

## FOREIGN UNRAVELLING THE USAGE OF THE SOFT POWER IN THE TURKISH POLICY

**Yasemin Necmiye TUTAR**

*(Corresponding author)*

*Yeditepe University, Istanbul, Türkiye*

**Denis HYAMS-SSEKASI**

*University of Bolton, United Kingdom*

© The Author(s) 2023

### ABSTRACT

This study explores the most important altering policy of Turkish foreign policy considering the concept of soft power. All along, Turkey has been at the forefront of the state planning and inculcating foreign diplomacy. Its policies protect its interests and define conditions that maintain and build peace and development across borders. By utilising the literature, the research findings indicate that since the beginning of 2000, Turkey has been using the soft power elements more effectively by diversifying foreign policy options and focusing on a foreign policy targeting prioritizing Africa in recent years. Based on the current findings, this study has implicated that the soft power policies carried out have been used to strengthen bilateral relations among countries, to increase the economy. Turkey is perceived to be instrumental in its approach to foreign policy and international relations.

©2023. All rights reserved

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: 18/09/2022

Accepted: 26/01/2023

Published online: 15/04/2023

### KEYWORDS

Soft Power, Foreign Policies,  
International Relations, Diplomacy,  
African Policy, Turkey



## Introduction

In international relations, where interactions between different nations and organizations are on the agenda, many factors drive states' foreign policies. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, states used many foreign policy instruments to achieve their ultimate goals. One of the foreign policy instruments frequently used by states in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is soft power. Although the purpose of using soft power help other states, they have also applied it for economic and political goals. Nye (2004) adds that soft power is noted in political values, culture and foreign policy. After the Cold War, the global world's geostrategic and geoeconomics center shifted from the Atlantic Region to the Pacific. Hence the global geopolitical struggle for power emerged in the Africa-Eurasia Region. This geography has become the focus of interest for global and regional actors who want to say in world politics. In this respect, Turkey is tied by history and culture to Africa, pointing out and defining itself as a center in the region in its new foreign policy approach.

In the decolonization process, which was over at the end of 1950, colonies declared their independence, and Turkey immediately recognized African countries as a state. Developing political and economic relations with the continent during the period was ineffective and irrelevant. Turkey applied West-oriented foreign policy with political and security concerns during the Cold War. Turkey must force itself to take a second plan to develop a relationship with other neighboring regions. However, the impact of global transformations in the political and economic problems caused by the West and Turkey has led to some new initiatives to compensate for the Western alliance. In this context, an expansion plan for the African continent, which is among the agenda items of the Turkish foreign policy, was designed in 1970. However, political, economic, and commercial relations with Africa could not be developed permanently without a strategy. The course of Turkey's relations with Africa changed in 1998. From that year, Africa Action Plan has evolved into a different phase. Turkey and African countries' economic, political and cultural ties have revealed the development targets. In 2005 it was declared that the relations between Turkey-Africa have reached a different stage of development (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999, p.8).

The study analyzed to understand the forces exerted on Turkey's presence on the African continent. Turkey, the geopolitical, cultural identity, and rising economy have turned an active and constructive global actor into its international identity rather than a pro-Western passive actor. Initiated by the AK Party government, the involvement of non-state actors in the foreign policy-making process is a new and unfamiliar situation for Turkey. The geography of Africa is the first example where civil society organizations, the business world, and state interests. Turkey's main intersection on the back of dynamic expansion seen in Africa for the first time in Turkish foreign policy. Thus, in the context the new foreign policy of Turkey towards the African continent on the other side, civil society organizations and the business community is quite effective in raising awareness about Africa by seeing the potential (Sözen, 2010, p.123-130).

Turkish agencies such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), The Association of Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD), Turkey Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) and Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) created as a new public discourse about the African continent in collaboration with the business community. Cooperation opportunities in economic and political fields have been established with the continent. High-level visits, technical, economic, scientific and humanitarian assistance programs; commercial cooperation agreements; Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit and mutual visits of businessmen and business councils were included as non-state actors in foreign policy and made process. The activities carried out in Africa regarding the issues constitute the sample of this study. In this study, soft power as a foreign policy tool examined theoretically, and its application in the area conceptualized. Focus on the outcomes of soft power in the framework of the African Action Plan at the end.

## **2. Turkey African Action Plan**

Why Turkey created an Action Plan for the Sub Saharan Countries. It is necessary to know the condition and location before the examination. The Great Sahara Desert divides Africa into two parts. The southern part is Sub-Saharan, consisting of 47

countries; 10 are in the Sahara Desert. About 1 million people live. Nowadays, 40 countries under the Sahara are less than the total revenue of the first 500 companies published by Fortune magazine. In Africa, 40% of the population lives below a dollar 25, and the world's poorest country Niger is located in this region. (Chan, 2007, p.80)

Turkey's Africa policy has been officially stated on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs official page, under the "Turkey-Africa Relations" section. Turkey is eagerly involved in global responsibilities in Africa, and the donor countries to fulfil these responsibilities in policy in one of the most important components of soft power. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009, p.57)

The principles and decisions have put forward a severe transformation of relations between Turkey and Africa. Accordingly, between African countries and Turkey, the organization of high-level visits; increasing contacts with continental states within various international organizations; humanitarian assistance; increasing the number of diplomatic representations in Africa; contributing to the economic and technical assistance programs of the continent, signing economic, technical-scientific and commercial cooperation agreements at the technical level. Turkey invited the ministers and experts to become a member of the African Development Bank as a donor country. It is envisaged to become a member of the African Import-Export Bank and organize mutual business visits and work for councils; cultural cooperation opportunities, especially cooperation agreements in education, collaboration between universities and joint conference-seminar studies and scholarship programs implied through the plan. (Mert, 2012, p.71)

The African continent offers Turkey's economy a critical market to provide a new space for diplomatic options to diversify Turkey's foreign policy. With these acquisitions, Turkey has expressed ambitions to become a power in Africa and displayed on every platform. In this context, Turkey's fundamental principles providing infrastructure to create the policy towards Africa also shows how to be a power in the region. The Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry defines the basic principles of the Africa-Turkey Relation is as follows:

*1. To establish close political relations through high-level visits to Africa and protect African states' legitimate rights and interests in bilateral or multilateral negotiations.*

*2- Supporting the continent's economic problems, doing business with African and African people and providing humanitarian aid*

*3- Diplomatic methods to promote and ensure the peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa*

*4- To contribute to peacekeeping operations operating on the continent.*

### **3. Why Soft Power?**

People at the centre of Turkey's policy have adopted a more social and humanitarian approach contrary to exploitation with the principles outlined above. The approach in the international relations literature finds itself a concept of Soft Power. As a result of the idea of soft power (Nye, 2004. p.78), which Joseph Nye introduced in the literature, he points to an understanding of foreign policy based on dialogue, cooperation, diplomacy, cultural and historical accumulation, and mutual economic dependence. It derives its source from cultural values, political principles and foreign policy and public diplomacy (Nye, 2008, p.121).

As a medium-sized state Turkey who applied to soft power. The Middle East and various factors simultaneously have a similar culture of Turkey, spread the culture of constructive foreign policy, using active and multilateral cooperation and economic development strategy is to use its soft power. Turkey's economic and humanitarian assistance in this direction is outstanding. Turkey assumed the role of order-founder and economic-humanitarian aid to create their image or manipulate' strategy and scheme-founder of the network effect strategy (Davutoğlu, 2012, p.867).

Turkey's soft power strategy, one of the most applied methods actively pursued in recent years, is the mediator and multilateral foreign policy. From the September 11 attacks on the geo-strategic and geopolitical significance of global terrorism, which has gained importance in the face of global terrorism, the constructive policy of the alliance

of civilizations and the relationship between the Middle East and the West. Turkey won importance in this sense which is a matter to be underlined in this direction. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012).

### *3.1. Soft Power and Elements and Conceptual Framework*

According to Nye's statements, soft power is a force that allows countries to follow their welfare, take a model for it and pay attention to prosperity and opportunities, in line with the results of a country's world politics. (Nye, 2011, p.9) Therefore, soft power has gained importance in the global search for new states. A country can achieve the desired results in world politics by pulling it along with the soft power it has, that is, culture, political values, and institutions, without forcing the target countries. The soft power supply based on public diplomacy, strategic cooperation, and foreign policy. A state can achieve the desired results by using soft power sources on other states. States pursue diplomacy in the process of reaching the desired results. The soft power that has become popular and studied over time in the academic world has also witnessed the attempts to conceptualize the soft power of Alexander Vuving after Nye. In this sense, Alexander Vuving's soft power conceptualization is essential. Vuving states that the concept of soft power has misunderstood aspects. He says that it is differentiated. In this context, the soft power in the narrow sense is similar to the cultural effect. In its broad sense, cultural and used in the same meaning as non-military power, including economic power (Vuving, 2009, p.13).

In soft power identification, Vuving puts soft power into a visible and measurable shape. Vuving suggests examining two different dimensions when defining soft power; power resources and power currencies. In this respect, the power values are the elements that cause soft power and usually produced by power sources. This theoretical contribution from Vuving is a critical contribution to the production and resources of soft power. (Vuving, 2009, p.12).

For this contribution to be seen, the inventor of the concept of Nye can provide clues to see how power explains its sources and production. Nye soft power as sources of culture, political values and foreign policy preferences (Nye, 1990, p. 121). When a

country's culture and political values contain universal values , and its policies serve the values and interests of others, it can provide significant legitimacy to ensure that the country obtains the desired results. In this context, the impact of a country's culture on other countries may produce contradictory situations when examined in different social classes. At the same time, a choice of foreign policy may have various effects on the target audience. From the point of view of soft power sources, it is noteworthy that states do not control many soft power sources due to the changing world system.

In this case, the effects of states on their soft power formation to a certain extent. Therefore, the foreign policy strategies of the countries must be designed to incorporate non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations into the equation, especially in countries that want to increase their soft power. Some spots capture the requirement of Turkey's foreign policy strategy after 2002. This case will be discussed through the study.

Public diplomacy was first included in international and cultural relations in 1965 by American diplomat Edmund Gullion. According to Gullion: Public diplomacy addresses the effects of public attitudes on the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Public diplomacy encompasses the dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy, public opinion of governments in other countries, the interaction of private and interest groups with other countries, foreign affairs reports and their impact on politics, the communication process between the communication experts, foreign policy reporters and diplomats (Gullion 2015, p. 286).

### *3.2. Turkey's Soft Power Applications*

According to Hans Tuch, who describes it more precisely than Gullion, public diplomacy is the process of communicating the ideas and ideals of a nation, institutions, and culture and government that aims to tell national goals and current policies, foreign peoples (Charles,1990, p.35). With a state public diplomacy, it aims not only to create foreign public opinion but also to promote itself to the target audiences better. Public diplomacy is not only about public relations but also aims to convey information and create a positive image. Various actors such as state and non-state institutions,

organizations, NGOs, communication and information bodies, television and radios are involved in public diplomacy to reach the targeted results.

Davutoglu initiated public diplomacy studies. Turkish public diplomacy resulting from the ideology of Turkey to the accumulation of history, culture and under its geographical location, Turkey is telling the new story of the world community effectively and comprehensively has been adopted to make it attractive in the international arena. In the context of the implementation of public diplomacy, many state and non-state institutions have emerged, and existent institutions have been restructured (Davutoglu, 2010, p.118). At first, the Foreign Ministry Information General Directorate of Overseas Promotion and Cultural Relations Directorate-General, the prime minister's Public Diplomacy Coordination Unit, the prime minister's Foreign Turks and Related Communities Presidency, the prime minister's Turkey Cooperation, and the minister Coordination Agency was and became active actors.

Turkey's interest in Africa was initiated in 1998 by Africa Action Plan. The relations between the two parties gained momentum after 2002 with the start of public diplomacy. Turkey and Africa to overcome society's prejudices and enable them to each other, and take important steps to improve political-economic affairs.

The implementation of the African Strategy Document adopted in 2010 is important for Turkish public diplomacy. Prime Minister and the deployment of the visit of President level and repetitive rhetoric as the absence of colonialism intention to underground riches such visits during carried out European countries in Turkey's approach to Africa in speech and even to act almost like a spokesman and advocate of Africa in Turkey in the international arena African public it attracts attention in terms of influence. In addition to Turkey, Africa should increase the welfare of diplomacy and mediation in resolving conflicts in the region to take on roles, providing the increasing importance of Turkey in the African public.



Culture, according to Nye, is the whole of values and practices that have meaning for society (Nye, 1990, p.154-171). According to Milton Cumming, who referred to the most in literature, cultural diplomacy: ideas, knowledge, art and other It relates to the exchange of cultural elements (Cumming, 2009, p.2).

Cultural diplomacy, which belongs to the states that want to be a regional power and expand the spheres of influence in the international arena, has a significant influence. Turkey's framework for cultural diplomacy in Africa, many state and non-state institutions should operate in Africa and Turkey. In the implementation of Turkish cultural diplomacy towards Africa, education comes first. Besides, under the roof of the Turkish Scholarship provides many African students in Turkish universities. So far, a total of 3739 African students are training under the Turkey Scholarship. (Presidency for Turks Abroad Related Communities, 2018, p.54). However, its facilities and the number of Turkey as a special scholarship education is much higher than this figure. On the other hand, opportunities for higher education scholarships, Turkish language learning, short-term vocational and technical education and inter-university exchange programs provided to African students (Yunus Emre Institution, 2017).

The concept of humanitarian diplomacy is the activities carried out by human organizations. What is important here is that these organizations can carry out their activities with integrity. They must obtain an area independent from military and political authorities. Such activities include the establishment of humanitarian organizations in the host country, help programs. However, respect for international law and norms, centers and humanitarian objectives To support them, they also aim to act as a spokesperson for the institutions that operate at different levels (Minear and Smith, 2007, p.102).

Defining humanitarian diplomacy with Turkey's new diplomatic approach call for this issue. Humanitarian diplomacy differs from human diplomacy. Accordingly, there are three stages in terms of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. The first step includes diplomatic moves that improve the lives of its citizens. The second stage is the attitude taken towards Turkey's crisis regions. The third phase adopts intensive diplomatic traffic

in the UN system to promote citizens in crisis regions and announce their rights in the international arena. (Binder, 2010, p.24).

For the first phase of humanitarian diplomacy, abolished visas required between Turkey and many African countries. This application also contributes to its effective use of soft power like cross-country training, culture, sports and arts activities. The second phase of diplomacy is humanitarian aid for the crisis regions of Turkey policies. The third stage of human diplomacy is to adopt people in crisis regions within the UN system. Turkey has become the "emerging donor" in humanitarian and has nearly 50 percent of the official development assistance in 2013, considering the GNP of this assistance to Turkey (TIKA, 2013).

Today, TIKa has offices in 14 African countries. From the carried-out activities, only in 2010, 70 projects were concluded in 22 African countries. In the same year, TIKa provided approximately 10 million dollars of aid to 34 African countries. In this regard, specially prepared by the agricultural development of the African continent. TIKa is distinguished as the most critical element of Turkey's soft power in Africa, health, vocational training and more. The technical cooperation programs in the areas indicate that the activities carried out across the continent cover many human ranges (TIKA, 2014).

Turkey has made its presence felt in Somalia, the most visible form of humanitarian aid as a new force. The humanitarian situation caused by the severe famine and instability in Somalia drew attention to the crisis and played an active role in finding solutions to Turkey; firstly, bypassing the Organization of Islamic Cooperation summit in motion in August 2011 led to a realization. Forty members of the organization attended the summit. Turkey also hosted conferences in Istanbul in the years 2010 and 2012. Turkey's attempts to move to Somalia's recovery from the global agenda and isolation has a significant impact; especially after the president of Erdogan visited Somalia in August 2011.

Delegations from Arabia and Iran flocked to Somalia United Nations-led international relief model of the Somalia political analyst compared with the Turkish position, wrote an email Abukar Arman, Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy is to summarize the role of differentiation at this point. According to Arman, through the United Nations and affiliated international organizations sent to Somalia for 1991-2011 is around \$ 55 billion. Still, no tangible infrastructure investment projects or any sustainable recovery were seen. With \$ 500 million in aid in Somalia carrying out activities, built modern schools, hospitals, mosques and roads (Akpınar, 2016, p.735).

By carrying out large-scale concrete projects for nation-building, Somalia almost freed itself from the threshold of death. The fact is that the Turkish model of aid is a profound influence on the people of Somalia. According to Arman, indicating that in Somalia increases, the inadequacy and systemic degeneration of the international aid model is more evident. The Turkish political model, which combines modern political conceptions and Islamic values, is gaining importance.

#### **4. Research Method**

I used a case study method in this study. My case is the African Action Plan of Turkey between 2002-current. It is defined as a storage or a particular case for a detailed installation in a single subject. According to Stake, the case study is not a methodical option but an option to determine what to do (Stake, 1994, p.11). This study emphasis that the implication of what is understood in a perfect way rather than generalization. The case study is one of the types of systematic patterns, such as detailed planning in architecture, gathering information, organizing, interpreting, and reaching the research findings. Case studies look at what is happening in the natural environment, collecting and systematically analyzing data and revealing the results. The resulting product provides a strong understanding of why the event is so and what needs to focus on for future research (Stake, 2004, p.7).

In Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), the key is to identify what factor leads to different variable outcomes when the cases appear relatively similar in most regards. And in Most Different System Designs (MDS), the key is to understand that every other unit/case have the same outcome. The search is then for a key determined Turkish state action. Thus, different soft power implemented in the region but the explanatory variable common to the cases that all appear very different from each other. Further, MDS requires that the dependent variable is constant. I employed MDS in my case study. Turkey implements various factors to different African countries depending on their needs, such as humanitarian aid made in Somali, drinking water wells made in Sudan. Therefore, the action taken was varied among countries. The primary needs of the country's outcome remained the same, and the statistics showed a positive response in all countries (Anckar, 2008, p.389-401).

The use of soft power in Turkey Foreign Policy within the conceptual framework and determining its outcomes on Africa used as a single case analysis. There may be multiple substrates or units in this case. There will be more than one unit of research in this study. The distinction here relates to a case study in which it deals with the situation as a holistic and single unit or to more than one sub-unit within a situation. In this case, the single holistic point used (Yin, 2003, p.574).

Because of the soft power concept, it is not easy to measure the hypothesis with other methods. Due to its intangible nature, the analysis of this concept will be qualitative. It consists of ideas, statistics and observations based on theory within the case study term. It is suitable for studying systemic, internal and state levels and the arguments of scholars and policymakers. The case study methodology was used because it effectively answered the 'how and why in the research question. Therefore, this study is based on the qualitative analysis of developments in Case Study Methods. In the method design, the usage of soft power of Turkish-African relations was analyzed. It focuses on primary and secondary literature and data's that come from each independent variable. The research organized according to dependent variables. Because each variable is operationalized quantitatively and conceptualized theoretically. Before making a research design, all variables are classified according to their availability of data sources in the internet. Each variable

provides a number of dates that allow validity and reliability. The analysis of the efforts in Africa to join Turkey's foreign policy was followed by a case study approach. The soft power concept analyzed in three levels: the scope of soft power, mechanism and results.

In addition, the subject of study analyzed systematically the relations and collaborations established with sub-Saharan African countries in various fields and the works carried out through non-governmental organizations and governmental institutions, implementing the vision and principles laid down in the 2002 African Opening Action Plan and a government policy since 2005. It is suitable for case operation. It shows positive changes in statistical data reports to increase the soft power of Turkey.

In this part, the answer to the why and how questions of a case study were asked. The strategic target of Turkey's opening to Africa is primarily divided into three; strategic, commercial and economic terms. Turkey, regional and even aiming to be a strong and effective state in the regional arena. Consisting of a population of more than 1 billion, Africa is envisaged as a long-term strategic partner. With a clean history in Africa, Turkey aims to create a solid basis for increasing its effectiveness.

On this occasion, Turkey, providing their interests in the international arena and winning the trust of African countries, is on target to be the spokesman of poor African countries. Moreover, Turkey is a matter of international concern. The United Nations moved to find support when the Security Council of Turkey. On the other hand, the economy has strengthened Turkey's Africa expansion by providing raw material supply and, more importantly, new markets include commercial purposes. One of Turkey's main requests is to increase the trade volume with African countries in this context. Turkey aims to increase the trade volume simultaneously, but the security and conflict issues on the African continent have also planned to contribute to the peace and solution process. Thus, relations between the two actors developed on equality and mutual benefit.

A case study applied in this study. However, it should be used together with content analysis and interview methods because I think that the positive and negative impacts of

the projects will more effectively determine the outcomes with other methods. Content analysis and distinguished interviews will give me data for the participation and results of foreign policy decisions. These methods will be interpreting the findings methodologically. Semi-structured interviews will allow a free discussion of other important soft power tools not available in my study.

#### *4.1. Operationalization Variables*

Due to the soft power concept being a highly abstract theory, the operationalization and decoding of the African Project into soft power strategies is challenging. The absence of direct, measurable variables is a concern during soft power research, and therefore it has been debated to set operationalized parameters. Defining soft power with nominal definitions on which qualifications establish the usage of soft power, this operationalization problem could be solved. Nye measure soft power by cultural, communication, and diplomatic resources, producing soft power for a state (Nye, 2008, p. 94). This study inspects governmental spending such as human aids. May help to soft power efforts. In this study, Turkey's foreign policy and soft power efforts in Africa are dealt with. The study planed an intensive, theory-using single case study. It aims to explain one specific phenomenon of the Turkish African Action Plan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999). A case study provides a deep understanding of the particular subject, which is important since the study based on a theory. Therefore, it is hard to measure and prove. For this reason, I focus on the cause and effect of variable implications on this study. The empirical evidence connects to the theories through analysis. The suitable material used in this paper comes from annual governmental reports and spending.

To determine Turkey's soft power use and its impact on foreign policy, notably Africa, the focus was placed on the role of foreign policy instruments; the independent variable is the foreign policy which constitutes the infrastructure of Turkey's African policy. The new Turkish foreign policy principles are a security-freedom balance, zero problems with neighbours, proactive regional foreign policy, multidimensional foreign policy, unique diplomatic style, and rhythmic diplomacy. On the other hand, some conceptual tools will enable the implementation of this policy in the new foreign policy approach. Among these tools: the wise country, economic interdependence, order

constitutive actor, integrated foreign policy, different foreign policy issues that can handle in a single framework, we can identify as multi-faceted policies (Davutoglu,2010, p.157). One of Turkey's most important regions to implement this new foreign policy and soft power resources in Africa. The Region is an excellent place to diversify the diplomatic options of Turkey foreign policy. The dependent variables of these research, like public diplomacy, strategic partnership and trade, and humanitarian aid, help answer a research question. Therefore, it is crucial to clarify how these concepts measure the dependent variable performance, measured quantitatively and qualitatively.

This research operationalizes the usage of soft power. The key findings are as follows. Turkey is active in the field where soft power is applied. Thus, the argument is whether soft power can influence the performance of Africa. At the same time, this research has demonstrated that soft power can also play an essential role in the relationship between countries. The data for a variable is taken from several sources. The new approach of soft power perspective such as demographic, cultural, humanitarian aid, economic helps me define the soft power resource capabilities objectively.

The following parameters were determined to measure the use of Turkey's soft power. These parameters have been introduced as a result of the evaluation of Turkey's efforts in Africa. The parameters from the basis of soft power that implemented in Africa. The organization carries off these parameters. The outcomes of the organizations are used for the evaluation of the case in the study.

Parameters	Variables	Data Sources
<b>Cultural Diplomacy</b>	The number of incoming students has received Turkish scholarship	Türk ve Akraba Topluluğu Başkanlığı, Annual Statistics
	The number of embassy openings in the region	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Number of tourists coming from Africa	Ministry of Tourism
	Number of Organization National and International	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

	Number of opening Turkish Culture Center	Yunus Emre Center, report
<b>Humanity Diplomacy</b>	Human Aid	TUSIAD, TOBB, TIKA Annual Reports, NGO statistic,
	Health Aid	Ministry of Health
	Amount of foreign aid	Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports
<b>Economic Diplomacy</b>	Number of trade and investment agreements	Ministry of Economy Annual statistics
	Number of Destination of THY	Turkish Airlines reports
	Number of organizing meetings and mutual visits	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Report
	Import and export rates of countries	Ministry of Economy, Annual reports

**Table 1.**

It is monitored the usage of soft power strategy by researching these parameters in Turkey African foreign policy. Elements such as culture, history, domestic and foreign policies, institutions, economic development, progress in science, art and literature are among the important sources of soft power are global or regional norms and to disseminate them, to make discourses that are attractive, national or global, are just a few of them (Lee, 2011, p.18). Each country has several soft power sources, and governments develop soft power strategies through these resources.

Turkey is justifying its foreign policy with the builder and mediator role in international diplomacy. To increase their image positively in the eyes of the target countries, Turkey organizes programs to support economic development and pursue a constructive and active strategy in their foreign policy. The image of the countries that spend the right direction on public diplomacy increases positively, which increases their chances of achieving the desired results (Turkish Economist, 2010).

Turkey used soft power effectively in the foreign policy to achieve their goals after 2002. In particular, the foreign policy strategy for Africa is based on multilateral diplomacy, high cooperation with states in the region based on political and security problems, the development of relations of cultural and economic interdependence and humanitarian aid. On the other hand, Turkey has established the necessary infrastructure



to implement foreign policy strategies effectively. Turkey's strategy of developing regional power has received the support of African countries.

**Public diplomacy**, which entailed for purposes of this thesis political freedom, values and institutions, government effectiveness and education and international exchanges; i.e. the ability to attract international students from Africa; cultural diplomacy, which entailed the global reach of Turkish language in Africa, number of schools, the annual number of African students who study in Turkey.

The Public Diplomacy Coordination Unit is one of the main steps taken to improve public diplomacy. International promotional activities play an essential role in terms of the position, dignity, and image of a country in the region and, therefore, the effectiveness of the targeted foreign policy. For this reason, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, all the institutions and organizations interested in the promotion activities, civil society organizations, the private sector, and academic circles are working in interaction (Turkish Foreign Ministry, 2012). Turkish. Cultural centres were established. In today's Turkish Foreign Policy, where Turkish culture, language, and art are important in introducing Turkish culture, TIKA and Yunus Emre Institutes are primarily operated. The number of opening these institutions increased, especially in Africa. (Yunus Emre Institution, 2017).

	2002	2015
AFRICA	2 Embassy	39 Embassy
	2 Consulate General	4 Consulate General

**Table 2.** Number of Embassy between 2002-2015 in Sub-Saharan Africa (<http://kdk.gov.tr/sayilarla/13-yilda-65-yeni-temsilcilik-turkiyenin-yurtdisindaki-temsilcilik-sayisi-228e-cikti/41> )

**Economic Diplomacy:** Since Turkey's Opening to Africa Action Plan in 1998, it seems to have an important place in the economy and trade. For this reason, relations between the countries in the trade relations and economic relations have begun. This document which covers many targets has created the infrastructure of Turkey-Africa economic and trade relations. It aims to increase Turkey's share in the total trade of African countries and increase the share of Turkish companies in the African Market. In this context, planning joint investments with African countries is to implement new strategies for small and medium-sized enterprises. Several agreements have been signed under these strategies. The most concrete indicator of increasing economic contacts is trade and investment figures. Turkey's trade volume with sub-Saharan African countries in 2003 was 1.3 billion US dollars in 2014, increased to \$ 8.4 billion. Turkish investments, which reached 6.2 billion dollars, became the most employment-creating investments among foreign direct investments in Africa in 2015. The foreign contractor services in sectors were Turkish firms, although a large rise recorded was in the early stages of the development of assets in Africa. This framework developed relations through mutual high-level visits, new economic and commercial treaties, and mutual trade delegation visits. The most concrete indicator of increasing economic contacts is trade and investment figures.

Year	Nort Africa		Sub-Saharan	
	Import	Export	Import	Export
2000	2.114.680	1.087.400	457.101	285.324
2001	2.114.680	1.266.596	380.669	371.236
2002	857.970	1.266.974	616.185	554.243
2003	933.480	1.576.974	616.185	554.243
2004	1.169.948	2.203.356	1.428.270	764.791
2005	1.158.201	2.544.398	1.632.270	1.086.849
2006	1.676.694	3.096.655	2.233.388	1.469.127
2007	2.285.434	4.029.683	2.821.104	1.946.661
2008	3.535.990	5.858.262	2.060.486	3.212.341

<b>2009</b>	2.237.693	7.415.776	1.700.198	2.738.866
<b>2010</b>	3.098.091	7.025.168	1.725.916	2.257.898
<b>2011</b>	3.342.054	6.701.089	3.424.658	3.632.879
<b>2012</b>	3.308.343	9.443.604	2.613.447	3.913.246
<b>2013</b>	3.508.479	10.041.750	2.522.630	4.103.794
<b>2014</b>	3.435.769	9.757.935	2.502.192	3.996.487
<b>2015</b>	3.006.965	8.527.126	2.092.386	3.921.798
<b>2016</b>	3.200.795	7.755.071	2.154.733	3.650.930

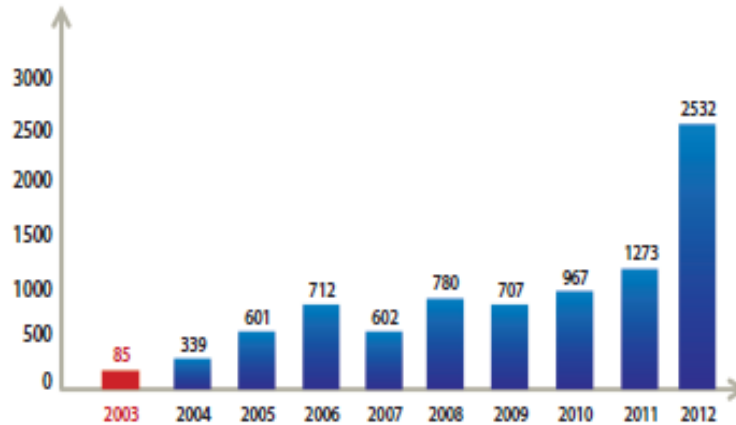
**Table:3** Turkey Import and Export Data ( <http://tuik.gov.tr>)

With the scope of African project, there has been a considerable increase in the mutual visits of countries' heads. Turkey opened embassies in African countries are increasing again during this period. Trade and investment agreements signed with Africa and the trade volume with Africa have increased over the years. In addition, THY flights to the region accelerated during this period. This shows the reliability of the measurability of the variable expressed by the numbers.

**Humanitarian Diplomacy** Foreign aid is one of the essential instruments of foreign policy in Africa. Turkey has recognized the importance of this and its regional and international system to increase the weight of increased foreign assistance. In terms of states, humanitarian diplomacy is where the humanitarian aid comes from (Akpınar, 2013, p. 737). Turkish foreign policy and foreign aid geography are simultaneously diversified in Turkey. Turkey especially declared 2005 as the "Year of Africa" and sent humanitarian aid to Africa where there was a struggle with drought, hunger, epidemic disease etc.

Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy and foreign aid will get into the geography of Africa, one of the most critical factors that allow the expansion of the way. TİKA, in short, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Presidency carried out activities; only in 2010, a total of 70 projects were concluded in 22 African countries; the US \$ 10

million aid to send 34 African countries. In this regard, TIKA is the most important element of soft power in Africa. It has developed vocational education, technical cooperation programs in 69 different regions in the African continent. Most of the activities cover a wide range of humanitarian aid (TIKA. Raporu, 2011).



	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>Europe</b>	30.19	95.59	83.10	83.94	33.5	126.3	139.8	87.83	858.5
<b>Africa</b>	3.84	11.75	24.78	30.96	51.73	46.96	38.08	249.4	727.37
<b>America</b>	0.18	0.04	0.14	1.11	7.63	2.9	11.2.	2.42	27.5
<b>Asia</b>	195.46	422.49	536	430.60	575.54	509.5	730.35	158.7	5896.6
<b>Ocenia</b>	0	1.59	0	1.389	3.6	0.12	0.66	0.06	7.929

**Table 4:** Regional Distribution of TIKA's Spending (millions USD)

Technical development and humanitarian aid, which are important soft power tools, can be carried out officially or by non-governmental organizations. In general, the aid activities organized by NGOs are directed towards the African continent. TIKA, AFAD, and Turquoise Media Group carried out a wide range of public services, from educational to infrastructure work, from urban regeneration to health services to over the African continent. The most prominent of these organizations is the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), Mavi Marmara attack. The Foundation's support and assistance campaigns reach out to those in need in many countries and positively impact the oppressed and the victims. Currently, the organization is active in 112 countries around the world. IHH works significant tribulation period occurred in Ethiopia in 1999-2000 intensified in this region, while in the later stages sub-Saharan has expanded its workspace and in Africa. Between 2000 and 2008, approximately 1000 water wells were drilled. Clean Water supply to Ethiopia, then Somalia, Cameroon, eight countries, Guinea, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso and Sierra Leone, have been established (IHH Reports and Activities, 2015).

The most exciting work of the institution is undoubtedly the campaign it initiated to fight drought. This campaign launched with 700.000 people is dying. It has been pointed out that hundreds of thousands of people in the drought in East Africa face death. "The Turkish Human Eye Opens New 100,000 Africans", and 100,000 Africans start with the cataract project is yet another project that made a name for itself in recent years. IHH is extending the hands of orphan children in Sub-Saharan Africa through el Orphan Solidarity Days in Tanzania, Somalia, Rwanda, Malawi, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Djibouti and Ghana. It supports thousands of children in countries. (IHH Reports and Activities 2015). The argument of this research is Turkey's soft power in the last 13 years. Analysis of variable, the data are taken from projects carried out by national institutions and NGOs, given the example above. International students, culture and aid. are soft power indicators. Therefore, they are valid measurements of soft power.

It is not possible to prove that a country changed its actions according to the image of the other country. More specifically, it can be better explained with an example. When we look at the relations between countries in Africa and Turkey, it is prevalent and

respected among Turkish culture projects. We see that there is a President Erdogan loved. This has attracted many people from the region to popular destinations in Turkey, so we can say that Turkey is influential on the hearts and minds of people in Africa. Nevertheless, arguing that change behaviour of African countries, for example, due to the popularity of Turkey in the region and the UN not to say that support for Turkey. It also states that the functioning of the soft power source can be the result of mixed or shared values or multilateralism that affects minds and hearts, ultimately being the result of democracy or institutions.

The data resource from variables created my Soft Powers collection—a new soft power approach, like cultural and economic. And humanitarian aid to help definition of the soft power supply capabilities clearly and objectively. This work will identify indicators that will systematically show the usage of soft power. The second part of the data will come from qualitative research methods. I will see why the decision-makers have resulted in foreign policy choices by analysing the economic data and the activities and strategic partnerships formed by the foreign ministries. I decided to focus all my data collection between the years 2005 and 2018. In this way, I will have enough data to observe variations between soft power capabilities and foreign policy usage.

## **5. Discussion and Result**

This study has shown that each country should determine soft power within the framework of its internal dynamics. One of the important foreign policy strategies that Turkey is become regional power politics. Turkey took on the role of mediator in this policy. As part of this strategy, it has developed a specific action plan for Africa. Under this plan, it was observed that he applied an intense soft power. These soft power applications are different from other countries' applications. Because crafted and implemented content specific to Turkey. Turkey implemented making references to past ties for the region and established a special bond with the region's people.

After implementation, soft power to the region. Many developments are observed. Turkey has gained observer status in the year 2008 to AFB, soon after Turkey has declared Africa as a strategic partner. Africa has obtained non-regional member status. Political and economic relations with Africa has been reached, the largest of the last 60 years in 2011 and continuing rapidly. The period of drought has been declared in Africa. Undoubtedly the most affected were in Somalia. Prime Minister Erdogan visited Somalia in August 2011. After his visit, the Turkish government, NGOs and agencies have started their activities in Somalia. These activities in a broad framework of Turkey's diplomacy has created the humanitarian policy towards Somalia. This study explains Turkey's recent efforts to Africa and states' use of soft power has become more apparent than other regions where Turkey implemented soft power like Balkans. This issue and the case also comply with the social relevance criteria, which states that the matter should be relevant to the rest of the world. The study is helpful because it explains how the state can implement soft power in its foreign politics. The concept of Turkish soft power also has a scientific interest in building on literature on soft power and policy. Turkish African Action Plan contributed a new perspective to humanitarian aid diplomacy to literature. This study also has shown that the application of soft power reflected positively to Turkish foreign politics. Let's examine some actual examples of some positive contributions of the application.

Turkey in the African Union (AU) in 2005 has gained observer status. In the AU summit held in 2008, Turkey was declared a strategic partner. In the same year, the 1st Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held in Istanbul with the participation of 49 African countries in economic relations, political and cultural areas, and 11 for developing regional cooperation have been identified in the road map. The number of embassies in Sub-Saharan Africa has been increased dramatically. From 2008-2017, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Uganda, Angola, Madagascar, Zambia, Mozambique, Mauritania, Guinea, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Gambia and Namibia have opened Turkish Embassies. In 2008, the United Nations voted in the General Assembly, Security Council (UNSC) for 2009-2010, Turkey was elected to temporary membership. Turkey won the election with 151 countries votes and became the most important decision-making body of the United Nations. It was the most crucial support in the history of the Republic of Turkey to be represented in the United Nations.

To obtain the UNSC permanent membership, Turkey has been supporting the contribution of Sub Saharan African countries. This development is important for Turkey's foreign policy, which took place within the framework of the African Initiative.

In the eyes of African countries, humanitarian diplomacy activities have contributed to the formation of the positive image of Turkey. For example, the South African country of Botswana solved the border problems with their neighbour by Turkey's mediation, demanding Namibia. The tension between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan ended with an intensive diplomatic initiative of Turkey.

In addition to the mediation activities of Turkey, it has an enforceable peacekeeping mission in the United Nations system. Turkey has contributed to the peace and stability in the Central African Republic in Mali, Darfur, South Sudan, Liberia, Ivory Coast and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In stating the study's hypothesis, it is argued that Turkey's recent involvement in Africa is a tool to advance its soft power resource due to ongoing Turkish activities in Africa. I seek to find out if Turkish foreign policy is being used as a tool for quiet power accumulation in Africa. To critically assess dependent variables, humanitarian aid, education, economic were conducted on both sides. After 2002, Turkey's foreign policy highlights the importance of Turkey's soft power effectively using and developing multilateral diplomacy in foreign policy.

Turkey's foreign policy after 2002, to achieve their goals, Turkey uses soft power effectively. On the other hand, it has provided forming infrastructure necessary for the implementation of soft power. States are creating policies that will increase their soft power over their target groups. While developing policies for soft power generation, the situation mentioned above faces significant challenges when many of the soft power sources are non-state actors. Another difficulty at this point is the slow and heavy-duty nature of using soft power supplies. It emphasizes the importance of training and development. Multilateral diplomacy, economic cooperation on the political level of the state, as soft power instruments such as the development of cultural and economic dependency relationship, is expanding its activities in Turkey.



The fact that states are aware of the limits of the soft forces and align them with their foreign policy strategies is a different problem area in this framework. The development of Turkey's soft power in the region targeted economic, cultural, and diplomacy with the Turkish foreign policy strategy is directly related to the subject. States and non-state actors use different policy instruments to develop the soft powers of their countries. In this regard, conditions sometimes contribute to the process by supporting the activities of non-state actors while developing policies for a specific purpose.

This study has explored the soft power which is fundamental in any kind of diplomacy. It is undeniably that such power has the potential to win any kind political turmoil. Where countries can interact with each other, diplomacy prevails. It must be noted that interaction is a two-way discourse and practice which in most has become a challenge for most states. For a country to experience the soft power key aspects need to be considered such as resources of culture, values, and policies. Foreign policies play an important role in terms safeguarding and promoting the country's interests and, in the way, it maintains the relationship with other countries. It bestows a sense of direction, purpose and meaning in every state. No country operates in isolation, therefore, there is need for countries to consider other nations objectives and interests. In view of the foreign policy, over the years Turkey has recognized the African countries. It has developed both political and economic relations. Despite its foreign policy Turkey has experienced some challenges which has in one way or the other impacted the international relations, calling for refinement. Compromises had to be reached to maintain the diplomacy. All in all, states are expected to maintain their relationship with other states and to regularly validate their political dealings.

### **Disclosure statement**

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

#### **Author Contact Information**

**E-mail:** yasemintutar2003@yahoo.com.tr  
dh4@bolton.ac.uk

## References and notes:

- Akpınar, P. (2013), Turkey's Peacebuilding in Somalia: The Limits of Humanitarian Diplomacy, *Turkish Studies*, 14:4, 735-757, DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2013.863448
- Akpınar, P. (2016). Turkey's Peacebuilding in Somalia: The Limits of Humanitarian Diplomacy. *Turkish Studies*, 14(4) 735-757.
- Anckar. C. (2008). On the Applicability of the Most Similar Systems Design and the Most Different Systems Design in Comparative Research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11:5, 389-401, DOI:10.1080/13645570701401552  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401552>
- Binder, A., Claudia, M., Stets, J. (2010). Humanitarian Assistance: Truly Universal? A Mapping Study of Non-Western Donors", *GPPi Research Paper*, 12 (21)
- Chan, S. (2007). Grasping Africa: A Tale of Tragedy and Achievement, I. B. Tauris Pub. p.80
- Charles F.H. (1990). Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy, *International Studies Quarterly*, 34, (1), 35.
- Cumming, A. (2009). Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey, Center for Arts and Culture, *Cultural Diplomacy Research Series*, 28 (118) .
- Davutoğlu, A. (2008), Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007, *Insight Turkey*, 10 (1), pp. 77-96.
- Davutoğlu, A. (2010), Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu, *Küre Yayınları*, İstanbul, 2010.
- Davutoğlu, A. (2012), 2013 Yılına Giderken Dış Politikamız, Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın 2013 Mali Yılı Bütçe Tasarısının TBMM Genel Kurulu'na Sunulması Vesilesiyle Hazırlanan Kitapçık, , [www.mfa.gov.tr/site\\_media/html/butce\\_2013](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/butce_2013).
- Guiliano, R. (2015), The Beijing 2008 Olympics: Examining the Interrelations of China, Globalization, and Soft Power. *European Review*, 23 (2), pp. 286-296.
- IHH, (2015), 2015 Report on activities and operations, <https://www.ihh.org.tr/public/publish/0/22/2015-faaliyet-raporu---web-ingilizce.pdf>
- Lee, 2011, The Theory and Reality of Soft Power: Practical Approaches in East Asia, *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*
- Mert, A. O., 2012, Türkiye'nin Sahraraltı Ülkelerine Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetleri (2005-2011) Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı Uzmanlık Tezi, p.71.
- Miner, L., Smith, H. (2007). Introduction in Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioner and Their Craft, United Nations University Press, 102.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Turkey, (2009), p.57
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (2012), Ortadoğu Barış Süreci, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/orta-dogu-baris-sureci.tr.mfa>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, (2012), Türkiye'nin İnsani Yardımları", [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye\\_nin\\_inساني\\_yardimlari.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_nin_inساني_yardimlari.tr.mfa)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, (1999), "Afrika'ya Açılım Eylem Planı", Ağustos 1999, p.8
- Nye, J. (1990), Soft Power, Foreign Policy.80 (154-171)
- Nye, J. (2004), *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*, Public Affairs: New York
- Nye, J. (2008), Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (94)
- Nye, J., (2011), Power and foreign policy, *Journal of Political Power*. 4(1)9-24
- Presidency for Turks Abroad Related Communities, (2018), *İdare Faaliyet Raporu*, <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/kurumsal/faaliyet-raporlari>
- Sözen, A. (2010), A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy, *Turkish Studies*, Volume:11, Issue:1, 103-123.
- Stake, R. E. (1995), The art of case study research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- The Economist, 2010, "Turkish Foreign Policy: The Great Mediator",

- TIKA, (2011), Report on Turkish Development Aid 2011, Raporlama ve Koordinasyon Birimi Strateji Gelistirme Dairesi Başkanlığı.
- TIKA, (2013), Türkiye Kalkınma Yardımları Raporu 2013.
- UĞURLU,S.F.,(2020). Did the 2008 global financial crisis affect the banking credits? A case of regions of Turkey.International Journal of Humanities and Social Development Research.4(1),74-82. DOI:10.30546/2523-4331.2020.4.1.74
- Vuving, A. (2009), How Soft Power Works American Political Science Association Annual Meeting CA: sage
- Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks.
- Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Faaliyet Raporu, (2017) <https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/yayin/2017-faaliyet-raporu>

**CITE THIS ARTICLE AS:** TUTAR, N. Y., HYAMS-SSEKASI .D .(2023). Foreign unravelling the usage of the soft power in the Turkish policy. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Development Research*.7(1).35-61.DOI:10.30546/2523-4331.2023.7.1.35.