kaya, 2016, 2017).

2.4.6. The European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018)

2018 was designated as the European Year of Cultural Heritage by the European Commission. The importance of cultural heritage has a universal value for societies all over the world, especially for future generations. Also, cultural heritage has a big role to play in building the future of Europe. Because of that, the European Commission aims to reach out to young generations in particular during the European Year.

Cultural heritage has four different versions. These are tangible, intangible, natural and digital heritage. Tangible heritage includes buildings, monuments, artefacts, clothing, artwork, books,

machines, historic towns, archaeological sites and intangible heritage includes practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - and the associated instruments, objects and cultural spaces - that people value (Official Website of the European Commission).

2.4.7. Creative Europe (2014- 2020)

It is said that the culture and arts sector make unmatched contributions to the innovation capacity of Europe. Today, geographical mobility is a particular asset that artists can add to their professional development. Usually, working on an international level is the only option for young professionals to achieve such development. This is also important for the EU in order to strengthen European cultural arena and reinforce participation in the European integration.

The EU believes that the cultural and creative industries need more investment, and in order to fully benefit from the opportunities of globalism and the digital era, it supports these industries through the Creative Europe Programme.

Creative Europe is the EU's most recent programme and will last until 2020. The programme aims to achieve social and economic development by focusing on cultural and creative industries.

Creative Europe is the framework program of the EC to support the cultural and audiovisual sectors. Following the previous Culture Program and MEDIA programme, Creative Europe will support Europe's cultural and creative industries with a budget of € 1.46 billion (9% greater than its forerunners).

Preserving, promoting and promoting the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe; and strengthening the competitiveness of the cultural and creative industries to foster intelligent, viable and inclusive development are among the primary objectives of the Creative Europe Programme. Furthermore, the program seeks to assist the EU reach new audiences by offering the cultural and creative works and performers with the chance of global mobility and establishing new partnerships by promoting fresh global policies.

2.4.8. Cultural Diplomacy Platform (2019)

Cultural diplomacy has been a substantial phenomenon in recent years, playing a vital supplementary role in promoting EU strategies for growth, trade, defense and safety (Triandafyllidou, A. & Szucs, T. 2017: 3).

Moreover, the European Commission's Foreign Policy Instruments Service set up the EU Cultural Diplomacy Platform in February 2016. The Cultural Diplomacy Platform seeks to support the execution of the strategy and provide internal cultural policy guidance, facilitate networking, conduct operations with cultural stakeholders and develop cultural management training programs (Official EEAS website).

The Cultural Diplomacy Platform is also aimed at promoting and facilitating long-term cultural exchanges, people-to-people operations, and co-formations between Europeans and people from around the globe. It also emphasizes that all operations are organized within a sustainable structure involving civil society in collaboration and cooperation with local partners.

Coinciding with the present reflection on the EU Global Foreign and Security Policy Strategy and the preparation of an EU Strategic Approach to International Cultural Relations, the Cultural Diplomacy Platform will eventually improve the Union's wide-ranging knowledge and visibility and position on the world stage (Cultural Diplomacy Platform, 2019).

Chapter 3

3. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY

In this chapter, the topics of cultural difference and the negative perception against non-Europeans in Europe, both of which influence Turkey's EU accession process, will be examined. The institutions that promote Turkish culture in the European Union member states, and aim to positively contribute to Turkey's image in Europe and break the abovementioned negative perception will be studied in this chapter.

3.1. Cultural Diplomacy's Role in the Relations between Turkey and the EU

When AKP (Justice and Development Party) came into power with the general election held on 3 November 2002, a new process began in Turkey's domestic policy as well as its foreign policy. AKP also initiated a dynamic process in Turkey's relationship with the EU.

The Brussels Summit held on 17 December 2004 was a turning point for Turkey's EU accession negotiations. During this period, Turkey's new foreign policy was planned with a proactive strategy based on the zero problems with neighbours policy that emphasized cultural cooperation, neighbourhood relations, and aimed to develop a preventive foreign policy. The AKP government enacted five different harmonization packages between the years 2003 and 2004, and made significant changes to the constitution. As a result of Turkey's reforms and efforts in accordance with the process of political criteria harmonization after the 2002 Copenhagen Summit, it was decided in the Brussels Summit that Turkey met the political criteria. Based on the European Commission proposal dated October 6th, which proposed the accession negotiations to start, it was decided that the negotiations between the EU and Turkey would begin on 3 October 2005 (Official website of İKV - İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı).

Starting the negotiations brought with it some problems, as well. One of these is the fact that non-Europeans have always been seen as the 'other' and been deemed a threat in Europe for centuries. This problem continues to exist in 21st century, and has caused a great deal of concern in European societies especially since Turkey's EU candidacy became a reality. This concern has led to fear in European nations that their own cultural identities would disappear because of the Muslim population living in continental Europe, which constitutes the second-largest

religious group in the continent. Within this context, the increasing 'xenophobia' in Europe began to turn into a racist reaction from time to time.

Turkey's EU membership has always been a topic of controversy, and has attracted a negative reaction from the European nations. The rapidly increasing population of Turkey, the increase in unemployment, the amount of immigration it receives, the differences in its culture, and most importantly, being a Muslim country have caused a big reaction in the European public opinion. This reaction has been used for political propaganda by the government actors of the EU member states, and it has been stated that Turkey's membership is not welcomed claiming that it is not possible for Turkey to adapt to European identity and culture as it is not part of the Western civilisation.

In an interview with the French newspaper *Le Monde*, Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, who previously served as the president of France as well as the president of the European Commission, and prepared the European Constitution, said that Turkey should never be part of the EU; that Turkey would bring an end to the EU (Yeğenoğlu, 2014: 57).

One of the reasons that caused the relations between Turkey and the EU to weaken was the terrorist attacks that happened around the world in early 2000s. The fact that the perpetrators of the September 11 Attack in New York in 2001, and the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, in 2003 and 2005, respectively, were Muslims resulted in hatred and a negative reaction in the European public against Muslims. According to a research conducted after the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London, there has been a substantial increase in the prejudices against Muslims, and the Muslim communities have started to experience discrimination, racism and being ostracised to a greater extent in EU member states such as France, Germany, Austria, Italy and Denmark (Abbas, 2005: 154). These terrorist attacks have caused the existence of Muslims in the West to be seen as a threat to the Western culture and life style.

The European opposition against Islam and Muslims increased with the conservative political parties that came to power in Europe after 2005. Turkey's EU membership issue was then turned into a matter of identity, and this negatively affected the negotiations process. The EU - Turkey relations suffered during this period. It has become one of the most significant reasons negatively affecting Turkey's membership process. The 2006 Pew Research Centre (PEW)

survey showed that the Western European countries' opinion of Muslims was substantially negative (Kaya, 2018).

Although Turkey's relations with the EU came to a stopping point from time to time, it never completely ended. It can be said that the reforms Turkey has made as part of the EU harmonisation process have helped create a relatively more positive image in the eyes of the European societies; however, they have not been enough for completely eliminating the existing negative image. Turkey's need for cultural diplomacy increased when accession negotiations with the EU started, as well as in the early 2000s when the existing relationships with the Union began to deteriorate. Trusting the transformative impact of cultural diplomacy on the relations among societies, Turkey adopted a foreign policy strategy that demonstrated and promoted Turkey's strengths to Europe and the whole world. The lack of trust between Turkey and the EU (Vries, 2009) is an issue that can be solved in the long run through mutual cultural collaborations and partnerships between the two parties. Cultural diplomacy proves important at this point, as well, because as Vries stated, cultural diplomacy is seen as one of the most effective instruments for building trust.

As previously stated in the paper, cultural diplomacy aims to create cultural interaction and lead to dialogue between societies, and gain sympathy in other countries' public opinion through artistic and cultural activities. Therefore, cultural diplomacy is a method used for demonstrating a society's cultural values and its differences from other societies as well as reflecting the similarities within these differences. We see that, in the long run, when societies establish a dialogue, cultural diplomacy helps them discover traces of their own culture in each other's culture no matter how different they are, and helps eliminate prejudices. This can lead to building mutual understanding and trust both among state actors and in public opinions, representing the country profile in a more respectable way; additionally, it can positively contribute to the development of political relations and economic collaborations.

In this regard, cultural diplomacy is an effective type of diplomacy for gaining respect in the international arena while evoking admiration between societies through artistic and cultural activities, cultural diplomacy can also create multi-dimensional opportunities among states, and build peace.

As a type of diplomacy that Turkey has employed in its foreign policy agenda since the 2000s, cultural diplomacy has gained importance as an effective instrument reflecting Turkey's soft power in the international arena. Promoting Turkey's cultural values to Europeans by carrying out cultural activities in European countries, having cultural dialogues and not being afraid of cultural diversity, on the contrary, emphasizing the uniting, peace-making power of cultural diversity should be seen as important opportunities in Turkey's EU membership journey. In relation to this, Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities should not be limited to culture and arts but should also shape and represent literature, social and political life in a way that breaks the existing negative perceptions.

In this regard, Turkey has carried out activities that highlight its cultural richness and values, particularly as of 2005, when the relations with the EU were peaking. It is known that the role and activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey increased during this period. Furthermore, the growing culture and arts sponsorships during this period have helped open more exhibitions and carry out more activities abroad. It can be said that cultural diplomacy activities have the power to eliminate and change the traditional negative perception about Turkey in the world.

The private sector's foundations' interest in culture and arts sponsorships has had positive results in the promotion of Turkish culture and values. For instance, in addition to the historical exhibitions held abroad, there have been activities organised under 'Turkish Year, Turkish Season, and Turkish Week' concepts. Furthermore, within the scope of Turkey's cultural policies, cultural diplomacy has become a part of Turkish foreign policy, and has gained an important role in the relations with the EU. Through cultural heritage and art exhibitions, cinema days, various cultural activities held in European countries, there have been a lot of efforts in changing the negative public opinion in the EU regarding Turkey's full membership. In this way, Turkish culture has been opened to intercultural communication, and the positive image policies wished to be established during the EU accession process have become the dynamic in Turkey's cultural diplomacy.

3.2. The Main Actors and Activities of Turkey on Cultural Diplomacy

In this chapter, the activities are going to be discussed, that of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which are

among the state actors that work to introduce Turkish culture and its cultural values to international arena, and also, the activities of Yunus Emre Institutes, Turks Abroad and Related Communities and Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Presidencies, which are affiliated to these ministries.

3.2.1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (MFA)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (MFA) is one of the main actors in Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities, and is a government department that determines Turkey's foreign policy and strategy. The international representation of the cultural values of a country has an effective role in the prestige and visibility of the country to increase, which is one of the objectives of the foreign policy. Correspondingly, the foreign promotional activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs carry out the duties of the representation and supporting the culture and the cultural values of the country. The foreign promotional activities of the country are also highly significant in terms of the negative prejudices on Turkey to be decreased. In this context, Turkey should show a positive image in the international arena.

Cultural activities in abroad run by Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is considered as an inseparable part of the foreign policy of the country. Accordingly, the Ministry carries relations with foreign countries and international institutions to make cultural promotion successfully in foreign policy. It is needed to work in a common harmony with all the foundation and institutions that work in the culture industry, for cultural dissemination activities to be implemented in a certain strategy in the foreign policy (Official Website of MFA).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes co-operation for the culture and the art of the country to meet with the audience in international arena and for the organized activities to leave a permanent mark on the memories, by addressing large masses. For instance, the activities such as exhibitions sent abroad to promote the country, weeks of Turkey, Year of Turkey, festivals, making conferences abroad about the culture of the country, creating promotional documentary films and broadcastings, are among these works.

Turkey has a rich cultural diversity thanks to having been a home for many civilizations. Cultural promotion and cultural diplomacy activities that were applied correctly and well-

planned will contribute to the increase of the interest in Turkey, the number of tourists who will visit the country and especially spreading up the mobility programs, which are very effective tools of cultural diplomacy. Being in a co-operation for the promotion of the country with various foundations and institutions, civil society, private sector, and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) in particular, is also a helpful method, for MFA to be more active in cultural diplomacy activities of the country. For example, according to the information provided on the official website of the MFA, 137 cultural events were organized in abroad in the year 2018 (Official Website of MFA).

3.2.1.1. Cultural Activities organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

In collaboration with public and private institutions as well as with civil society, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs carries out several cultural activities for Turkey's promotion abroad. In this section, I will go over these activities but I will cover Turkey Season in France in a separate section.

2015 - Europalia Arts Festival Turkey

Turkey participated in Europalia Arts Festival as Guest Country in 2015, which has been held every two years since 1969 under the high patronage of the King of Belgium.

In the scope of this Festival, 'Anatolia: Home of Eternity' was the major exhibition inaugurated on 6th October 2015 at Center for Fine Arts (BOZAR). It encompassed objects from various museums in Turkey. Being the second major exhibition of the Festival and inaugurated on 14th October 2015 at BOZAR, 'Imagine İstanbul' included photographs by the Turkish and French artists, in particular by Ara Güler. The third major exhibition was Port City Talks / İstanbul-Antwerp which was inaugurated on 22nd October 2015 at MAS Museum in Antwerp (Official Website of MFA).

2015 - Reciprocal Year of Culture between Turkey and Australia

Year of Turkish Culture in Australia was launched with a concert at "Capitol Theatre" in Sydney, titled 'Turkey in Music/Home of Gallipoli 2015'. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism provided the issue of 'Postcards in Memoriam' and stamps to use exclusively during the

activities regarding the centennial anniversary of the 1917 Çanakkale Land Battles (Official Website of MFA).

2015 - Reciprocal Year of Culture between Turkey and Qatar

The Year of Turkish Culture in Qatar was launched by The Ministry of Culture and Tourism together with his Qatari counterpart on 5 March 2015 at 'Katara Opera House' in Doha with the opening ceremony featuring Turkish singers, dancers and artists.

Under the Year of Culture celebrations, "various activities were carried out which reflected the relations between the two countries and their cultures, such as; Turkish Festival, The Hunt: Princely Pursuits in Islamic Lands Exhibition, Taksim Trio concert, Food Festival, literature programs, photography exhibition, communion during Ramadan month, presentations on archeological and cultural sites in Turkey, football match between Turkish and Qatari national teams, workshop on Karagöz shadow theatre and puppet show" (Official Website of MFA).

2014 - 600th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Turkey and Poland

2014 marked the 600th anniversary of Turkey-Poland diplomatic relations. The Foreign Ministers signed a letter of intent on 21 March 2013 to celebrate this occasion. Working "with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, other Ministries and relevant organizations, there were comprehensive and multi-dimensional activities which reflected the historical relations existing between the two countries while promoting the cultures" (Official Website of MFA).

"The co-chairmen emphasized that one of the main themes of anniversary celebrations was '600 Years and Beyond' and agreed to further solidify bilateral relations and strengthen cooperation in the fields of culture, science, education and people to people relations. They reiterated that strengthening collaboration between Turkey and Poland will not only enhance the mutual awareness of both sides but also have a positive impact on the development of economic and commercial relations" (Official Website of MFA).

2012 - Year of Chinese Culture in Turkey – 2013 - Year of Turkish Culture in China

The year 2012 was declared as the Year of Chinese Culture in Turkey and the year 2013 was declared as the Year of Turkish Culture in China for anticipating close relations, encouraging cultural exchange and enhancing mutual familiarity between Turkey and China. The Year of Chinese Culture in Turkey was officially launched in CER Modern Art Museum in Ankara with an art exhibition entitled ‘Silk Road through the Brush of Famous Chinese Artists’ on 12 December 2011 (Official Website of MFA).

The Year of Turkish Culture in China was launched with a show performed by artists of Turkish State Opera and Ballet at Poly Theatre in Beijing on 21 March 2013. In commemoration of 2012-2013 reciprocal cultural years, Turkish and Chinese Post Offices jointly released a special commemorative stamp figuring pictures of the Istanbul Bosphorus Bridge (Kosta et al (2010: 75); Göktürk et al (2010: 182); Yanik (2009: 532); Bıçakçı (2012: 994))ⁱ and the Taizhou Yangtze River Highway Bridge. In the framework of the Year of Turkish Culture in China, various exhibitions promoting Turkish culture as well as performances and musical shows reflecting Turkey’s diverse facets were performed in different Chinese provinces throughout the year of 2013.

2012- 400th Anniversary Celebrations of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Turkey and Netherlands

Between March and November 2012, the 400th anniversary of the diplomatic relations between Turkey and Netherlands was celebrated in the framework of the Declaration of Intent signed on 2 February 2011 by the countries’ Foreign Ministers (Official website of the Government of the Netherlands).

Aiming to establish long-lasting and sustainable cultural-artistic, commercial-economic, scientific-academic relations, the 400th Anniversary Activities paved the way for an excellent opportunity to reciprocally promote both countries’ cultures and contributed to better understanding and cooperation among Turkish and Dutch people (Official Website of MFA).

The 400th Anniversary was significant in terms of strengthening government relations and diplomatic activities between Turkey and the Netherlands which aimed to increase the

awareness of Turkish citizens who are residing in the Netherlands while increasing their contributions to Turkey's EU membership process.

2007 - Year of Russian Culture in Turkey – 2008 - Year of Turkish Culture in Russia

Aiming to replicate the positive developments accomplished in the field of tourism between Turkey and the Russian Federation during the recent years in the field of culture, the year 2007 was declared the Year of Russian Culture in Turkey whereas the year 2008 was declared the Year of Turkish Culture in Russia. With the participation of some 250 artists from Russia, dance and ballet acts as well as plays and concerts were organized in Turkey during the 2007 Year of Russian Culture. A photograph exhibition named 'Moments Lived in Russia' was inaugurated in Ankara, Antalya, İzmir, Balıkesir and İstanbul. Some cultural activities have been carried out in Russia during 2008 Year of Turkish Culture as well, and all these activities provided an impetus to Turkish and Russian collaboration in cultural activities (Official Website of MFA).

Taking into consideration the uniting effect of poet Nazım Hikmet over the cultures of both countries, Nazım Hikmet Oratorio, composed by Fazıl Say, was performed by the Presidential Symphony Orchestra of Turkey which was accompanied by the Ankara State Polyphonic Choir during the event.

In the scope of the 2008 Year of Turkish Culture carried out various activities such as; ballet, folkloric dance, Sema shows, concerts, theatre, art exhibitions, miniature, calligraphy, Turkish ceramics arts shows, exhibitions of kaftans, gems, craftsmanship, and carpets, a Russian-Turkish books exhibition, fashion week and street festivals all of which promoted Turkey in 5 different cities of Russia. In addition to these activities, Janissary Band (Mehteran) of the Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism presented live performances with Red Army Orchestra and Serkan Çağrı Group in the Kremlin Palace in Moscow as well as in Kazan and Krasnodar. Activities of the 2008 Year of Turkish Culture in Russia ended with a concert by jazz pianist Kerem Görsev with Saint Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra on December 21st, 2008.

2003 - Year of Turkey in Japan - 2004 - Year of Japan in Turkey

The year 2003 was declared the Year of Turkey in Japan by a joint decision of the Turkish and Japanese Foreign Ministers to promote the historically deep-rooted relations between the two countries (Official Website of MFA).

These operations were arranged under the Foreign Trade Secretariat under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In this framework, between 17 February 2003 and 31 May 2004, more than 100 cultural, artistic, economic and tourist activities in multiple Japanese cities promoted Turkey to the Japanese people. Some of the activities were as follows: “‘Three Great Empires in Turkey: Exhibition on Hittites, Byzantium, and Ottoman’, ‘Exhibition on Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection’, ‘Belkis Balpınar Rugs and Carpets Exhibition’, a Folkloric Show entitled ‘Dances of Colours’, ‘Tekfen Philharmonic Orchestra Concerts’, ‘Fazıl Say Concerts’, ‘Greased Wrestling Shows’, ‘Kezban Arca Batıbeki Paintings Exhibition’, ‘Gönül Paksoy Exhibition’, ‘Made in Turkey Fashion Show’, ‘İstanbul Saz Players Concerts’” (Official Website of MFA).

3.2.2. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT)

Turkish Tourism Board, under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, carries the national and international promotional works of Turkey’s artistic, cultural, historical and natural richness. It works for Turkish culture and art to be promoted in various countries of the world by organizing festivals, fairs, seminars, exhibitions, symposiums, and congresses and by attending the organized ones, for this purpose.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism “was established as a New Ministry with the Law Number 4848 and dated 16.04.2003 regarding the Organization and Duties of The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which was published in the Official Gazette dated 29.04.2003 and Number 25093” (The 3rd National Cultural Council Final Report, 2017).

The duties of Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, settled with the organization law number 4848, are such below: (<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr>)

- a) Research, creation, conservation, evaluation, dissemination, promotion and adoption of domestic, sentimental, historical, cultural and tourist values and thus contribute to enhancing domestic unity and economic development;
- b) Directing cultural and tourism-related public institutions and organizations, cooperating with them, developing communication and cooperation with regional governments, NGOs and the private sector;
- c) Protecting the historical and cultural assets,
- d) Evaluation, creation and marketing of all tourism-friendly installations in the nation to make tourism a productive sector of the domestic economy;
- e) Direction of investment, communication and growth opportunities in the areas of culture and tourism;
- f) Provision of immovable cultural and tourism-related investment properties, expropriation where appropriate;
- g) To carry out cultural and tourism marketing services, to promote Turkey's tourism assets, to make use of all the instruments and opportunities,
- h) To carry out other legal tasks (Council of Europe, 2013: 12-13).

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism defines two distinct categories of culture below.

a) Turkish culture, which is defined as:

Culture is a manner of life and a cast of minds, which forms a society's identity with the society's unique and ever-changing art, faiths, customs and traditions, understanding and behavior; which make it different from the other societies (Schein 1990: 111). It is the set of material and sentimental values that bring the social identity and provide order in the society it gives the sense of solidarity and unity. *So, the Turkish culture expresses the manner of life of the Turkish nation.* Turkish culture, which has met various civilizations in the historical period, has become one of the richest cultures of human history. Turkish culture and civilization are called as "Steppe Culture" because of the effect of the geography the Turks have established different states on. This definition is very similar to Tylor's definition (1871), which was mentioned above.

b) Folk culture

Folk Culture Information and Documentation Center, under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, is the only information and documentation center of Turkey that has been founded to be able to pass on Turkish cultural assets to the next generations, and to contribute the cultural studies those have national and universal qualities, by identifying with scientific methods the cultural artifacts and activities Turkish society has produced throughout centuries.

In this center; the subjects such as traditions and beliefs, handicrafts, clothing, folk cuisine, folk music and plays, folk theater, folk literature, and folk poetry, are studied by the professional researchers in their fields. The collected data of the studies; the information, documents, written and visual materials, are recorded in archives and brought into the use of specialists, researchers, and academicians. In this way, the Center introduces Turkish culture to the globe and contributes to cross-cultural information exchange.

As can be seen, the 'Folk culture' category is most relevant for the agencies that aim to promote cultural heritage and increase the visibility of Turkish culture. In this context, the agencies that will be mentioned below can be given as examples; Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA), Yunus Emre Institute (YEI), and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB).

3.2.2.1 .Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA)



Figure 3: TİKA Official Logo

Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) founded in 1992, when Turgut Özal was in power, and it was restructured in 2011 during the AKP period (Ekşi, 2016).

TİKA aims to perform activities for the preservation and advocacy of Turkey's history, cultural heritage and values, to enable the country to be understood correctly by other countries and societies, and to enhance its international relations by developing a dialogue between civilizations via cultural cooperation and projects.

TİKA has initially paid attention to countries Turkey has common historical ties. It has broadened the scope of activities by founding directorates in East and South Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as its activities, carried on in regions such as Central Asia, Balkans and Caucasus (Resmi Gazete, 2011).

TİKA is carrying out social and cultural projects in about 150 different countries in cooperation with NGOs and other institutes of public diplomacy. With these activities, TİKA represents Turkey's foreign policy in the international arena as the first institute of public diplomacy in Turkey (Official Website of TİKA).

3.2.2.2. Yunus Emre Institute (YEI)



Figure 4: Yunus Emre Institute Official Logo

“Yunus Emre Foundation (Yunus Emre Institute and Turkish Cultural Centres) Yunus Emre Foundation is a public foundation established on 05/05/2007 with the Law No 5653 under the auspices of President Mr. Abdullah Gül in order to promote Turkey, its language, history, arts and culture, presenting the information and documents related to this to the use of the works; serving to those abroad who want to get education on Turkish language, arts and culture fields;

increasing cultural exchange of Turkey with other countries and develop its fellowships” (Official website the Council of Europe, 2013: 25 <https://rm.coe.int/1680643ad2>).

Yunus Emre Institute (YEI) affiliated with the Yunus Emre Foundation conducts “training, education and promotion activities, scientific research and applications in order to achieve the Foundation’s goals” (Official website of the Council of Europe, 2013: 25). The Institute performs the national operations of the Foundation and provides education on Turkish language, history, culture, arts and music to academics and scientists and implements certificate programs. Existing and upcoming Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers will undertake educational operations in collaboration with local agencies to explore regional issues.

While, on the one side, numerous initiatives, cultural events and classes organized and implemented by Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers contribute to promoting Turkey, on the other side, they aim to improve the relations between Turkey and other nations. Owing to the Turkish classes organized by Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers, those who wish to study Turkish as a foreign language have the chance to learn Turkish, and Turkish citizens in associated nations are able to understand their culture better and establish cultural links with Turkey (Official website of the Council of Europe, 2013: 25).

Cultural diplomacy enables actors’ cultural accumulation and related successes to be known, recognized and appreciated by foreign countries and societies. Since Turkey aims to institutionally implement its cultural diplomacy, YEI founded in 2009 has actively carried on activities within this framework as an institute for cultural diplomacy. Since 2009, Yunus Emre Cultural Centres have been established in

“ABD - Washington DC

Afghanistan - Kabul

Albania – Shkodër and Tirana

Algeria - Algeria

Australia - Melbourne

Austria - Vienna

Azerbaijan - Baku

Bahrain - Manama

Belgium - Brussels

Bosnia Herzegovina – Foynitsa, Mostar and Sarajevo
Croatia - Zagreb
Egypt - Cairo
England - London
France - Paris
Georgia - Tbilisi
Germany – Berlin and Cologne
Hungary - Budapest
Iran - Tehran
Italy - Rome
Japan - Tokyo
Jordan - Amman
Kazakhstan - Astana
Kosovo – Prizren, Pec and Pristina
Lebanon - Beirut
Macedonia - Skopje
Malaysia - Kuala Lumpur
Mexican - Mexico City
Moldova - Comrat
Montenegro - Podgorica
Morocco - Rabat
Pakistan – Karachi and Lahore
Poland - Warsaw
Qatar - Doha
Romania – Constanta and Bucharest
Russian Federation – Kazan and Moscow
Senegal - Dakar
Serbia - Belgrade
Somalia - Mogadishu
South Africa - Johannesburg
South Korea - Seul
Spain - Madrid
Sudan - Khartoum
The Netherlands - Amsterdam

Tunisia - Tunisia

Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - Nicosia

Ukraine – Kyiv” (Official website of YEI)

YEI has more than 50 cultural centers abroad. In addition to Turkish education in cultural facilities, departments of Turkology and Turkish teaching are backed by collaborations with various academic organizations in various nations.

YEI is considered an important representative of Turkey’s foreign policy as an institution aiming to introduce Turkish language, culture, values and art activities to the outside world, and to form a friendship with other countries by culturally interacting with them via the centres it has established abroad. Besides Turkish language courses, YEI has carried on Turkology studies and artistic activities with its centres in 58 different countries. Article 1 of the YEI’s Foundation Law identifies the purpose of YEI as follows;

“[To] introduce Turkey, its cultural heritage, the Turkish language, culture and art, and enhance Turkey’s friendship with other countries, increase cultural exchange, in that regard to present domestic and foreign information and documents on Turkey to the benefit of the world, to serve those who wish to receive an education in the fields of Turkish language, culture and arts, to establish a Yunus Emre Research Institution in Turkey and a Yunus Emre Cultural Centre abroad” (Yunus Emre Foundation Law, 2007).

As YEI mentions both in the foundation law and its 2023 Vision, it aims to build friendship-oriented relations between Turkey, and other countries and societies, to transform negative approaches on Turkey into a positive impression, and, thus, to constitute a permanent peace environment introducing Turkey’s culture, language, cultural heritage and art around the world (Yunus Emre Institute’s 2023 Vision, 2015).

In this context, it might be said that YEI has played a key role in introducing and promoting Turkey’s culture globally, represented Turkey’s soft power with its public and cultural diplomacy-oriented activities all around the world, and promoted Turkey to have a positive image.

3.2.2.3. The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB)

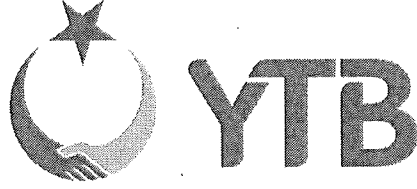


Figure 5: YTB Official Logo

Turks Abroad and Related Communities Presidency (YTB) was founded on April 6, 2010. The founding purposes of YTB are; to secure the existence of the Turkish citizens living abroad in the countries they are living in, to prevent the assimilation of Turkish culture and identity, to support the social, financial, and cultural progress of the Turkish citizens to the environment they are living in and alongside these, to help the peace and the stability in the countries they are present at, and to make the Turkish language and culture to be passed on to the next generations. The YTB realizes these purposes in wide geography, “from the Balkans to Central Asia, the Caucasus to the Middle East” (Official Website of the YTB).

As the YTB has emphasized in its 2019-2023 strategy plan, it has developed a management understanding with a participatory, effective, sustainable and result-oriented strategy. This strategy anticipated the development of relations between Turkish citizens living abroad with Turkey especially through youth-oriented socio-cultural programs, and to introduce Turkish culture and values by carrying out cultural mobility projects (Official Website of YTB). Activities of the YTB currently includes the programs as below:

a) Turkish and Education

- Anatolia the Weekend School Program
- Turkish Teacher Training Program
- Citizens Abroad Scholarships
- Turkey Internship Program
- Young Leaders Program

b) Mobility Programs

Young Leaders

Turkey Internships

The YTB works to support the children and young people who live abroad with these language, cultural and educational programme. Also, YTB provides guidance to parents and develop language skills. The YTB has mobility and internship programs for young people to provide academic development and become more well-rounded community leaders. The YTB's operations are an indication of Turkey's proactive foreign policy as one of the soft power components of Turkey's cultural diplomacy.

The AKP's foreign policy approach aims to highlight the Islamic and Ottoman heritage of Turkey in order to reconnect with neighboring countries while becoming a regional power (Fuller 2008; Kalın 2009; Murinson 2009).

The foundations such as Turks Abroad and Related Communities Presidency (YTB), Yunus Emre Institute (YEI) and TİKA, contribute to increase of the country's visibility and to the acculturation, by promoting the culture, which is one of the soft power elements that Turkey has, through the actions such as various activities they organize, language courses or scholarships they provide for international students.

Chapter 4

4. TURKEY'S CULTURAL EVENTS AND EFFECTS TO CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

(2009, 2010)

Turkey has adopted a foreign policy strategy aiming to represent Turkey's strengths around the world, especially in the European countries by believing in the transformative impact of public and cultural diplomacy among societies.

It might be said that Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities has the power which can break the world's traditionalized approach to Turkey, and make a change in the negative opinions about Turkey.

It is known that especially MFA, and MCT enhanced their role and activities in promoting Turkey abroad during this period. Also, art and cultural sponsorship, as an accelerating value, had an impact on holding more exhibitions and conducting activities in foreign countries in this period.

The sponsorships of art and culture have drawn significant attention from the private sector and foundations, and they have had a beneficial effect on the promotion of Turkish culture and values. For example, in addition to the historical exhibitions held abroad, events organized under the titles of Turkish Year, Turkish Season, Turkish Week were held as well. Additionally, cultural diplomacy has been included within the scope of cultural policies in Turkey's foreign policy, and it has played a major part in Turkey's relations with the EU.

In this context, Turkey has carried out activities which could bring its cultural richness and values into the forefront especially since 2005 when it had intensively maintained relations with the EU. These activities will be discussed in the following sections, and the dimensions acquired through cultural diplomacy in relations between Turkey and the EU will be investigated.

4.1. The Season of Turkey in France (*Saison de la Turquie en France*) (2009-2010)



Figure 6: La saison de la Turquie en France

Source: <https://www.lesalonbeige.fr/la-saison-de-la-turquie-en-france-une-histoire-de-gros-sous/>

Since 1985 in France, guest country seasons and cross-years have been organized, and this tradition held with the participation of Turkey in 2009 (Official Website of the Institut Français). The Season of Turkey in France, which was settled by the Turkish and French presidents after the French Spring took place in Turkey, is a great opportunity for the development of the communication between the two countries, establishing a cultural bond and strengthening the relationships. Season of Turkey in France was organized with the cooperation of Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSV) and *CulturesFrance*, under auspices of Turkish and French Ministries of Culture and Foreign Affairs, and continued throughout the 9 months, from July 2, 2009 to March 31, 2010.

The management of Season of Turkey in France was undertaken by a chairman, a commissioner and a deputy commissioner appointed each from both countries. Turkey chairmanship of the Season was carried by retired Ambassador Necati Utkan and the France chairmanship by Henri de Castries, the president of the AXA Group of Companies. On the other hand, the commissioner positions were conducted by Stanislas Pierret, Former Undersecretary of French Embassy and Görgün Taner, the General Director of the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010).

The official opening of Season of Turkey in France was launched in the Palais Royal, the French Ministry of Culture office on June 30, 2009 with Ertuğrul Günay's participation, who was then the Turkish Minister of Culture and Tourism, and Frédéric Mitterrand, then-French Minister of Culture and Communication. The first event of the Season was the 'Opening Show of Mercan Dede and Fire of Anatolia' that was held in Trocadéro, one of the most famous squares of Paris, on July 4, 2009. During Season of Turkey in France, which had a total budget of EUR 23.77 million, more than 650 projects in 18 different disciplines took place throughout the season. 800 institutions in 150 towns of France supported these projects. It is stated that the Season of Turkey in France was reported in French press with 2.928 news of articles, in Turkish press with 1.600 news of articles, and that the total number of audiences who attended all the activities exceeded 15 million (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010).

The main concern in Turkey's side is specified as the continual France-Turkey relationship from past to present and the negative image in French public opinion that considers Turkey's EU membership as a threat (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010).

"This festival is noticeably oriented towards Europe, with several anticipations ranging from bettering diplomatic relations to promoting tourism. The festival mainly targets to reflect Turkey's cultural diversity and to emphasize Turkey's possible contribution the future of European culture through a comprehensive activity program, and to reflect the dynamic face of modern Turkey's energy, creativity, diversity in the field of culture and arts through activities in different disciplines" (Kaya, & Tecmen, A. 2010).

Correspondingly, the communication strategy during the preparation process of the Turkish Season was created to emphasize Turkey's cultural variety, its young and dynamic population, entrepreneurial aspect and openness to change (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010). Season of Turkey in France was organized with an event program, which aims to make questioning the traditional perspective in France by introducing the young, modern and creative side of Turkey, and to create a new and more positive impression in French public opinion. In this communication strategy, the young population and the young thinkers, who can be effective with the decisions that are related to Turkey, had been identified as the target audience.

In addition to this, by being built on the emphasizes that mentioned above, the given messages aimed at showing what kind of a country Turkey will be in the future, were prepared for French

public opinion to consider Turkey's EU membership not as a threat risk, but on the contrary, for Turkey to be evaluated with the cultural richness it will contribute to Europe.

Season of Turkey stands out as one of the most extensive actions that Turkey had organized until that date, among the promotional activities had been carried in EU countries. By featuring the cultural diversity in Turkey, the activities organized within the scope of the Season, are aimed at revealing the potential this variety will add into European culture. It is also expected that these activities, by largely displaying the cultural diversity that Turkey has to offer, will introduce the modern face of Turkey into French public opinion, and thanks to this, to be helping the French public to recognize Turkey with a convenient image to its "European" identity, as well as to be creating a moderate dialogue between France and Turkey.

Along with the cultural activities realized in such a short time like 9 months, Season of Turkey in France is not a sufficient tool on its own for all the problems between France and Turkey to reach a solution. It is unlikely for it to revolutionize the negative prejudices against Turkey in Europe inside 9 months. For it to permanently strengthen bilateral diplomatic relations, it is needed that these kinds of activities to be continued for the following years and the cultural co-operations to be created. In this manner, Season of Turkey in France, has been a cultural diplomacy sample that shows the existing negative image of Turkey in Europe cannot be ameliorated with short term advertising activities, but can be done so within consequence of the studies spread over a long period, with cultural and arts-oriented activities and cultural dialogue (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010).

A French politician Gérard Larcher, who performed the closing speech of the Season of Turkey in France programme, stated that because of the relationships have been lasted for five hundred years between Turkey and France, the corporation, which should be developed between these two countries, has an indispensable significance for both sides (TUSIAD, 2010). This speech was underlined the importance of the impacts of the Season of Turkey in France even in a short period. For instance, in the field of culture and the arts, many foundations that attended to the Season booked lots of Turkish artists to host for the following year, French people had a direct chance to meet the modern and dynamic art of Turkey. While, as a result of many educational events new co-operations were signed for the exchange programs. Or many diplomatic actors of Turkey and businessmen met with their French colleagues (Season of Turkey in France, Final Report, 2010). Therefore, it can be said that these kinds of cultural activities have a positive

effect on bilateral diplomatic relations, reinforce mutual understanding and contribute to the societies' better recognition of each other.

It is possible for the activities such as Season of Turkey in France to have a positive effect on Turkey's journey to the EU membership. Turkey has influences that may change the negative prejudices throughout Europe against Turks, by introducing its cultural values to European countries. Being sustainable of an activity model such as Season of Turkey in France is a quite effective method for Turkey's image on European countries. However, in order to apply this as a cultural diplomacy model in Turkey, apart from state institutions, local governments, private sector, and non-governmental organizations, there is also a lack of platform established by artists, academicians and intellectuals coming together.

The samples of cultural diplomacy activities such as Season of Turkey in France will contribute to the improvement of both national and international relations. Simultaneously, together with the social dialogue, it will also be feasible to build a fresh memory with the cultural dialogue that the state actors establish with each other. Therefore, this will serve as a bridge that connects both the countries and the people, as in the EU example.

The cultural exchange and embodiment of the cultural relations serve as a bridge to provide this environment. Correspondingly, the message that is wished to be given in the international arena is delivered in a more effective way with the help of art and cultural activities.

As it is seen, the cultural dialogue and the cultural exchange between countries can be successful through art and cultural activities, such as in the Season of Turkey in France case, in other words with a correctly applied cultural diplomacy strategy. We can say that the Season and its continuing effects have a non-negligible contribution to create a cultural dialogue and understanding between France and Turkey. The effects of the Season are going to be explained in detail in the conclusion of this study.

4.2. İstanbul: 2010 European Capital of Culture (2010)



Figure 7: İstanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture's project logo

Source: <http://www.iphs2010.com/sponsors.html>

4.2.1. Background of the 2010 İstanbul European Capital of Culture

The Council of Europe decided that Turkey will receive the status of a candidate country for the European Union (EU) in 1999, by considering the positive development it has provided, and the reforms met the Copenhagen Criteria. However; the social, economic and cultural differences of Turkey came into prominence among the EU countries in the membership process. During this time, there had been negative approaches for Turkey's candidacy in the EU public opinion.

In this time, the EU made an important decision about the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). According to this decision made in 1999 as mentioned before, the title of ECoC was extended to cover non-EU member states' cities, while it was only within the EU before.

The European Capital of Culture is a project, which has been held since 1985, within the framework of the cultural policy of the EU. Every year, at least one EU city as the European

Capital of Culture. By giving such a title to a city, it is aimed that the chosen city was selected to be presented as a cultural heritage of Europe and to point out the cultural values it has, with the cultural activities carried out inside the city. Moreover, the ECoC project aims for the countries to have the chance to form culture-oriented cooperation, create public awareness on cultural diversity and a common European identity.

After the decision in 1999 that enables the cities from associate member countries as well to be European Capitals of Culture, a group of non-governmental organizations' volunteers from Turkey came together with the aim of making Istanbul the European Capital of Culture. With also the support of local governments an Initiative Group was founded for this purpose. Following this action, the prime ministry made a call by issuing a circular letter for all the public institutions to join into this initiation. The Initiative Group, comprising of non-governmental organizations and the representatives of local government bodies, has begun to work on Istanbul's ECoC candidacy in the 2000.

As an EU candidate country, this initiative effort was considered as a big opportunity for Turkey to promote through Istanbul city that its serving as a bridge between the West and the East, and the cultural richness it has, both to Turkey and European public opinion.

At the same time, it was also seen as a big opportunity to change the negative perception of the European public opinion towards Turkey and Turkey's EU candidacy, which has been quite controversial.

4.2.2. Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture

Three towns were appointed for 2010 under the system established by the 1999 Decision: Essen (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey). This last city was appointed pursuant to Article 4, which permitted non-Member State destinations to participate. The ECoC application of Istanbul aimed to establish the city as a center for the construction and presentation of current and modern-day culture and the restoration of its cultural and industrial heritage. The Initiative Group grew further with the participation of the city's artists, academicians, and non-governmental organizations, and receiving the support of the Prime Ministry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, The Governorship of Istanbul and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The Group then restructured as Advisory Board and Executive

Board. Following that, the bid document file entitled 'Istanbul: City of the Four Elements' (Çiçek, 2006) was prepared within the framework of the candidacy.

The file was presented to the European Commission in Brussels on 14 March 2006 by Egemen Bağış, Chairman of the Initiative Group, Nuri Çolakoğlu, Chairman of the Executive Board, and Muammer Güler, Governor of Istanbul.

The Initiative Group's works came to fruition on 11 April 2006, and Istanbul was declared one of the three European Capitals of Culture together with Pécs and Essen (Baycar, 2010). Of being the ECoC as the mysterious, oriental city (Baycar, 2010), gave Istanbul the chance to be represented as a European value, with its deep history and rich cultural heritage. Besides that, Turkey's process of holding the ECoC title through a non-governmental initiative was considered a crucial step (Öktem & Görgülü, 2011).

The organizational structure of the project shaped as the Advisory Board, the Executive Board (that was formed from the Advisory Board), and in addition to them, the Istanbul 2010 Initiative Group Artistic Advisory Board. An agency has been founded with the Law no: 5706 in 2007 (Resmi Gazete, no: 26700, 2007).

Advisory Board consisted of the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the coordination of Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (IKSV), the active participation and support of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Istanbul Governorship, and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, and broad participation of non-governmental organizations. While the Istanbul 2010 Initiative Group Artistic Advisory Board included members such as artists, intellectuals and academicians.

The slogan, 'Istanbul: City of the Four Elements', which was the title of the bid document file mentioned above and prepared for Istanbul to be chosen as the ECoC, represented the four elements that are the earth, water, air, and fire. In this context, after the election as ECoC, all the activities in which Istanbul's richness and cultural heritage will be represented are organized under these four elements.

These four key elements are also related to the four seasons of the year. And also, they are linked in the programme for the ECOC as follows (Rampton, et al., 2011):

“‘Earth – Tradition and Transformation’ during winter, focusing on history, traditions, cultural heritage; ‘Air – Heaven Sent’ during the spring period, with a focus on the city's spiritual wealth; ‘Water – the City and the Sea’ during the summer period, with the aim being to bring together as many different cultures of Europe as possible and give everybody a chance to see the art and culture of different European countries; ‘Fire – Forging for the Future’ during the autumn period, with forward-looking projects which seek to create sustainable cultural assets and urban renewal” (Rampton, et al., 2011).

Beyazıt and Tosun (2016) explains that the meanings of these elements as follows:

“‘Earth’ means the history, tradition and cultural heritage of the land. Under this heading come the values of the past which have been preserved down to the present day and will be past on the future generations. The Earth phase will last from New Year until the first days of spring as İstanbul officially marks its year as European Capital of Culture with a Grand Opening.

‘Air’ symbolises the city’s spiritual wealth with its wide cultural amenities which are the minarets, church towers, synagogues etc. Through the Air phase, the art of these spiritual buildings will be mentioned. The phase will last from 21st March to 21th June of 2010.

‘Water’ emphasises İstanbul’s water features. As İstanbul is founded on an important waterway, Bosphorus, the city has a close relation with the water. Through the phase this relation will be mentioned. The Water phase will last from 22nd June to 22nd September.

‘Fire’ symbolises the future of İstanbul. Through this phase future projects will be thought to create sustainable cultural assets and urban renewal. The Fire phase will last from 23rd September to 31st December” (Beyazıt and Tosun, 2006: 7).

The agency accepted 719 application out of 2,484 project applications. While 586 of the accepted projects were applied, 133 projects were later abandoned. All the activities held throughout the ECoC had an interdisciplinary approach. According to this, the projects were intended to make culture and art accessible with a creative and modern understanding and to recognize and overcome the deficiencies in culture and art. A pluralistic approach was adopted to create a city aiming to preserve and improve the historical and cultural heritage of İstanbul and to show its convergence features to Europe (Cançat, 2016: 240).

Istanbul's title for European Capital of Culture was limited to 2010. Although, this title should not have any deadline. In this sense, unfortunately, the ECoC project has not been a sustainable project. It is almost impossible to talk about a living project for the future. It has not been established enough public awareness about the ECoC project which was an effective opportunity for the EU membership process.

It has been lost a good opportunity whereas Istanbul's title of European Capital of Culture was a chance to change the negative perception towards Turkey, to establish a cultural peace, to contribute the development of communication from individuals to the public. The cultural communication and interaction that Istanbul would have obtained as a result of the collaborations to be established through culture and arts both with its neighbor country and throughout Europe has been ignored.

Moreover, performing the ECoC only in particular regions just like the Historical Peninsula, Bosphorus and Beyoğlu. Thus, they ignored the other areas in Istanbul and this situation conflicts with the city's development strategies. Because of that, it can be seen as the project became 'Istanbul Historical Areas 2010' rather than 'Istanbul 2010' (Beyazıt and Tosun, 2010:10).

Conclusion

It is observed that, when we look at the domestic and international activities held in recent years, they have not had enough media coverage on Turkey's agenda. So, this causes not having formed of public opinion concerning how Turkey is promoted abroad or which cultural assets it is represented with. Especially for the Turkish public opinion, there is a lack of a platform for them to learn the effects and the contexts of the cultural activities the country holds abroad. There is also quite limited information about these activities on the web sites of the related Ministries. Thereby, public opinion cannot reach enough information on points as in the number of the audiences, the after-effects of the projects or how the project budgets are spent, and in this case, the researchers who study these subjects have a deficiency of data.

Since Turkey does not have a certain cultural diplomacy strategy, there is a deficiency of the resources as well, which indicate the actors, foundations that directly and indirectly take roles in cultural promotion and cultural diplomacy activities of Turkey, the distribution of the tasks in this process, or the messages that wished to be given. As an example, the Istanbul 2010 website, istanbul2010.org can be given. This website is not working at the present time while it was active in previous years. It also causes the public opinion not to be able to get information about these subjects when a state-supported and wide-ranged project does not have an active website.

Another point I have noticed while I was examining the studies for this thesis is, cultural diplomacy actions are carried out as a one-sided knowledge sharing or only as a 'promotion' activity. However, as I have mentioned before, cultural diplomacy requires direct communication and interaction with the audience. Then, as a result of these relations, it can be referred to as cultural diplomacy. We can say that this deficiency is a result of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism not working coordinated enough with each other. Whereas, it seems quite possible for a bilateral partnership in these activities to be a lot more effective.

The negotiation process between Turkey and the EU has been quite stressful and difficult. It is known that especially France's negative attitude on Turkey and nationalist discourse in the EU side have created complications in Turkey's relations with the EU. During the Sarkozy's period (2007-2012), France's nationalist and anti-Turkish discourses had been reflected in the

country's domestic and foreign policies as well. These discourses were, also, articulated in Sarkozy's pre-election campaigns (Yavuz, 2007). For instance, Sarkozy blocked the implementation of five crucial topics that he considered directly associated with the membership of Turkey with the negotiations between Turkey and the EU. It is also known that Sarkozy did not approve of Turkey's positive progression in the EU membership process due to the fact that Turkey is not European.

In this context, the project titled 'Turkey Season in France' is a good example of cultural diplomacy activity of Turkey. It must be considered this kind of activities in different countries with different concepts will make contributions to the change of Turkey's negative image in the eyes of the Europe countries especially when it is in the candidate position for European Union.

The large part of French society has negative thoughts on Turkey, and it is not easy to change this approach. Using public and cultural diplomacy is considered an effective method for changing this kind of negative thoughts. Changing societies' thoughts, prejudices and reservations in a positive way demand a long process. The success of this process requires a moderate environment in relation to the countries, enhanced dialogues, and efforts for understanding each other especially through cultural interaction.

As it is mentioned before, cultural diplomacy is a type that is used featuring countries' soft power elements including their success in the fields of culture, foreign policy, economy, education, science, tourism, media, and sports. Culture and cultural activities and values play a key role in the representation of these values. And, these are the elements constituting cultural diplomacy. For this very reason, public and cultural diplomacy are used together as two complementary elements.

Considering Turkey's past, one might see that it has a sufficiently strong potential in the fields such as its deep-rooted history, cultural and natural heritage, and tourism. It is known that the promotion of these values in the international area has been helpful for changing the negative perception and prejudices towards Turkey. As a country serving as a bridge between East and West and being rich in terms of cultural diversity, Turkey has found a chance to represent these potentials in France, and this situation has brought about a turning point in France-Turkey relations.

At this point, it is important to lay emphasis on the 'Turkey Season in France' held between 2009 and March 2010 as an example. Within the scope of this event, more than 400 activities, in which Turkey's art and cultural richness were promoted, had been carried out for 9 months. Art and cultural activities had been benefited from the promotion of Turkey by aiming to establish a dialogue between the countries, and give the impressions that their cultures have commonalities besides differences, and these differences are not the factors they need to be afraid of.

When Istanbul was selected as the 2010 European Capital of Culture and opened up to Europe through arts and culture, some groups in Turkey thought that it was used as a potential means of attracting tourists. This misinterpretation was reacted after the end of the project as well as while it was carried out. It is mentioned that Istanbul, as a city that has hosted different civilizations throughout centuries, could not bear the title of ECoC properly, and the project ended up largely with failure. This title was not paid enough attention as an unmissable opportunity for featuring the city's historical and cultural characteristics and improving its image in the EU public.

Due to the fact that 2010 activities were held in the just city centers and the citizens living in the peripheries were ignored whereas the activities organized within the scope of ECoC must be spread all around the city and needed to benefit from the integrative power of arts and culture. Even though it was seen that the equal participation of citizens living in Istanbul and the adoption of the EU issue in the Turkish public have a potential for the change of present negative thoughts through this project, these could not be actualized.

Turkey which is in the process of EU full membership could not comprehend enough why Istanbul was selected as the ECoC. It is evaluated that Istanbul's history, cultural richness, diversity of art production and of course in tourism could be managed in a more successful way with applications of cultural diplomacy activities. Considering these discussions, Istanbul's title of ECoC could not receive the value it deserves due to the power struggle of the country's political actors while there was a need for activities that could develop and emphasize the cultural and artistic environment.

As mentioned in the 3rd Cultural Council Report, the state needs to more strategic plans regarding cultural diplomacy. In this context, there is a necessary to receive the support of

NGOs, special and legal persons, and civil initiatives carrying out cultural diplomacy activities. (Official website of Ministry of Culture and Tourism). In addition to these, it is, also, a significant issue to sustain the financial resources of cultural diplomacy. Also, there is a need for master's and doctoral programs which might provide education in this field in terms of training qualified and professional cultural diplomats. In the field of education, cultural diplomacy should be organized so it might be conducted in private and state museums.

Turkey needs to consider its cultural diversity and heritage as the common heritage of humanity and to embrace the contributions of all civilizations lived in this land to its cultural richness. Turkey, unfortunately, has had a negative attitude on different cultures, religions, and beliefs until it achieved the status of EU candidate country. Cultural diplomacy's prior objective must be to preserve Turkey's rich civilization accumulation and promote it to the world approaching it as a common heritage of humanity. The importance of this promotion is great in terms of the empowerment of Turkey's image on a global scale. The activities which will be carried out in this direction should be to establish an intercultural dialogue and to pursue EU-oriented cultural diplomacy. In Turkey's foreign policy on EU countries, it should benefit from the power of culture, evoke international respect and admiration on the country, and make it attractive also with the influence of its cultural heritage and tourism potential.

However, cultural diplomacy activities need to be carried out not only by emphasizing Turkish-Islam and Ottoman cultures but also by presenting Turkey's cultural diversity. The popularization of Ottomanist (*Osmanlıcı*) and Nationalist ideologies which have risen in Turkey especially in recent years must be replaced with an approach based on the global connectivity of culture.

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ⁱ Bosphorus Bridge is considered a symbol of cultural bridging, and it is the subject of many academic studies such as Kosta et al (2010); Göktürk et al (2010); Yanık (2010); Bıçakçı (2012).