

**TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION AS AN ELEMENT OF SOFT
POWERIN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY**



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TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION AS AN ELEMENT OF SOFT
POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

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PLAGIARISM

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ABSTRACT

During the Cold War, military and economic power as elements of hard power constituted the basic instruments of international relations and foreign policy. During this period, realism dominated international relations, and due to security concerns, states put great effort to increase their military and economic power against other states that they considered rivals. The end of the Cold War, on the other hand, led to significant changes in international relations, foreign policy and state behaviors.

In the new world order emerging after the Cold War, states preferred to use more peaceful methods rather than hard power in their relations with other states including both soft power and public diplomacy. They opted for developing good relations with other states and endeavored to influence societies by elements of attraction.

Many countries across the world started to integrate soft power— which means using attraction element and influencing foreign societies —and public diplomacy in the last decade of the 20th century. In this context, they established new institutions in addition to converting existing state institutions. Although Turkey was rather late to perform the necessary transformation in this field, it started to use soft power and public diplomacy thanks to the transformation in its foreign policy and new institutions in the 21st century. Indeed, the importance attached to education abroad, student scholarships and opening schools in foreign countries was a reflection of the transformation in foreign policy.

This doctoral thesis will explore the activities of *Turkish Maarif Waqf*(Education Foundation), its place foreignpolicy andits impact on public diplomacy in detail.The study will seek answers to the following questions:Does Turkish public diplomacy have a wide enough network in the field of education?Compared to one of its counterparts in the world, the UK, what is the rate of Turkey’s activities in the field of education abroad?Does Turkey apply public diplomacy in its foreign policy?

Key Words:Turkish Maarif Waqf, Public Diplomacy, Soft Power



To the Greatest Leader of All Time

Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK

ÖZET

Soğuk Savaş süresince uluslararası ilişkilerin ve dış politikanın temel araçlarını sert gücün unsurları olan askeri ve ekonomik güç oluşturmuştur. Realizmin uluslararası ilişkileri domine ettiği bu dönemde güvenlik kaygıları sebebiyle devletler askeri ve ekonomik güçlerini rakip olarak gördüğü devletlerin güç kapasitelerinin önünde tutmak için büyük çaba harcamışlardır. Soğuk savaşın bitimi ise uluslararası ilişkiler, dış politika ve devletlerin tutumu ile ilgili büyük değişiklikler meydana getirmiştir.

Soğuk Savaş sonrası ortaya çıkan yeni dünya düzeninde devletler sert güç unsurları yerine hem yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisi gibi daha barışçıl, diğer ülkeler ile iyi ilişkiler geliştirerek ve toplumlar üzerindeki çekicilik unsurlarını devreye sokarak nüfuz kurma yoluna gitmişlerdir.

Dünyada birçok ülke cazibe unsurlarını kullanmak ve yabancı toplumları etkilemek anlamına gelen yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisinin dış politikalarına 20. Yüzyılın son on yılında entegre etmeye başlamışlardır. Bu minvalde kurumlar meydana getirmiş ve devlet kurumlarını da dönüştürmüştür. Türkiye ise bu alanda oldukça geç kalmasına rağmen 21. Yüzyıl boyunca dış politikasındaki dönüşüm ve meydana getirdiği kurumlar ile birlikte yumuşak güç ile kamu diplomasisini kullanmaya başlamıştır. Yurtdışında eğitim alanına verilen önem, yabancı öğrencilere verilen burslar ve yurtdışında açılan okullarda dış politikadaki dönüşümün bir yansımasıdır.

Bu doktora tezinde Türkiye Maarif Vakfının faaliyetleri, dış politikadaki yeri ve kamu diplomasisine etkisi detaylı olarak incelenecektir. Bununla birlikte şu sorulara cevap aranacaktır: Türk kamu diplomasisi eğitim alanında yeterince geniş bir ağa sahip

midir? Dünyadaki muadilleri olan İngiltere ile karşılaştırıldığında Türkiye'nin yurtdışı eğitim alanındaki faaliyetleri ne durumdadır? Türkiye kamu diplomasisini dış politikasında uygulamakta mıdır?

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye Maarif Vakfı, kamu diplomasisi, yumuşak güç



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I	4
1. SOFT POWER AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.....	4
1.1. Soft Power.....	4
1.1.1. Sources of Soft Power	8
1.1.1.1. Culture.....	9
1.1.1.2. Political Values	12
1.1.1.3. Education	13
1.1.1.4. Foreign Policy	15
1.2. Public Diplomacy.....	16
1.2.1. Dimensions of Public Diplomacy	22
1.2.2. Public Diplomacy Models.....	33
1.2.2.1. Nicholas J. Cull.....	36
1.2.2.2. Geoffrey Cowan & Amelia Arsenault	46
1.2.2.3. Eytan Gilboa	52
1.2.2.4. Rhonda S. Zaharna	56
1.2.2.5. John Robert Kelley	58
CHAPTER II	62
2. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY	62
2.1. Main Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy	63
2.1.1. Westernism	64
2.1.2. Status quo support.....	69
2.1.3. The Realist Approach and Power Balance	72
2.2. Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy	74
2.2.1. Visionary Foreign Policy	77
2.2.2. Consistent and Systematic Environment	77

2.2.3.	Spreading Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Activities.....	78
2.2.4.	Proactive Foreign Policy.....	81
2.2.5.	Freedom-Security Balance.....	82
2.2.6.	Multifaceted Foreign Policy.....	83
2.3.	Turkish Foreign Policy Values, Goals and Objectives.....	85
2.4.	Role of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy.....	85
2.4.1.	Limitations of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy.....	85
2.4.2.	Supportive Factors of the Role of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy.....	88
2.5.	Role of Public Diplomacy in Turkish Foreign Policy.....	90
2.5.1.	Institutions Conducting Turkish Public Diplomacy Activities.....	93
2.5.1.1.	Republic of Turkey Presidency of Communications.....	95
2.5.1.2.	Yunus Emre Institute.....	97
2.5.1.3.	Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities.....	98
2.5.1.4.	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency.....	99
2.5.1.5.	TRT and Anadolu Agency.....	101
CHAPTER III		103
3.	THE TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION.....	103
3.1.	What is the Turkish Maarif Foundation?.....	104
3.2.	The Roles of the Turkish Maarif Foundation.....	105
3.3.	Activities of the Turkish Maarif Foundation.....	108
3.3.1.	The TMF's Activities for the 2016 Academic Year.....	108
3.3.2.	The TMF's Activities for the 2017 Academic Year.....	112
3.3.3.	The TMF's Activities for the 2018 Academic Year.....	115
3.3.4.	The TMF's Activities for the 2019 Academic Year.....	119
3.3.5.	The TMF's Activities for the 2020 Academic Year.....	123
3.3.6.	The TMF's Activities for the 2021 Academic Year.....	128
3.4.	Other Activities of the TMF.....	130
3.5.	World's Most Successful Public Diplomacy Practitioner: British Council.....	133
3.5.1.	The British Council in terms of Public Diplomacy.....	140
CHAPTER IV		144
4.	TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION.....	144
5.	CONCLUSION.....	154

REFERENCES.....	161
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INTRODUCTION

Soft power and public diplomacy are two terms which are rising stars of the international relations in the 21st century. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, balance of power and meaning of power also has transformed. All states have been realizing that soft power is more useful and cheap than hard power after the Cold War. What is more, public diplomacy emerged as a tool of foreign policy even if it was used in different meaning and as a tool of propaganda during the Cold War. States shaped their foreign policy, established new institutions and transformed some of their institutions in order to adapt new environment of international relations.

In the new environment of international relations, although hard power preserves its importance, soft power and public diplomacy pull the wires against hard power. This situation has three reasons. The first reason is that hard power is not tool that it is easily used by states in the 21st century. There are serious sanctions and interventions which might be implemented to United Nations, international organizations and other states if any state uses hard power to convince anyone. The second reason is that using hard power costs too much money for states and using hard power continuously is not sustainable for any states even if this state was the most powerful state in the international arena. Plus, state may not get result from hard power because there is a possibility to rebound of hard power. Lastly, implementation of soft power and public diplomacy may be realized for every states in the 21st century. There are many tools in order to explain itself and reach foreign public in the international arena.

Turkey is one of the countries which try to use soft power and public diplomacy in the international relations. As a result of this decision, Turkey transformed its existing institutions like TRT, Anadolu Agency and TİKA. What is more, Turkey established many new institutions to enhance its soft power and implement public diplomacy over foreign publics. Turkey also has been changing dimensions of its foreign policy in order to adapt newly emerged situations on the international relations. According to new perspective, Turkey attaches too much importance to soft power and public diplomacy policies in the foreign policy.

This thesis aims to explain activities of Turkish Maarif Foundation as a tool of public diplomacy. Although there are many other institutions as a tool of Turkish foreign policy in order to implement public diplomacy over foreign publics, Turkish Maarif Foundation was pioneer institutions for exchange and cultural diplomacy. In this perspective, case study method has used in this dissertation as a main research method. This is why, case study provides to reach too many detail in our research. Plus, case study provides insight for further researches about public diplomacy and Turkish foreign policy.

In the first chapter, theories of dissertation which are soft power and public diplomacy will be examined in detail. Sources of soft power, public diplomacy models and dimensions of public diplomacy will be explained. Public diplomacy models, sources of soft power and dimensions of public diplomacy will also be used in the analysis chapter.

In the second chapter, Turkish foreign policy in the 21st century will be examined in detail. In the first part of this chapter main dynamics of Turkish foreign policy will be

explained and the second part of this chapter transformation of Turkish foreign policy also will be elucidated. Then, roles of soft power and public diplomacy in the Turkish foreign policy will be analyzed. At the end of this chapter, institutions conducting Turkish foreign policy will be expounded.

In the third chapter, Turkish Maarif Foundation will be examined in detail. Roles and activities of Turkish Maarif Foundation will be explained. What is more, British Council which is the most successful implementer of public diplomacy and equivalent institution of Turkish Maarif Foundation will also be analyzed.

In the last chapter, Turkish Foreign Policy within the framework of public diplomacy and the Turkish Maarif Foundation will be analyzed.

CHAPTER I

1. SOFT POWER AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Both concepts of soft power and public diplomacy are products of the post-Cold War era. The first indications of these two concepts started to be seen in the 1980s when the Cold War was close to end, and in the 1990s, scholars started to formally discuss the concepts. In the 21st century, the concepts became indispensable elements of countries and their foreign policies.

With the emergence and use of these two concepts, states began to shape their foreign policies to make their values attractive to foreign countries and promote themselves to other countries. For this purpose, they established various institutions and tried to make a good impact on societies of other countries through these institutions.

These concepts were further valued because of the cost of hard power and the negative impact it left on other states, as well as the fact that it could not be easily used after the Cold War under the influence of the United Nations. In the 21st century, globalization has spread to the entire world and this has led states and societies to be able to easily follow state actions. With the effect of this development, states have made soft power and public diplomacy important components of their foreign policy.

1.1. Soft Power

Soft power can most basically be defined as an actor's capacity to convince other actors to support the initial actor's efforts to fulfill their wishes (Nye, 2004, p. x). If a state can make its values, assets or political values attractive to other states in the field of international relations, it will be followed, imitated, and taken as role model by other states. Thus, its policies will be followed and supported by other states.

Joseph S. Nye used the concept of soft power for the first time in his book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, at the end of the Cold War. In the period when the Cold War was close to end, states and their decision-makers still believed that soft power was very utopic and distant since they attributed great importance to the elements of hard power. Nye expanded this concept in 2004 and analyzed it in detail in the context of the US.

In fact, many intellectuals discussed and presented their foresights during the 1990s regarding how the US would be a hegemonic power as the absolute victor of the Cold War and what its reward would be in the new world order. Prominent intellectuals of the period, including Francis Fukuyama, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel Huntington, developed new approaches about how the world politics and international relations would shape in the post-Cold War era.

Among these approaches, the most striking belongs to Joseph Nye. In his book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, published in 2004, he pointed out to soft power as the only valid means for the US to maintain and consolidate its hegemonic position in international relations and world politics.

Nye defined soft power as convincing counter actors by attraction rather than coercing them to choose one option over the other through military and economic power, which are the core elements of hard power (Nye, 2004, p. x). Nye manifested a country's culture, policies and political ideals as the sources of soft power (Nye, 2004, p. 11). The main purpose of soft power is to use these sources to attract other states and societies and make sure that the given country is referred to as a center of attraction. Countries that turn into a center of attraction by using soft power instruments can convince foreign states and societies without the use of hard power.

Nye also attached great importance to knowledge. He underlined that three types of countries can gain power in the information age (Nye, 2002, p. 69). Firstly, if a country's dominant culture is fit and close to international norms, this country will gain power in the globalizing world of the 21st century's information age (Nye, 2002, p. 69). Secondly, he acknowledged that countries that have access to multiple communication channels and direct topics through these channels, will gain power (Nye, 2002, p. 69). Finally, he stated that countries with high credibility at home and in the international area will gain strength (Nye, 2002, p. 69).

To explain the issues that Nye focuses on, it can be stated that the countries that can protect the values and culture accepted and agreed upon by many of the societies living in the world as dominant values and cultures will be accepted by foreign societies and countries. When they need support in decision-making processes in international relations, these countries will be able to find support using the universality of their culture. Secondly, communication means are quite developed in the 21st century compared to the previous century. In the 20th century, societies communicated only by

means of mail, telephone, telegraph and could be aware of the world through traditional media. However, they can now stay in touch with the world at any time thanks to the developing internet network, smartphones, smartphone applications and social media. Back in the 20th century, print newspapers and evening news were the two most important sources for people to get information, and today, people can access information anywhere at any time thanks to their mobile phones. Countries that can manage these communication channels and make their presence, share their opinions and values to the world become a center of attraction. Thanks to the US companies that own the social media tools used today, information is conveyed after passing through the desired filters and new topics can be shaped according to certain filters too. In the 21st century, the development of communication channels has brought another point to the forefront: Transparency and accountability. When these two concepts are applied at the same time, they give credibility to countries. In the 21st century, when mass media is so prevalent, security has become of great importance for people. Countries with high security level are becoming attraction centers. Also in the 21st century, when the importance of the individual increases and societies attach more importance to the concepts of pluralism rather than majoritarianism, the credibility of countries and governments has also gained great importance. The way countries treat their own citizens, the ability of their citizens to live within the framework of universal values in their countries can be an example to other countries that will make that country a center of attraction. This increases the credibility of the countries and contributes to their soft power.

The above-mentioned situations are elements that will directly affect the soft power of a country. Perceptions of states by foreign countries and their attraction are directly proportional to their existing and potential soft power. In an environment where it takes only seconds for all the policies implemented by states in the information age to be heard by a society living in a country on the other side of the world, it is important for states to attach importance to values, culture, behaviors and policies that will only feed their soft power. While the necessity of diversifying foreign policy tools is obvious, states can use soft power to achieve their interests without dealing with the economic problems created by hard power.

1.1.1. Sources of Soft Power

Every power has sources that feed itself. These sources can increase power when used correctly or cause power to decrease when used incorrectly. Some of the sources of power are more effective on the increase of hard power, while others are effective in the increase of soft power. According to Nye, who brought the concept of soft power to the literature of international relations, the sources of soft power are culture, political values and foreign policy (Nye, 2004, p. 11).

In order to use soft power, states must be able to use the sources in question effectively and attract foreign communities thanks to these sources. In other words, a country's culture can serve as a source of soft power when it can attract other countries. Likewise, political values of a country can be the source of soft power if they allow acting in the same way both at home and abroad and are shaped within the framework

of universal values. Finally, if a country's foreign policy is legitimate and based on a moral authority, it can be the source of soft power(Vural, 2018, p. 459).

In addition to Joseph Nye, it is also essential to evaluate the sources of soft power propounded by Geun Lee. According to Lee, education, country image and symbols can be added to soft power sources (Lee, 2010, p. 3). Furthermore, Lee suggests that countries with a strong education system, housing many foreign students in their country and even disseminating education to foreign countries thanks to their institutions also have soft power(Lee, 2009, p. 211). Ellison Mashiko and Horie Miki also consider education an important source of soft power. According to this approach, students studying in knowledge producing centers develop a kind of educational and knowledge-based citizenship motive. Students who study with this approach and motivation carry this motivation throughout their lives. In this case, it contributes greatly to the soft power of the country providing the education. Exchange programs established on this occasion also mediate the construction of soft power(Mashiko & Miki, 2008, pp. 75-76).

As a result, when the ideas of the authors contributing to the literature on the sources of soft power are combined, it can be uttered that the sources of soft power include education, image, culture, foreign policy and political values.

1.1.1.1. Culture

Culture can be most basically defined as all of the values that a country has adopted, embraced and developed since its emergence. Edward Taylor, who first defined culture and elaborated on the concept in its broader scope, said the following to draw the lines of culture: Culture is all the knowledge that contains faith, art, laws, ethics,

traditions and other abilities and habits owned by every individual in society (Culture and Cognitive Science, 2011).

Culture is one of the common concepts considered the sources of soft power. However, culture only serves as a means of soft power to the extent that it is adopted by the societies of other countries (Nye, 2004, p. 11). If a country's culture contains universal values and its policies glorify these values, then the acceptance rate of the culture of this country by the societies of other countries will increase. This increase will also create a desirable attraction to the societies of other countries in the world.

Narrow or primitive cultures often fail to produce soft power. The main reason for this is that these cultures do not truly contain universal values and will never be adopted by a large part of societies in other countries of the world. For this reason, the culture of each country is not suitable for creating sources of soft power.

Looking at history, it can be seen that the countries that have a strong military and economy also dominate the world culturally. All communities that have been hegemonical forces in the world, such as the Roman Empire, the United Kingdom and the United States, have also become an important attraction with their culture. Today, the soft power of the United States is the result of the acceptance and adoption of its culture by many communities of the world.

Nye divides culture into two as high and popular culture. High culture is formed after a certain accumulation that includes branches such as art, literature and education. Popular culture, on the other hand, is based on rapid consumption and is non-permanent and therefore, it needs continuous production. Today, many contents from motion

pictures to social media stand out as products of popular culture(Karaduman, 2017, p. 10).

Although culture is broadly as described above, popular culture that has emerged in the 21st century is also considered by some authors a source of soft power as it is a part of culture(Norris, 2010, p. 1). While popular culture is not a tool used directly by governments or states to increase soft power, it can basically be a soft power tool if it can create an appeal on other societies. In this sense, it is necessary to look at how popular cultural products of a country are adopted by citizens of other countries and how much attraction they create for foreign citizens.

One of the world's largest producers in the film industry and holding a large part of the market, Hollywood regularly produces popular culture. Accordingly, some of the Hollywood films promise a good neoliberal cosmopolitan world citizenship for the Muslim world(Rowley & Weldes, 2003, p. 3). This promise also suggests young people and citizens who want to get a better life to continue their lives in a culture they look up to and see as attractive. This makes Hollywood-produced popular culture a source of soft power.

However, there are also opinions that do not really accept popular culture as an element of soft power. In this context, Niall Ferguson expressed the idea that the Islamic geography consumes Coke, Big Macs, or listens to Britney Spears' songs or watches Tom Cruise films, yet this popularity does not make a difference in the way people in these countries approach the United States(Ferguson, 2009).

When discussing whether popular culture is one of the sources of soft power, the importance of popular culture for new generations should be noted. Today, sports competitions, which are also the product of popular culture, are watched by many countries around the world via the Internet. The 2020 Final of American Football, has reached 102 million spectators worldwide although it is not a popular enough sport in the world (Herbert, 2020, pp. 19-21).

Consequently, both high culture and popular culture are sources of soft power. Every culture that can have an impact on other societies in the world and can be an element of attraction naturally contributes to soft power.

1.1.1.2. Political Values

The globalized world has led societies to follow the values that other societies have and therefore, demand the good aspects of these values for their own societies. The countries that uphold the values universally accepted by humanity and include them within their own political values are followed by foreign societies and countries and are seen as attractive and exemplary countries. This is reflected as a source of the soft power of countries (Nye, 2004, p. 13).

If countries have universally accepted political values or if they shape their political values according to universal values, this can increase the political power of them, while the lack of universal values will strike a major blow to the soft power of countries (Nye, 2004, p. 13).

Although the first values that come to mind when it comes to political values today are human rights, democracy, living under the umbrella of the rule of law, the third

and fourth generation rights that emerged and developed over time are now accepted within the political values. In particular, the fourth generation rights that emerged together with the concept of sustainable living, which was first used at the United Nations meeting in Rio in 1992, are now the rights demanded by societies from governments and cannot be ignored by governments (UN A/CONF.151/26, 1992, p. 2).

As these values are applied in domestic politics, communication channels in the globalized world are also reciprocated in the eyes of other societies over the Internet. The implementation of universal political values also provides a source of soft power, as well as legitimacy for the states that implement them. Thus, states can make requests to the governments of other states in line with the demands of societies of those countries.

In addition to countries' political values, importance has been attributed to other values as well. More specifically, values such as reducing poverty, increasing life expectancy and living standards, providing education, health and social tolerance have also become important for societies (WVS WAVE 7, 2020). These values, which have long been measured by the World Value Survey, have also become values that societies think should be of high standards in their own countries. Hence, countries that attach importance to these values as well as political values become attractions in the eyes of foreign societies and increase their soft power.

1.1.1.3. Education

Joseph Nye referred to education and culture in conjunction in his study where he introduced the concept of soft power. According to Nye, education is part of the high culture and is a sub-branch of one of the sources of the soft power of countries.

Moreover, in the 21st century, education policies of countries began to become a source of soft power in their own right due to the opening of schools and centers in foreign countries and the increase of foreign student mobility(Nye, 2004, p. 13).

When considering whether education is a soft power for the United States, it will be enough to look at their figures. In 1990, when the concept of soft power emerged, the number of foreign students in the United States increased from 407,529 to 1,075,299 in the 2019-2020 academic year(Open Doors Data, 2020). The United States has become a world-wide attractioncenter in the field of education and has become a preferred country for international students. clearly shows how important education is today as a source of soft power.

However, only developed countries have been able to integrate innovative, high-tech training equipment into their education systems considering today's changing and developing technology (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 10). In order to take advantage of these opportunities, students in foreign societies try to emigrate to these countries and study there, and even to become citizens of these countries. This is a clear proof of the charm of the soft power created.

Foreign students are able to achieve success as a result of scientific and cultural activities in the country they visit for education, and at the same time they probably want to continue their lives in that country by learning their language. Likewise, countries provide many opportunities for successful students from residence permits to citizenship and job opportunities. This also contributes to the soft power of the country through education (Amirbek & Ydyrys, 2014, p. 515).

One of the main reasons why education is considered a source of soft power is that education is accepted as a universal value by societies in the 21st century. With the acceptance of education by societies as a universal value, education has become a source of soft power regardless of the culture of any given country (Blanchard & Lu, 2012, p. 569). After education gained importance as a source of soft power, societies have begun to accept the assumption that the economic wealth of countries is based on high level of education (Wojciuk, Michałek, & Stormowska, 2015, p. 300).

1.1.1.4. Foreign Policy

Another source of soft power is foreign policy. Nye prioritizes the principle of legitimacy in determining foreign policy as a source of soft power. In this regard, a country's foreign policy can only be one of the sources of soft power if it is deemed legitimate and accepted by other countries. If states are prone to cooperation in disputes and conflicts, see the use of hard power as a last resort and do not close diplomatic channels, this will ensure that their foreign policy is referred to as one of the sources of soft power (Nye, 2004, p. 13).

One of the most important international decisions that allowed foreign policy to strengthen its position as a source of soft power was the Millennium Development Goals. Accordingly, the development assistance provided by developed and developing countries for underdeveloped countries as part of their foreign policies and building institutions have also increased the soft power of these countries. Thanks to institutions built as instruments of foreign policy, states provide various training programs, development assistance, law enforcement trainings, construct health buildings such as

hospitals and community clinics and offer medical equipment for underdeveloped or developing countries. Thanks to these aids, the countries receiving assistance can both partially ensure their economic development and improve the quality of life of their citizens to some extent. In the same vein, aids strengthen donor countries' influence and reputation on aid recipients (Moore, 2018).

Another precondition for foreign policy to be a source of soft power is that the use of force by countries should not be within the legitimacy boundaries. Moreover, force should not be used unilaterally without convincing the international community. Thus, all foreign policy moves based solely on elements of hard power to realize state interests, ignoring the rights provided by international law, also reduce soft power. In order for states to use foreign policy as soft power, they must use the elements of hard power very carefully only within the legitimacy limits provided by international law (Nye, 2010, p. 7).

1.2. Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy was a concept used during and after the Cold War as a component of soft power. During the Cold War, it was used to influence, penetrate and, in its simplest definition, to introduce a country to foreign societies.

Using public diplomacy during the Cold War, the United States both benefited from publications and had the chance to promote its culture firsthand by accepting exchange programs and foreign students in order to promote the country's attractive points, achievements and culture all over the world. Today, changing and developing public diplomacy has become a foreign policy tool that academic scholars

have studied within the framework of the Cold War. In addition, foreign policy has been used by states in diverse sub-branches.

The concept of public diplomacy emerged in the United States and was used to promote the free market economy and free trade ideals of the United States to the world, to gather supporters and to generate sympathy. Likewise, the United States used the advantage of having an advanced education system and attracted the children of elites of other countries. Thanks to scholarship and student exchange programs, the brightest young people from foreign countries benefited from the US education system.

To see the first examples of public diplomacy implemented by the United States, it is necessary to look at the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948 and, more specifically, the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961. The purpose of these two laws is stated by the United States as to increase mutual understanding between foreign nationals and US citizens (Snow, 1997).

With the International Broadcasting Act issued in 1994, it was decided to establish publications under the United States Information Agency. With this law, Voice of America, Radio and TV Marti¹, WorldNet television, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Asia continued to broadcast under USIA. Until the 1990s, the main argument for publications and USIA activities by the US Congress was “to win the battle of men’s minds” (United States Congress House Committee on Foreign Affairs (1789-1975), 1963, p. 611).

¹ Radio Marti began broadcasting in 1985, targeting Cuba and broadcasting from the coast of Florida.

In 1993, Anthony Lake, a former US security adviser, again narrowly used public diplomacy to describe the strategy of the encirclement doctrine as the growth of communities that believe in a free market economy (Lake, 1993). Again in 1993, the economy became central to US foreign policy with the effect of the Clinton Doctrine (Brinkley, 1997, p. 111). Thus, the main purpose of the USIA, which had been continuing to carry out public diplomacy activities in a narrow sense, was updated as telling the story of America to the world (United States Information Agency, 1974, p. 16).

In historical terms, the USIA has been the institution that laid the foundations of public diplomacy and formed its past. With the importance of the concept of soft power in the 21st century, the development of mass media with globalization, and the introduction of the Internet, which allows citizens of the world to have quick access to information about the events in other countries, the concept of public diplomacy has gained a new meaning and characterization by getting rid of the narrow scope of USIA limited to propaganda purposes only.

US diplomat Edmund Gullion defined public diplomacy for the first time in the mid-1960s. The purpose of public diplomacy at the time was to transmit government-related information overseas, in other words, to spread propaganda (USCCPD, 2021). According to Gullion, public diplomacy is directly related to the attitude of the peoples affected by this policy during and after the foreign policy-making process of a country. Gullion identified public diplomacy as creating public opinion and support in foreign countries in favor of one's own country, establishing intercultural communication in societies, and developing relations with private or state institutions in other countries (Cull, 2006).

When the concept of public diplomacy emerged in the United States after World War II, the main purpose was to introduce US culture and basic ideals to the world and to use press tools and education to that end. However, this situation began to change towards the end of the Cold War. Increasing number of students and advanced technology help societies to learn quickly about other countries. Thanks to the age of communication that began in the 21st century, it has been easier to access data and thus, public diplomacy has been used for governments to develop positive relations with the societies of other countries (Roberts, 2007, p. 36).

Public diplomacy, which emerged at the end of World War II, has undergone sharp transformations twice. The first of these transformations is the end of the Cold War and the introduction of the concept of soft power into the literature of international relations and the foreign policies of states. At this point, public diplomacy has ceased to be purely for cultural interaction and propaganda purposes and has been replaced by the aim of establishing relations with foreign societies and the developing communication. At this stage, the most important concept for public diplomacy has become transparency. One of the most important success factors for public diplomacy is to ensure that states do not have any secret agenda under their efforts to establish communications and positive relations, and not communicating with other societies only for their interests (Seib, 2009, p. 784).

The second transformation in public diplomacy took place after the 9/11 attacks. During the Cold War, states only perceived threats from other states. In other words, the only element that could threaten the security of a state was another state. This situation was largely balanced and resolved by the alliances of countries. In contrast, with the end

of the Cold War, states began to perceive threats not only from other states but also from micro-structures such as terrorist organizations. Since threats from such organizations cannot be addressed by establishing state alliances to use the deterrence element, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy have begun to gain importance. The war against terrorism and efforts to prevent the support of terror acts have rapidly increased the importance given to the concept of public diplomacy and have enabled the foreign policies of states to diversify in this area(Plaisance, 2005, p. 253; Zhang, 2007, p. 31).

Public diplomacy has not been clearly defined due to the fact that it has been subjected to two sharp transformations in a short period of time and appealed to more abstract areas such as communication, image, culture, norms and traditions in international relations. Yet, it can be stated that all definitions of public diplomacy include elements of image, culture and communication.

There is a lot of reference to the image of a country in the definitions of public diplomacy after the first transformation of the concept in the post-Cold War era. Philip M. Taylor described it as an effort for countries to advertise their country for public diplomacy and to build an image for foreign societies(Taylor, 1997, p. 79).

With the emergence of the concept of image for countries in the post-Cold War international relations environment, governments began to design foreign policies to raise the image of their countries. The main purpose of this was to raise the image of countries in the eyes of foreign societies and to create sympathy(Snow Jr., 2008, p. 191).

Public diplomacy appeals to the public and therefore the international public opinion. However, it is also aimed most at the people who direct public opinion,

intellectuals, opinion leaders and those who are attributed importance in society. In other words, public diplomacy is a government's attempt to influence the people of other countries, but also those with the power to form public opinion (Potter, 2003, p. 44).

The must-have characteristic of public diplomacy is to create a real public opinion. It is also possible for a government to create public opinion by disseminating accurate information. In this respect, public diplomacy also means disseminating accurate information to create public opinion in foreign countries and to achieve the interests of a given state (Riggins, 1998, p. 4). This feature of public diplomacy was actually created thanks to its post-Cold War transformation. Public diplomacy that emerged after World War II and was practiced during the Cold War was actually a form of propaganda. In contrast, public diplomacy today has to contain accurate information due to increasing communication and the diversification of communication tools. As a matter of fact, it takes a few minutes to confirm the accuracy of a story or information provided by governments that is spreading in any part of the world. For this reason, now people attach importance to the accuracy of information in public diplomacy.

One of the most important concepts in public diplomacy is stated to be communication. When public diplomacy is defined from the perspective of communication, it is a process where a government introduces its country's culture, leading opinions, ideals, foreign policy and national targets to other countries (Tuch, 1990, p. 3).

Communication in the field of public diplomacy does not only mean that one country tells the other about its culture, thoughts and ideals. It is also necessary to understand the culture, red lines, history, values and norms of the target country.

Successful public diplomacy is a strategy of communication that is carried out only after these elements are understood (Malone, 1988, p. 12).

In light of the above references, public diplomacy can most basically be defined as the process of conveying a country's culture, attractions and thoughts to other countries through various methods and communicating with foreign societies.

1.2.1. Dimensions of Public Diplomacy

Joseph Nye, the founder of the concept of soft power, also emphasized that public diplomacy actually has an intricate relationship with soft power. Nye cited soft power as influencing rather than forcing, or persuading other actors by using an element of attraction. Indeed, he also uttered that public diplomacy is to increase the soft power of a country (Nye, 2008, p. 94).

The difference between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy is that public diplomacy is aimed to appeal directly to the society of another country. The impact of public diplomacy on society takes place hierarchically in four steps (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9):

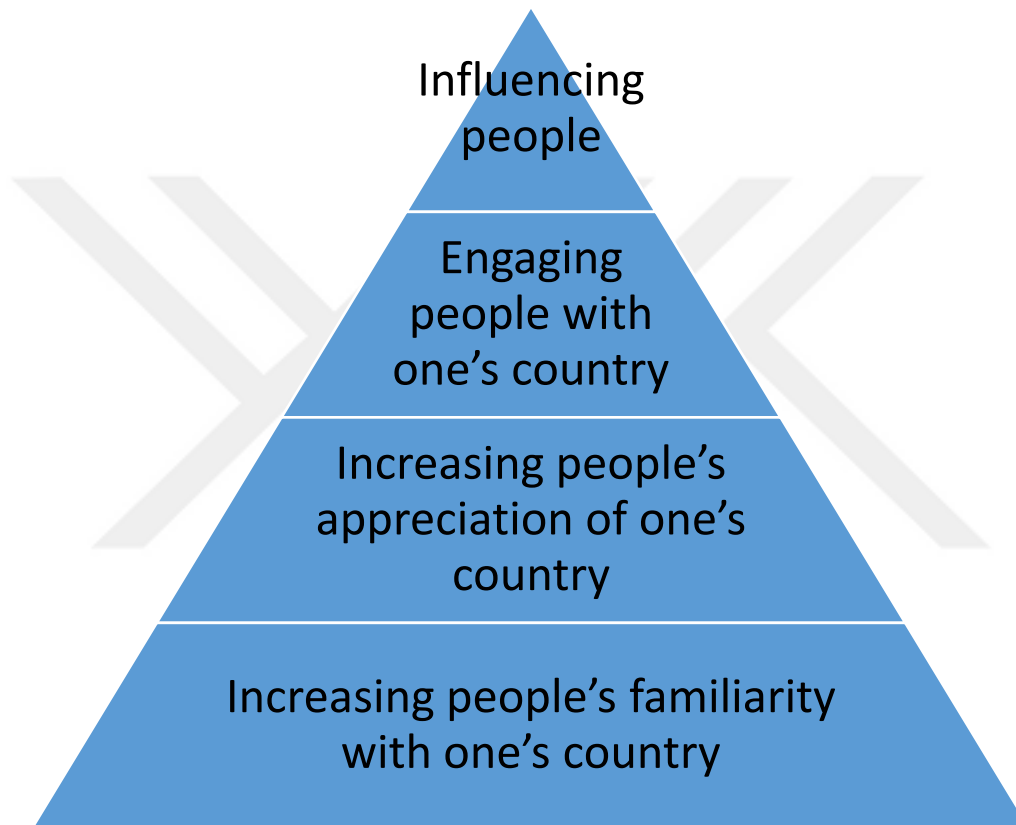
- The first step is to increase the familiarity of foreign country societies with the country. When foreign societies know the country, they will disregard hearsays and the country's image can be regularly updated (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9).
- The second step is to increase foreign societies' appreciation and gratitude. To actualize this, there is a need to create positive

perceptions and share similar opinions and approaches about global issues in international relations (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9).

- The third step is to increase the country's attraction for foreign societies and to strengthen the bonds. To achieve this, it is necessary to strengthen ties, cooperate in many areas, encourage foreign nationals to visit attractive points in this country as tourists, encourage foreign students to come to the country for education and to export domestic goods (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9).
- The final step is to influence the societies of foreign countries. With this latest step, foreign persons will invest in the country and foreign societies will support that country's policies (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 10).

Public diplomacy can be implemented by hierarchically following these four steps. Since it is very difficult to move from one step to another, states need to follow these steps hierarchically.

Figure 1: Hierarchy of Steps to Follow for a Successful Public Diplomacy

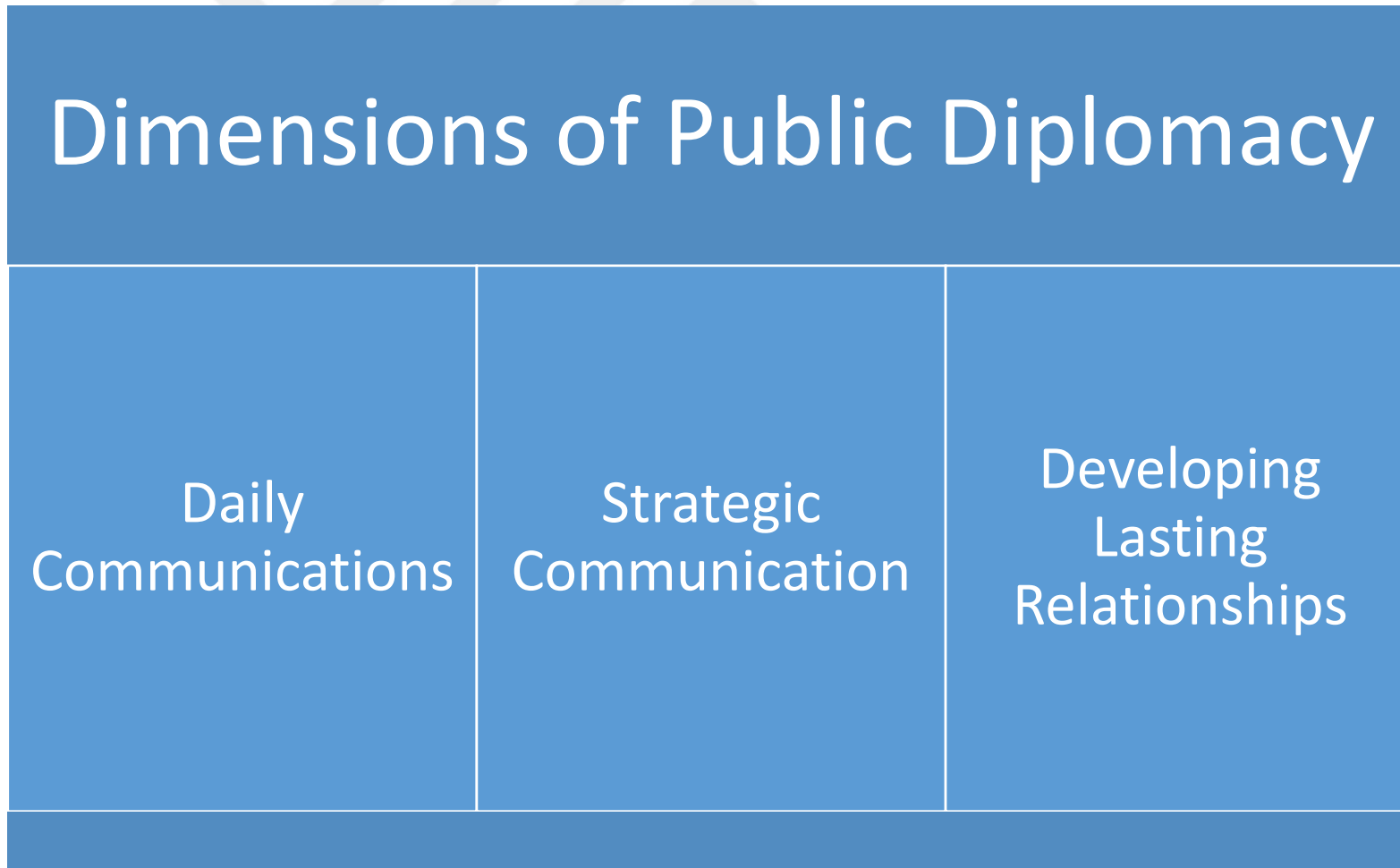


In this context, public diplomacy has three pillars (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, pp. 10-11; Nye, 2008, p. 101). These three pillars form the basis of the implementation of public diplomacy. The first pillar of public diplomacy is daily communication. Daily communication involves the disclosure of a country's local and foreign policies. In this pillar, local and foreign press are of great importance. Although foreign press is usually more important than local press, it still bears major impact. Nevertheless, news should be made with foreign societies in mind and foreign

societies should never be offended in the news. Since local news are important in reflecting the domestic state of a country since they might impact the government's steps at home and its image abroad (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 10; Nye, 2008, p. 101).



Figure 2: Dimensions of Public Diplomacy



The dimension of daily communication requires the follow-up of local and foreign media. In this context, daily communication involves refuting or correcting news that could damage the image of the country, responding to negative claims about the country without wasting time and providing an explanation (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 10; Nye, 2008, p. 101).

The second dimension of public diplomacy is strategic communication created in accordance with a specific concept. This method is implemented by focusing on a pre-planned and prepared topic, and the basic aim is to create a brand for the given country or build integrity for political activity(s) of the government. Consistent messages are important in increasing memorability and attraction. In this line, it is one of the cornerstones of strategic communication to repeat consistent messages or show the brand to highlight in many various channels (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 11; Nye, 2008, p. 102).

Another issue that should be considered in the construction of this pillar is that the information provided from various sources must be compatible with each other. If information provided by different sources is inconsistent and refuting each other, or even contradicts, then this will harm the strategic communication pillar and thus, public diplomacy practices. Therefore, consistent messages are as important as regular repetition of these messages via different channels (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 11; Nye, 2008, p. 102).

The third dimension of public diplomacy is developing lasting relationships. Although there are numerous methods to create such bonds, the most well-known method that has been used for many years is education programs. In this regard,

students can visit other countries thanks to scholarships for foreign students and exchange programs. They can learn about the receiving country's culture. Hence, scholarships and exchange programs for students are the two most important factors contributing to the build-up of lasting relationships between countries. Both students who visit a country by the exchange program and those who receive education in a foreign country via scholarships familiarize with the country's culture, traditions, norms and structure before they return to their homeland. The attraction of these elements helps lay the foundation for long-term relations between countries. In addition to these, international internship programs, international conferences and trainings that countries organize or participate also contribute to building lasting relations among nations. Thanks to these components, countries can take action to promote their country and show their attractions to foreign citizens visiting their country even though for a short time (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 11; Nye, 2008, p. 102).

Foreign nationals who receive education, intern or participate in various congresses and conferences in a country come to key positions in their home country and this further develops relations between the two countries thanks to long-term communication activities. At the same time, these relations can be supported by promotion through the media, while opportunities such as education scholarship also increase the interest of next generations in that country (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 11; Nye, 2008, p. 102).

All three pillars of public diplomacy are of great importance for building a good image of a country in front of foreign societies. In order for public diplomacy to be implemented as a real strategy and to benefit the country, governments or related authorities must apply all three pillars with equal importance. The implementation of these

three pillars is also important for the support of the country's aspirations in the short, medium and long term by foreign societies.

One of the most important considerations during implementing the three pillars and determining public diplomacy is that the related strategies and policies should not serve only the interests of that country. Indeed, such an approach would mean unilateral gains and offend foreign societies. This would reduce the existing level of soft power rather than producing soft power for that country (Nye, 2008, pp. 102-103). On the other hand, the best way to create soft power is to be more tolerant towards counter actors in the short-term and be willing for cooperation. This also includes expecting a long-term gain based on the win-win strategy. In case opportunities offered to foreign societies are not supported by these countries' government interests, showing reactions in the short-term and withdrawing the opportunities would reduce soft power while also greatly damaging public diplomacy.

On the other hand, effective public diplomacy does not only mean communicating. In addition to communication, countries implementing public diplomacy are also required to listen to foreign societies and governments. In other words, public diplomacy involves mutual interaction. Without an understanding of the culture, values, norms, traditions and beliefs of the country in question, it is almost impossible to succeed in public diplomacy and therefore increase soft power (Nye, 2008, p. 103).

Hence, education programs, scholarships and student exchange programs give better results than promotions in other countries. Soft power grows even faster in environments where there is mutual interaction and the two countries and their societies understand each other. Since the simplest definition of soft power is that other actors

want and support what their country wants in the international area, for this to happen, mutual interaction and understanding must be formed in absolute form (Nye, 2008, p. 103).

Unilateral communication established without an understanding of the other actor's culture, values, norms and beliefs causes problems in public diplomacy, since this would mean leading communication only according to that country's judgements. In this regard, each information conveyed to foreign societies is filtered according to the first country's culture, values, norms and beliefs and messages that cannot pass through this filter or are not understood are either ignored or, worse, misunderstood. In this case, soft power either does not increase or decreases further (Nye, 2008, p. 103).

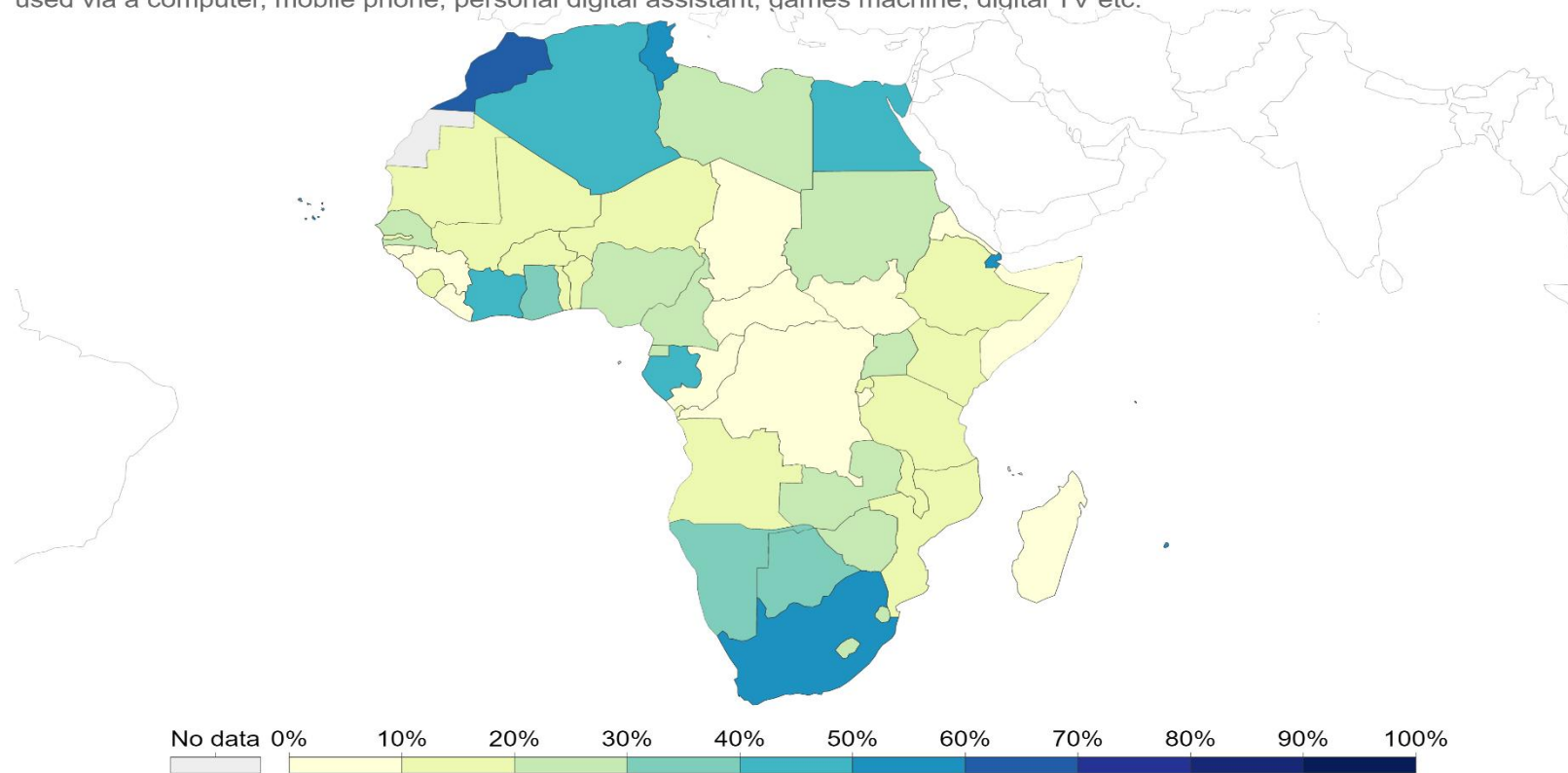
Another important factor when implementing the different dimensions of public diplomacy is the message and whether that message reaches every segment of foreign societies (Nye, 2008, p. 104). It is necessary to take into account the opportunities of the foreign society when trying to deliver a message to every part of society. For example, trying to deliver a message to African countries only via the Internet means that the message will not reach a large part of the target audience. As shown in Figure 2, the percentage of society accessing the Internet in many African countries is below 30% (Roser, Ritchie, & Ortiz-Ospina, 2017). Thus, all messages delivered to the African continent via the Internet will, at best, reach less than a third of society. This clearly shows that giving messages in the right way is also important for effective implementation of public diplomacy.

Figure 3: Share of Population Using the Internet

Share of the population using the Internet, 2017

All individuals who have used the Internet in the last 3 months are counted as Internet users. The Internet can be used via a computer, mobile phone, personal digital assistant, games machine, digital TV etc.

Our World
in Data



Source: World Bank

OurWorldInData.org/technology-adoption/ • CC BY

(Roser, Ritchie, & Ortiz-Ospina, 2017)

In the international relations environment formed after the Cold War, new actors began to gain importance. During the Cold War, international relations based on security provided an indestructible and irresistible hegemony to the realist doctrine. However, with the end of the Cold War, non-governmental actors and international organizations began to actively take roles in international relations. In this sense, soft-power enhancing policies and public diplomacy were no longer moves of only governments. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and autonomous government institutions began to take their place in international relations in the 1990s, and they strengthened their position to a great extent in the 21st century.

In cases where governments cannot reconcile or there are inter-governmental disputes, NGOs or autonomous government agencies may conduct public diplomacy activities. NGOs that have gained the trust of the community as a result of their activities in response to the reactions that arise in societies due to various problems between two countries can be successful actors in conducting public diplomacy activities. This method, also called indirect public diplomacy, has been used since NGOs began to gain importance in international relations (Nye, 2008, p. 105).

A branch of indirect public diplomacy is conducted by private companies. In the 21st century, when capital has become international, all countries, from the most developed to the least developed countries, want to attract foreign investors². This allows countries to invite and welcome investors regardless of which country they are from. In an environment where companies investing in one country are welcome by its governments as well as foreign societies, these companies can carry out various activities to increase

²Except for countries such as North Korea that close themselves to the outside world or keep limited communication with the world.

the soft power of their countries. The first of these activities is to learn the geographical and demographic priorities of companies in the given country (Reinhard, 2003). In this way, the country's public diplomacy strategy will be clearer. Secondly, these companies will have the opportunity to have a better understanding of the country's priorities and needs (Reinhard, 2003). To illustrate, Turkish companies investing in the Balkans have found that educational and medical facilities are needed there. Upon this finding, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), the Yunus Emre Institute (YEE) and the Maarif Foundation of Turkey (TMV) have taken steps to renovate educational and medical facilities and build new ones in the region. Finally, these organizations have been able to establish and strengthen ties between governments and societies. Thus, communication and mutual understanding between two countries develops (Reinhard, 2003).

However, the presence of hard power can sometimes be useful for increasing soft power. Law enforcement and military forces of new states that emerged after the Cold War were required to receive training on modern warfare. Countries with high level of hard power considered this an opportunity to increase soft power and organized various trainings and promoted them to foreign societies through various media tools and joint military drills. In this context, training programs organized by countries that have a high level of hard power both increased the soft power of the country and affected the behaviors of countries receiving that training (Nye, 2008, p. 106).

1.2.2. Public Diplomacy Models

Public diplomacy is still quite dynamic and variable, as there has not been an agreement on its definition and by all intellectuals and covers multiple areas such as international relations, public relations, strategy studies and communication. For this reason, there are more or less differences between the definition of public diplomacy of academics working in the field of communication and those working in other fields.

The concepts of public diplomacy, new diplomacy and media diplomacy stand out as concepts that arise in these areas and need to be distinguished from each other. Although different people studying in this field may attribute different meanings to these concepts, it is quite clear that the concept of public diplomacy should be separated from others.

In this context, Rawnsley is one of the scholars who first attempted to distinguish the concept of media diplomacy from public diplomacy according to their target audience. Rawnsley argued that decision-makers should first address foreign societies through media and then they should appeal to government officials (Rawnsley, 1995). Another academic studying public diplomacy, Eytan Gilboa, on the other hand, distinguished the concepts of media diplomacy, media-broker diplomacy and public diplomacy from each other. According to Gilboa, media-broker diplomacy means that journalists temporarily assume the roles of diplomats and act as mediators in international negotiations. On the other hand, media diplomacy means that government officials investigate dispute resolution methods and negotiations using the media, as well as seeking ways to increase common interests. Public diplomacy, on the other hand, means that state and non-state actors use the media to communicate with foreign societies (Gilboa, 2008, p. 58).

Geoffrey Cowan and Amelia Arsenault approached public diplomacy from the perspective of monologue, dialogue and collaboration and stated these are the three layers of public diplomacy (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 11). Cowan and Arsenault argued that all three layers had different areas and situations that address public diplomacy. Thus, with this approach, Cowan and Arsenault laid out a different model of public diplomacy consisting of several layers.

Another scholar who set a different model in the field of public diplomacy is John Robert Kelly. Kelly studied public diplomacy through three separate approaches. These approaches are identified as information, influence and engagement (Kelly, 2009, p. 73). Kelly based his model on two different sub-models, the advocacy and advisory model, explaining the differences in approaches under these models (Kelly, 2009, pp. 79-80).

Rhonda S. Zaharna, on the other hand, analyzed public diplomacy under two different models as Information Communication Frameworks and Relational Communication Frameworks (Zaharna, 2009, pp. 86-87). Zaharna modeled public diplomacy by analyzing political ambitions.

Propounding important definitions and categorizations in the field of public diplomacy, Nicholas J. Cull also modeled public diplomacy referring to several typologies. In this regard, he categorized public diplomacy under several functions: Listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting (Cull, 2008, p. 35).

Each of the above-mentioned models has provided different approaches towards public diplomacy. As a result of these different approaches, many academics proposed

many different public diplomacy models, however, the five most valid and most widely used models were those of Cull, Gilboa, Cowan & Arsenault, Zaharna and Kelly.

Since public diplomacy has also been a part of the communication literature, it has become an area where academics studying communication are also involved. Thus, the above-mentioned models are those that are best suited to international relations and can explain the public diplomacy activities of states.

1.2.2.1. Nicholas J. Cull

The idea of establishing relations with foreign societies as part of foreign policy gained international validity in the literature of international relations after the Cold War (Cull, 2008, p. 31). In this vein, it may well be argued that during the Cold War, propaganda promotional broadcasts used by the US against the Eastern Bloc through the traditional media were not real public diplomacy activities. The main goal here was to attract counter-actors to their side through propaganda.

Looking from this perspective, Cull studied public diplomacy activities in five different functions: Listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting. Within this framework, each function is positioned as a different layer and a distinctive form of communication in public diplomacy activities.

Listening, the first of these functions, is the basis of every public diplomacy activity. Before communicating about any topic with a foreign society, it is first necessary to obtain general information about what this society values and how they would react in possible cases. This information will be processed by foreign policy-makers and decision-

makers and help shape the foreign policy of the country that will conduct public diplomacy activities (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

It is possible to access information on foreign societies by open sources, while traditional diplomacy and intelligence activities can also be used to obtain information. Yet, it is important to note here that intelligence activities must not contain counter-intelligence and serve only to the purpose of obtaining information. In other words, the main goal of information gathering must be acquiring an understanding regarding the thinking style, habits and culture of the society where public diplomacy activities will be carried out (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, when mass media and the Internet network were not so widespread, diplomats were responsible for gathering information as part of classic diplomacy. Diplomats communicated the information they collect to foreign policy-makers and decision-makers for processing together with their views, and such information was used in shaping public diplomacy. Today, thanks to the development of mass media, social media and Internet networks, intelligence as well as open sources have started to be used for collecting information.

Simply put, listening (gathering information about foreign societies) means that the actor who will conduct public diplomacy listens to the society, rather than talking (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

The second function of public diplomacy that Cull refers to is advocacy. The concept of advocacy means managing the international environment by using

international communication to spread an idea or a policy to foreign societies in a way that will serve the interests of the state that uses this instrument (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

In this context, the information departments of state embassies and Ministry of Foreign Affairs serve for this activity. Advocacy is a function in public diplomacy that is used and even required to be used by every actor at every step (Cull, 2008, p. 32). Furthermore, transparency is one of the indispensable functions of public diplomacy activities. At the same time, foreign societies should be informed and international circles should be guided in transparent policies.

From this perspective, the function of advocacy is common to all states that conduct or wish to conduct public diplomacy activities. As a matter of fact, finding international support for the policies to be implemented is of great importance for state interests as well as spreading their ideas.

The third function in Cull's categorization is cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy means trying to manage the international environment based on the world-renowned achievements of a culture and country, which are the first sources of soft power (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

From this perspective, culture is one and probably the strongest source of soft power for countries, and it forms the basis of cultural diplomacy. In this sense, cultural diplomacy is a country's export of its culture to foreign societies and the use of culture as a means of communication and an element of attraction (Cull, 2008, p. 32).

Throughout history, countries have tried to carry out such activities with various institutions and some are still continuing to take their part in several projects to promote

their countries. Organizations such as the Yunus Emre Institute (Turkey), the British Council (UK), L'institut Francais (France) and the Goethe Institute (Germany) are some institutions that conduct cultural diplomacy activities around the world.

Although the concept of cultural diplomacy has recently been conceptualized and entered into the literature, the above-mentioned organizations have been conducting cultural diplomacy activities for many years³.

As Cull suggested, the fourth function of public diplomacy is exchange diplomacy. Exchange diplomacy means sending citizens of a country to a foreign country for cultural or educational purposes, and receiving the same number of people from that foreign country. Exchange programs include the goal of mutual recognition of the education, knowledge and culture acquired by the relevant country's societies. These programs are usually for educational purposes. Examples of exchange programs for students include Fulbright scholarships provided by the US, Turkey scholarships and Jean Monnet scholarships provided by the EU (Cull, 2008, p. 33).

Another main goal of these programs is that students who visit another country through an exchange program become mutually aware of the beauty and culture of the country they visit. Following the principle of reciprocity, such programs mean gains for both countries in terms of public diplomacy activities (Cull, 2008, p. 33).

Especially looking at the Meiji restoration period and after, it is seen that Japan attaches special importance to this area. Thus, exchange programs to recognize foreign

³ L'institut Francais, British Council and the Goethe Institute have been continuing their activities since 1907, 1934 and 1951, respectively. Turkey started its activities in the field of public diplomacy with the Yunus Emre Foundation established in 2007. The foundation was later renamed in 2009 as Yunus Emre Institute. Although it seems new in this field, Turkey's effect in the field has been rapidly and visibly increased thanks to this institute.

cultures and introduce their own culture to foreigners have been important for Japan (Cull, 2008, p. 33).

International news broadcasting, one of the most common public diplomacy activities used to manage the international environment and inform foreign societies, is also one of the functions of public diplomacy mentioned by Cull. In this function, the main goal is to influence foreign peoples using traditional and modern publications (Cull, 2008, p. 34).

Due to the need for a technological infrastructure and competence, international broadcasting is different from other functions of public diplomacy. When it comes to international broadcasting and public diplomacy, news is the basis of broadcasting (Cull, 2008, p. 34).

States' own broadcasting bodies first started with radio activities. States tried to deliver news to the longest distances possible by radio frequencies, and some states even established different radios or stations in regions where they could not directly access. Since the earliest history on earth, the UK has carried out such activities by means of BBC, and the US via CNN.

Today, Al-Jazeera is another news body that can conduct fairly strong public diplomacy activities as a result of its news activities, and manage the international environment and influence foreign societies. Although it is a news channel based in Qatar, it has become one of the leading institutions in the world, as Al-Jazeera International Broadcasting addresses different countries around the world with broadcasts in their language.

Cull further categorized listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting in two classes according to activities and information flow.



Table 1: Basic Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy

Type of Public Diplomacy	Sample Activities	The State Where This Form of Public Diplomacy is Salient
Listening	Targeted polling	Switzerland
Advocacy	Embassy press relations	United States
Cultural diplomacy	State-funded international art tours	France
Exchange diplomacy	Two-way academic exchanges	Japan
International broadcasting	Foreign-language short-wave radio broadcasting	Britain

(Cull, 2008, p. 35).

Table 2: Taxonomy of Time/Flow of Information/Infrastructure in Public Diplomacy

Type of Public Diplomacy	Time Frame	Flow of Information	Typical Infrastructure
Listening	Short- and long-term	Inward to analysts and policy process	Monitoring technology and language-trained staff
Advocacy	Short-term	Outward	Embassy press office, foreign ministry strategy offices
Cultural diplomacy	Long-term	Outward	Cultural center and/or libraries
Exchange diplomacy	Very-long term	Inward and outward	Exchange administrators, educational offices
International broadcasting	Medium-term	Outward but from a news bureaucracy	News bureaus, production studios, editorial offices, and information sharing centers

(Cull, 2008, p. 35).

Table 3: Taxonomy of Credibility in State Public Diplomacy

Type of Public Diplomacy	Sources of Credibility	Helped by Perceived Connection to Government?	Helped by Perceived Distance from Government?
Listening	Validity of methods used	Yes, if it implies the actor is listening to world opinion	No, if it implies the actor is listening to world opinion
Advocacy	Proximity to government	Yes	No
Cultural diplomacy	Proximity to cultural authorities	No	Yes
Exchange diplomacy	Perception of mutuality	Yes, if it implies the actor is listening to world opinion	Yes, if it implies the actor is listening to world opinion
International broadcasting	Evidence of good journalistic practice	Usually no	Yes

(Cull, 2008, p. 36).

Table 1 shows that Cull provided the most basic categorization of public diplomacy. According to this categorization by Cull, the activity of listening is aimed at recognizing and understanding a targeted audience by means of obtaining information. As for advocacy, the basic unit that runs advocacy activities is embassies and information departments of foreign ministries as well as press bureaus. One example in the field of cultural diplomacy activities can be seen in France. The French government organizes international art tours by state hand. On the other hand, an example of exchange diplomacy – which is among the functions of public diplomacy – is found in Japan. Finally, international broadcasting, another function of public diplomacy, can be seen in the UK that uses shortwave radio broadcasting in foreign languages (Cull, 2008, p. 35).

In his modeling, Cull also explained the time range of public diplomacy functions providing information flow through specific infrastructural organizations. According to Cull's structuring, listening takes place in the short- and long-term. Information flow, on the other hand, is often inward referring to analysts and political processes. The peculiar infrastructure of listening consists of technological monitoring and educated staff who can speak foreign languages. Advocacy is short-term and the flow of information is outward. Its unique infrastructure consists of the foreign affairs ministries' strategy and information offices, as well as embassies' information offices. Cultural diplomacy, on the other hand, is long-term and outward. Its unique infrastructure consists of cultural centers and libraries. Exchange diplomacy is very long-term and the flow of information is both inward and outward. Its infrastructure is based on exchange offices and their administrators. Finally, international broadcasting produces medium-term results and the

flow of information is often outward from bureaucracy. Its infrastructure functions via news bureaus, editorial offices, information sharing centers and production offices (Cull, 2008, p. 35).

As can be understood, Cull put forward one of the most comprehensive public diplomacy models so far. He categorized the functions of public diplomacy in this model and explained the time necessary for each function to take place, the direction of the flow of information and its peculiar infrastructure in this model.

1.2.2.2. *Geoffrey Cowan & Amelia Arsenault*

Cowan and Arsenault divided public diplomacy into three layers according to their differences: Monologue, dialogue and collaboration. The models in this categorization differ depending on where they are used.

Among these layers, monologue applies to one-way communication. For a long time, diplomats have prepared official public statements and other kinds of one-way statements for foreign societies, and these statements have become one-way means of communication. In other words, states have used the monologue layer when they need to express themselves in public diplomacy activities or when they need to communicate their views clearly on a subject (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 11).

Although the layer of monologue is a valid and fast method for expressing ideas to foreign societies or indicate one's position regarding a topic, it is one of the least effective layers set by Cowan and Arsenault. In this line, in order for public diplomacy activities to be truly successful and different from propaganda, one of the main functions is to listen

to the other actor and societies. For this reason, public diplomacy activities include mutual or multifaceted understanding and communication.

The primary way a country can express itself to other countries in the best and simplest way is through the speeches and declarations of the person or persons who govern the country. When governments refer to global problems or issues that are important for societies within the framework of universal values, this will definitely increase their country's soft power. In such cases, the monologue layer is being utilized (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 13).

Monologues do not refer only to the statements of decision-makers or those who govern the country. Published press releases, books, films, visual arts and cultural studies are also types of monologues (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 13).

Decision-makers and policy-makers of countries, who practice public diplomacy, use monologue tools to promote the country's identity, values and culture to the target country and to inform foreign societies in these areas. Likewise, news feed and entertainment products in popular culture are also considered under this layer (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 13).

Monologue can also be used for defense in a situation to express oneself to other countries and foreign societies. Thanks to globalization, information and the rhetoric of decision-makers on behalf of states can spread to the whole world very quickly. Furthermore, both traditional media tools and social media help spread of a government's discourses and decisions all over the world in a short time. For this reason, decision-makers must follow legitimate policies as required by both soft power and

public diplomacy. In order to share opinions about international issues or advocate universal values, states' decision-makers must first respect and implement these values in their home country (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 13).

In this context, it can be said that monologue is the layer that needs to be designed most carefully among the three layers. Foreign societies might hesitate about monologues considering it propaganda since they convey unilateral information to foreign actors or societies and reflect only the sending country's characteristics (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 13).

According to Cowan and Arsenault, the common point of many successful public diplomacy activities is the mutual exchange of ideas and information between actors. This allows the formation of a mechanism where actors can build a relationship, regardless of the social boundaries between societies. As a result of people's mutual conversation, both their beliefs and knowledge change and are positively affected by this interaction (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 12). One of the three layers, dialogue, thus, is of great importance for state interactions within the framework of public diplomacy. After two societies start to exchange views, if they can make sure the sustainability of this exchange of information, differences in political opinions or life perspectives will not affect the communication between the two societies.

In this vein, dialogue is a more effective method than monologue in terms of developing mutual relations and the ability of actors to understand each other. Indeed, dialogue is about listening to the actor. Dialogue is based on perceiving and processing information obtained through listening. Thus, foreign societies know that their voice is heard by the country(s) engaged in public diplomacy (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 17).

Dialogue does not just mean that the authorities of one country are communicating with the authorities of another country. It can include exchange of information and opinions at official summits, joint projects or websites. This offers two types of opportunities for societies: Firstly, through mutual communication, societies can more easily understand each other's cultures, identities and traditions. Secondly, decision-makers can jointly shape their foreign policy based on mutual agreement of countries and their societies (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 19).

Finally, collaboration constitutes the third layer in Cowan's model. Collaboration is defined as taking initiative and engaging in a common struggle by societies in order for countries to achieve their goals and success in joint projects (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 12).

Collaboration as the third layer of public diplomacy and the type of public diplomacy that provides the highest mutual benefit to actors. From this perspective, it is the most successful layer for both sides to understand each other and to develop relations mutually. Collaboration examples include countries conducting a joint project, working together for a common goal, or acting together in the face of a disaster (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 21).

In this regard, bilateral relations are further developed when countries collaborate to find a way of resolution for disputes. Such collaboration can be faster and to the benefit of both sides, since they have a mutual understanding and shared interests (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 23).

When two countries collaborate, there is also a need to minimize the differences between the foreign societies in order to successfully carry out public diplomacy activities. As societies collaborate, they attribute less importance to their differences.

Each of the three layers in Cowan and Arsenault's typology bear advantages and disadvantages depending on the given situation. Therefore, the layers can be used individually, while they can also be used in combination in some cases in order to get the best result. To decide which of these layers or combinations to use, there are two issues to pay attention to: The characteristics of the country that will apply public diplomacy and the country where they will implement this diplomacy. As a matter of fact, the social structure, management system and culture of the target country indicate the need for different public diplomacy activities (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 12).

Figure 4: Cowan & Arsenault's Three Layers of Public Diplomacy



1.2.2.3. Eytan Gilboa

Gilboa also modeled public diplomacy and put forward three different models based on the variables that he set forth. In this line, Gilboa used five different variables for public diplomacy models, and according to these variables, he proposed three different models. The variables are: Major actors, initiators, goals, types of media, and means and techniques. The models he set forth are: The Basic Cold War Model, the Nonstate Transnational Model, and the Domestic PR model (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59).

Public diplomacy activities in the modern world emerged with the onset of the Cold War after World War II ended. In the Basic Cold War model, it is stated that public diplomacy activities arose along with persuasion campaigns by the leaders of the two opposing blocs and their efforts to communicate their bloc's cultures and understandings to other actors and societies. Thanks to this model, countries had the opportunity to tell foreign societies about themselves and their bloc and, if they could, to convince them to act in the interests of their bloc. The main aim of bloc leaders in this activity was to make sure that other governments took their side if they had been following a different political policy or acting in favor of the other bloc or at least, make sure that they remained neutral and followed a balanced policy (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59).

During the Cold War years, international broadcasting was the main tool used for conducting public diplomacy activities. Whilst two bloc leaders regularly disseminated information about themselves through radio stations to attract other states, they also supported citizens who advocated their political views to make sure publication and broadcasting activities in their favor.

During the Cold War, when access to information was quite difficult, the dissemination of data and regular information of societies was of great importance. In the 20th century, there was not yet the Internet or social media tools. Only traditional media tools were used by governments. Thus, the bloc leader who could disseminate information across societies attained great advantage over the other bloc. Since there was not the practice of confirming the accuracy and quality of information by those who were subject to it during this period, the accuracy of information conveyed was of secondary importance. Instead, the leaders of the blocs tried to stay in people's minds by spreading as much and consistent information as possible to ensure the accuracy of their views and cultures (Risso, 2013, pp. 145-146).

Among the theories of international relations during the Cold War, realism established an unshakable hegemony that lasted for about 45 years. During this period, states were accepted as the only actors in the system, they took all the actions and the relations were determined only by state behaviors and policies of decision-makers. Thus, non-state actors did not have any important position in international relations. After the end of the Cold War, however, non-state actors emerged as organizations within the body of states but they were endowed with the capability to act autonomously. Upon this development, the change of the Basic Cold War model was inevitable (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59).

The Nonstate Transnational model emerged with the participation of non-state actors in the international system. This model is used to understand the work of non-state actors in relation to public diplomacy. With the end of the bipolar world order, these

actors filled the gap in the international area and now they use global news networks for their own purposes (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59).

These actors are usually able to cooperate more comfortably with other actors when states are about to collaborate in the opposite direction or they can be more comfortable with joint works regarding public diplomacy activities. Hence, NGOs have started to collaborate to solve issues in a given region (Schneiker & Joachim, 2020, p. 1). Here, public diplomacy activities can be carried directly by NGO activities or the state (Gilboa, 2008, p. 60).

In the Domestic PR model, governments agree with lobby groups and teams that conduct public relations activities to achieve goals in the country where public diplomacy activities will be conducted. For decision-makers who advocate and apply this view, they believe that public diplomacy activities implemented by third groups are more effective than public diplomacy activities implemented directly by states. For the public, it seems more likely to achieve the goal in public diplomacy activities by groups that recognize the culture and identity of the target country, rather than public diplomacy activities conducted by a foreign state (Gilboa, 2008, p. 60).

Figure 5: Eytan Gilboa's Model



1.2.2.4. Rhonda S. Zaharna

Zaharna modeled public diplomacy activities in two perspectives as Information Framework and Relational Public Diplomacy Framework. Zaharna also benefited from different approaches and theories in this model (Zaharna, 2009, p. 87).

The first model, the information framework, aims to communicate information, achieve the goal of persuasion or control the country where public diplomacy activities are carried out. The first step in implementing this model is to obtain information about a country's image and its policies to determine the public diplomacy that will be implemented here to attract the attention of the foreign society. The second step of the model is to process and use this information (Zaharna, 2009, p. 88).

Information collection, processing and use activities are actually message transmission strategies, and two important questions for this to happen are what is the message and how it will be delivered. The effect of the message that results from the questions Zaharna asks along with the activities of collecting, processing and using information depends on how the message is presented, how it is delivered and structured (Zaharna, 2009, p. 88).

The second main feature of the initiative to collect information is control. Control of the message given in the flow of information is of great importance. In this regard, the political sponsor who will publish the message can directly decide on the message, the purpose of this message, the time interval, the target audience and the channels on which the message will be broadcast. When the message is created, the sponsor checks the

consistency and integrity of the message across many communication platforms(Zaharna, 2009, p. 88).

The third most dominant feature of the information framework model is that there is limited communication between the political sponsor and society. In this model, the target audience does not respond, since there is delivering of information rather than communication and therefore, the target audience does not provide feedbacks, or even if there is feedback, it is mostly ignored by the political sponsor. In other words, the target audience has no real involvement in the formation or implementation of public diplomacy activities(Zaharna, 2009, p. 88).

The information framework's fourth most important feature is the use of various communication channels to disseminate information. These communication channels are designated speakers, written and visual press, radio and television broadcasting and electronic media. More importance is attributed to radio and TV broadcasting in this model. The main reason for this is that the information that needs to be delivered can be delivered to the highest number of people through these two channels. Nevertheless, sponsors regularly monitor mass media in terms of the dissemination and delivery of news(Zaharna, 2009, p. 88).

Finally, one of the main features of the information network is that this model is designed for target purposes or specifically to achieve a goal. Initiatives on this issue are also regularly measured to see whether the goal has been achieved or not. This measurement is made by looking at the level of knowledge, attitudes or behaviors of the audience(Zaharna, 2009, p. 89).

Another framework set forth by Zaharna is the relational framework. Relational initiatives seek similarities and common interests in interpersonal communication between the country that conducts public diplomacy activity and target country which receives that public diplomacy activity. The most basic and dominant feature of the relational framework is that it focuses on mutual relationship-building strategies and reduces the importance of one-way messages (Zaharna, 2009, p. 91). Instead of delivering key messages, this model is designed to show reciprocity by taking certain actions and making symbolic gestures.

Another evident feature of this model is its focus on continuity and sustainability characteristics. Thus, regular monitoring of relations and development of activities are of great importance within the scope of this model. Previous public diplomacy relations in this area show that relationship-building strategies and their regular monitoring result in higher success rates in public diplomacy activities and mutual satisfaction between the relevant parties (Zaharna, 2009, p. 92).

1.2.2.5. John Robert Kelley

Kelley's first and most effective detection in public diplomacy is related to the power of diplomats and the power of ordinary citizens in today's diplomacy conditions. According to Kelley, the difference between diplomats and ordinary citizens is gradually decreasing in modern diplomacy (Kelly, 2009, p. 73).

From this perspective, Kelley has defined three different dimensions in public diplomacy: Information, influence, and engagement (Kelly, 2009, p. 73). Information is the only dimension that is short-term among these three dimensions. Even though it can

be used for a long-term, this dimension stands out in public diplomacy activities that are implemented for a short period of time. This dimension is also used for the management and distribution of information during crises. As given above, the second dimension is influence. In this dimension, both long-term and short-term persuasion campaigns are organized. Among the characteristics of this dimension is to try to change the behaviors of societies in the long term by another country that conducts public diplomacy activities there. Kelley's third dimension is engagement. Engagement is also designed to create a basis for mutual understanding between the two societies for a long time.

Kelley also categorized these three different dimensions under advocacy and advisory models. In addition to this categorization, he divided the dimensions into communication style, timeframe and posture orientation (Kelly, 2009, p. 80).

Table 4: Sub-Traits of Public Diplomacy Matrix

	Advocacy Model		Advisory Model
	Information	Influence	Engagement
Communication Style	Transparent	Propagandistic	Transparent
Timeframe	Long-Term/Short-Term	Long-Term/Short-Term	Long-Term
Posture Orientation	Reactive/Proactive	Proactive	Reactive/Proactive

(Kelly, 2009, p. 80).

In Kelley's modeling, information and engagement are conducted transparently as a form of communication. On the contrary, influence is realized not as a mutual but as a propagandist initiative (Kelly, 2009, pp. 80-82).

Evaluating the time dimension over three dimensions, the information and influence pillars are used both long-term and short-term. Although information is used for a short time and influence is used for a long time, both can be used within both periods of time. The dimension of engagement under the advisory model, on the other hand, is long-term and can be conducted only by mutual interaction (Kelly, 2009, pp. 80-82).

Considering the posture orientation among these dimensions, information and engagement models are both reactive and proactive. In contrast, the influence dimension is only proactive (Kelly, 2009, pp. 80-82).

CHAPTER II

2. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Turkey was the first country that broke the status quo in the international relations system that emerged after the end of World War I, and thus referred to as a revisionist state. The main goal of the National Struggle movement that emerged in Anatolia under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal after the end of World War I was to establish a nation-state on the occupied territories of the empire that collapsed after World War I.

Like every multinational empire affected by the movements of nationalism that arose with the French Revolution of 1789, the Ottoman Empire was also affected by these developments, and eventually it lost its territory significantly with World War I. The National Pact, declared during the period of National Struggle, was a realistic, legitimate goal that could not be challenged by any country within certain borders (Sarıay, 2000, p. 858). Along with this legitimacy, Turkish Foreign Policy was based on revisionism within the framework of realism and continued its revisionist stance until the Lausanne Peace Treaty.

On the other hand, Turkey returned to its status quo supporting position with the Lausanne Peace Treaty, and after that, it followed short-term revisionist policies only when it had legitimate demands until 2001, and when it reached these goals, it returned to the status quo again without demanding more.

The basic dynamics determined for Turkey after the Lausanne Peace Treaty, Westernism, status quo support, realist foreign policy, independence and power balances, continued to be used by Turkey until the 21st century.

2.1. Main Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy

After World War I, all the defeated states, including the Ottoman Empire, were forced to accept all the ceasefires and peace treaties imposed on them without objection. Sultan Vahdettin and Grand Vizier Damat Ferit, the decision-makers of the Ottoman Empire, also argued that the only way for the Ottoman Empire to survive was to submit to the wishes of Great Britain and govern the country in favor of their interests.

Mustafa Kemal and other officers, who had graduated from military schools that were established during the Ottoman modernization period, started the national struggle in Anatolia against these developments. After the Turkish Grand National Assembly gained legitimacy, Turkish Foreign Policy returned to revisionism.

The National Struggle Movement in Anatolia set the National Pact goal and adopted revisionism, taking its legitimacy both from the people and from the fact that the lands were not occupied when the Armistice of Mudros was signed. This revisionist movement continued until the Lausanne Peace Treaty.

With the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923, the basic dynamics of Turkish foreign policy began to be revealed along with the legacy from the period of national struggle. These dynamics include:

- Status quo support

- Westernism
- Realist foreign policy
- Independence
- Security on the axis of power balances
- Always open channels of diplomacy

Most of these basic dynamics were implemented uninterruptedly until the period of AKP, however, they have undergone several changes later.

2.1.1. Westernism

When Westernism emerged as one of the fundamental dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy and took its place among the foreign policy principles of Turks, it had a history of nearly 100 years starting with the Ottoman Empire. Before analyzing the principle of Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy, it is essential to look at the development of the concept of Westernism in the Ottoman Empire and its inheritance to Turkey.

The concept of modernization emerged in the West as a product of the enlightenment process. Along with the importance attributed to positivism, the fate of man was no longer tied to the guidance of divine laws, and it was now believed that man per se had the control of their fate. Modernism took place over several dimensions and the concept of modernity emerged in the West as we understand today (Tekeli, 2007, p. 19). The economic dimension is the first dimension of modernization for the West, which thanks to coal made steel available to industry and recreated production models. With the industrial revolutions, labor became paid, the concept of property took place in society,

and the foundation of Mercantilist societies was laid. People started to produce for the market, not for themselves. When technology was involved in this type of production by further developing production means, a higher amount of production became possible in a shorter time. Technological development also gained momentum. Another dimension of modernity has been the change of approach to knowledge. With the strengthening of positivism, all events, the causes and consequences of these events have ceased to be associated with divine power, and instead reason and consciousness has become essential. Along with the universalization of knowledge and the adoption of positivism, laws were also redrawn within the framework of positivism, removing them from the guidance of divine laws. Thus, law has also been universalized along with science. This dimension has also affected the third dimension. With the rise of positivism, people's dependence on a region or other people decreased thanks to increased level of education and they became independent individuals as members of society. With the emergence of the concept of individual and the acceptance of equality of all before the law, the concepts of citizen, nation and nationality also began to rise. In the last dimension of modernity, on the other hand, the state had been affected by these developments and thus, created and institutionalized the bureaucracy, consisting of educated civil servants specializing in the field of government affairs. Along with the institutionalization of states and the dimensions listed above, the understanding of the nation-state and nation became stronger (Tekeli, 2007, pp. 19-20). With the emergence of the concept of national identity, states have moved ahead of other states that have not experienced these stages. On the other hand, states that have undergone these stages have entered into competition among themselves.

The concept of modernization, or Westernization as was called in the region where it emerged, means the implementation of the aforementioned dimensions. However, the Ottoman Empire had not been able to experience any of the above-mentioned dimensions since the process that began with the Renaissance and Enlightenment in the West, and no such demand had come from Ottoman society. In the West, market economy grew thanks to the push by the bourgeoisie class and the end of the system where individuals produced only for themselves. However, this did not occur in the Ottoman lands due to the lack of a bourgeoisie class. In other words, the Ottoman Empire was an empire that lagged behind modernity.

The main reason why the Ottoman Empire could not truly Westernize or more accurately, could not internalize the concept of modernity was that the legitimacy of the administration continued to remain in the Sultan, portrayed as a reflection of divine power. As the shadow of God on earth, the Sultan got his power from God to spread the Divine Word and establish the order of God on Earth. The empire had to continuously feed the central army, the janissaries, who never stopped claiming spoils of war. Moreover, there were timariots (professional cavalry holding fief) in the Ottoman Empire that were associated with the territorial order. Since changing this territorial order would mean also changing the military system and as a result, the state structure, the Ottoman Empire showed great resistance to change. More importantly, the Ottoman Empire produced first the Ottomanism and then Islamism movements in order to escape the concepts of nation-state and nationalism and to prevent their spread. Therefore, almost all Ottoman decision-makers agreed on protecting the status quo and making just small changes in order to prevent the dissolution of the Empire. The concepts of Westernism

and modernization that emerged to prevent the dissolution of the empire after it started to regress remained limited to the modernization of the army, while there was never sufficient modernization in industry and production. There was no such thing as people produced not for themselves but for market economy in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire was in constant competition with the West. For this reason, there had been a long-term clash of ideas between those who advocated modernity and Westernism and those who defended Islamism and rejected the idea of Westernism.

Therefore, the concept of modernization and Westernism could only have a place in society and reflect on the country's domestic and foreign policy only after the proclamation of the Republic. With the declaration of the Republic, the above-mentioned dimensions began to be implemented rapidly after starting the construction of the nation-state. Capitalization and industrialization moves, the first dimension, took place in society, and even the state supported the formation of a national bourgeoisie by means of investments due to the lack of liquidity in the hands of the possible bourgeoisie class. Following these developments, industrial development was assured and importance was attached to the development of technology. Contrary to the Ottoman Empire, production was no longer based on manual labor but replaced by machines. As the realization of the second dimension, positivism was given great importance. For this reason, language revolution was realized to ensure the dissemination of knowledge. Modern rules of law were established and all citizens were equal before the law. The third dimension was realized with education reform and society was guided in becoming individuals rather than being subjects of the Sultan. As people became individuals, the concepts of citizenship and citizenship responsibility emerged. Finally, the institutional structure of

the state was renewed and the dichotomy between institutions was eliminated. In this regard, the newly established order was based on democratic processes and nation-state identity. The administration took its legitimacy from the nation formed by individuals.

The concept of Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy had been one of the main dynamics within the framework of the dimensions described above. In other words, West or Westernism corresponds to a change of mindset, not a geographical area or region in the context of Turkish Foreign Policy (Oran, 2013, p. 49).

The Republic of Turkey completely broke away from the Ottoman Empire in terms of mindset and ideology (Ahmad, 2012, p. 25). Since the modernization method chosen by the Republic of Turkey meant the same as Westernism, it had accepted the principle of Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy and severed its ties with the underdeveloped and colonized East (Oran, 1996, p. 353). Additionally, Turkish intellectuals, who had been educated in the West with their models or who had stayed in Western countries for a while, contributed to the ideological infrastructure building of the Republic of Turkey and desired to reach the level of Western development thanks to the Enlightenment.

Since the founding codes of the Republic of Turkey were intertwined with modernization and thus, the West, these characteristics were also reflected to the country's foreign policies. In this line, Turkish Foreign Policy began to make its decisions and alliances based on positivism as a product of modernization in the country. The country's interests and goals were evaluated from a scientific perspective in reaching decisions, and these decisions were free from concepts such as identity or religion.

In addition to this, the Republic of Turkey, established as a nation-state, always adopted the ideology of the Republic, a system of government that takes its legitimacy from the people. Administration was taken from the hands of only one person, group or class and given to the people. In consequence, Turkish Foreign Policy decisions started to be taken in accordance with the interests of the nation and citizens.

After the proclamation of the Republic, everyone was accepted equal before the law, the education system was corrected to increase the level of education and people transformed into individuals (not subjects any longer). As a result of these reforms, moves in Turkish Foreign Policy started to serve only the Turkish nation's interests.

Finally, considering the principles of Westernism in Turkish Foreign Policy, it can be observed that there was no uncolonized or in other words, a fully independent state in the east of Turkey when this dynamic was set. Hence, there was not any Easternism or Easternization principle that the Republic of Turkey could turn to or integrate into its foreign policy back then. Since all modern civilizations were in the West, Turkish Foreign Policy adopted the principle of Westernism as one of its main dynamics (Gönlübol & Kürkçüoğlu, 2000, p. 467).

2.1.2. Status quo support

Revisionism and status quo support are two successive elements for all states. All states that achieve what they want in accordance with their interests in international relations update their revisionist positions as status quo supporting.

As stated before, Turkey was the first revisionist country after World War I. However, Turkey revised its position as a country supporting the status quo as soon as it had fulfilled the realist interests set forth. Thus, Turkey took short-term revisionist actions only in cases where it was justified under international law and convinced other actors.

Avoiding the status quo in Turkish Foreign Policy does not mean staying still or inaction in the face of events taking place in the international area (Türel, Köse, Yalman, Aydın, & Tayfur, 2004, p. 29). The true meaning of status quo is the preservation of the existing order and the ability to act when necessary to preserve this order.

In the first years from its foundation, the Republic of Turkey always put special effort to ensure that the status quo in relation to the neighboring regions did not change. This effort continued in the following years. Therefore, the Republic of Turkey accepted status quo support as a principle and a rational choice with the idea that any change in neighboring regions could affect its territorial integrity, but also cause internal and external actors question their borders (Türel, Köse, Yalman, Aydın, & Tayfur, 2004, p. 29).

For this reason, the first reason for status quo support in Turkey was to protect and sustain the territorial borders. As an extension of this policy, Turkey never considered implementing an irredentist⁴ policy, and never resorted to this method.

The reflection of the principle of status quo support in Turkish Foreign Policy can be seen in the words, “Peace at home, peace in the world”. These words are not a reference to the idealism theory of international relations. Its message to other countries

⁴Irredentism is a claim in a region or area due to national, ethnic or historical origins (Ambrosio, 2016).

within the framework of foreign policy is that Turkey consists of a nation that is happy to live within its existing borders, and that no steps will be taken to expand its borders, and no intervention will be taken outside its borders. Besides, these words indicate that there will be no conflict unless other actors have a demand for Turkish borders, otherwise conflict will be unavoidable (Oran, 2013, p. 47).

There are three main reasons underlying why Turkey adopted the status quo supporting principle during this period. First, Turkey ended the War of Independence by using almost all its sources quite effectively and with a great military genius. On top of this, it was a heritage from the preceding empire to build a modern nation that prioritizes development. In order to actualize this, Turkey needed to focus on domestic affairs to take steps to strengthen and modernize the newly created Republic, as long as there was no attack on its borders. Secondly, the ideologies put forward in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent attempt to restore the Empire to its former days had consistently failed. As a matter of fact, these moves were far from realism. Ottomanists tried to gather all *millets* (groups such as those abiding by the Muslim, Christian or Jewish laws in the Ottoman Empire) under one roof, but disregarded the nationalist movements. Later, Islamists assumed that they would gather all Muslims under the roof of the caliphate and tried to revitalize an institution that had not been used for almost centuries. Both these movements failed and collapsed. Furthermore, the Turkism movement surpassed the power of the Empire at that time due to the fact that the Committee of Union and Progress equated Turkism with Pan-Turkism in a utopian way. At the same time, Turkey wanted to maintain good relations with the USSR, so it stayed away from irredentist policies.

Another reason for supporting the status quo in Turkish foreign policy is to maintain the existing balances. As mentioned earlier, Turkey's approach to Westernization principle is not based on geography. Yet, due to its geopolitical position, Turkey has always tried to achieve a balance between the West and the East in its foreign policy. Even in periods when these balances were broken in favor of another, the balance was not completely destroyed. As a strategic medium-sized country, Turkey's legitimacy and range of motion in international relations increase if it can maintain the current balances. Thus, Turkey has always wanted to establish a balance between the West and the East (Oran, 2013, p. 49).

2.1.3. The Realist Approach and Power Balance

The most fundamental theme of the realist approach is power. Although there is no consensus among intellectuals who advocate the realist approach as to whether power is absolute or relative, all realists have a consensus on the importance of power (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, s. 52).

According to the realist approach, a country's materialist capability shows how that country will be positioned in international relations and to what extent it can fulfill its aspirations. In other words, the materialistic capability of a state determines its place in the international area (Donnelly, 2005, p. 35).

Furthermore, the realist approach assumes that when states perceive threats from states with relatively higher level of power, they can join or form alliances to create a

balance of power against those states that are stronger than them (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2014, pp. 52-53).

From this perspective, Turkish Foreign Policy is also based on realism. In this context, Turkey established an understanding of foreign policy to maintain the balance of power in international relations, material capacity and security. In this understanding, foreign policy steps consisted of using the balance of power according to the national interests as a result of material capacity (Kirişçi, 2009, p. 48).

Looking at the core of the foreign policy dominated by the realist approach and built on the material capability, it can be observed that the utopic policies in the last years of the Ottoman Empire also affected the foreign policies of the country. After the idea of Ottomanism that was tried to be built by disregarding the nationalist movements, however, there was the understanding of an Islamic Union to unite all Islamic countries based on the Muslim identity. Due to this understanding, the Ottoman Empire faced constant wars. Ultimately, the Pan-Turkist policies that the Committee of Union and Progress tried to implement regardless of material capacity also failed.

As a result of these consecutive failures, an understanding of building a foreign policy knowing the limits of the country's power and material capacity prevailed and this understanding became one of the basic dynamics.

Since the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, Turkey has sought to establish a balance between the West and the East and to act on this balance, thus providing a range of motion and relative autonomy in international relations. Even after Turkey became a member of the Western bloc due to perceptions of threats arising from security reasons,

relations with the East were not cut off completely and Turkey tried to continue its relations with the East in absolute terms. From 1923 to 1945, this balance was maintained without interruption. After the USSR increased its aspirations towards Turkey and the declaration that the Treaty of friendship and Cooperation would not be renewed, Turkey decided to take part in the Western Bloc. In Turkish Foreign Policy from 1960 to 1980, this balance was restored and Turkey developed good relations with the USSR, although it was a member of the Western Bloc. Although the balance was broken in favor of the West after 1980, Turkey never completely preferred one side to the other and endeavored to maintain its realist position in all the problems it experienced in international relations.

2.2. Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy

Evaluating the transformation in Turkish Foreign Policy during the AKP period, it can be seen that the Strategic Depth and Ahmet Davutoğlu factor had had a great impact in the first 15 years of the AKP rule. Davutoğlu's book, *Strategic Depth* takes power in the forefront from the realist framework, but at the same time distinguishes countries by a geopolitical categorization, arguing that power can be derived not only from material capacity, but also from the imperial histories of countries.

Accordingly, the Strategic Depth doctrine argues that the Cold War is over and that Turkey must now leave behind the principles of evaluating the world from a power perspective and not participating in conflicts unless there is interference on its border (Turan, 2012, p. 74).

When this new doctrine began to be applied in Turkish Foreign Policy, it changed the basic dynamics of these policies with the ramifications of the concept of strategic

depth. The policies implemented are as follows: Visionary foreign policy, consistent and systematic environment, spreading Turkish soft power, freedom-security balance, proactive diplomacy and multifaceted foreign policy (Ünsal, 2013, p. 139).



Figure 6: Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy



(Ünsal, 2013, p. 139).

2.2.1. Visionary Foreign Policy

The main purpose of visionary foreign policy principle is to prevent any problems in foreign policy moves or international relations. Decision-makers in Turkish Foreign Policy states that with the new approach, they should intervene in all conflict environments, problems, regional and international disputes in international relations even if they are not a party to any such dispute.

According to this new approach, Turkey will take part in all regional or international conflicts or disputes, take diplomatic initiatives and, if appropriate, try to prevent conflicts that may arise by mediation (Erol, 2007, p. 38).

Turkey's position description has also changed by virtue of the new understanding. Previously defined as a bridge between West and East, Turkey has become a Caucasus, Balkan, Middle East, European and Central Asian country with the new definition.

2.2.2. Consistent and Systematic Environment

It is stated that Turkey will follow a Turkish Foreign Policy within the framework of certain values towards each country in each region, leaving behind its pragmatic approach. In other words, in the new foreign policy approach, instead of evaluating the areas of movement formed as a result of the balance of power and pragmatism in international relations, Turkey has chosen to follow a foreign policy path for each region and country according to the same values (Ünsal, 2013, p. 139).

2.2.3. Spreading Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Activities

One of the most obvious changes in the field of foreign policy during the AKP period has been to strengthen and continue the move to include soft power in foreign policy initiated under the leadership of İsmail Cem (Tuğtan, 2016, s. 9-12).

The concept of soft power, which gained great importance in international relations after the Cold War, is especially important for countries that do not want to bear the costs of hard power. The great powers that experienced this transformation include soft power in their foreign policy by the support of hard power as well (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 83).

The first step in the design of Turkish Foreign Policy strategy has been to make Turkey a center of attraction in many aspects. In addition, Turkey has put effort to highlight and use the resources of soft power, and established new institutions to use soft power in foreign policy, while improving the range of motion and capabilities of the existing institutions for the same purpose.

Besides these efforts, the concept of culture, one of the sources of soft power, has been emphasized in Turkey and relations with Turkic Republics, Balkan countries and the Middle East are tried to be shaped through soft power by referencing the common culture they have had throughout history (Aras, 2009, p. 6). This change in foreign policy has been reflected on discourses, while it has been also supported by establishing institutions to help shape foreign policy and expanding the range of motion of the existing institutions. Founded in 1992 only to integrate the Turkic Republics into the free market economy, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) has become

Turkey's flagship for soft power and has undergone a restructuring process targeting not only the Turkic Republics but also all continents thanks to its development assistance, projects and educational opportunities for communities(TİKA, 2021).

In addition to TİKA, newly established institutions have been supportive of Turkey's soft power policy. Institutions such as the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, Yunus Emre Institute, Turkey Maarif Waqf and TRT Avaz have also endeavored to increase the soft power of the country in the eyes of foreign societies by using Turkey's soft power sources effectively.

Yunus Emre Institute strives for the spread and promotion of Turkish culture around the world. They have set a mission to increase Turkey's international recognition, reputation and credibility, and the mission to increase the number of people who establish a bond with Turkey all over the world (YEE, 2020). Yunus Emre Institute has systematically improved Turkish language education with its projects, prepared materials for this, and standardized Turkish education all over the world. *Seven Climate Turkish Language Sets* as well as the *Turkish Language Sets for Children* were prepared to be used for language education in all Yunus Emre Cultural Centers around the world as a result of a long-term study (YEE, 2021).

As will be studied in more detail in the next chapter, the Turkish Maarif Waqf(TMV), established with the law no. 6721 dated 17.06.2016, is the only organization abroad that has the authority to directly open an educational institution outside the Ministry of National Education on behalf of the Republic of Turkey. TMV also took over the foreign schools formerly run by the Fettullahist Terrorist Organization,

which attempted a coup against Turkey, and brought education abroad in international standards, gathering Turkey's educational activities abroad in one hand.

With the institutions established and restructured, Turkey's main goal has been to influence foreign societies, to promote and spread Turkey's culture, which is perhaps the most influential soft power source, and to make Turkey a center of attraction. While using soft power, authorities in Turkish Foreign Policy invest in the younger generations in the field of education, expecting positive results in the long-term.

In this context, it can be uttered that international competition is present in the field of hard power as well as soft power. Therefore, Turkish Foreign Policy has been shaped in this field, as Turkey has entered into competition in this field, beginning to use elements of soft power.

In this vein, Turkey carries out public diplomacy activities in order to influence foreign societies along with soft power. More specifically, Turkey is engaged in unilateral communication activities via TRT Avaz, TRT World and Anadolu Agency as well as bilateral communication by YEE, TMV and TİKA to exchange knowledge to get to know foreign cultures. YEE constitutes the basis of cultural diplomacy activities carried out under the umbrella of public diplomacy. YEE also carries out public diplomacy activities in the field of exchange diplomacy thanks to its summer camps and Turkey promotion programs. TMV, on the other hand, carries out public diplomacy activities through official education and exchange programs. Thanks to Turkey Scholarships, many students are studying in Turkey and coming to Turkey as exchange students. In particular, the arrival of foreign students in Turkey is supported in terms of public diplomacy activities.

2.2.4. Proactive Foreign Policy

In order to preserve the gains in the Turkish Foreign Policy since its foundation and then to claim these gains, Turkey has adopted status quo support as one of the basic principles of foreign policy. Likewise, during the Cold War, when international relations were divided between the Eastern and Western Blocs, Turkey continued its status quo foreign policy principle in order to secure its borders as well as the legitimate rights it gained in the Straits (Meral & Paris, 2010, pp. 75-76).

The proactive structure in Turkish Foreign Policy is supportive of the visionary foreign policy principle. According to the first principle, Turkey should be sensitive to problems all over the world and show this sensitivity by both solving the problem and mediating between the relevant parties. In proactive policy, on the other hand, Turkish Foreign Policy should present a stance and opinion on global issues. In this line, Turkey should express opinions and take a stance on problems, even if it has nothing to do with the country by pushing the limits of its own capacity.

In other words, in an ever-changing international relations environment due to globalization, Turkey must have an idea about every problem and prepare accordingly. Thus, in the developing world after the static state of the Cold War period, Turkish Foreign Policy must also adapt to ever-changing and developing international relations.

At the same time, such a stance is a must-have for Turkey, as it claims to be a regional power as well as a global power. Turkish Foreign Policy has to be proactive since countries dealing with only their own problems in the foreign policy-making process cannot increment their power.

The most indispensable element of following a proactive foreign policy is that the channels of diplomacy must always be open and the country that will pursue proactive foreign policy must never sever diplomatic ties with other countries. This is one of the essential principles that will allow contacting the country directly in case of any dispute or problem. This also requires an army of properly organized and trained diplomats in the international arena (Erhan, 2010, pp. 18-19). Turkey has continued to work on this issue and increased the number of diplomats and professional officers with expertise in the international field.

Another reflection of proactive foreign policy is that Turkey takes a more active role in international organizations and often presents an opinion and stance on both regional and global issues. Turkey has recently become a Temporary Member of the United Nations Security Council and has started to take an active role in other international organizations.

2.2.5. Freedom-Security Balance

The balance of freedom-security is a system that must be established in one country and in this system, one shall not restrict or dominate the other. States need to establish and preserve this balance in order to make legitimate moves in both domestic and foreign policy (Waldron, 2009, pp. 3-22).

On the other hand, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the world experienced another breakdown with the US designing its domestic and foreign policy with an emphasis on security. During the Cold War, states perceived threats from other

states. However, after the 9/11 attacks, states began to perceive threats from terrorist organizations rather than other states.

In this context, Turkey started to focus on the need to establish a balance of freedom and security in its transformed foreign policy approach. The country officials often advocated that this balance should be maintained during the Arab Spring.

Although various circles ardently discuss this principle of international relations in theoretical context, it cannot be fully implemented by any country. Nevertheless, it is still accepted as a principle. However, when countries have security concerns, they tip the balance in this direction. It is important to note here is that this balance is not unnecessarily disturbed by security concerns and that people shall not be deprived of their basic freedoms even in the presence of highest security problems.

2.2.6. Multifaceted Foreign Policy

Turkey decided to take part in the Western Bloc after the threat it perceived from the USSR and the failure to renew the Non-Aggression Pact. Also remaining a member of the Western Bloc after World War II, Turkey shaped its foreign policy during the 45 years of the Cold War mostly on the axis of the Western bloc and sometimes by balancing between the two blocs. As a matter of fact, there was not any means to implement a multifaceted diplomacy and foreign policy in the bipolar world.

After the end of the Cold War, many intellectuals and academics working in the field of international relations, security and geopolitics assumed that the world would be

unipolar from that time on. As the 1990s passed with this approach, it became obvious that the 21st century would be led by a multipolar structure in the world.

From this perspective, it can be said that Turkey gained the widest range of motion in its foreign policy when it was able to balance global powers in international relations throughout its history. Therefore, it has been inevitable for Turkey to follow a multidimensional foreign policy in the multipolar international relations system, where there have been a higher number of power centers.

To explain the concept of multidimensional foreign policy, it is about not shaping the political, military and economic decisions of the country in domestic and foreign policy only by adhering to one power center. In other words, Turkey wants to reduce its dependence on a single power in the world as much as possible by building its relations with global powers within the framework of a certain balance in its decisions.

For this reason, Turkey has started to deepen relations with China in order to improve relations in the Far East and reduce economic dependence on only one country, while also improving relations with Russia for the same purpose. These relations do not mean that Turkey prefers one global power to another, but rather they result from its efforts to build relationships that balance and complement each other. Therefore, while trying to conduct relations with the United States and the EU in the same way, it has been important for Turkey to develop good relations with other power focuses, Russia and China.

While the first pillar of multidimensional foreign policy is balancing relations with major powers, and another pillar is Turkey's shaping of foreign policy

instruments by taking part in regional organizations. In accordance with this approach, Turkey has started to take active roles as a member or as an observer in many regional organizations such as the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Organization, Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly and thus, it is trying to be effective in regional policies.

2.3. Turkish Foreign Policy Values, Goals and Objectives

2.4. Role of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

2.4.1. Limitations of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

Although soft power emerged as a concept after 1990, it dates back much further with the idea of a country to become a center of attraction and be accepted by other countries. There have been periods in Turkey's history when it was an example and referred to as a center of attraction.

With the integration of the concept of soft power into Turkish Foreign Policy under the leadership of İsmail Cem, Turkey's borders in the field of soft power began to reveal. However, due to the difficulty of Turkey's geographical conditions, the attacks of the terrorist organization PKK, the support of its neighbors to this terrorist organization, and the fact that Turkey prioritized hard power as a result of the threats it perceived to its borders both during the War of Independence and the Cold War, it was not easy to adopt soft power in its foreign policy (Karaosmanoğlu, 2000, pp. 199-204). In other words, practices from the past necessitated new methods in the implementation of soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy as well as bringing out the need to change existing habits.

In this context, it is necessary to first focus on the practices that delayed the transition to soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy and explain why Turkey attached too much importance to hard power since its establishment before dwelling into the elements of soft power in Turkey's foreign policy. Since these practices and some of the underlying reasons for these practices remain present today, Turkey can resort to hard power more easily than countries that do not have such experiences in their history.

Firstly, Turkey was the only country to act as a revisionist after the end of World War I. While all the countries Turkey fought on the same side signed ceasefires and peace treaties with severe conditions, Turkey under Mustafa Kemal's leadership acted revisionist by not accepting the peace treaties presented to them to take Turks captive. Despite the efforts of the Istanbul Government led by Sultan Vahdettin and Damat Ferit, Turks won the War of Independence achieving the realistic goals they had set. With the Lausanne Peace Treaty, Turkey was recognized and accepted as an equal state by all great powers.

After the War of Independence, Turkey had two main objectives: To realize the Westernization movement⁵ and protect its territorial integrity against all external dangers. Turkey had been very sensitive about its independence and territorial integrity in this process, and when it felt a threat to its territorial integrity before World War II, it signed various pacts to secure its borders (Başaran, 2020, p. 85).

Secondly, Turkey's main focus was again to protect its territorial integrity after the end of World War II. When the Soviet Union did not extend the Soviet Union-Turkey Treaty on Friendship and Neutrality, which was signed in 1925 and continued until 1945,

⁵See: Basic Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy, Westernism.

Turkey began to perceive threats due to the demands of the Soviet Union(Sadak, 1949, p. 458).

With the onset of this perception, Turkey moved to increase its military power and become a member of the Western Bloc by acting on the principle of balance of powers. Due to security concerns, Turkish Foreign Policy was determined as a result of common policies with the Western Bloc. On the other hand, this move damaged Turkey's reputation with Middle Eastern countries. After the founding of the Republic, there was no development of a relationship with the countries, almost all of which were colonies. During the Cold War, on the other hand, Middle Eastern countries' perception of Turkey was negative as a result of its involvement in the Western Bloc due to security concerns and the parallel functioning of its policies with the Western Bloc. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian leader of the time, had no significant success and suffered major defeats in the Arab-Israeli Wars, however, he claimed leadership of the Arab world, although he advocated a development model similar to the Soviet model. Due to Nasser's effect, Arab countries' approach towards Turkey was negative, since they considered Turkey an agent of the West. According to Arab countries, indeed, NATO was the intermediary of imperial forces in the region to achieve their objectives(Robins, 2003, pp. 93-99).

Thirdly, another factor restricting Turkey's soft power over Middle Eastern countries is that it is the successor state of the Ottoman Empire. Although the Ottomans made the highest investments, tax-exempted and attributed importance to the Arab regions, the Ottoman perception of the Arabs was quite negative. Even during the most economically difficult period of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman authorities invested in the Baghdad-Hejaz Railway where Arabs lived. However, those living in the Arab

geography rebelled against the Ottoman Empire, betraying with the support of the United Kingdom. The Arabs who rebelled against the Ottoman Empire with the dream of establishing the Great Arab Kingdom remained colonized for a long time after World War I and lost their independence (Boztemur, 2011, p. 61). However, the very poor perception of the Ottomans in the Arab geography is still an obstacle to Turkey's soft power potential in this region.

The fourth reason is the separatist terrorism problem that Turkey experiences. Turkey has been forced to exercise force since the 1990s, rightly and legitimately, in the fight against the PKK terrorist group, which is sometimes supported by Turkey's Western Alliance. Therefore, Turkey continues its sensitivity in this regard and responds to the terrorist organization rightly and legitimately through hard power. Therefore, Turkish foreign policy against northern Iraq, where the PKK is based and receives both ammunition and logistical support, has had to be based on hard power to ensure its security.

In consequence, Turkey can make sharp turns to hard power in its foreign policy, both because of its geographical conditions from the past to the present, and because of the threats directly focused on hard power.

2.4.2. Supportive Factors of the Role of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

Even if there are issues in Turkish Foreign Policy where Turkey is rapidly returning to hard power and therefore, limits its soft power, there are also issues that support the role of soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy.

First of all, Turkey is a secular state although the majority of the country consists of Muslims, while Islam does not reflect the ideological or political state structure. Instead, Islam is accepted culturally by people and the Republic of Turkey takes decisions according to the understanding of a secular state (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 88).

Secondly, Turkey is a modernized and relatively developed country around universal values. At the same time, it is the first country to achieve this as a country where the majority of population is Muslim. Therefore, Turkey has the capacity to be a center of attraction and role model for the peoples of Middle Eastern countries (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 88).

Thirdly, Turkey has the capacity to establish close relations both with developed Western countries and underdeveloped Eastern countries. Turkey accepts Islam culturally but adopts the West as a model of universal law and development, thus, it understands the identity, culture, traditions and norms of societies in both geographies.

Fourthly, Turkish culture is one of the main components of soft power, both because it contains universal values and elements of attraction for both Western and Eastern societies, which contributes to the soft power of Turkey. For instance, Turkish series, much loved and followed abroad, increase the interest in Turkish culture (Berg, 2017, p. 41). In particular, the presence of free women making their own decisions in these series is a role model for Arab women in the Middle Eastern geography (Juburi, 2015, p. 20).

Fifthly, Turkey has become a center of attraction in the eyes of other countries with its development assistance. As a matter of fact, Turkey has been

appreciated by foreign communities for its aid to underdeveloped and developing countries, trainings programs, hospitals and training equipment it provides as well as schools it built in these countries (Demirci, 2018).

As a result, it can be fairly stated that Turkey does not resort to hard power unless there is a direct threat to its territorial integrity or the state. Turkey has the potential to include soft power in its foreign policy. Hence, Turkey can and does actively use soft power in its foreign policy. It only resorts to hard power if its territorial integrity or the security of the state are threatened. Consequently, this does not disturb the basis of legitimacy needed for soft power.

2.5. Role of Public Diplomacy in Turkish Foreign Policy

Although Turkey has not been able to compete with the great powers on the hard power scale since its establishment, it has always played an important role in international relations. The country balanced between West and East after the War of Independence, gained the respect of the West with its rapid development and modernization moves, while also gaining the respect of the East thanks to the importance Turkey attributed to standing against imperialism and fighting for independence. Thus, Turkey has been significant for both blocs in international relations.

Before and during World War II, Turkey was again of great importance to both sides of the war. In particular, the Allied Forces led by the United Kingdom had made a great effort to get Turkey to join its side. For Axis Powers, on the other hand, it had been extremely important for Turkey to maintain its neutrality. Turkey was also important for international relations during this period.

Having been a part of Western Bloc during the Cold War, Turkey had been both the outpost of the Western Bloc and one of the most important allies for the control of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, Turkey has continued to maintain its place in international relations throughout history, despite the changes in conditions and conjuncture. In this regard, Turkey was required to establish an effective communication channel so that it could explain to foreign societies actions such as the Cyprus Peace Operation and legitimate cross-border operations against the terrorist organization. Realizing this, Turkey began to include public diplomacy activities in its foreign policy in the 1990s and has accelerated these activities in the 21st century.

In 2010, the Coordination Office of Public Diplomacy was established to officially include public diplomacy in foreign policy moves and to participate in a foreign policy-making process. The purpose of its establishment is to ensure coordination between state institutions and NGOs in order to increase Turkey's international credibility and recognition (Sancar, 2015, pp. 15-16). Besides, the Republic of Turkey Presidency of Communications was established with the Presidential Decree No. 14 published in the Official Gazette no. 30488 dated July 24, 2018, and the existing duties were transferred to this institution (TCCİB, 2018).

In this context, the first goal of Turkish Public Diplomacy has been to strengthen Turkey's national brand and image in the eyes of foreign societies. In this respect, Turkish Public Diplomacy includes two layers: The first layer emerged with the proclamation of the Republic, and the main purpose was to introduce foreign societies to the young Republic flourishing with Atatürk's Revolutions and rising from the ashes of

the Ottoman Empire to reach the level of contemporary civilizations (Sancar, 2015, p. 14). The biggest move to achieve this goal was the Mobile Exhibition on a Black Sea Ferry in 1926 designed to introduce Turkish goods to Europe and create new markets there. The Black Sea Ferry traveled around Europe for about three months and aimed to introduce the developing and transforming young Republic to Western countries (Bozkurt, 2019, p. 1100).

The second pillar of Turkish public diplomacy is the potential sources of soft power that Turkey has thanks to the geography where it is located and the fact that the Turks are one of the ancient civilizations. In addition, this pillar includes an approach to change the perception of foreign societies regarding Turkey via new institutions. In this line, activities such as development assistance, cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy constitute Turkey's main public diplomacy activities.

The time that Turkey started to perform these activities based on soft power coincides with the establishment of TİKA or Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. Later, the concept of soft power was attributed importance during the term of İsmail Cem, and it has precisely gained a space in Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st century. However, only after 2010, Turkey started to truly convey activities directly in foreign societies, provide information in this field, put effort in nation branding, and conduct change and cultural diplomacy moves. Furthermore, the Turkish Public Diplomacy Coordination Office was established after 2010, and Yunus Emre Institutes started to operate in 2009 to provide cultural diplomacy activities (YEE, 2009). Besides, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was founded on April 6,

2010(YTB, 2010). Finally, the Turkish Maarif Waqf was founded on June 17, 2016 to accelerate the exchange diplomacy move and ultimately institutionalize it(TMV, 2016).

2.5.1. Institutions Conducting Turkish Public Diplomacy Activities

Turkey has established its public diplomacy activities on the image of a state that does not want conflict and does not resort to hard power except in legitimate situations. Underlying the emphasis on soft power in Turkish Foreign Policy, this understanding has paved the way for the shaping of public diplomacy in a peaceful environment.

In Turkey, division of labor is being implemented between the Public Diplomacy Coordination Office and various other institutions that were later established to fulfill public diplomacy activities. Thus, there have emerged more effective institutions that are active in their field and work without intervening the field of other institutions.

Today, the Republic of Turkey Presidency of Communications is responsible for the coordination of public diplomacy activities, however, each institution has been continuing its public diplomacy activities and cooperating with each other in this field.

Figure 7: Institutions Conducting Turkish Public Diplomacy and Areas of Public Diplomacy Activity

Republic of Turkey Presidency of Communications	• Listening and Advocacy
Yunus Emre Institute	• Cultural Diplomacy
Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities	• Diaspora & Cultural Diplomacy
Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency	• Humanitarian & Cultural Diplomacy
TRT World	• International Broadcasting
TRT Avaz	• International Broadcasting
Anadolu Agency	• International Broadcasting
Turkey Maarif Waqf	• Exchange & Cultural Diplomacy

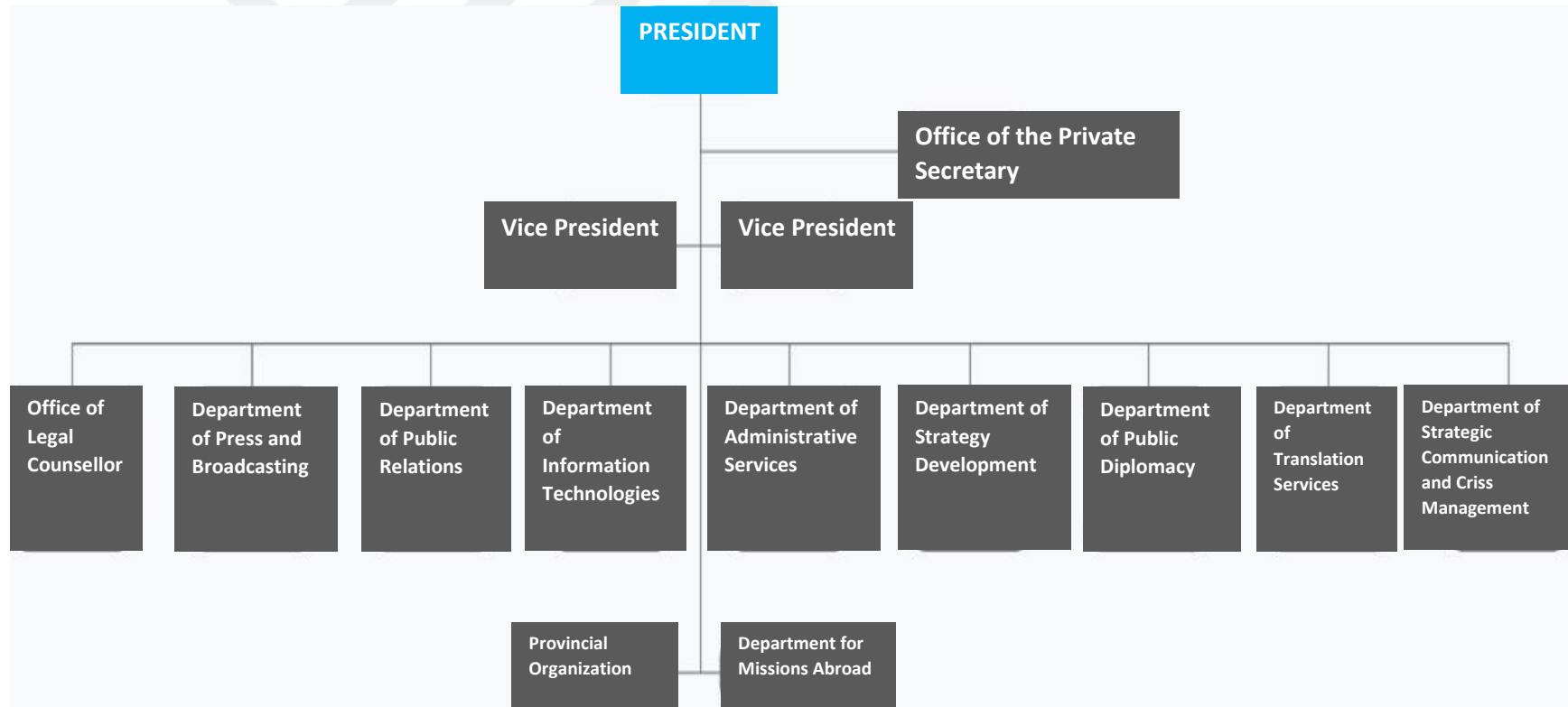
2.5.1.1. *Republic of Turkey Presidency of Communications*

Established and started to serve by Presidential Decree no. 14 published in the Official Gazette no. 30488 dated July 24, 2018, the Presidency of Communications (TCCİB) serves to develop a coordinated communication strategy with all institutions of our state with a holistic communication strategy to identify, coordinate and implement policies related to strategic communication, crisis management and public diplomacy, and to strengthen the Turkish brand (TCCİB, 2018; Altun, 2021).

TCCİB carries out communication activities nationally and globally in accordance with Turkish Foreign Policy strategies. In addition, the presidency acts with the vision of strengthening the Turkish brand and develops deep and multifaceted relations with national and international public opinions, decision-making actors and media, aiming to provide qualified representation of Turkey in all areas with all instruments and methods of communication. TCCİB has made it its mission to create an integrated communication strategy at national and international level that focuses on an inclusive and common language in all institutions of Turkey, while performing all business processes on this axis (TCCİB, 2018a).

In addition to public diplomacy and strategic communication activities, TCCİB includes two of Turkey's most important state institutions, TRT and Anadolu Agency. At the same time, the Press Advertising Agency, whose duty is to mediate the publication of advertisements belonging to public institutions in newspapers and magazines, also belongs to TCCİB.

Figure 8: TCCiB (Presidency of Communications)Organizational Chart



(TCCiB, 2021)

2.5.1.2. *Yunus Emre Institute*

Yunus Emre Institute was founded in 2007 and its name was later changed into Yunus Emre Foundation in 2009(YEE, 2009). The main purpose of Yunus Emre Institute, which was established to carry out cultural diplomacy activities, was to spread and promote Turkish culture, art and values all over the world.

Established to carry out the cultural diplomacy part of public diplomacy activities after soft power became an important dynamic of Turkish Foreign Policy, Yunus Emre Institute has been serving with 58 cultural centers in 48 countries, 101 Departments of Turcology in 50 countries, and with 159 contact points in 74 countries around the world(YEE, 2019). In addition to Turkish language education in cultural centers, Turcology education and Turkish language teaching are supported by cooperation with various education centers abroad. Many events are organized to promote our culture and art through cultural centers, and our country is represented in national or international events (YEE, 2009, p. 12).

Looking at the efforts by Yunus Emre Institute, it can be seen that it collects cultural diplomacy activities under two titles: These are cultural and artistic activities and educational activities. The first and most fundamental step of the cultural diplomacy pillar of Yunus Emre Institute is to spread the Turkish language, which is one of the cornerstones of Turkish culture, and to help more people to learn it. In order to achieve this, Turkish language lessons are given in all Yunus Emre Cultural Centers. At the same time, a Turkish Foreign Language Exam has been prepared in accordance with European

Language Standards for Turkish education and measurement and evaluation of Turkish proficiency.

Another activity carried out by Yunus Emre Institute in the field of language is the Turkish Summer School. The aim of this summer school is to increase the familiarity of foreign students with Turkish, introduce them to Turkish language and culture via trips to Turkey(YEE, 2021).

YEE is involved in language education and summer schools, as well as cultural and artistic activities. It organizes various cultural and artistic festivals, fairs, conferences and concerts.

The most important projects implemented by YEE include the establishment of Turcology chairs, teaching Turkish as an elective course in schools and the reconstruction of Turkish cultural heritage in the Balkans(YEE, 2014).

2.5.1.3. Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities(YTB) was established on April 6, 2010 to create a Turkish diaspora abroad and implement a diaspora diplomacy. It is an organization that undertakes the task of coordinating the work for our citizens abroad, our brother communities and students studying in Turkey with international scholarship, and to improve the services and activities provided in these areas(YTB, 2010).

YTB's potential goal is to find solutions to the problems of Turks and related communities wherever they are in the world and to strengthen their ties with Turkey.

YTB carries out public diplomacy activities in order to realize three objectives: The first is to preserve the belonging of Turkish citizens living abroad to Turkey. The second objective is to protect the mother tongue, culture and identity of Turkish citizens living abroad. The third objective is to strengthen the social status of Turkish citizens in their countries of residence(YTB, 2021).

YTB also carries out public diplomacy activities for young Turkish citizens living abroad. The first of these activities is to protect and strengthen the ties of Turkish youth living abroad with Turkey and Turkish language. Secondly, the organization strives to ensure that young people have knowledge about the functioning of YTB through Turkey Internships programs. Thirdly, it organizes the Young Leaders program, which includes seminars, excursions, workshops, vision speeches and cultural art programs aimed at promoting Turkish historical culture. Fourthly, YTB organizes Youth Bridges programs in order to strengthen the historical, social and cultural ties of our young people living abroad with Turkey.

In consequence, YTB carries out public diplomacy activities in the field of Turkish cultural diplomacy and diaspora diplomacy.

2.5.1.4. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

TİKA is an institution established in 1992 to contribute to Turkey's activities after it was decided to apply soft power in the international field, and to help Turkic Republics

–who have been hesitating about transformation–adapt to market economy and to cooperate with these states (TİKA, 2021).

When TİKA was founded, its primary goal was to adapt countries with social, cultural and racial ties to a free market economy and to strengthen their ties with Turkey, while at the same time developing various projects for cooperation. Performing this task within the scope of the economic conditions of the period, TİKA was eventually restructured with the transformations in Turkish Foreign Policy. It has turned into an institution targeting the whole world, providing development assistance to underdeveloped and developing countries, providing various training opportunities and non-refundable aids, developing projects and offering the necessary equipment.

With this transformation realized by the Legislative Decree no. 656 dated October 24, 2011 (TİKA, 2021), TİKA has become one of the important tools of Turkish public diplomacy as well as the flagship of Turkish soft power. In the same vein, TİKA started to coordinate and develop joint projects between international organizations, governments and local governments of foreign countries, Turkish NGOs and state institutions after the restructuring process in 2011.

TİKA has spread all over the world after its restructuring, and as of 2021, it has 62 Program Coordination Offices in 60 countries and operates in 150 countries in total.

TİKA's areas of activity vary according to the regions where it operates as well as the priorities of these regions. To illustrate, while it focuses on the development of projects in the fields of access to clean drinking water, health, social infrastructure, agriculture and education in Africa, it prioritizes projects such as restoration of historical

monuments, renovation of educational facilities and training of law enforcement officers in the Balkans.

By 2021, TİKA has become the most important function of Turkish soft power and the main institution that provides coordination among all other institutions. Managing public diplomacy activities in the field of humanitarian diplomacy, TİKA aims to increase the quality of life of foreign societies in all its projects. Besides, TİKA attaches special importance to contributing to sustainable development and economic freedom of societies where it provides development assistance.

2.5.1.5. TRT and Anadolu Agency

Underlying the public diplomacy activities around the world, state televisions and radios were the first means used for public diplomacy activities. Within this scope, propaganda activities through radio broadcasting during the Cold War to appeal to other bloc countries formed the first public diplomacy activities. Then, with the spread of television stations and the Internet all over the world, all societies have begun to access every news about each country very quickly.

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) and Anadolu Agency are two institutions that organize and perform public diplomacy activities in the field of international broadcasting. TRT established TRT World, following the example of the BBC and CNN, which are international broadcasting state channels and have long carried out public diplomacy activities in the field of international broadcasting in various countries (Ekşi & Erol, 2018, p. 39).

International broadcasting is of great importance to be able to express one's public diplomacy activities, defend the legitimate policies a country applies and prevent information pollution or misinformation created by other actors. For this purpose, TRT established TRT World, which broadcasts to the world, and TRT Avaz, which broadcasts in various languages in a common cultural geography stretching from the Balkans to Central Asia. TRT Avaz identifies Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan as priority for its broadcasting activities and offers contents in Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Turkmen dialects of the Turkish language. TRT Avaz, broadcast HD in Türksat, is accessible to all Türksat satellite users throughout its target geography. Education, culture, art, science, children and family, history and geography, language and thought themes constitute the general broadcast content of the channel (TRT Avaz, 2021).

TRT World, TRT Avaz and Anadolu Agency are institutions established to create public opinion in the eyes of foreign societies, to explain Turkey's policies and inform them about Turkey. Institutions that perform the international broadcasting activities as part of Turkish public diplomacy are of great importance to inform foreign societies.

CHAPTER III

3. THE TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION

Turkish foreign policy started public diplomacy activities relatively later than developed countries. As soft power and public diplomacy became intertwined and it was realized that education was the highest-yielding element of public diplomacy and soft power, the Republic of Turkey began to operate in this field with the Turkish Maarif Foundation.

Given the growing mobilization of students around the world, education plays an important role in developing the country's international image, creating sympathy for Turkey in foreign nations and promoting the country correctly. Student exchange programs ensure that the country serves as an important route for educational tourism, and these programs are also used to promote the country and create sympathy for foreign students.

One of the best ways to build mutual good relations between countries and influence foreign societies is through seminars, conferences, language courses, cultural or student exchange programs. Such programs create a more impressive promotion to influence foreign societies than ordinary propaganda or advertising in traditional media, and help build soft power (de Lima Jr., 2007, s. 249).

An advanced stage of such promotion is through opening educational institutions in other countries to train students there. This will result in individuals learning the culture of that country at a young age, and most probably feel sympathetic to the country

providing these educational services. If their social and economic levels in society increase thanks to the good education they receive there, this will lead to sympathy for the country that provides the educational services. In addition to many institutions that conduct public diplomacy in the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish Maarif Foundation, or the *TMF*, is the institution that has the highest importance among others with its modern understanding in education. On behalf of the Republic of Turkey, the TMF opens schools from the lowest to the highest level in foreign countries, provides scholarship opportunities, organizes exchange programs with Turkish universities and organizes summer camps for students.

3.1. What is the Turkish Maarif Foundation?

The Turkish Maarif Foundation was established in accordance with the Law No. 6721 dated 17.06.2016 as a non-profit foundation seeking public interest with the purpose of conducting effective education activities outside the activity area of the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Education at all levels from pre-school to higher education all over the world (TMV, 2016). The foundation, abbreviated as the *TMF*, also began to take steps to close the schools of the Fethullahist Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) in their current form and transfer them to the TMF with the diplomatic relations it developed with foreign countries after the July 15 coup attempt by this terrorist organization.

The TMF explains its vision as follows: *“To be a pioneer educational institution raising qualified people who will use their knowledge and wisdom for the peace and tranquility of humanity. And its mission is “to carry out comprehensive educational activities based on the common history of humanity all over the world and the ancient*

tradition of knowledge in Anatolia” (TMV, 2016). In addition to its vision and mission, the TMF identifies its values attaching great importance to as Trust, Cooperation and Solidarity, Transparency, Capability and Merit, Insistence on Good, Inclusiveness in Education and Universality(TMV, 2016).

3.2. The Roles of the Turkish Maarif Foundation

The activities of the TMF are divided into four main areas: The first of these areas of activity is the field of education-training. The first activity of the TMF under the heading of education and training is to open educational institutions at all levels from preschool education to higher education institutions. In this context, the TMF aims to provide education at a universal level in the educational institutions it has opened. The aim of the educational program used in these schools is to ensure that children studying here learn Turkish as a foreign language, achieve high academic success and have high quality education. The educational institutions opened in various countries are also in constant cooperation and contact with educational institutions within the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Education. Students studying in higher education institutions of the TMF in foreign countries can participate in planned exchange programs with Turkish universities, work in joint projects and receive various scholarships. Individuals studying at lower educational levels in the TMF’s educational institutions can also participate in summer camps, cultural activities, conferences, concerts, contests, and various other activities held in Turkey. In this line, the TMF also opens various courses in addition to schools and universities for the purpose of providing education and training. These courses can be non-formal education courses, as well as study centers that serve to increase the academic success of foreign students. Furthermore, the TMF aims to support

the academic development of students who cannot reach universal education through its study centers abroad. Another of its activities in this field is the establishment of cultural centers. In this vein, the TMF is establishing cultural centers in partnership with the Yunus Emre Institute. Cultural centers can be operating under the higher education institutions within the TMF, while they can also be established independently of these institutions. The main goal of cultural centers is to spread Turkish culture and the Turkish language, as well as to use culture, which is an element of soft power, as a tool.

The second area of activity for the TMF is to support education. In line with this purpose, the TMF establishes libraries, laboratories, art and sports facilities in countries that lack the financial means to do so, both at the request of the relevant institutions of the country, society and as part of its own projects. These facilities can be located in the educational buildings of the TMF, as well as in independent locations in cities where the TMF does not have a school or university. A sub-branch of this area of activity is the implementation of the Career Tracking and Guidance System of the Turkish Maarif Foundation. With this system, the TMF regularly monitors the academic and professional lives of all students who have graduated from their schools. The data on the system are used to measure students' achievements after school, and this is also important for the next generation of students to participate in a better educational process.

The third area of activity of the TMF, on the other hand, is preparing and printing publications supporting education. In this regard, the TMF establishes publication bodies to support education in its schools and universities. These publications can be used in the TMF schools as well as in schools other than the TMF. In addition, the TMF develops various training programs and contents with its expert instructor staff. They create

educational programs and curricula by blending cutting-edge educational methods and Turkish culture, considering the globalization as well. Such educational programs and contents are used in schools of the TMF from the lowest to the highest degree. Additionally, the TMF conducts scientific research and research & development studies on new educational methods, styles and course curricula within its organization. With these research and development activities, it is aimed to increase the academic achievements, performance and competitiveness of students with the world. The TMF also organizes symposiums, workshops and conferences on Turkish culture, educational style, new curricula and educational models. With these workshops, the TMF constantly tries to move its standard forward and develops itself and quickly adapts to the changing world. The aim of conferences and symposiums, on the other hand, is both to improve the quality of education and to ensure the spread of Turkish culture in foreign countries. Another activity of the TMF in this area is its periodical and non-periodical publications promoting Turkish culture, Turkey and the TMF's activities. As these publications can promote the activities of the TMF, they can also result from symposiums, conferences and workshops organized by the TMF. In addition to this, the TMF also regularly broadcasts its activities on a periodic basis. These publications inform about the countries where the TMF has schools as well as giving details on the activities and opportunities provided by these schools.

Another area where the TMF operates most actively is providing scholarships and housing opportunities. In this context, the TMF does not impose educational level restrictions for scholarships. Thus, the TMF scholarships are given to successful students, who lack the financial means to continue their education, at all levels, from preschool to

higher education. Scholarships are allocated in three groups: Educational scholarships, cash supports and in-kind support. In addition to educational scholarships and cash supports, the TMF also offers in-kind support such as computers, tablets, notebooks, books and various software, including educational equipment. Moreover, as stated before, the TMF provides housing for students. The housing service covers both people who provide and education in the TMF institutions. For this purpose, the TMF establishes facilities such as student dormitories, housing and hostels and provides housing for both students who are educated in the TMF institutions and teachers who provide education in these facilities.

3.3. Activities of the Turkish Maarif Foundation

When laying the groundwork for the TMF began, the main goal was to gather Turkey's educational activities abroad under one roof and carry out public diplomacy activities in a coordinated manner. In addition, after the attempted coup on July 15, 2016 by FETÖ/PSS (Fethullahist Terrorist Organization/Parallel State Structure), the TMF undertook the mission to take over the FETÖ schools abroad. Following the negotiations and the agreements signed, the FETÖ/PSS's schools abroad were first closed by the governments and then transferred to the TMF. After that, the TMF started its educational and other activities in many countries in parallel with Turkey's public diplomacy and soft power strategies.

3.3.1. The TMF's Activities for the 2016 Academic Year

The Turkish Maarif Foundation was established with the Law No. 6721, which was adopted by the consensus of the vast majority of the member of parliaments at the

session of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 17.06.2016. Following the presidential approval, it was published in the Official Gazette No. 29756 dated 28.06.2016 and entered into force. After this process, the TMF started to work with its working bodies to complete the foundation charter. After nearly two months of work, the TMF completed its charter and establishing the necessary working bodies on 09.09.2016, starting to operate in the field of education as the only institution endowed with the authority to open educational institutions after the Ministry of National Education on behalf of the Republic of Turkey.

In the remaining five months of 2016 following its foundation, the TMF started negotiations with the relevant countries for the takeover of FETÖ-related schools abroad in coordination with the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Education. As a result of the negotiations, the TMF signed a memorandum of understanding on a total of 28 schools in 7 countries (5 in Guinea, 3 in Chad, 2 in Somalia, 2 in Sudan, 6 in Senegal, 5 in Mauritania and 5 in Niger). At the same time, the TMF held talks with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, Albania, Thailand, Cambodia, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Iraq, Northern Iraq Regional Government, Moldova, Uganda, Australia, Indonesia and Azerbaijan (TMV, 2017, p. 10).

Although the official launch of the TMF took place on September 9, 2016, preparations in this area had begun earlier. As a matter of fact, the Republic of Turkey had already started to make various initiatives to prevent the activities of FETÖ/PSS schools operating abroad under the name of Turkey. In this respect, during the visit to Guinea at the presidential level on March 3, 2016, Turkey requested to end the activities of FETÖ/PSS schools. Upon this request, Guinean authorities first seized schools with

about 900 students and then transferred them to the TMF. Within the framework of the signed memorandum, 5 schools in Guinea continue to operate within the body of the TMF (TMV, 2017, p. 11).

Another initiative of the TMF regarding FETÖ/PSS schools took place in Somalia. During the visit to Somalia by the TMF delegation between October 24-27, 2016, a memorandum of understanding was signed for the transfer of FETÖ schools to this institution. Thanks to this memorandum of understanding, 2 schools and dormitory buildings where 480 students were educated from kindergarten to high school level were transferred to the Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV, 2017, p. 11).

In 2016, the TMF signed another memorandum of understanding for the takeover of FETÖ/PSS schools operating in Pakistan. Indeed, Pakistan was one of the countries where FETÖ/PSS operated with the highest number of schools (28 schools) from kindergarten to high school level. After signing the memorandum of understanding, the TMF started its activities in Pakistan. First, they began preparations to assign a sufficient number of Turkish personnel to work in Pakistan and assigned a country coordinator to Pakistan for the follow-up of the process. Then Pakistan's Constitutional Court decided to stop the execution by interfering in the process (TMV, 2017, pp. 11-12).

Afghanistan is another country where a memorandum of understanding was signed for the handover of the said schools in 2016. FETÖ/PSS operated widely in this country with a total of 16 schools, and thus, the memorandum of understanding was signed with Afghanistan and the transfer of the schools started (TMV, 2017, p. 12).

In addition to Central Asian countries, the TMF also started to operate in the Balkan region where Turkey has cultural ties. In this respect, the TMF delegation visited Bosnia and Herzegovina with a delegation between October 31, and November 2, 2016 and made the first attempts to open a TMF school there (TMV, 2017, p. 12).

Turkey's activities in Africa, on the other hand, began with the Africa Expansion Action Plan in 1998. Turkey obtained the observer member status in the African Union in 2005 and also declared 2005 as the Year of Africa (Oğurlu, 2018, p. 66). With this process, Turkey continued its effort to develop relations with African countries. In terms of increasing Turkey's soft power in Africa and strengthening its public diplomacy activities, the TMF tended to operate intensively in Africa along with other Turkish institutions. At the same time, the fact that most of the countries where FETÖ/PSS operated are located in Africa made the TMF existence obligatory in this continent.

From this perspective, the TMF started its activities and initiatives in Sudan, Chad, Niger, Senegal and Mauritania. On November 17, 2017, the Delegation of the Turkish Maarif Foundation met with the Minister of National Education of Khartoum of the State of Sudan and signed a protocol for the transfer of the FETÖ schools and dormitory buildings to the Turkish Maarif Foundation to start the transfer process. In connection with this initiative, the TMF appointed a director to Sudan to follow the process of transfer. In 2016, the TMF also made attempts to transfer the FETÖ/PSS schools to its organization in Chad. For this purpose, on November 15-19, 2017, the Delegation of the Turkish Maarif Foundation held official talks with Chad and as a result of the negotiations with the country's authorities, a memorandum of understanding was

signed regarding the transfer of 6 FETÖ schools in this country to the Maarif Foundation (TMV, 2017, p. 13).

In addition to the memorandums of understanding signed with these countries, the TMF also held talks with several other countries to promote the TMF activities through official visits: India (November 3, 2016), Albania (November 3-4, 2016), Serbia (November 5-6, 2016), Thailand (November 20-22, 2016), Cambodia (November 23, 2016), Senegal (November 20-23, 2016), Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (November 24-25, 2016), Mauritania (December 4, 2016) and the Regional Government of Northern Iraq (December 6, 2016) (TMV, 2017, p. 13).

3.3.2. The TMF's Activities for the 2017 Academic Year

The TMF spent 2017 mostly through negotiations and recruitment activities within the abovementioned countries. In this process, the foundation continued its preparations for a major breakthrough in 2018. As a result of these preparations, the TMF had the opportunity to make a great breakthrough in this year and achieve great success in its educational activities outside Turkey. In addition to these activities, the foundation also achieved success in schools where education had already been provided for a long time. As a matter of fact, sixty of the eighty students who graduated in the 2016 – 2017 academic year from the Maarif Foundation's Somali Maarif Schools were successful in the Foreign Student Selection Exam organized by universities in Turkey and became entitled to continue their education in Turkey. 17 graduates of the Somali TMF Maarif School received admissions from an engineering faculty, 8 from a faculty of education, 4

from a faculty of architecture, 6 from a faculty of political science and public administration, 5 from banking and finance, and 20 from other faculties (TMV, 2017b).



Figure 9: The TMF 2017 in numbers



3.3.3. The TMF's Activities for the 2018 Academic Year

The continent where the TMF grew the most in 2018 is the African Continent. In many countries on the African continent, it took over the FETÖ/PSS schools, reached a high standard in education and added new schools to its range. From 2016 to the end of 2018, the TMF took over 109 schools in 15 countries and opened 52 new schools in 16 countries as a result of the talks and activities in coordination with the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education. Thus, more than 15,000 students started to study in over 260 newly transferred as well as newly opened schools (TMV, 2018, p. 11).

As can be understood, the TMF took over numerous FETÖ/PSS schools in many countries on the African continent and expanded its operating network. In Sierra Leone, the first of these countries, the TMF delegation made two visits between April 27-29, 2018 and August 1-5, 2018 in order to open more educational institutions in addition to the institutions that already provided education in the kindergarten and elementary school levels. During these visits, officials from the TMF held talks with Ministers of Education and Land for opening new schools and they also applied for a paid education license in the country.

In 2018, Sudan was another country where the TMF made attempts to expand its activities. Having 5 schools in the capital Khartoum and 1 school and 6 housing units in the Nyala Province, the TMF also made attempts for allocation of lands to build additional schools and dormitories. These attempts yielded positive results on February 28, 2018 with the allocation of the necessary lands. At the end of the 2017-2018

academic year, 119 students graduated from TMF schools, including 60 at the high school level and 59 at the primary education level. The Foreign Student Placement Exam was held at Kastamonu University, Istanbul University and Giresun University in April and May for students graduating from TMF high schools. In the 2018-2019 academic year, the TMF increased its number of students, starting the academic year with 1407 students in Khartoum and 157 in Nyala (TMV, 2018, p. 12). One of the countries where the TMF has reached the highest number of students in Africa is the Democratic Republic of Somalia. In the 2017-2018 academic year, TMF schools had a total of 634 students and 98 students graduated from these schools in the same academic year. In the 2018-2019 academic year, on the other hand, the TMF schools started education with 949 students (TMV, 2018, p. 13).

Furthermore, the TMF also strives to expand its fields of activity and provide education and training at all levels in the countries where it currently operates. In this respect, the TMF completed the necessary procedures for the transfer of 30 acres of land to the foundation and took the first step to carry out educational activities at other levels in the country where only kindergarten level education had been provided in the past. Ghana is another country where the TMF is trying to expand its activities. In February 2018, the TMF delegation made its first working visit to Ghana and initiated the company establishment processes necessary to open a school. After the company's establishment in a short time of 5 days, the TMF appointed an acting director to the country on May 16, 2018 (TMV, 2018, pp. 13-14).

In 2018, the TMF also continued to work for the transfer of FETÖ/PSS Schools. In light of these efforts, the foundation authorities managed to sign the necessary

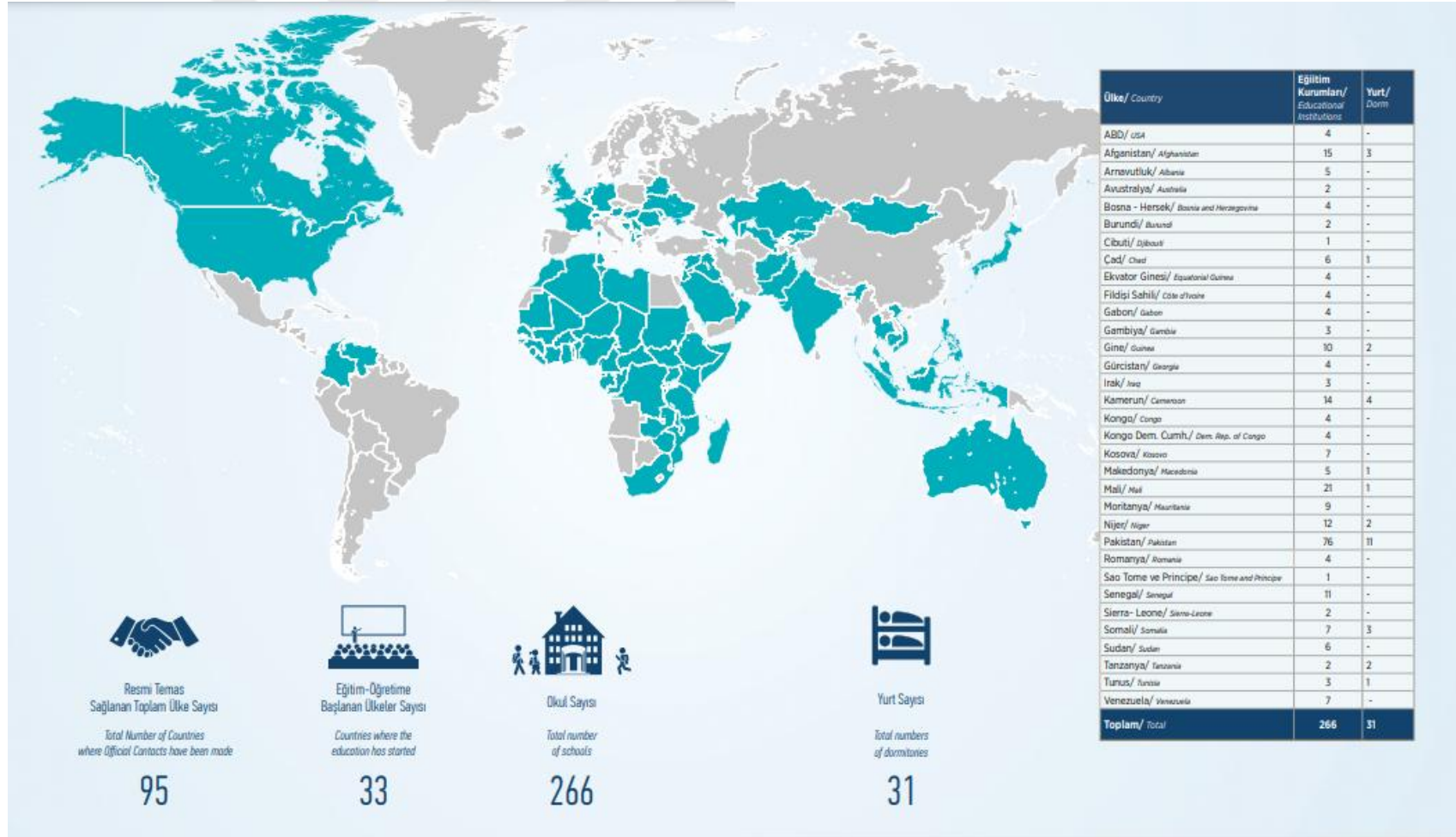
memorandums of understanding to transfer FETÖ/PSS schools in Somaliland, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, South Africa, Mongolia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Ivory Coast and Guinea Bissau. In the aftermath of these initiatives, the transfer of the FETÖ/PSS schools in Somaliland, Equatorial Guinea and the Ivory Coast was completed. For FETÖ schools in Tanzania, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, South Africa, Mongolia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cameroon and Guinea Bissau, on the other hand, the foundation made the necessary initiatives and started the procedures for transfers (TMV, 2018, pp. 13-23).

To put together the figures of 2018, the number of countries that the TMF contacted worldwide reached 93. Also in 2018, schools in 32 countries from kindergarten to high school level started education and even schools in some countries produced their first graduates. As of 2018, the total number of TMF schools worldwide reached 179, universities 2 and the number of dormitories reached 17 (TMV, 2018, p. 24).

In addition to its activities abroad, the TMF participated in the Ambassadors' Conference held in Ankara on August 12-17, 2018 to inform and coordinate Turkish institutions about its activities abroad (TMV, 2018, p. 26).

The TMF spend the year 2018 running the existing schools as well as working on the transfer of FETÖ schools. Reaching the number of 266 educational institutions in 95 countries in total, the TMF has made significant strides in the field of education and public diplomacy since its establishment.

Figure 10: The TMF 2018 in numbers



3.3.4. The TMF's Activities for the 2019 Academic Year

In 2019, the TMF continued its existing educational activities and efforts to increase the number of students in its schools, while at the same time completing the transfer of FETÖ schools. The TMF completed the transfer of the two schools in Jalalabad, which were supposed to start to operate under the foundation as per the protocol signed with Afghanistan in 2018. With these schools, the number of schools transferred to the TMF in Afghanistan increased to 7 (TMV, 2019a, s. 6). A few months after this decision, on July 5, 2019, 5 more schools were transferred to the TMF and the number of transferred schools increased to 12. In the same year, the TMF refurbished the transferred FETÖ schools in the Herat Province of Afghanistan and reopened them for education activities. Moreover, the FETÖ schools in Cambodia were closed thanks to the initiatives of the TMF in 2019 (TMV, 2019, p. 28).

2019 was also the year that the TMF returned to Europe. In addition to the new school opened in Tirana, the capital of Albania, the TMF opened its first school in the European Union countries in Bucharest, Romania, and the school started to provide service in the 2019-2020 academic year (TMV, 2019c, pp. 9-13).

While the TMF continued to open new schools, it also sustained its public diplomacy activities and efforts to increase Turkey's soft power. In this respect, Erbil International Maarif School in Iraq, IMS High School Elbasan in Albania (Tirana-Elbasan) and Maarif Kindergarten in Skopje started their activities in 2019 (TMV, 2019, pp. 28-29). In addition to the schools, the foundation continued its dormitory constructions in order to accommodate students and provide the necessary study

environment. In this line, a student dormitory with a capacity of serving about 200 students was opened in Oman, Jordan's capital (TMV, 2019b, p. 32).

Thanks to the opportunities offered by the TMF to its students, foreign students started to prefer Turkey for higher education. In this vein, some of the students who previously preferred Europe and USA started to study in Turkey by choosing Turkish universities for higher education. According to the 2019 figures, approximately 500 students from 16 countries prefer Turkey for university education. Approximately 300 of these students are graduates of the TMF schools in their home countries (TMV, 2019b, p. 38).

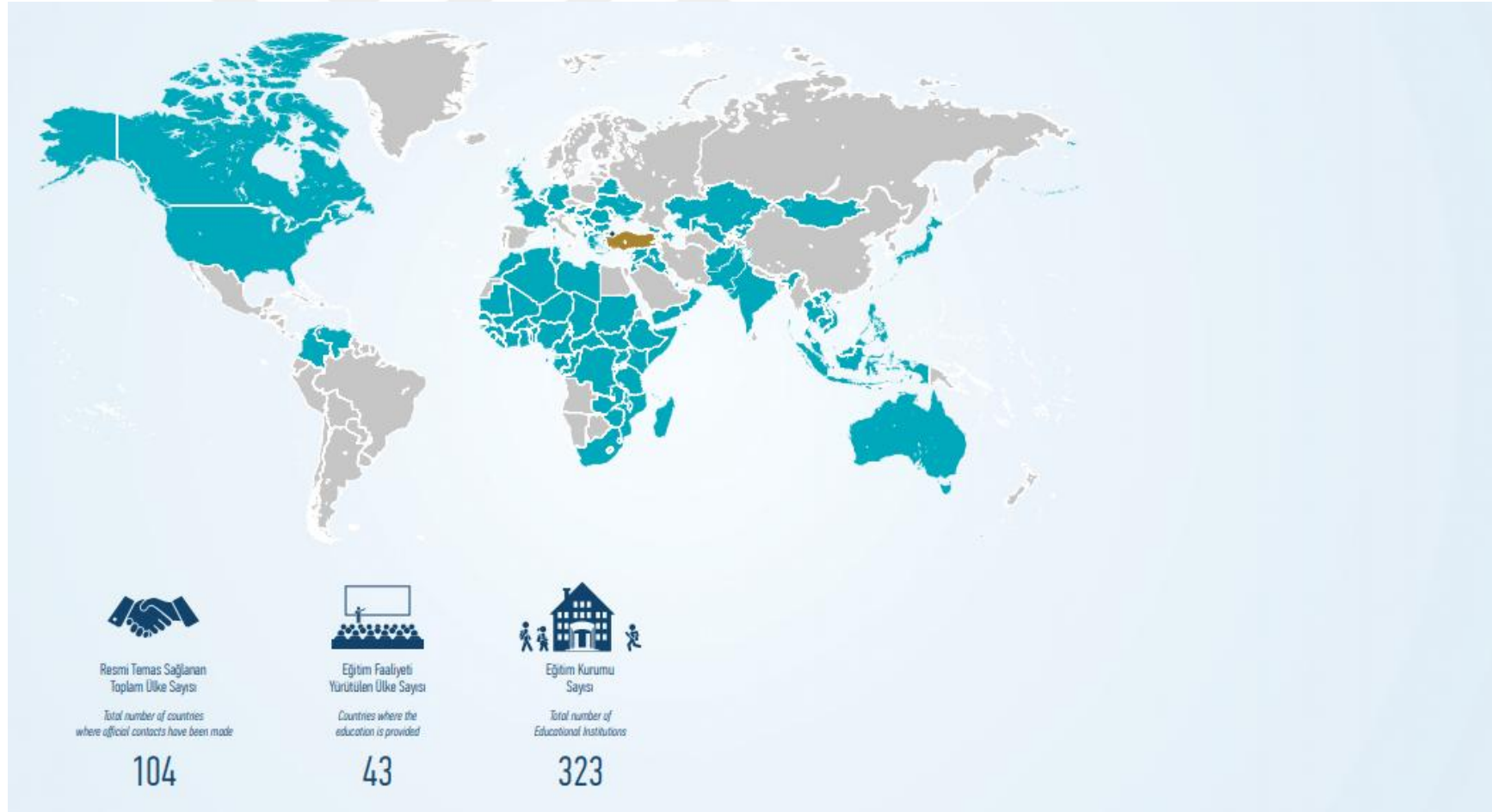
In 2019, an activity of the TMF in the field of public diplomacy was to organize Turkish summer camps. Supporting Turkish language education in its schools and obtaining the necessary infrastructure for students to learn Turkish through books and modules developed by the Yunus Emre Institute, the TMF held the International Turkish Learning Summer Camp in Istanbul with the participation of 170 students from 10 different countries (TMV, 2019b, pp. 33-34).

2019 was a year when the TMF endeavored to enhance its field of activity and complete the closure and takeover of FETÖ schools. Furthermore, the TMF signed cooperation protocols with many institutions and organizations, opened new schools, increased the number of their students and started to direct TMF students and graduates to Turkey for both university education and summer camps in the same year. At the end of 2019, when the TMF completed its 3rd year in service, it signed 59 different cooperation and education development protocols with 40 countries. During this period, the number of people working as managers, teachers and support staff in the TMF's

educational institutions abroad reached 5579. Of these, 357 are Turkish and 5222 are citizens of the countries where these schools are located (TMV, 2019c, p. 14).

In 2019, the TMF also significantly increased the number of students in its educational institutions all over the world. As of the end of 2019, nearly 40,000 students were receiving education in TMF schools and education centers. Analyzing this year's figures, it can be observed that the TMF includes a total of 323 educational institutions spanning 6 continents. TMF has also signed protocols and opened representative offices in 65 other countries according to its plans to start education in these geographies as well (TMV, 2019c, p. 15).

Figure 11: The TMF 2019 in numbers



3.3.5. The TMF's Activities for the 2020 Academic Year

While continuing its efforts to open new schools and expand its education network in 2020, the TMF also underwent digital transformation with the disruption of face-to-face education opportunities due to the COVID-19 pandemic spreading all over the world. Launched formerly, the e-Maarif (Digital Education Management) application has been a pioneer in this field. The application is the general system used by the TMF in its schools in 52 countries. The system is used to ensure meeting the standards of the TMF as well as the principles set by the education ministries in the country where the TMF schools are located. This system consists of 5 different modules used for tracking the development of students. The first of these modules is SLCM (Student Life Cycle Management). In this module, all activities of students from enrollment to graduation are monitored, planned and evaluated to ensure development. The second module, CMS (Content Management System), follows the academic, psychological and physical development of students in detail. LMS is connected this module to manage the curriculum, course contents and attendance status of students. The third module, MES (Measurement and Evaluation Systems), is aimed at improving the potential of students by supporting many sub-units such as curriculum, exams, question banks, digital exams, digital optical forms and reading software. The fourth module, DMS, ensures that the Foundation's plans, policies and activities related to education management are conveyed to teachers in documents. It is also used to deliver the contents created by teachers to the center of the Foundation and to spread good practices among other teachers. The last module, PRM (Parent Relationship Management), is used to manage the candidate parent

communication and relationship before the registration of a potential student/parent in the schools(TMV, 2020, pp. 45-46).

There is also a mobile phone application of the e-Maarif system. This application allows management of all processes via mobile phone and tablets. Another system established by the TMF is the Exam Application Platform where students can apply for exams in all TMF schools in the world, create exam entrance documents, while teachers are able to manage exam organizations through this system(TMV, 2020, p. 46).

In this regard, the TMF quickly activated this system after the outbreak of the pandemic and continued its education in all its schools, getting ahead of its counterpart schools. The TMF also uses Collaborate, Blackboard, Zoom, Teams, OneNote, WhatsApp and YouTube in line with the country's internal dynamics and permissions for lessons (TMV, 2020, p. 48).

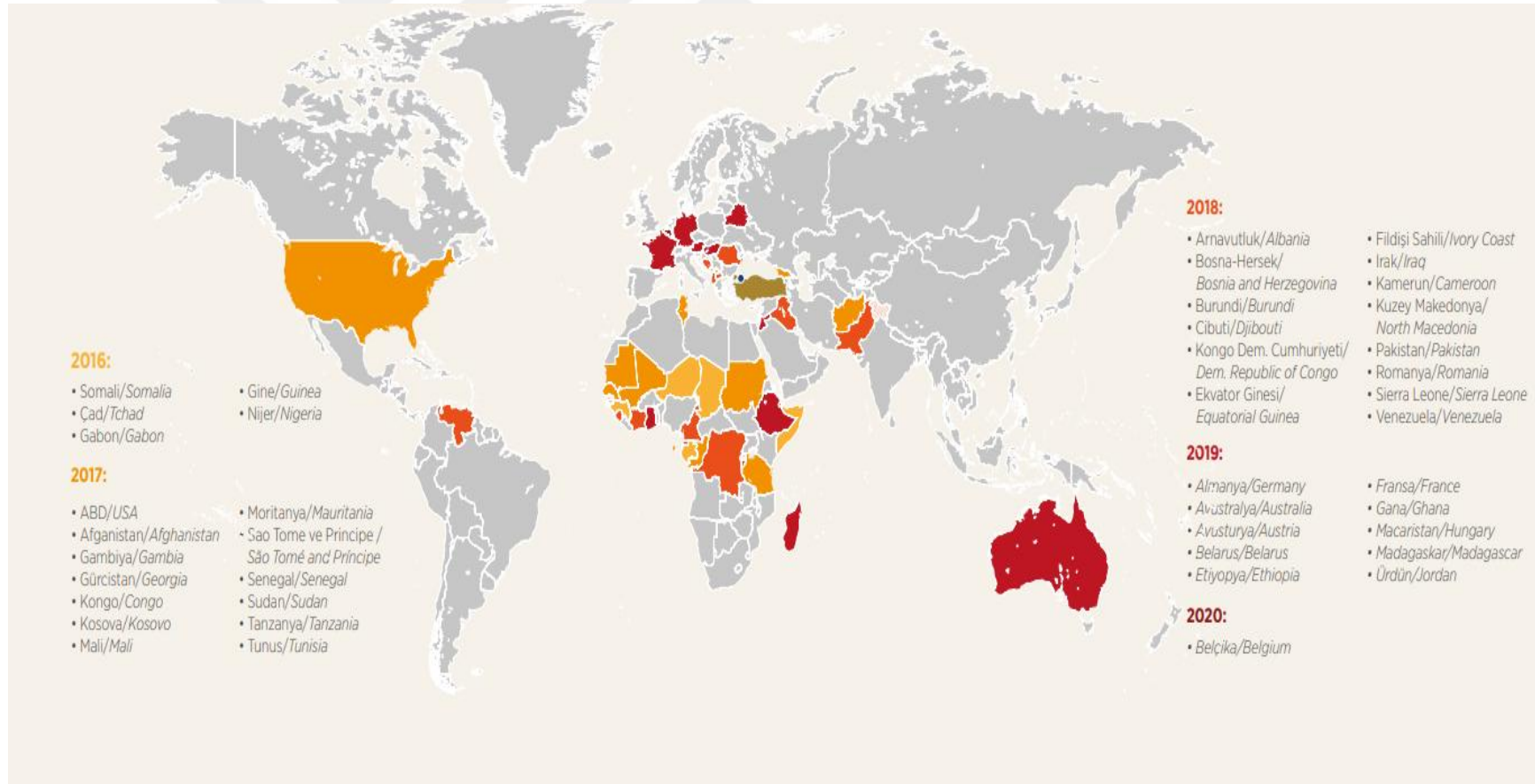
In 2020, nearly 37,000 students in 38 different countries received education in TMF schools at 500 different classrooms using 13 platforms. During this education period, a total of 101255 students registered for the courses and 30152 students actively used the TMF's e-Maarif application and modules. In addition to this, more than 31732 hours of lessons were recorded during the distance education period. TMF students re-watched the recorded lessons 733953 times (TMV, 2020b).

Figure 12: Platforms for Distance Learning by Country

Ülke (Country)	Kullanılan Platform (Platform)						
	Collaborate	Blackboard	Zoom	Teams	OneNote	Whatsapp	Youtube
Afganistan / Afghanistan						✓	✓
Arnavutluk / Albania	✓		✓				✓
Avustralya / Australia	✓						
Bosna - Hersek / Bosnia and Herzegovina	✓			✓	✓		
Burundi / Burundi	✓					✓	✓
Ekvator Ginesi / Equatorial Guinea	✓	✓				✓	
Fransa / France	✓						
Gambiya / Gambia	✓						
Gana / Ghana							
Gine / Guinea	✓					✓	
Gürcistan / Georgia	✓						
Irak / Iraq	✓					✓	✓
Kamerun / Cameroon	✓					✓	
Kongo / Congo	✓					✓	
Kongo Dem. Cumh. / Dem. Rep. of Congo	✓						
Kosova / Kosovo			✓				
Kuzey Makedonya / Northern Macedonia	✓						
Macaristan / Hungary	✓						
Mali / Mali	✓						
Moritanya / Mauritania	✓	✓				✓	
Nijer / Niger	✓					✓	
Pakistan / Pakistan	✓	✓					
Romanya / Romania				✓			
Senegal / Senegal		✓					
Sierra Leone / Sierra Leone							
Somali / Somalia	✓						
Sudan / Sudan	✓						
Tanzanya / Tanzania	✓					✓	
Tunus / Tunisia	✓					✓	

By 2020, the TMF had formal contacts with 104 countries in consultation with the relevant ministries and other state institutions within the framework of the priorities set, and established representation offices in 52 countries. Apart from the ongoing educational activities, the Foundation signed 65 protocols for the transfer of FETÖ-related schools and the opening of new schools in 43 countries (TMV, 2020, p. 14). As of July 2020, the Turkish Maarif Foundation had 333 educational institutions and 42 dormitory buildings in 42 countries. Among these schools, 214 FETÖ-related schools were taken over in 19 countries (Afghanistan, Chad, Republic of Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Guinea, Iraq, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of Congo, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia and Venezuela). In four years, the Foundation opened 108 new schools in 24 countries (USA, Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burundi, Djibouti, Gambia, Ghana, Georgia, Iraq, Republic of Congo, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Hungary, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Romania, Sao Tome & Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Tanzania). In addition, 10 education centers were opened in 7 countries (Afghanistan, Germany, Austria, France, Kosovo, Belarus and Belgium), and 1 university in Albania. Moreover, there are both schools transferred from FETÖ-related ones and new schools in Afghanistan, Republic of Congo, Mauritania Niger, Pakistan and Somalia.

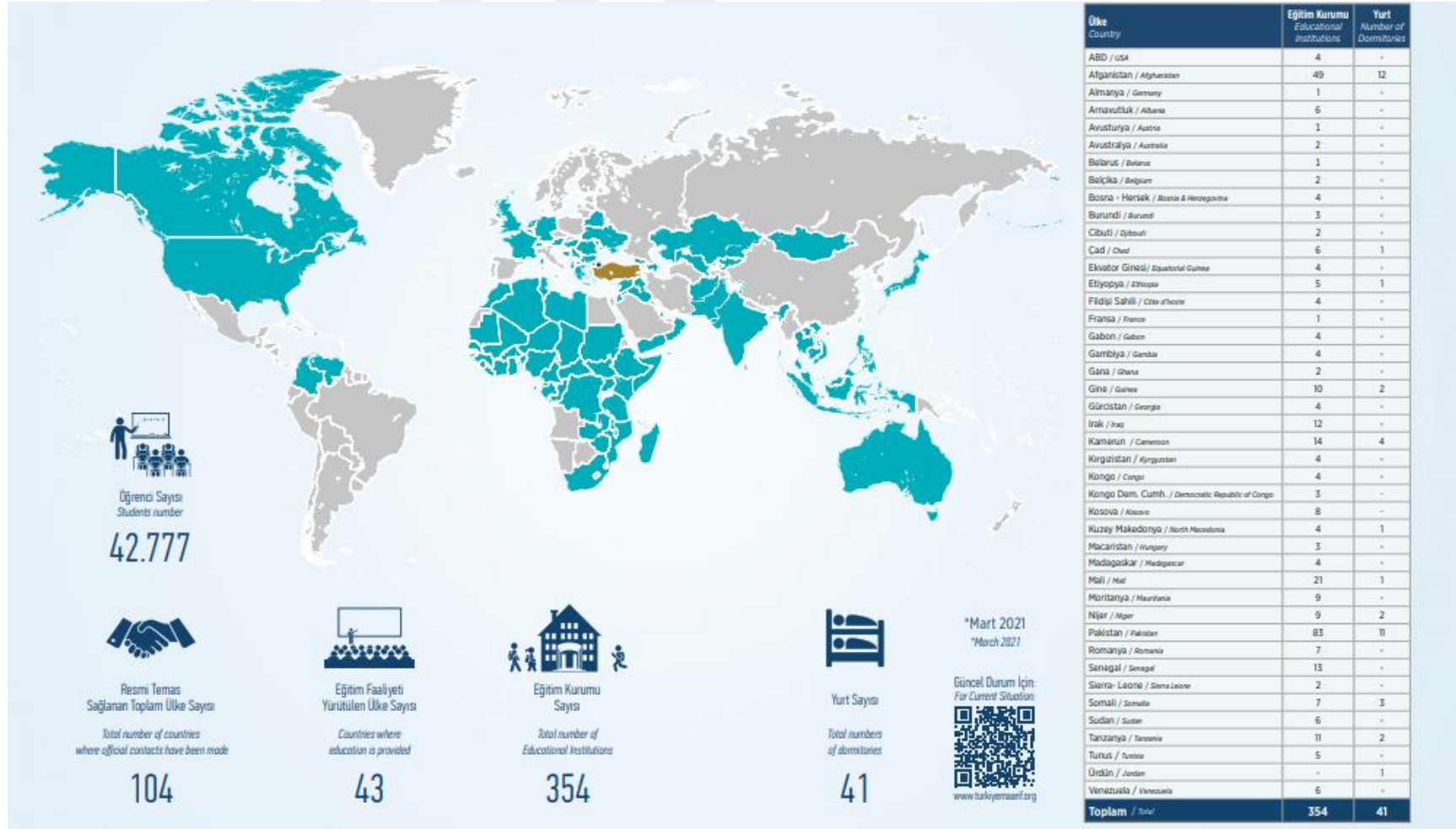
Figure 13: The Countries Where a TMF School was Opened between 2016 and 2020



3.3.6. The TMF's Activities for the 2021 Academic Year

In an attempt to analyze the activities of the TMF in 2020/21, it is possible to evaluate only the first three months of the year, since only the first issue of the Maarif Bulletin has been published yet. According to March 2021 data, the number of students of the TMF all over the world has reached 42777. Since its establishment, the Foundation has made official contacts with a total of 104 countries. Again March 2021 data demonstrates that the TMF continues education activities in 354 schools in 43 countries and serves with 41 dormitories (TMV, 2021, s. 31).

Figure 14: The TMF in numbers (March 2021)



3.4. Other Activities of the TMF

The TMF has always aimed to open educational institutions from kindergarten to higher education level and carry out educational activities through these organizations. Although these activities aim to increase the level of education in foreign countries, the Foundation also has another important aim: To promote Turkish culture and Turkish language particularly in underdeveloped countries and increase Turkey's soft power in the eyes of the peoples and administrations of foreign countries thanks to their public diplomacy activities.

From this perspective, it is possible to divide the TMF activities into three groups: The first and most comprehensive of these are educational activities as mentioned in the previous chapter. Thus, the TMF has undertaken the task of closing FETÖ schools in many parts of the world, transferring them to the TMF and opening new educational institutions. It is the only institution with the authority to do so abroad, except for the Ministry of National Education on behalf of the Republic of Turkey. In approximately four years, the TMF has been the face of Turkish education in 43 countries with 354 educational institutions and 41 dormitories.

As elaborated above, the TMF also functions to promote Turkish culture and language in its activities supporting education. Within the framework of these activities, the Foundation prepared the Program for Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language. With this program prepared within the framework of European Language Standards, Turkish language education is divided into 6 levels as in all European language education: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2. This program was prepared with a total of 41 academicians with

expertise in 9 different fields. Monitoring charts were formed for each level in language education, and these tables were diversified according to the elementary, middle and high school levels. Each level of Turkish language education was specified in detail for students so that they can understand the skills they will gain after completing these levels, and thus, the Foundation pioneering in bringing the Turkish language education system into line with the European Language Standards Framework for students (Gültekin, 2020, pp. 36-267).

In addition to these efforts to promote the Turkish language, the TMF also organizes various trainings and seminars to improve the proficiency levels of teachers who teach Turkish in Maarif schools abroad. In this respect, the Turkish Maarif Foundation cooperated with the Iraqi Ministry of Education and organized a one-month training program in Istanbul in order to improve the qualifications of 87 teachers in Turkmen-dominated cities, especially Kirkuk, in Iraq. This training program consisted of instruction on Turkish course methods and better use of Turkish language (TMV, 2018a). In the same vein, the TMF also opened language courses within the Erbil International Maarif School in Iraq and in Australia to promote Turkish language and culture (TMV, 2019e; TMV, 2019d). furthermore, the Foundation attempts to promote Turkish as a foreign language in foreign countries by teaching it as an elective course in various educational institutions. One of these initiatives was carried out at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman. As a result of the cooperation protocol signed, Turkish started to be taught as an elective course here (TMV, 2019h).

Another program managed by the TMF to promote Turkish is the International Turkish Teaching Summer Camps and the Graduate Summer Camps. In this line, the

TMF brings together nearly 200 students in 15-day camps from many different countries and provides Turkish education to students in various fields. The first of these camps was held in Istanbul and Bursa with the aim of making students familiar with Turkish culture and Turkish language. At the same time, this camp program included a trip to the historical buildings in these two provinces (TMV, 2019i; TMV, 2019f).

Other activities by the TMF include taking actions that will promote Turkish culture in foreign countries. For this purpose, the TMF organizes various conferences, workshops and studies in many countries. The first of these organizations was the Mehmet Akif Ersoy Symposium in Tirana, Albania, in December 2019. The conference, which was held in cooperation with Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, the University of Tirana and the Turkish Maarif Foundation with the participation of the Prime Minister of Albania, introduced Mehmet Akif Ersoy, the Turkish National Anthem and other works of our national poet (TMV, 2017a). Another activity carried out by the TMF in this field is the conversations regularly organized under the name of Maarif Conversations and attended by important speakers. Indeed, speakers from many different branches are invited to these talk, the general theme of which is Turkish and Turkish culture (TMV, 2018b). The TMF also celebrates Turkish national holidays in TMF schools in order to promote Turkish culture. For instance, all TMF schools held celebrations in 2019 for the 100th anniversary of May 19, Commemoration of Atatürk Youth and Sports Day (TMV, 2019g).

Besides opening educational institutions, the TMF continues to carry out public diplomacy activities in various fields. Looking at these activities, it is obvious that the TMF covers a wide range of activities in the field of public diplomacy. With this feature,

the TMF distinguishes itself from its counterpart institutions in other countries. In other words, while the *British Council* and *L'institut Français*, which can be considered counterpart institutions of the TMF, cover a limited area of public diplomacy activities, the TMF operates in a way larger area.

3.5. World's Most Successful Public Diplomacy Practitioner: British Council

Looking at the areas of activity of the TMF, it is seen that it carries out public diplomacy activities under several headings, which are:

- Opening and managing educational institutions,
- Spreading Turkish language,
- Establishing facilities to support education (libraries, sports facilities, laboratories)
- Producing publications that support education
- Providing scholarships and housing opportunities for students

When viewed through these fields of activity, the TMF differs from its counterparts in other countries around the world in terms of its characteristics and public diplomacy activities. The British Council, which is closest to the TMF, is lagging behind the TMF in terms of function and scope of authority, yet, it is far ahead of the TMF in other areas, since it has been around for a long time and realizing its activities systematically.

The British Council was established by the British later than its competitors such as Germany and Italy. The United Kingdom was an empire on which the sun never set at

the end of the 19th century. Since the United Kingdom believed that it was the leader of industry and technology in the 20th century and that it was respected by the whole world like in the 19th century, they started activities that could be called public diplomacy in the international field relatively late (Fyvel, 1951, s. 363). In fact, the United Kingdom felt the need to operate in this field only after the use of anti-British propaganda tools by Germany and Italy within the scope of the cultural diplomacy activities in foreign countries (Nicholson, 1955, pp. 6-7). Based on this need, the British Cultural Council was initially formed by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Taylor, 1978, p. 252).

The British Cultural Council, which would later be called the British Council, was founded in London in 1934 under the leadership of Australian-born Reginald Leeper. The Council remained under the control of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office until it became independent in 1940. During this 6-year period, the people who headed the Council were appointed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as well. Most of the heads of the Council were elected by people who had previously served in the foreign office because of this relationship. The founding purpose of the Council was explained in its first annual report issued in 1940-41: *“To create in a country overseas a basis of friendly knowledge and understanding of the people of this country, of their philosophy and way of life, which will lead to a sympathetic appreciation of British foreign policy, whatever for the moment that policy may be and from whatever political conviction it may spring”* (The British Council, 2021).

In this context, certain planned activities during the establishment period formed the basis for the UK's public diplomacy activities for that period. The activities determined for that period were as follows: (Corse, 2013, pp. 26-28):

- Ensuring foreign students receive education in the UK,
 - Organization of conferences and cultural tours in various countries abroad
- by important figures of the UK,
- Organizing various exhibitions and concerts to promote British art abroad,
 - Promoting British publications abroad and ensuring that positive reviews are published in newspapers.

The main purpose of every public diplomacy activity in addition to the above-mentioned aims is to spread the culture and language of a country in foreign countries. The founding period of the British Council was marked by a constructive, propaganda-free and mutual understanding period suitable to the process of building and implementing soft power (Taylor, 1978, p. 263).

The Council opened its first office in Egypt in 1938, which was vital to Britain. In the same year and the following year, the Council opened offices in Portugal, Malta, Greece, Italy, Poland and Romania. Between 1939 and 1940, it had to close its offices in countries that were identified as enemies or countries under the influence of hostile countries (Poland, Italy, Romania) in the pre-World War II environment. Despite this, the Council did not stop opening offices in foreign countries and in 1940, it opened new offices in Turkey, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Iceland, Spain and Yugoslavia and Sweden in 1941. Upon the outbreak of the German invasion of the Balkans, the Council closed its offices in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece and referred its people to the Turkish office (Corse, 2013, p. 74). Although the work of the Council was disrupted in 1942 and 1943, when the war was at its most intense, the Council had branches in a total of 20 countries between 1938 and 1945. As a matter of fact, towards the end of the war, the Council reopened its

offices in the countries where it had to close them, in addition to opening new offices in Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Gibraltar, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, the USSR and the Netherlands.

In order to ensure that the Council moved more freely and easily achieved the targets of soft power and public diplomacy activities, it was given the Royal Charter in 1940, granting it full independence. The Council's aim was defined in the charter as follows: *"Promoting a wider knowledge of [the UK] and the English language abroad and developing closer cultural relations between [the UK] and other countries."* Thus, the Council's dependence on the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office was terminated (The British Council, 2021).

From the moment the British Cultural Council gained independence, it shaped its work on the basis of education, culture and language activities. The Council carried out educational activities by opening of institutes in the Middle East and Balkan countries, where the UK previously had existed or still maintained its influence on, but lagged relatively behind in the field of education. Its cultural activities, on the other hand, consisted of opening institutes in Scandinavian countries that had high level of education and sympathy for British culture. As the last field of activity, the Council opened associations to offer language education.

It is seen that the expansion strategy of the Council during the establishment phase has changed over time. The offices, which were more advantageous in terms of cost at the beginning, have become institutes that carry out cultural, language and educational activities. The institutes operating in these three fields serve depending on the center in all their activities, and all the necessary materials are provided by the center

(Koç & Önal, 2021, p. 115). Institutes have provided language education to people of many different statuses, from students to business people or white-collar workers in underdeveloped countries. In addition, along with other activities, the Council has been instrumental in helping foreign citizens sympathize with the UK (Corse, 2013, p. 123).

From the moment the Council became an independent institution, it started to work more effectively. At the same time, its activities gained intensity with more offices opened. In addition, it was the effective use of mass media that brought efficiency to the work of the Council and led it to rapidly expand its fields of activity while at the same time increasing its awareness. The Council regularly sent various publications to the many countries where its institute was located to promote British culture and language. Furthermore, it started to show motion pictures and documentary screenings, which became widespread at that time, in foreign countries through its institutes. In 1943, 2000 motion pictures were delivered to more than 71 countries (Koç & Önal, 2021, p. 116).

The Council selected countries to conduct public diplomacy activities before and during World War II according to certain criteria. In this context, the four countries that were neutral in the war and were politically closer to Britain became the focus of the Council. These countries were Turkey, Spain, Sweden and Portugal. Some of the Council activities during this period manifested themselves as propaganda activities along with public diplomacy. Despite the probability of a mutual propaganda war as a result of the counter-activities of the Axis States in the mentioned countries, the Council was rather careful to keep its activities in the field of public diplomacy. In order to achieve this, it increased the cultural activities in the mentioned countries. Such cultural activities included film and documentary screenings, opening exhibitions and organizing various

meetings. The main purpose of the Council was to raise awareness and interest in British culture. In countries such as Sweden, where this interest already existed, its primary goal was to increase this interest and create sympathy for its country (Corse, 2013, p. 35; Koç & Önal, 2021, p. 116).

Despite the decline of Britain's status as the most powerful country in the world with the changing environment of international relations after World War II, the Council managed to continue to increase the number of its activities all over the world. The activities of the Council continued on education, language and culture as determined in the early 1940s, and at the same time their fields of activity expanded to other countries. The activities were diversified in three areas specified in accordance with public diplomacy strategy of the country.

In the 21st century, the main activity of the British Council in the field of education has been to promote educational activities in the United Kingdom and attract students. Under the Education UK brand created within the British Council, universities in the United Kingdom are promoted in various foreign countries. In this line, the British Council carries out its activities in coordination with the UK Ministry of Trade and Investment and the Ministry of Culture, Media and Sport. The British Council's promotional network, which has been established as a result of its activities over the years, also achieves two different gains in the field of education with the worldwide academic success of universities within the United Kingdom: The first of these gains is the university tuition fees, accommodation and living fees that foreign students spend in the country. According to 2017-2018 academic year figures, the total amount of money spent by foreign students on university tuition fees, accommodation and living fees was

over £23.3 billion (UK Department of Education, 2020). In addition, students studying in the United Kingdom familiarize with British culture, and when they return to their home countries, they represent this culture and contribute to the soft power of the United Kingdom.

Another area of public diplomacy carried out by the British Council is the spread of English language education. While the English education market around the world provides a significant return to the country, the requirement for English language proficiency certificates is one of the most important factors supporting this market. This language proficiency certificate is a document requested by the authorities to be able to receive education in the UK, while international companies measure English proficiency via this certificate as well. The British Council conducts foreign language exams for international students to ensure this measurement. The British Council conducts the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the language test that is well known in the field of education and valid in all fields from education to residency application in all English-speaking countries. In 2018, more than 3.5 million people took the IELTS test in order to study in English-speaking countries (IELTS, 2019). This reveals how big a market the British Council has in language education and proficiency level measurement test.

The British Council also uses today's technologies to increase the prevalence of English language. Thanks to the *Learn English* website they have established, the British Council allows children, young people and adults to study English on their own. *Learn English* offers different paid-free trainings for different age groups and provides easy

access to English education to people from all over the world (IELTS Learn English, 2021).

Another area of activity within the scope of public diplomacy the British Council is cultural activities. The British Council organizes many programs, book fairs, exhibitions and online events in the field of culture and art to promote and make British culture popular. Apart from the exhibitions and events organized by the British Council within the scope of cultural and art programs, it also provides scholarships for art projects and events that will bring the cultures of the United Kingdom and other countries closer together and promote the culture of the United Kingdom. It is aimed to promote and disseminate British culture in foreign countries through art projects and activities made possible by scholarships (British Council Art Opportunities, 2021). Another activity organized by the British Culture as a cultural diplomacy act is online art activities. The monthly programs introduce museums and galleries that are important parts of British culture (British Council Arts Online Events, 2021). Furthermore, the British Culture has been systematically organized to promote British art. It has appointed art directors to seven different regions around the world to carry out art activities. Art activities in these regions are also presented as publications and made available to people all over the world (British Council About Arts, 2021).

3.5.1. The British Council in terms of Public Diplomacy

When evaluated in terms of public diplomacy activities, it is seen that the British Council's activities are spreading in many areas. Looking at the categorization of public diplomacy, it can be observed that the British Council is actively engaged in the fields of

listening and cultural diplomacy. In this regard, the British Council successfully achieves the main goal of listening, which is to recognize and learn the values important for a community before passing on certain messages. In this respect, the Council benefits from appointed art directors in various in order to decide on the artistic activities it will carry out in various countries and to understand whether these activities are suitable for the structure of that country or not. Through the activities shaped, proposed and developed by art directors, the Council engages in activities to promote British culture. Another area that the Council is successful is cultural diplomacy. Defined as exporting a country's culture to foreign societies and using culture as a means of communication and attraction, cultural diplomacy is practiced by the British Council in many different ways. Firstly, the British Council established the website called *Study UK* to promote the universities in the UK and attract students. This website features information on why foreign students should receive education in the UK, and how they can find the best university for themselves. Furthermore, students can find details on scholarships and funds on the *Study UK* website as a common platform. In addition to these, the British Council, as mentioned before, has been promoting British culture through its arts and cultural activities all over the world.

It can be observed that the British Council has been using all three modellings of public diplomacy: Monologues, dialogues and collaborations. Although the Council is implementing some of its activities in the form of unilateral communication or monologue, it is mostly performing them through mutual dialogue and cooperation. In its monologue activities, the Council provides trainings for education agencies and consultants in foreign countries describing the UK's education system (British Council,

2021a). In addition, the Council cooperates with institutions in foreign countries by accrediting foreign institutions as a British Council approved language course or training agency. In addition, the Council declares the educational institutions that it accredited on its website and shares all the information of these institutions. Thus, it turns its educational activities into a public diplomacy activity based on mutual cooperation. In addition to cooperation, public diplomacy activities in the form of dialogs are carried out by the Council. In this sense, the Council visits schools in various countries and organizes events promoting universities in the United Kingdom. In Turkey, representatives of approximately 14 universities visit 5 different cities in Turkey, promote them thanks to the British Council and explain the educational opportunities in the UK.

Having been carrying out public diplomacy activities for many years, the British Council focuses on education, language and culture in these activities and therefore, it has made its public diplomacy activities systematic over the years. The greatest achievement of the Council in this field is that it has been able to make the whole world accept IELTS as the most common language exam. By this means, it has been shaping English language education within the framework of this exam. The Council can reach millions of people thanks to the IELTS test, which is valid in all schools around the world that teach native English. The Council is also actively promoting schools in the United Kingdom as an attraction center in the field of education. This, combined with the worldwide achievements of universities in the United Kingdom, makes the UK an international attraction. In addition to these two areas, the British Council is also engaged in activities to promote and spread British culture throughout the world through various exhibitions and events. Through these activities, the Council helps achieve

cultural interaction between the United Kingdom and foreign countries, while also contributing to the development of bilateral cooperation.

From this perspective, the activities of the British Council altogether contribute greatly to the soft power of the UK in the world. In this way, it promotes British culture all over the world and ensures the adoption of this culture by foreign countries. Thanks to the world-renowned and widespread culture, the UK is growingly becoming an attraction center for foreign nations. Especially in the field of education, the success of UK universities and the promotion of this success in the right way has made the UK an outstanding country for quality education.

Conclusively, the British Council stands out as the world's leading institution in terms of public diplomacy activities. It continues to contribute significantly to the soft power of the United Kingdom with its activities in three areas that it has identified: Language, culture and art activities.

CHAPTER IV

4. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION

The TMF is working to increase Turkey's soft power with its public diplomacy activities, but it is also trying to do so in the form of cooperation, dialogue and common benefit. When the TMF is evaluated according to the practice of public diplomacy and theories in this field, it can be seen that the TMF uses the methods of change and cultural diplomacy, which are among the sub-branches of public diplomacy.

In this vein, in order for an institution to carry out public diplomacy activities and to operate efficiently in this field, it must first implement the four steps of public diplomacy: The first step to take in order for affecting society with public diplomacy activities is to increase the familiarity of foreign societies of a country's culture (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9). In this line, Turkish Foreign Policy is shaped on the basis of the efforts to increase the familiarity with Turkey in cooperation with other institutions. As part of these efforts, one of the major steps has been the activities of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) since 1998. As a matter of fact, this agency has been active in many regions of the world particularly after its restructuring process. In line with the foreign policy objectives of Turkey, the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Yunus Emre Institute, TİKA, Anadolu Agency and TRT are jointly working to increase familiarity and recognition of Turkey and its culture. This has been the first step for foreign societies to get to know Turkey and to establish credibility. The second step of public diplomacy is to gain the appreciation of foreign societies

(Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 10). In this regard, Turkey has tried to gain the appreciation of foreign societies by means of development aid, restorations, building hospitals and laboratories by TİKA; libraries and schools, etc. established by Yunus Emre Institute. In addition, the TMF strives to ensure that young people in foreign countries receive a high quality education thanks to the scholarships they give to successful students lacking the financial means for education in the schools they have established in foreign countries. Furthermore, Turkey Scholarships allow foreign nationals study in Turkey and sustain their lives during the education period. All these activities are aimed at gaining the appreciation of foreign societies. The third step of public diplomacy is to increase Turkey's appeal to foreign societies (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 9). For this purpose, the TMF is running the Turkey Scholarships program, student exchange programs, conferences, summer schools and camps in order to increase Turkey's appeal to foreign communities. Turkey Scholarships and exchange programs also strengthen the ties between countries and communities. The last step to take after these stages is to influence foreign societies. As a matter of fact, if a country manages to influence another, the that is impressed by the first country might well affect positive decision-making in favor of the latter in the international field (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 10).

Apart from the above steps required for a country to carry out public diplomacy activities, its foreign policy must be shaped in accordance with the three dimensions of public diplomacy. The first dimension of public diplomacy covers daily communication. While taking public diplomacy steps building an image in the eyes of foreign societies, all news that will damage the image of the country should be followed, false news should be refuted or corrected in no time. At the same time, it is necessary to respond

immediately to any negative allegations the country and to make the necessary statement to the international community in order to maintain the effectiveness of the four steps of public diplomacy. The second dimension of public diplomacy is strategic communication(Nye, 2008, p. 102). The main purpose of strategic communication, shaped around a pre-planned issue, is to create an integrity for an institution, brand or government activities that the country wants to promote. For instance, it is a strategic communication to explain to foreign societies that the TMF is improving the quality of education in the countries where it opens schools to make sure that successful students who lack the financial means receive higher education with the Turkey Scholarships. The message that should be given when performing strategic communication activities in an area should be repeated continuously through many different channels for consistency. The harmonization and non-conflict of messages from different channels will also help make public diplomacy activities work and support the abovementioned four steps (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, p. 11). The third dimension exists to bring functionality to public diplomacy and build on solid foundations. It is the creation of long-term ties between countries. Scholarships given to foreign students and student exchange programs in the field of education allow students, who find these opportunities in foreign countries, to get acquainted with the country's culture, introduce their culture there and also promote the new culture they learn when they come back to their home country. At the same time, thanks to the scholarships provided and the activities carried out for foreign students by means of student exchange programs, the relevant country will become a center of attraction for these students. This will lay the foundations of long-term cooperation between countries and societies(Nye, 2008, p. 102).

Starting from the establishment of the TİKA in 1998, Turkish foreign policy officials have applied their soft power strategy and built institutions that will carry out public diplomacy activities in order to increase Turkey's soft power. Within this scope, public diplomacy is one of the ways to increase a country's soft power, and it is also the most effective way. Among the activities of public diplomacy, cultural and exchange diplomacy are activities implemented by powerful states all over the world for many years. In particular, states such as the USA and the UK accept millions of students to their home countries for education every year through student exchange programs as well as activities to promote their culture. During their stay, these students become familiar with both culture and values of the countries and return to their countries knowing these values. This relationship, established through public diplomacy activities, contributes greatly to the soft power of countries.

In the 21st century, Turkish foreign policy officials have been carrying out public diplomacy activities in order to contribute to Turkey's soft power with eight different institutions, established from scratch or transformed. The oldest and most rooted of these institutions is TİKA. Implementing cultural diplomacy activities in the field of public diplomacy, TİKA is also the flagship among the institutions working to increase Turkey's soft power. Following the restructuring process in the TİKA after 2011, it started to coordinate between Turkish state institutions and NGOs operating to increase soft power and cooperate with international organizations and foreign governments. By 2021, the TİKA has been operating in 150 countries. It has been producing and implementing projects for the establishment of the infrastructures needed to meet the humanitarian

needs of countries, in addition to undertaking important projects especially in economically disadvantaged countries.

Listening and advocacy are what makes all public diplomacy activities functional and effective, prevents hampers in the soft power and appeal of a country. In this respect, the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications (TCCİB) was established with the aim of following the news and statements about Turkey by listening to the international media. In addition, it is among the duties of the TCCİB to respond to the sources that provide disinformation at the right time and to the right extent and to prevent the loss of soft power caused by disinformation. The TCCİB is also responsible for advocacy under the heading of public diplomacy, which means to explain Turkish foreign policy moves to foreign societies and defend them together with their causes.

Throughout the history of Turkish foreign policy, the 21st century has been the most important, and institutions have been transformed or new ones established to actively implement an important pillar of public diplomacy: Cultural diplomacy. In this vein, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) and the Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMF) carry out cultural diplomacy activities, although they all address different areas in Turkish foreign policy. Of these, the YEE serves with 58 Cultural Centers in 48 Countries and 101 Departments of Turcology in 50 Countries, as well as 159 contact points in 74 countries around the world by taking on the task of disseminating Turkish language (YEE, 2019). In addition to establishing cultural centers in many countries to promote and teach Turkish language in foreign societies, the YEE also works in the opening of Turcology departments in universities and teaching Turkish

as the second foreign language. In addition to these activities, which are the first pillar of cultural diplomacy, the YEE also organizes a Turkish Summer School in Turkey. This summer school aims to increase the familiarity of students from foreign countries with Turkish, and to introduce Turkish culture as well as historical and cultural points in Turkey by taking tours. Furthermore, the YEE organizes various cultural and arts events, festivals and concerts in many countries. In these events, the YEE aims to make sure that foreign societies recognize Turkish culture by bringing to the forefront. Another institution that carries out cultural diplomacy activities is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). It is an institution that carries out both cultural and diaspora diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy, coordinating the work for our citizens abroad, our sister communities and international scholarship students in Turkey, and offering services and activities in these fields (YTB, 2010). The first and foremost purpose of the two public diplomacy areas that YTB has undertaken its activities is to protect the belonging to Turkey of Turkish citizens living abroad. With the protection of this belonging, Turkish citizens living abroad will be able to promote Turkish culture in the foreign country where they live. The second purpose of the YTB is to ensure that Turkish citizens living abroad maintain their culture, language and identity. Finally, the YTB also strives to strengthen the status of Turkish citizens living abroad in their country of residence and ensure that they become an effective force as a diaspora. The YTB also organizes various activities to protect the links of Turkish youth living abroad with Turkish language as cultural diplomacy activities, and also organizes trips to Turkey to promote Turkish culture and history.

In addition to the activities of these institutions, Turkey conducts international broadcasting in order to advocate for its legitimate policies and prevent information pollution or misinformation created by other actors in the international field. For this purpose, TRT has established different channels by privatizing in two areas. The first of these channels is TRT World, which broadcasts all over the world, and the other is TRT Avaz, broadcasting in various languages in a common cultural geography stretching from the Balkans to Central Asia. TRT Avaz has identified Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan as priority geographies for broadcasting and includes educational, cultural, art, science, children and family, history and geography, language and thought-themed shows in the dialects of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan of the Turkish language (TRT Avaz, 2021).

In this respect, Anadolu Agency also carries out public diplomacy activities in order to create public opinion in the eyes of foreign societies, explain Turkey's policies and inform them about Turkey, both as a news provider and by publishing the news on its website in different languages together with TRT World and TRT Avaz.

Among these institutions, the TMF is the most widely and actively working institution after the TİKA and also the most active in the field of cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy means trying to manage the international environment based on the culture and a country's world-renowned values, which constitute the first source of soft power. In other words, cultural diplomacy is the export of a country's culture to foreign societies and the use of culture as a means of communication and attraction (Cull, 2008, p. 32). The TMF has divided its activities into

four main areas in this regard: The first of these areas is to open educational institutions in foreign countries from preschool to higher education. In these schools, the TMF introduces students to Turkish culture and allows them to learn Turkish. In addition, the TMF takes care to ensure that the academic achievements of these schools are at a high level, thus the TMF schools become an attraction in foreign countries. As parents want to send their students to TMF schools for their high academic achievements, students who attend these schools adopt Turkish culture and learn Turkish as the first foreign language. At the same time, students here can come to schools in Turkey thanks to exchange programs and continue a part of their education life in schools in Turkey. Thus, students who become familiar with Turkish culture can visit historical places in the country and learn about Turkish history.

Under the heading of TMF educational activities, they also organize summer camps, cultural activities, conferences, concerts, competitions, exhibitions and historical trips in Turkey. Students in TMF schools can benefit from these opportunities at no cost. Moreover, the TMF also establishes cultural centers in foreign countries other than its schools. These cultural centers can be opened in schools affiliated with the TMF or established independently. These cultural centers give Turkish lessons to people of all ages and introduce them to Turkish culture.

Another of the cultural diplomacy activities of the TMF is supporting educational activities. These activities include building libraries, laboratories, arts and sports facilities at the request of foreign governments or societies. These facilities can be located within the educational buildings of the TMF or can also be established independently in cities where the TMF does not have a school or university. In such libraries, there are books

about Turkey and Turkish culture, as well as exhibitions promoting Turkish art in art centers established in cooperation with the TMF.

The preparation of publications supporting education, the third field of activity of the TMF, is also one of the activities categorized under public diplomacy. The TMF develops educational programs and curriculums by blending with Turkish culture and paying attention to the globalization as well. Thus, while Turkish culture is becoming widespread, the cultures of foreign societies and global values are not ignored. Under this field of activity, the TMF also organizes workshops, conferences and symposiums. Thanks to these activities, the values of foreign societies are understood and Turkish culture is explained to foreign societies.

One of the most active public diplomacy activities of the TMF is to provide scholarships and housing opportunities to foreign students. Scholarships given without educational level restrictions are provided to students, who are successful at every education level and lack the financial means to continue their education. The most important scholarship in this field is the Turkey Scholarships, which enable students from foreign societies to study in Turkey. Thanks to these Turkey Scholarships, foreign students can study in higher education institutions in Turkey.

As stated before, soft power and public diplomacy have been the fundamental elements of Turkish foreign policy in the 21st century. Therefore, various institutions have been transformed and new institutions have been established to carry out public diplomacy activities with the aim of increasing Turkey's soft power and strengthening its image in the eyes of communities abroad. These institutions implement Turkey's public diplomacy activities by operating in different fields or cooperating in one field. Public

diplomacy activities can be short-term, such as listening and advocacy, but also medium-term activities such as international broadcasting, long-term activities such as cultural diplomacy, or very long-term activities such as exchange diplomacy.

One of the most important aspects That Turkey pays attention in both the TMF and other organizations' public diplomacy activities is to make sure that the communication is not a monologue. Turkish public diplomacy is shaped based on always opting for dialogue and cooperation in public diplomacy, which Cowan and Arsenault have identified in three layers. If actors are always in dialogue, they can recognize each other, have more efficient interactions in the long-term. The most efficient layer of public diplomacy, the layer of cooperation, is the one where Turkey is most successful with the activities to build mutual relationships between countries through several institutions, being primarily the TMF. Therefore, the TMF uses dialogue and cooperation from among these three layers. Another public diplomacy theorist, Kelley, defines the intention to establish a basis for mutual understanding between two communities in the long-term as engagement. Accordingly, this is an approach that explains the TMF's activities such as education in the long term.

Overall, Turkey's public diplomacy activities are expected to achieve long-term results based on mutual cooperation and understanding without a model of imposition or unilateral communication. The TMF carries out a long-term public diplomacy activity by influencing education, a period of approximately 15-16 years of human life, and providing good world-class education to children and young people in foreign countries. In this model of public diplomacy, which is difficult to achieve in the short term, it is

aimed to establish relations in which all actors benefit in the long term and mutual cooperation develops.

5. CONCLUSION

The concepts of soft power and public diplomacy are issues that emerged towards the end of the Cold War and began to be seriously discussed in the 1990s. In the 21st century, these two concepts have gained further importance and states have started to include them in their foreign policies.

Since the cost of hard power is high, not all states have hard power, and that hard power has lost its power to dominate other states in the 21st century, states have started to opt for another way of foreign policy by promoting their own values and culture to the countries. In order to achieve this, the state has established various institutions or transformed existing institutions to perform these functions.

These institutions serve to increase the attractiveness of the relevant state and make it easier to persuade foreign nationals to fulfill their wishes. In other words, if states can entice their values and culture in the eyes of other states and make foreign societies accept it, they will become role models. In this respect, soft power means persuading the opposing actor to accept one's wishes without the need for military and economic sanctions.

Sources that make up and increase the soft power of a country in the eyes of other countries are also of great importance. The first and most important of these sources is the adoption and acceptance of the culture of a country by other countries. Culture here refers to a wide range of meanings. The language, art, traditions/customs, educational

opportunities and democratic values of that country constitute its culture. Although these values may overlap with universal values, they still will be important for foreign societies, increasing the rate of acceptance of that country's culture. In this respect, Nye divides culture into two as high culture (including education, art and literature) and low culture (popular culture). While high culture can have a long-term impact on foreign societies, low culture can have a shorter-term effect or not any effect at all.

Another source of soft power is political values. When a country's political values are in line with universal values, that country's appeal increases. When foreign societies see the values and rights they are familiar with or want to see in other countries or that they think should be standard in a foreign country, they perceive that country as a center of attraction. Another source of soft power is education, which, over time, has stood out in culture and become a source for soft power itself. In other words, although education continues to exist as part of culture, it has also become a source of soft power by itself with the globalization of education, the increase of foreign students in countries and the spread of student exchange programs. Millions of students go to other countries to receive a high quality education and obtain the opportunity to get to know the values and culture of that country closely. Foreign policy is also a source of soft power. In this regard, countries take the necessary action to resolve disputes or protect their interests by means of foreign policy. These foreign policy moves are considered legitimate by other countries and foreign societies and, if accepted, become one of the sources of that country's soft power. Additionally, the emergence of the Millennium Development Goals has led to providing development assistance to other countries, and this has become a part of their foreign policy and soft power.

In order for the aforementioned sources to gain functionality and have a soft power-enhancing effect, states must also accept that the 21st century is the information age and attach great importance to communication with information. In this line, Nye emphasizes that three kinds of states will gain power in the information age. The first of these states is the ones whose culture is close to international norms. Secondly, the countries that have access to multiple communication channels and can shape and direct topics in the international field through these channels will gain strength. Thirdly, the countries with high international credibility will gain trust.

Looking at these three assumptions, it can be seen that the way to increase soft power is to make sure that a country's culture is accepted internationally, that country is highly credible, and capable of shaping the agenda of the international field with the ownership of multiple communication channels. The first and foremost method to perform these stages is through public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy activities are of great importance to promote the culture of a country first, disseminate and render it attractive. Public diplomacy is the way to announce to the world that the country's culture is in parallel to universal values, and it is a major part of world culture with its education, culture, arts and literature activities and make the country an attraction center for foreign societies. Secondly, the political values and foreign policy moves of the country should be explained to foreign societies through communication channels. Indeed, these moves or political values, which should already be legitimate, must be protected from disinformation and conveyed directly to foreign societies through various communication channels. Thirdly and finally, public diplomacy activities organized for educational purposes are of great importance today as they

provide access to younger generations and therefore future leaders in the world. It is of great importance to become a center of attraction in terms of education at these times when we witness increasing student mobility and increasing number of foreign students in the world. Public diplomacy activities in the field of education are divided into three sub-branches as language education, school education and education on the arts and culture of a given country.

In this context, Turkey has reorganized Turkish foreign policy to increase the number of its soft power sources and at the same time, to carry out public diplomacy activities to achieve this purpose. In this respect, Turkey has established many new institutions, while also transforming already existing institutions with a background in the past by incorporating new functions. Within the scope of these initiatives, education, one of the most important sources of soft power, is provided by the TMF in the form of cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy activities, which are sub-branches of public diplomacy activities.

The TMF is an institution that gathers education – which is under the heading of soft power and public diplomacy activities in Turkish Foreign policy – under its body and works actively in this field in cooperation with the YTB and YEE in this field. Furthermore, all educational activities of the Republic of Turkey abroad were assigned to the TMF, ensuring a quick and effective gain in this field. Also, the TMF is authorized to establish and operate schools in foreign countries.

From this perspective, the TMF was established in accordance with the Law No. 6721 dated 17.06.2016 as a non-profit foundation seeking public interest with the purpose of conducting effective education activities outside the activity area of the Republic of

Turkey's Ministry of Education at all levels from pre-school to higher education all over the world. In addition, immediately after the TMF was established, it began to make attempts to close FETÖ schools abroad and transfer them to the TMF through diplomatic relations after the July 15 coup attempt organized by the Fethullahist Terrorist Organization.

The TMF creates cultural interaction between communities with its activities in the field of education and forms the basis of long-term relations. As a matter of fact, the success of cultural diplomacy can be evaluated depending on the dialogue and cooperation between communities and whether there is cultural interaction. On the other hand, understanding a society correctly and being able to express yourself correctly to that society depend on proper relations with foreign societies by means of institutions engaged in public diplomacy activities. For this reason, the TMF directly performs educational activities in foreign countries, enabling cultural interaction and also providing a quality academic education for students in foreign societies. Moreover, the activities of the TMF both in cooperation with the YEE and alone to promote Turkish language also strengthen the ties between Turkey and foreign societies. In this sense, the activities of the TMF have been shaped in accordance with the dialogue and collaboration types of public diplomacy. A monologue communication style is not preferred by the TMF.

In addition to establishing inter-community dialogue and cooperation, the TMF's activities also aim to develop the countries where they provide education services as well as to raise students with high academic success in these countries. This policy is also a

parallel approach to the development assistance provided by the TİKA since its establishment.

Another of the cultural diplomacy activities of the TMF has been to open Turkish language courses and art centers to promote Turkish art in foreign countries, both within or outside the TMF. Teaching Turkish as an elective foreign language in other countries and spreading the use of Turkish language through these courses are also a part of the TMF's cultural diplomacy activities.

In addition to its educational activities in foreign countries, the TMF also attaches importance to student exchange programs called exchange diplomacy. In this sense, the Foundation provides scholarships to foreign students so that they can come to Turkey for education through exchange programs and enable successful students to study at Turkish universities if they succeed in the Foreign Student Placement Exam.

Considering its counterparts in the world and the British Council, which is the most successful institution in this field, it can be observed that the TMF has developed its fields of activity in parallel with the British Council's activities including language education, academic education and culture & arts activities. Although the TMF was founded very recently in 2016, the number of its students has reached 42,777 worldwide. According to March 2021 data, the TMF continues to operate in 354 schools in 43 countries across the world.

In addition to the tradition diplomacy (from state to state), the practice of modern diplomacy (from society to society) emerged after the Cold War, and has taken on a new dimension in the 21st century thanks to the effect of rapid globalization. Accordingly,

public diplomacy has become one of the foreign policy tools, as states have been attaching greater importance to soft power in order to strengthen their sources of soft power. Turkey has been implementing public diplomacy activities for a very short time, yet. Although Turkey has covered quite a distance in this field, there is still time to receive the yields of these efforts, since public diplomacy activities and soft power practices produce positive results only in the long term. Therefore, there is a need for Turkey to ensure continuity in its institutions and their activities.

Despite the fact that the TMF was established only in 2016, it is now operating in 43 countries. Even though it is not yet seen as equivalent to counterpart institutions belonging to major states in the world, it has been working to rapidly grow and expand its education network. Compared to the British Council, the institution that performs cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy activities in the world in the most successful way through education, it can be uttered that the TMF has not yet reached enough countries and students. Therefore, Turkey's education activities abroad are still in the process of formation. Turkey is striving to introduce itself to foreign societies and become an attraction center for foreign societies with its public diplomacy activities aiming at increasing the country's soft power.

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